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ACCÈS RÉSERVÉ
VOIR DOSSIER

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
J

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

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

1996-02-02

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

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

Accès contrôlé.

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

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

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

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

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

Papiers publics. Original,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Papiers personnels.

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

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Correspondance personnelle. Série J8. Original, 1897-1950, 4.000 m. (Vol. 1-41).

Cette série comprend la correspondance reçue par King entre les années 1897 et 1950. Cette correspondance provenait de ses amis plutôt que de ses connaissances ou du public en général. Une liste des dossiers est disponible dans l'instrument de recherche et sur microfiche.

Spiritisme. Série J9. Original, 1919-1950, 1.400 m. (Vol. 1-7).

Cette série comprend des lettres, des publications et des mémoires classés par matière.

Maison Laurier et Kingsmere. Série J10. Original, 1919-1950, 2.800 m. (Vol. 1-28).

Cette série comprend des lettres ayant trait à des plans, des meubles, etc., des résidences de King. Elle est organisée en dossiers-matière. Une liste des dossiers est disponible dans l'instrument de recherche.

Finances. Série J11. Original, 1907-1950, 1.600 m. (Vol. 1-16).

Cette série comprend des états annuels, des documents relatifs à des placements, etc., organisés en dossiers-matières.

Papiers personnels divers. Série J12. Original, 1905-1950, 2.100 m. (Vol. 1-21).

Cette série comprend des dossiers-matières sur des affaires personnelles (voitures, église, clubs, santé, assurances et personnel).

Journaux intimes. Série J13. Original, 1893-1950, 7.420 m. (Vol. 147-209). Microfiche, 1893-1950, 492 fiches. T-1 à T-275, M-1 à M-217. Transcription, 1893-1946, 1949, 10.760 m. (Vol. 1-146). Photocopie, 1947-1948, 1950, 1.110 m.

Une liste des journaux intimes et une liste de conversion de ces journaux sur microfiche, sont disponibles dans l'instrument de recherche et sur microfiche.

Papiers de la famille King. Série J14. Original, 1840-1950, 2.000 m. (Vol. 1-20).

Cette série comprend la correspondance des membres de la famille King avec d'autres personnes que W.L.M. King. On y trouve des lettres de John et Christina King, M. et Mme John King, Isabel King, Dr. et Mme Macdougall King, M. et Mme H.M. Lay et la famille Lindsey. Une liste des dossiers est disponible dans l'instrument de recherche et sur microfiche.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Section des archives politiques.

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

INTRODUCTION

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

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

INTRODUCTION

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

FILE BEGAN ON PREVIOUS REEL

LE DOSSIER A DEBUTE SUR LA BOBINE PRECEDENTE

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
82		Civic Banquet, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	12 July 1948	D 52808 - D 52992	
82		Last Speech in Parliament	16 Feb. 1949	D 52993 - D 53014	
82		Glengarry Convention, Alexandria. Speeches outside Parliament	27 May 1949	D 53015 - D 53038	
Bound Volumes, 1939-1949					
83		Notes on Speeches	22 Apr. 1939 to 25 Sept. 1940	D 53039 - D 53124	
83		"Topical Analysis" General - Since the Outbreak of War	3 Sept. 1939 to 17 June 1940	D 53125 - D 53239	
83		Speeches outside Parliament by Rt. Hon. W.L.M. King	11 Feb. 1940 to 10 July 1941	D 53240 - D 53520	
84		Speech Material, General Election	1940	D 53521 - D 53688	
~~85~~ 84		Speech Material, General Election	1940	D 53689 - D 54217	

D 53770

Measures taken to meet apprehended war
(Statement of August 23, 1939)

Relative position of government and parliament
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CANADA AT THE SIDE OF BRITAIN

Broadcast by
Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada.

Sunday, September 3, 1939

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Measures for defence of Canada

Appeal to unite in national effort.

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TWENTY YEARS OF LIBERAL LEADERSHIP

Speech by

The Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada

(Delivered at the Royal York Hotel, Toronto, August 8, 1939)

A Tribute to Liberalism

A Word of Personal Thanks

The Influence of Other Lives

William Lyon Mackenzie

Sir Wilfrid Laurier

Precepts for Public Life

Home Influences and Friends

Sir William Mulock

Others to be Remembered

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A Nation-wide Party an Essential of National Unity

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Statements by
Right Hon. W.L.Mackenzie King

I. House of Commons, March 20, 1939
II. House of Commons, March 30, 1939

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The Occupation of Czechoslovakia

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Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

At the Dedication of the Thousand Islands Bridge,
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August 18, 1938:

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Address by
Right Hon.W.L.Mackenzie King

At The Canadian Corps Reunion
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by the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

House of Commons, Ottawa, May 24, 1938

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The Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

at Luncheon given by University of Toronto
at The York Club, Toronto

in Honour of The Honourable Cordell Hull,
Secretary of State of the United States

October 22, 1937:

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A Remarkable Record of Achievement

Strengthening of Ties Between United States and British Commonwealth of Nations

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CROWN and COMMONWEALTH

An Address on the Coronation, the Imperial Conference, and visit to the Continent of Europe

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

Delivered over national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation - Ottawa July 19, 1937:

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Speech by
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

Delivered in House of Commons Friday, February 19th, 1937

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS POLICIES

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

At the 17th Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations
Geneva, September 29, 1936:

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Statement of Canada's Position by:
The Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

House of Commons, Ottawa, June 18, 1936:

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2. "Mr. King replies to Mr. Bennett - September 17th, 1935"
3. "The Liberal Party's Position on some immediate problems".
4. "The Voice of the People".
5. "Twenty Years of Liberal Leadership" - speech by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King.
6. "Blitzkrieg" - by Henry J. Reilly.
7. "Canada and the War " - Parliament and the People
8. " " " " - War Record of the Mackenzie King Administration.
9. " " " " - Canada's War Effort - How Best Promoted.

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MACKENZIE KING

TO THE

CANADIAN PEOPLE

1935

Issued by the National Liberal Federation, Ottawa.

MACKENZIE KING

TO THE

CANADIAN PEOPLE

1935

A reprint of the series of Radio broadcasts delivered by the Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King, Leader of the Liberal party, to the people of Canada.

Printed exactly as delivered except that the titles and the headings between paragraphs have been added.

**Issued by the National Liberal Publicity Committee.
Room 1689, King Edward Hotel, Toronto, Ontario.**

Democracy versus Dictatorship

First radio address, delivered by Mr. Mackenzie King from Ottawa on July 31, 1935.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—

During the next few weeks, you will be hearing a great deal about the political issues of the day. In the press, from the platform, over the radio, you will be told what the different political parties are prepared to do for you, and for our country. You will be given many reasons why one party rather than another merits your support. Appeals will be made from every conceivable point of view; some to your intelligence, many to your prejudices, more to your sentiments and feelings. There are large and fundamental issues to be discussed, but there is a danger of the importance of these being lost to sight through much that may be said of what, in the shortest time, and with least effort, or cost, on your own part, is certain to remedy existing ills, and bring about, for all, an immediate condition of prosperity, plenty and peace.

It is for this reason that I have thought it well, before the voices become too many, the conflict too strenuous, and the confusion too great, to say over the radio, to you, my fellow citizens in all parts of Canada, a few things which I believe it will be in our interests, and in the interests of our country, for you to keep constantly in mind, and to have in mind especially on the day of polling when, by your votes, you determine how and by whom,

not for today only, nor for the coming year, but for the next five years, our country is to be governed.

You have had one experience of being deceived by promises at a general election. Are you prepared to risk another? You have seen how long a period of time five years is; what opportunity it affords a ministry, if the ministry be so inclined, altogether to ignore, and even to defy, your clearly expressed will, and your most evident wishes. You have reason to know how all important, in the administration of a nation's affairs, are a right attitude and sound policies. You have seen how a wrong attitude has made for bitterness of feeling, for unrest and discontent, for friction between governments, and for a divided Canada. You have seen, too, how wrong policies, despite vast expenditures of public monies, have only served to increase debt and taxation, to augment unemployment, and to prolong depression. Are you going to risk more in the way of bitterness, of unrest, of discontent, of conflict between governments? Are you prepared to take chances on policies which, over a period of another five years, will mean bankruptcy for yourself and the country, more in the way of unemployment, and further prolonged depression? These are questions you do well to ask yourselves, with respect, not only to a government which long since has lost the confidence of the electorate in all parts of Canada, and is now, shamefacedly, about to appeal to you for a renewal of your confidence; but also with respect to what is being promised and proposed by untried and newly created political parties.

Need a Substantial Political Party

Let me pause to say a word about political parties. To listen to what some people are saying, one would be-

lieve that there is something sinister, if not fundamentally wrong, about a political party as such. To see how absurd this is, one has only to ask oneself, what means is possible, other than the agency of a political party, for men and women who feel and think alike on great social, economic and political questions, to gain expression in legislation and administration for aims and ideals which they share in common. A political party is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end. It is the means whereby men and women, who hold similar views, are enabled so to augment and to consolidate their numbers as to gain a majority over all opposing forces. They thereby secure the power necessary to give effect to their views in matters of government. Even Mr. Woodsworth and Mr. Stevens, who seek to create a prejudice in your minds against what they speak of as the "two old political parties," have found it necessary, in order to further the aims they have in view, to organize political parties of their own. Are their aims any the less genuine because they are being championed by a political party? Would these parties be any the less worthy of support if, in addition to their names, they had great traditions, and had fought from generation to generation for the ends they profess to be seeking to serve? You will do well, especially where there is a tendency to tear up everything by the roots, and to get aboard the last carry-all that comes along, to see that the vehicle to which, for the next five years, you intend to trust your individual fortunes, and the political and economic life of our country, is made of something more substantial than the banners pinned to its sides, and the volume of sound its musicians are capable of producing.

In Canada, we have long had the two parties known

as Conservative and Liberal. The control of government, ever since Confederation, has been almost exclusively under the one or the other. Of third parties, however, our country has also had its share. It is interesting to note how these parties have appeared, from time to time, under different names. In the general elections of 1896 for example, there were, in addition to the Conservative and Liberal parties, the political party known as the Patrons of Industry, and as well, the Equal Rights party. In 1921, there was the Progressive party. There also have been the United Farmers party in Ontario and in Alberta, and the Independent Labour party. Now we have, in addition to these, the political party which styles itself the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, better known by its initials as the C.C.F., and, most recent of all, the new Reconstruction Party.

Third Parties Always Disappear

Let me explain just how it is that we happen to have two old political parties which tend to perpetuate themselves from year to year, and from generation to generation. Also, why third parties have sprung into being from time to time, and, as regularly, have disappeared. It will help you, not only to distinguish between the old and the new, but to judge the more accurately as to which of these parties is likely to be in the best position to further your own interests and the interests of the country.

Never forget that your interests and those of the country are inseparably bound together.

Broadly speaking, men and women are likely to be either conservative- or liberal-minded. That is the fundamental reason why, whatever other parties there may

be, issues in general elections have, in the main, been fought out between two major political parties—the one, Conservative; the other, Liberal.

Whether naturally inclined toward conservative or liberal views, or, for that matter, strongly reactionary or radical in tendency, those who have been really anxious that their views should be made to prevail, have found that their influence was certain to be the greater if exercised, at times of elections, and between elections, within the ranks of either the Conservative or Liberal parties, rather than if given in support of a third party. They have seen that, in a country the size of Canada, composed as Canada is of men and women of different racial origins, professing different faiths, following different occupations, and with varied economic interests, that no one race, or creed, or class, or interest can hope to have it all its own way. They have seen that it is only by co-operation between men and women of all classes, and in all parts of the country, in the broad general aims and policies which they hold more or less in common, and by the avoidance of sectional and class interests, that national progress can be assured, and national unity maintained. Surely these are the best of reasons why political parties, representative respectively of conservative and liberal opinion, should seek to perpetuate themselves and enjoy a continuous existence.

Just as the great rivers of our lands, as they pursue their onward flow, expand their surfaces, and deepen their channels, and thereby become capable of bearing larger burdens, so a political party becomes capable of undertaking larger and mightier tasks, as, in its onward course, it continues to be fed by new and fresh streams of

thought, and influence, and power; and summons to its aid the vision and enthusiasm of youth, and the experience and wisdom which years alone can bring.

Conservative Years of Depression

It will be found that, for the most part, third parties owe their origin to one or other of two causes. They are bred of hard times, or of quarrels. They are the offspring of long continued and widespread depression; or of dissatisfaction, real or feigned, by members of some existing political party with its leadership or policies. It is seldom that third parties are not used to further the special interest or ambition of some individual, organization or class. They become identified with some particular "ism" or panacea, and with a part, rather than with the whole, of the country. Their numbers seldom become sufficiently large to give them any hope of ultimate triumph at the polls. One of the effects of third parties in general elections, invariably is to draw a number of persons from one or other of the major political parties. This number, while insufficient to elect its own candidates, is frequently just sufficient to permit of the return to Parliament, by a minority of votes, of candidates of the political party to which they themselves are most strongly opposed. In this way they help to defeat the very objectives they have in view.

I should like to draw your attention to another fact which is not without special significance at the present time. Third parties, in Canada, have invariably had their rise during years of Conservative administration. These have been years of depression, due, in large part, to reactionary policies. Years, moreover, in which dis-

content has been augmented by the administration hanging on to office long after it was abundantly apparent that it no longer enjoyed the confidence of the electorate.

As Conservative administrations have given place to Liberal administrations, the country, through the substitution of Liberal for Conservative policies, has been brought out of depression into prosperity. With returning prosperity, discontent has vanished, and with it the third parties, which discontent had helped to bring into being. This was the case after the return of the Liberal party to power in 1896. The Tories that year, amid depression, had clung to office till the last minute. The country was lifted by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his government out of the depression in which it had been for years, into an era of unparalleled prosperity. With returning prosperity, little more was heard of either the Patrons of Industry, or of the Equal Rights party. To many, their names are scarcely known today.

Liberal Period of Prosperity

The same was true in 1921. The Tory party had carried on government, under Mr. Meighen, long after the Union Government, formed by Sir Robert Borden during the war, and for war purposes only, had ceased to exist. It was during the period of the war, when the Conservative government was in office that the Progressive party had its birth. It gained in numbers and strength in the year which witnessed the formation of the Union government, and, more particularly, in the years of Tory administration which followed, and which witnessed another period of depression. Once again, between 1921 and 1930, a Liberal administration brought

the country out of its depression into a period of prosperity, greater than any it had previously known. During this period, Liberal policies served to effect in substantial measure a union of Liberal and Progressive forces, alike in Parliament and in the country.

Today, history is once more repeating itself. We have in the field as third parties seeking nation-wide recognition, not the Progressive party, or other of the third parties of previous general elections, but the C.C.F. and the Reconstruction party. Each of these parties has come into being under Tory administration since Mr. Bennett assumed office. Each is a product of the depressio and discontent, which Tory policies have served to aggravate and prolong. My hope and expectation is that history will continue to reveal the sequence with which we are already familiar. With the return of a Liberal administration to office, and the adoption of Liberal policies, carried out on broad and generous lines, and with more concern for human relations, than for the methods of big business, and of high finance, and of high pressure salesmanship, there is no reason why this period of depression should not be followed by a new era of prosperity; and why the unrest and discontent, which have brought these third parties into being, and to which they owe their existence, should not also disappear.

Let me draw your attention to what happens where candidates of third parties are returned to Parliament. It is important you should clearly understand this, if you expect the next Parliament to be able properly to function on your behalf, and to be equal to the great tasks by which it will be confronted. Where, in the House of Commons, the elected representatives of third parties have not, sooner or later, come to join up with the mem-

bers of the parties from which they originally sprang, they have invariably formed themselves into a group or groups, aloof from both the government and the opposition. They have not constituted themselves a party with any real sense of obligation or responsibility. In this irresponsible position, they have sought to hold a so-called balance of power. Indeed, this is exactly what is put forward by many as the end at which a third party should aim; a measure of power, with no measure of responsibility. But that is not, by any means the worst feature. If members of third parties remained a group or groups, championing definite principles and policies, the situation might not be so difficult for a government to handle. They tend, however, to become, not so much a group, or even groups, of known mind and purpose, but an aggregation with as many minds and purposes as there are individuals.

Need a Government with Confidence

There may be times when it may make little difference to a country whether its Parliament contains groups which sit, as it were on a political teeter-totter, and enjoy the game of see-saw, giving their support to the government or witholding it from the government, often without apparent rhyme or reason. Such, however, is not the situation in Canada today. You cannot reconstruct on quicksand, any more than you can lean upon a broken reed. Any uncertainty with respect to the authority and power of the goverment which is to conduct the affairs of Canada during the next five years, will render impossible the fulfillment of the policies necessary to bring Canada out of the depression in which she has laboured for so

long, and will seriously militate against the accomplishment of the most necessary reforms. I want to say to my fellow-countrymen, very earnestly, that the times through which we are passing are of such a nature that no government, except it be a government enjoying the most complete confidence of the people of Canada, can hope to meet the needs of the present, or be equal to the grave situations by which, in any month or year, Canada may be confronted as a result of conditions at home and abroad. Stability and an unmistakable majority are more essential than ever.

Perhaps I may be permitted to speak as one who has had some experience in the administration of public affairs. In a period of approximately nine years, between 1921 and 1930, at which time I held the office of Prime Minister of Canada, there were at least five years during which, time and again, I saw the government thwarted in its intentions and efforts because of a majority in the House of Commons insufficient to enable it to bring in, with any certainty of their enactment, measures which otherwise would have been introduced. I saw the government further thwarted in its enactments by the action of a Senate that was politically hostile, and that rejected measures, which, after the greatest difficulty, had secured their passage through the House of Commons. I need not tell you how overwhelmingly Tory the Senate will be in the next Parliament of Canada. Of this I am perfectly sure, that any party, seeking reconstruction, to say nothing of a complete change of the existing order, or any party espousing liberal principles and policies, which does not receive in the forthcoming elections a majority so overwhelming as to leave no doubt in the minds of anyone as to the will of the people, will not have a ghost of a

chance to see its proposals embodied in legislation. This applies to all policies, whether they relate to unemployment, trade, monetary or social reform, or aught else.

Must Avoid a Tory Dictatorship

If it is desired to give Toryism the chance of its life, and to set up a first-class dictatorship in Canada, all that is now required is to supplement the Tory Senate, and the Tory bureaucracy, which has been brought into being in the last five years, with a Tory House of Commons. I ask you to think of what, under such circumstances, will become of individual liberty. If, on the other hand, the existing Tory bureaucracy and Tory Senate, are to be made amenable to public opinion, and liberal measures, by whatever name they may be called, are to have a chance at all, it will only be by the return of a House of Commons which is overwhelmingly Liberal.

This brings me to the most important of all the questions which I should like my fellow-countrymen to ask themselves. This question can be expressed in a single word. It is not a very difficult word, but it is a very old one, and one that is full of significance. That word is "whither." Whither are we tending in Canada today? That question should make its appeal to all who have their homes in this country, and who value freedom, and free institutions. It is a word which, above all, should appeal to the youth of our land, who are facing a future all too unknown and uncertain. It is the question which every mariner asks himself before he begins to cross the seas, and which he asks himself, more than ever, when the seas are rough and the skies are overcast. It is the question which every pioneer has asked himself, as he has blazed

a trail through the forests, and which every prospector has put to himself as he has gone in search of undiscovered wealth. It is the question which every emigrant has asked himself as he has left the shores of some old land to build for himself and his family a home of greater promise and happiness in the new. Our forefathers asked themselves that question, over and over again, not with relation only to their own individual needs, but with regard to the country they had made their chosen lot, and which they hoped would afford to their children opportunities which they themselves were denied.

Self-Government in the Balance

Most of you to whom I am speaking will remember, more vividly than aught else, the years of the Great War, those years of anxiety for all, and of anguish for most. More will remember the years which immediately followed; years of great depression in the early 1920's; years during which a foremost Canadian journal proclaimed from day to day that the "whispers of death" were audible in all parts of the land. An even larger number recall, I trust, the later years of the 1920's; years which witnessed the greatest prosperity which Canada has ever known. In the gloom of the last five years, this brighter day has vanished, but I see no reason why it may not return. Whether it will or not, will depend upon the clearness with which the people of Canada come to see all that lies behind that one word, "whither."

I have spoken of our own country since the days of the war. Let me ask you to think also of what you know to be true of countries outside our own. We in Canada, who belong to the family of British nations, are accustom-

ed to think and speak in terms of self-government, which means a free Parliament and a responsible ministry. It is what our forefathers struggled for, were prepared to sacrifice their lives for, and bequeathed as the greatest heritage it might be possible to leave to their children, and their children's children. They wanted to establish self-government in this land because they loved freedom, and believed that freedom could best be secured under British parliamentary institutions. They had seen these free institutions gradually emerge in the old land after centuries of struggle. To them, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, a free Parliament, were the essentials of liberty.

Throughout the whole of the nineteenth century, the peoples of Europe, too, sought more and more in the way of liberty secured by self-government. None of them succeeded in the art of government as the British peoples did. Self-government has rightly been termed the supreme achievement of British genius. But, without going back beyond the period of our own memories, most of us are able to recall a Germany that was happy and contented and properous, that had its federal Parliament and its state legislatures; and Italy with its free Parliament; even a Russia where a newly constituted Duma spoke of the dawning of British ideals of government.

Hitlerism, Fascism and Bennettism

Then came the war. War, in itself, is the negation of freedom. But, even the Great War did not serve wholly to crush the spirit of freedom as expressed in Europe, and preserved by legislative institutions which were more or less free. Germany and Italy did not forsake their parliaments; neither did their peoples, nor the

peoples of Russia, surrender the ambition of remaining or of becoming democracies. It was not until someone began to preach the doctrine that parliamentary methods were not suited to these times; that the constitution was an obstacle to progress; that shorter and swifter methods were necessary to obtain results, even if they involved sweeping aside parliamentary restraints, and over-riding the constitution, that in Europe,parliaments and democracies alike began to disappear. Have we not all heard this very sort of language from Mr. Bennett, Mr. Woodsworth, and Mr. Stevens?

And what has come in the stead of Parliamentary methods? Hitlerism in Germany, Fascism in Italy, Communism in Russia, and in all, the death of democracy. Is that what we wish to see happen in Canada? If not, you will do well to ask yourselves the question, whither have we been tending in the past five years, and whither are we likely to tend, if some of the doctrines being advocated by more than one of the parties appealing to you today, are given countenance in our land?

For my part, I propose to stand or fall upholding, in all things, the parliamentary method of government. I intend to test all policies and all measures by the simple method of asking, whither they tend? If they tend in the direction of monopoly, if they mean more in the way of compulsion, and, above all, if they are not susceptible of the parliamentary method, and, thereby imply dictatorship, I shall feel that the presumption is overwhelmingly against them.

National Government for Plutocracy

That is why, amongst other changes which are being advocated today, I am opposed to the movement in favour

of a so-called national government, either as desirable at the moment, or as something to be effected in the course of the next Parliament. Rightly understood, I believe national government to be but another form of dictatorship, the most subtle of all, perhaps, because its name and its pretensions are so plausible. I do not doubt the sincerity of many of those who are its advocates, but, with all due respect to those who are not advocating it, as undoubedly some are, from ulterior motives, I do doubt their understanding of government, and of the value of freedom of discussion, of argument, and reason, and persuasion, as being of the very essence of our parliamentary system. Traced to its source—the source that is financing the present movement—it will, I believe, be found that the demand for national government is a last desperate effort on the part of certain persons, enjoying privileges denied to others, to deal with the railways, the tariffs, and taxation, in a manner which will serve to further their own special interests. Under the guise of submerging partisanship, and gaining political unity for public service National Government would seek to do, by a combination of parties, things for which no single party would dare to ask public approval. In plain English, national government, if established at this time, would sacrifice democracy to serve the ends of plutocracy.

In my next two addresses, I shall have more to say of this tendency in the direction of dictatorship and of the effort to silence all those who dare to differ with their neighbours in opinion; more of monopoly, regimentation, and compulsion. I shall set out in such details, as my time will permit, the policies of the Liberal party, and its position with respect to present day problems. My purpose tonight has been to make it clear that, in the opinion of

the Liberal party, the first step towards permanent recovery or reform in Canada must be the decisive repudiation by the Canadian electorate of the tendencies towards dictatorship manifested during the last five years, and an equally decisive repudiation of measures, by whatever party they may be advocated, which tend in the direction of Hitlerism, Fascism, or Communism. In Canada, we want, and we need, none of these. What we want and need, above all else, is an entirely different spirit in all matters of government from the one to which we have been obliged to grow accustomed; not the spirit of the autocrat, at home and abroad, but the spirit of brotherhood, in seeking the solution of our domestic problems, and the spirit of neighbourhood in our relations with other nations. We have been living too much under a reign of terror. Instead of blasting our way, which we have been doing for the past five years, let us pursue our way, doing unto others as we would have them do unto us. It is a wholly different method, but surely it is the one which, above all others, will best answer our own and the world's need.

Principles and Policies
versus
Platforms and Promises

The Liberal Party's Position
on
Present Day Problems

Second radio address, delivered by Mr. Mackenzie King from Ottawa on August 2, 1935.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The Libera party does not stand before the electorate in this campaign with an armful of promises, nor upon a platform of assurances, constructed expressly for the purpose of a general election. It believes the public is heartily sick of that kind of thing. What the people want to know, is where a party stands with reference to the all-important problems of the day, what its policies are, what the principles are which underlie these policies, and what grounds there are for believing that, if returned to power, a party will be able to carry out its policies.

I should like, with respect to the Liberal party, to deal with the last of these points first; namely, the reason why the Liberal party believes that, if returned to power, it will be able to give effect to its several policies. The fact that there are four different parties,

each appealing for the right to govern, makes it important that, before entrusting any of them with office, you should be fully satisfied that the one of your choice is not only willing, but is in a position to carry out what it professes it will do. The mere assumption of office by a political party is no guarantee that its promises or pledges will be carried out. That has been unmistakably demonstrated during the past five years. Mr. Bennett made promises galore, and was more than emphatic about every one of them. He would end unemployment. He would abolish doles. He would blast his way into the markets of the world. Has he accomplished any one of these things? If he has not, he certainly cannot argue that he has not had sufficient majority behind him in the Commons and has not had a majority in the Senate which has steadily increased. His failure is obviously due to the fact that his policies were at fault, and that no government on earth could have carried out the promises he made.

Mere power, even absolute power, on the part of a political leader, is no guarantee that what he says he will do, will be carried out. Even the absence of opposition to widely heralded measures of social reform, is no guarantee that, as introduced, or when enacted, they will be of any account. Mr. Bennett's so-called "New Deal" has made all this abundantly clear. Something more than promises, professions, and platforms is needed to enable a political leader to give effect to important measures and policies. The party, as a whole, must be whole-heartedly behind them. Policies and measures must have been brought into being as the result of much in the way of consideration and conference. They must be suited to the country as a whole. They must, from time to time, have received the party's endorsation, through organiza-

tions representative of all classes and in all parts of the country; they must have the cordial support of the party's members in the country, and of its representatives in Parliament; and they must have public opinion behind them.

Bennett a One-Man Government

Until Mr. Bennett, without prior consultation with members of the Conservative party, took it into his own hands to say what the party would do, what its program was to be, as he did, so largely, in the general elections of 1930, and, so completely, in his radio broadcasts in January last, no political leader in Canada had ever so much as thought of doing a thing of the kind. Sir John A. Macdonald never did it. Sir Wilfred Laurier never did it. It has never been done in Great Britain. On the continent of Europe it is done, it is true: by Mussolini, in Italy; by Hitler, in Germany; by Stalin, in Russia. The Leader in those countries has become everything; everybody else is of little or no account. He must be featured to the exclusion of everyone else; political propaganda must give favorable significance to his every utterance; no opinion contrary to his is to be tolerated.

But do we want that sort of thing in Canada? And will it succeed in this country? Never forget that, in Italy, in Germany, in Russia, it has all been brought about in the name of social reform; but at the price of political freedom. It means the end of self-government, of democratic government, of government by parliament, of government even by cabinet. I think that, perhaps, in Canada, we already have had enough of one-man government.

As the leader of the Liberal party, it has not been necessary for me to frame the party's policies. That

work has been done by the party itself. Nor have I thought it necessary or proper to draft a supplementary manifesto suited specially to the campaign, and thrust it upon the rank and file of the party. Such a course reverses what, until recently, in Canada, has been the natural order of things, whereby the party, in association with its leader, and not the leader on his own, determines its policies. In this respect, the position of the Liberal party differs materially from that of the Conservative party, under Mr. Bennett, and of the Reconstruction party under Mr. Stevens.

Tory Make-believe Platform

It is an open secret that the so-called program of social reform, announced by Mr. Bennett in his five radio broadcasts at the beginning of the year, and since distributed, almost as widely, in printed form, was not the work of representatives of the party assembled in convention, or of a national federation, nor the work of the representatives of the Conservative party in Parliament, or even of Mr. Bennett and his colleagues in the Cabinet, but that it was formulated by Mr. Bennett himself, with the assistance of one or two intimate associates, neither of them members of the Cabinet or of Parliament. More than that, it is a fact that, until heard over the radio, or read by them in the press, members of Mr. Bennett's own Cabinet, and all of his following in the House of Commons, had little or no knowledge either of his intention to announce such a program, or of the nature of it. Under compulsion of obeying the will of the leader, or suffering the consequences; and at the risk of dismemberment of the party,

and of irreparable cleavage in its ranks at the moment of a general election, all and sundry were obliged to fall into line, and to make the best of policies with which many of them had no sympathy whatever, and which none of them had previously endorsed.

Is it any wonder that, when it came to the enactment of the measures that were forecast with such gusto over the radio, where there was no opportunity of party discussion or dissension, the validity of some of them was at once quetioned, not by the members of the Opposition alone, but by members of the Government itself? Is it any wonder that important provisions in government measures, which passed the House of Commons, were rejected by the government's own following in the Senate, with no one more active in the eliminating process than Mr. Meighen, the Leader of the Senate, himself a member of the government, and a former leader of the Conservative party? Is it any wonder that the whole program, so far as contributing aught to an immediate solution of the pressing problem of unemployment, was, from the beginning, and has since been shown to be, a mere make-believe affair?

Stevens Gets His Policy with Scissors

And what of Mr. Stevens and his Reconstruction party? Was there not something absolutely ludicrous about the announcement, made on a Sunday not four weeks ago, that Mr. Stevens had decided to form a party, that the public would be informed, later on, what the name of the party would be, and, still later, what its policies would be? Usually it is the party which chooses the leader and determines its policies; not the leader

who creates both the party and the policies. For days, the country was kept in a state of suspense, as Mr. Stevens, with scissors and paste in hand, was kept busy going through all the political programs and platforms he could collect, and, piecing them together, with as many excerpts from the report of the Price Spreads Commission, and as many platitudes of his own, as could be included in a document that would not be too long for publication. This document, too, we are told, is being given very wide circulation. But what guarantee is there that, if everyone in Canada receives a copy, he is going to be any better off?

As I speak to you over the radio, I have before me a statement of the Liberal party's position on some immediate problems. This statement was issued by the National Liberal Federation of Canada two and a half years ago. It sets forth the policies of the Liberal party as I was authorized to present them to the House of Commons by every Liberal member in the House, and, indeed, by the unanimous approval, in party caucus, of the Liberal members of both Houses of Parliament. I made it clear, when presenting the statement to Parliament, that it was not intended by the party to be all-inclusive; that there were other matters, than those referred to, as, for example, the party's attitude toward war veterans, towards the aged, and the blind; matters pertaining to health and housing; and such subjects as the Civil Service and reform of penitentiary administration; the granting of titles; and many more, all of which would have to be mentioned, if every important question was to be taken into account. I added that, on most of the matters not referred to in the statement, the party's position had already been made clear, either at the time of the general elections of 1930, or since, upon resolutions, or by

speeches of leading members of the party in parliament. Allowing for all this, you will, I think, be surprised at how up-to-date, and inclusive of most matters of immediate concern, the statement is. Viewed as a whole, you will find, I believe, that the policies set forth constitute a sound basis for the reconstruction of the national life of our Dominion.

Conditions Steadily Worse under Bennett

As I read from the statement of the party's position which is before me, there are four important relevant features which I should like you to keep in mind. The first is, the time at which it was given publicity in Parliament; the second is, the circumstances which called it into being at that particular time; the third is, the authority which lies behind the statement; the fourth is the approval which the policies therein set forth have already received from the electors themselves.

A word as to the time. This statement of the party's position and policies, as I have already mentioned, was made in the House of Commons on February 27th, 1933. You will observe that it was just a little over two and a half years after the present government assumed office, and is a little less than two and a half years ago.

Now a word as to the circumstances which called the statement into being. No one will deny that, from the moment he assumed office, Mr. Bennett was afforded every latitude by way of putting his own policies, and those of the party, into force. He called a special session to deal with unemployment in the autumn of 1930. He did as he pleased at that session. He attended an Imperial Conference in London a little later in the same

year. Not an obstacle was put in his path by any one in Canada. At the session of 1931 and 1932, every government measure that was introduced passed both Houses of Parliament, with nothing in the way of prolonged criticism or obstruction, save as respects the arbitrary and autocratic powers sought under relief legislation. To save the Prime Minister from possible embarrassment, and to permit him the freest hand in negotiation, the Liberal party refrained almost completely from any discussion of public issues immediately prior to and during the meetings of the Imperial Conference in Ottawa in the summer of 1932. When, however, it became apparent, thereafter, that conditions, instead of improving, were becoming steadily worse, and it was evident that the government's policies, combined with the Prime Minister's methods, were the main contributory cause, the Liberal members of parliament decided that it was necessary and desirable to reduce to writing, in the fewest possible words, a statement of the Liberal party's position, based upon the party's policies as repeatedly enunciated by the Opposition in parliament, and the soundness of which had become increasingly apparent from year to year.

Liberal Platform Unanimously Endorsed

Now, as to the authority which lies behind this statement of Liberal policy, and which constitutes the surest of all guarantees that, if the Liberal party is returned to power, the country may expect to see the party's undertakings carried out. As I have said, the policies, speaking generally, are those which the Liberal members of the House of Commons have been consistently

advocating during the past five years. They have received the unanimous approval of the parliamentary party; but they have also received approval and endorsation by the party generally throughout the country. The National Liberal Federation, which was organized in 1931, was founded for the express purpose of serving to unite in political effort, and of bringing together in annual meeting, the representatives of all Liberal Organizations, associations, and clubs throughout the Dominion. Its meetings have been attended by representatives of the provincial Liberal organizations in all the provinces of Canada, by representatives of the National Federation of Liberal Women of Canada, the Twentieth Century Liberal Clubs, and similar bodies. At each of the annual meetings of the National Liberal Federation held since this statement was published, the party's position as therein set forth has been endorsed unanimously. It has been similarly endorsed by local Liberal organizations throughout Canada at their individual meetings. In 1933, a Liberal Summer Conference was held at Port Hope, and the several policies enunciated were made a subject of special investigation, instruction, and study.

In these ways, men and women, old and young, from all parts of Canada, and representative of all shades of Liberal thought and opinion, have been brought together, and are today united on a set of principles and policies, toward which all have made their contribution, and to the promotion of which all are prepared to give their utmost endeavour. We are not only a united party, with traditions and a past in which we all share a pride, but we are a happy party as well, rejoicing that, in the face of the most severe and prolonged economic crisis our country has known, Canadian Liberalism stands today at the threshold of its greatest opportunity.

Nine By-elections Go Liberal

And now, before I read from the statement in detail, let me give you the reason why, as a party, we have seen no need further to revise our policies, and have every reason to believe that they will meet with overwhelming acceptance at the hands of the Canadian electorate. Since the Ottawa conference in the summer of 1932, there have been ten by-elections in Canada. In all of these, the Liberal policies, embodied in this statement, have been fully presented and discussed in relation to the policies of other parties. How overwhelmingly the electorate has supported our principles and policies, in preference to those of either the government or the C.C.F., is apparent from the victories won by Liberal candidates. Out of the ten by-elections, distributed over all parts of Canada, nine have been won by the Liberals. In the single exception, in which a government candidate was declared elected, he was returned, in a three-cornered contest, by a minority of votes.

In addition to the federal by-elections, the country has witnessed the overwhelming defeat of every provincial Conservative government in Canada, and, thus far, the return to power of Liberal administrations in eight provinces out of the nine. In all of the provincial elections Mr. Bennett's government and its policies were more discussed than anything else. So devastating has been the results of the Liberal victories, and especially the Liberal majorities, that notwithstanding, seven additional vacancies occurred in the House of Commons in the past year, the government, by one device or another, succeeded in preventing further contests. For the same reason, it has resolutely refused to bring on a general

election. It is fortunate, after all, that we have a constitution with some provisions that cannot too readily be set aside. Otherwise, we would have no general election.

I shall now read the statement of the policies of the Liberal party of Canada, as made at the time I have mentioned, and as since published and widely distributed by the National Liberal Federation. It is as follows:

Unemployment of First Concern

The Liberal party believes unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. It would deal with the present emergency conditions through a REPRESENTATIVE NATIONAL COMMISSION, which would co-operate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief, and in an endeavour to provide work for the unemployed.

As permanent measures, the Liberal party is pledged to introduce policies which will serve to provide employment by reviving industry and trade; and to introduce A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

You will recall that it was February, 1933, in which the proposed establishment of a national system of unemployment insurance was set forth in the statement from which I am reading. The policy itself had been advocated by the party for some time previous.

Liberation of External Trade

The Liberal party believes that trade is the basis of industrial and commercial development, and that Canada needs trade.

It will promote TRADE WITH ALL NATIONS and negotiate trade agreements with any countries willing to trade with Canada on a reciprocal basis.

It will abolish the extravagant INCREASES IN THE TARIFF made by the present administration, which have had the effect of strangling trade, exploiting consumers and robbing railways of business.

It will ABOLISH ALL UNWARRANTED EXTRA TAXES on imports, such as the exchange and dumping duties, as imposed by the present administration.

It will end the making and altering of tariffs by executive action.

It will substitute STABILITY FOR UNCERTAINTY in the administration of customs laws.

It will continue the Liberal policy of BRITISH PREFERENCE by a percentage reduction in existing tariffs rather than by a percentage increase against foreign countries in existing tariffs.

It will grant to British imports a real preference.

I cannot stress too strongly the importance the Liberal party attaches to getting rid of prohibitory tariffs, and other restrictions which have been strangling Canada's trade. It believes that upon the development and expansion of our domestic and foreign trade depends the only ultimate solution of the problems of unemployment, railways, debt and taxation, and the establishment of substantial measures of social reform.

Liberation of Internal Trade

The Liberal party will seek to END ARTIFICIAL PRICE CONTROL and agreements in restraint of trade. Price fixing by agreements re-

strict and hamper trade internally. The internal trade of our country has become honeycombed and enmeshed by secret understandings and agreements.

This policy, you will observe, was aimed at the very kind of unfair practices in merchandising and industry which, more than a year later, were publicly disclosed before the Mass Buying and Price Spreads Committee of the House of Commons and the Price Spreads Commission.

Development of Primary Industries

The Liberal party. by its policies, will continue to further the development of agriculture, lumbering, mining and fisheries by effecting REDUCTIONS IN THE COSTS OF PRODUCTION of Canada's basic products and by obtaining WIDER MARKETS therefor, by encouraging export trade, and by state assistance in the marketing of natural products.

This statement should serve effectively to silence those who persist in saying that, because of its objections to certain obnoxious features of the Marketing Act, the Liberal pary is opposed to state assistance, and a legitimate measure of state control, in the marketing of natural products. What the Liberal party objects to in the Marketing Act are provisions which give to the Governor in Council, apart from parliament altogether, power to restrict imports and exports, and to local groups, not representatives of any legislative bodies, power, apart from the approval of parliament, to make binding regulations and to create fines and penalties. As was pointed out in parliament, Mr. Bennett has, under the provisions of the Marketing Act, taken the conduct of foreign trade away from the control of parliament and into his own

hands. There is objection, as well, to other arbitrary and bureaucratic powers which the Act confers, and to provisions which, under a system of licensing and limiting production, place producers wholly at the mercy of those in authority. The party also believes that the compulsory features of the Act, as it stands, are certain to be used to create monopolies in manufacturing, as well as in other branches of industry, and that in this and in other ways the interests of consumers will be seriously prejudiced.

In a word, the Liberal party's attitude towards the Marketing Act is similar to that taken towards the Ottawa Agreements. It is that the Act in certain of its features is in need of revision; and that, if it is to serve the public interest, and not under the guise of assisting agriculture, be made to further the ends of dictatorship, its provisions will necessarily come before parliament for further consideration, should a Liberal administration be returned to power.

Control of Credit

The Liberal party believes that credit is a public matter, not of interest to bankers only, but of direct concern to the average citizen. It stands for the immediate establishment of a properly constituted NATIONAL CENTRAL BANK, to perform the functions of rediscount, and the control of currency issue, considered in terms of public need. A Central Bank is necessary to determine the supply of currency in relation to the domestic, social and industrial requirements of the Canadian people; and also to deal with problems of international commerce and exchange.

As a national central bank has been established, by the present government, since this statement of Liberal policy was issued, I feel it necessary to say here that the Bank of Canada, as established, is far from being the institution contemplated by the Liberal party. The Bank of Canada is, as more than one of our leading economists have said, of the Fascist type. It is a private corporation, with power to control the volume of the country's credit. Let me repeat what I said in parliament, in protesting against the surrender, to a private institution, of the state's control over the nation's currency and credit: "Once a nation parts with the control of its currency and credit, it matters not who makes the nation's laws. Usury, once in control, will wreck any nation. Until the control of the issue of currency and credit is restored to government and recognized as its most conspicuous and sacred responsibility, all talk of the sovereignty of parliament and of democracy is idle and futile." To regain for the nation what has been lost and to secure a properly constituted National Central Bank, will continue to be a first objective of Liberal effort.

Control of Investments

The Liberal party believes the financial mismanagement of industry is largely responsible for many conditions obtaining today.

To prevent exploitation of the public through the sale of watered stocks and worthless securities, it believes AN INVESTMENT CONTROL BOARD should be established, with supervision of issues of securities by companies incorporated under federal charters.

How far short the legislation enacted by the present administration has fallen of what is here proposed, should be apparent to all.

Safeguarding of National Railways

The Liberal party stands for the maintenance of the integrity of the Canadian National Railways as A PUBLICLY OWNED AND PUBLICLY CONTROLLED SERVICE.

This statement of policy will I hope, serve to remove all doubt as to Liberal members of the House of Commons favouring the amalgamation of the railways of Canada under private ownership or control; or, of their countenancing, either at the present time or in the next Parliament, the formation of any national government which may have this end in view.

Democratization of Industry

The Liberal party believes that INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION is the problem of the future. It will seek in industrial relations, as opportunity offers, to give to workers and consumers a larger share in the government of industry.

On the subject of industrial reconstruction, I shall have much to say throughout the campaign.

Restoration of Responsible Government

The Liberal party believes that the present crisis has been made an excuse for the usurpation of the rights of parliament, and the assumption of autocratic powers by the executive. Liberalism stands, as always, for the principle of a FREE PARLIAMENT,

and for the supremacy of parliament. To this end it would repeal the legislation enacted by the present administration, which deprives parliament of its control over expenditures and taxation, and invests the executive with unwarranted arbitrary powers, as for example:

(1) legislation permitting the executive to enact measures by order-in-council for peace, order and good government, and

(2) legislation providing the executive with a "blank cheque" for expenditure of any kind.

What the government alleged to be emergency measures, to aid in the relief of the unemployed, have turned out to be a part of a deliberate policy, directed towards accustoming the public mind to the framework of the Fascist state. We cannot too soon, once more. subject the executive to the control of parliament, if we are longer to have responsible government in Canada.

Re-Assertion of Personal Liberty

The Liberal party believes that under the excuse of the present crisis, the rights of the individual have been violated. Liberalism stands, as always, for the British principle of FREE SPEECH and FREE ASSOCIATION, and to this end will repeal Section 98 of the Criminal Code, and end the present practice of arbitary deportations.

The Liberal party will give no quarter to Communism in Canada. Those who advocate the overthrow, by force, of our existing institutions, are enemies of society, and should be so regarded. This is no reason, however, why every avenue of redress should not be open to those

who have legitimate grievances. Arbitary and autocratic methods are no substitute for British justice.

Electoral Reform

The Liberal party stands for electoral laws which will ensure A TRUE PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION of the Canadian people and such legislation as may help to reduce THE COST OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNS.

A Balanced Budget

The Liberal party believes the aim of every government should be the balancing of its budget.

It would seek to effect that end, by RETRENCHMENT OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURES, by REDUCTION OF PRINCIPAL AND INTEREST ON THE PUBLIC DEBT, by a REDUCTION IN TAXATION, and by INCREASED REVENUES through the encouragement of trade.

It will seek to effect a REDUCTION OF THE COST OF GOVERNMENT in Canada by a careful inquiry into federal, provincial and municipal costs.

The record of Liberal administrations in the reduction of expenditures, taxation, debt and interest, and in transforming deficits into surpluses, is the best guarantee that Liberal policies, if given their opportunity, will be able again to achieve these results.

The statement concludes with the two following all-important declarations of policy:

International Relations

The Liberal party will seek to further, wherever possible, those courses in international relations which make for PEACE AND GOOD-WILL among nations, and promote friendly intercourse between

them. It will seek to further the work of the League of Nations.

More Equitable Distribution of Wealth

The Liberal party recognizes that the problem of distribution has become more important than that of production, and believes that personality is more sacred than property. It will devote itself to finding ways and means of effecting a fair and just distribution of wealth with increasing regard to HUMAN NEEDS, to the furtherance of SOCIAL JUSTICE, and to the promotion of THE COMMON GOOD.

Please remember that what I have just read represents the minimum of united effort to which the Liberal party as a whole is already pledged. The statement, so to speak, represents the complete consensus of agreement already secured.

Throughout the campaign, I shall enlarge upon the policies enunciated in what I have just read; especially those in relation to unemployment, trade, the control of credit, railways, marketing, and social and industrial reform. In my address on Monday evening of next week, I propose to deal more particularly with Canada's most urgent national problem, namely, unemployment, and the methods which, if returned to power, the Liberal party will adopt in seeking to effect its solution.

To night, I hope I have answered, once and for all, the unwarranted and unworthy charge, so often made by our political opponents, that the Liberal party has no policy, and the still more ridiculous allegation that there is no difference between the policies of the two old political parties. There are none so blind as those who will not see, but the eyes of many of the politically blind will open wide when the present campaign is at an end, and the results at the polls are known.

Unemployment–Canada's Most Urgent National Problem

A Statement of Liberal Policy

Third radio address, delivered by Mr. Mackenzie King from Ottawa on August 5, 1935.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—

Tonight I propose to speak to you of the problem of unemployment, and of the methods by which, should it be returned to power, the Liberal party will seek to effect its solution.

You do not need to be told that unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. You were told that by Mr. Bennett at the general election five years ago, when he asked you to return him to power. You gave him your support because he said: "I promise to *end* unemployment": "I propose to provide work for Canadians. Work, I said, not doles": "Canadians do not ask for charity or doles. They want work and wages." Perhaps, too, you will recall that Mr. Bennett said: "Someone is responsible for unemployment; not individuals, but governments"; also, "Is there any excuse for Canada to have hard times, if the government is discharging its duties as it should"; and, again, "There is no excuse for unemployment in Canada, if a government does its duty."

Since Mr. Bennett came into office, you have had even

stronger reason for believing that unemployment is the most urgent of Canada's national problems. Each year, you have seen its menacing shadow creep nearer and nearer your own doors; more and more, you have felt its cruel privations in your homes. Everywhere, today, its terrors stalk abroad in our land. I doubt, however, if even this experience has been sufficient to cause you to realize to what proportions the problem has grown in the years of Mr. Bennett's administration.

Let me give you the figures of the numbers of unemployed and of persons dependent upon relief, so far as it is possible to obtain them from government records. These figures may help you to appreciate why I may be a little more guarded in my language, a little less profuse in my promises, and not quite so ready to guarantee what state action can accomplish, as Mr. Bennett, or Mr. Woodsworth, or Mr. Stevens.

Tried to Conceal the Problem

One thing the government might have done, but which has never been properly done, is to have supplied Parliament and the country with accurate information, year by year, as to the numbers of unemployed and the numbers on relief. There is nothing, even today, in the nature of national registry, notwithstanding that the federal government, provincial governments, and municipalities, have, year by year, for five years past, been paying out millions upon millions of dollars for the purpose of providing employment and relief. The statistical departments of the government have never been given the necessary instructions or authority to collect detailed information. Moreover, this is a work which requires the co-operation of provinces and municipalities under

the direction of some agency that has the supervision of the problem as a whole. Nothing of the kind has ever been established.

There are two explanations. One is, that the government has never appreciated the importance and magnitude of the problem. The other is, that it has not known how to go about its solution. In order to conceal the growing magnitude of the problem, and, at the same time, its own growing incapacity to deal with it, the government either did not seek to obtain information which, at all times, should have been available to the people's representatives in Parliament, or it deliberately withheld such information as it had from them.

If you wish to know on what authority I base these statements, I refer you to the Speeches from the Throne, with which the Governor General has opened and closed the several sessions of Parliament. There is hardly one of them in which His Excellency has not been made to say that conditions were improving, that unemployment was diminishing, and that prosperity was returning. All the while, the facts pointed to the exact contrary.

The government's failure to view the problem in its proper perspective, or to recognize the magnitude of the task before it, is also demonstrated by the many false steps it has taken from the outset, and the absence of any consistent and constructive policy. Its only policy has been one of makeshift, and temporary alleviation. It has changed from session to session, and from season to season.

Unemployment Quadruples under Bennett

In introducing his measures "to end unemployment" at the special session of 1930, Mr. Bennett himself estimated that, at that time, there were 117,000 unemployed.

This, it is reasonable to assume, was an outside estimate. It was intended to disclose the magnitude of the problem. At the time of the census of 1931, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics reported that there were 393,000 wage earners out of work. In the absence of official figures, I gave, in the House of Commons, in January 1934, as a very conservative estimate of unemployed, the round figure of half a million. This estimate was not corrected or contradicted by the government. Taking the latest figures on employment supplied by the Bureau of Statistics, it can be shown that, on the most conservative basis, there are today over 400,000 wage-earners out of work. If we go by the estimates of social workers, labour organizations, and labour leaders, we shall not be far out if we place the number of unemployed at approximately half a million. To avoid the possibility of any exaggeration, I shall leave the total at over 400,000. It is at least within the mark to say that the number of unemployed in Canada today is four times what it was when the Bennett government assumed office.

I have been speaking only of the unemployed. I have said nothing of the numbers on relief. You must be careful to distinguish between the two. Fortunately, it does not follow that, because men and women are unemployed they go automatically upon relief. Similarly, it must not be supposed that, because men and women are employed for a part of the time, sooner or later, they may not find it necessary to accept relief for themselves and for those dependent upon them for support. Figures on direct relief are available from May 1932 to May of this year. These figures, which include dependents and those receiving partial and part-time relief, reveal a startling increase, from year to year, of persons who have been compelled to receive state assistance. In May 1932,

there were 597,000 who, in this manner, received direct relief. In May of this year there were 1,272,000.

The statistics I have given reveal something of the extent of Mr. Bennett's failure to redeem his promises to end unemployment and to abolish the dole. They are, however, far from revealing the true picture. It is not with statistics, but with human lives, that we are concerned. You cannot measure fear, privation, and want, by any yardstick, or adding machine. Who will venture to estimate what the enforced idleness of hundreds of thousands of human beings, and the enforced acceptance of relief from the state by a very much larger number, over a period of two, three, four, and, for some, five years, has meant in the way of physical suffering, of mental anxiety, and of human anguish to lives and homes of which there is no record whatever? Who will venture to estimate what the effect of all this may be upon the health and morale of the nation? Is it any wonder that today there is widespread unrest and discontent throughout the land, and that, in the case of young and old alike, many are in a condition of despair.

Rural Families Face a Problem

But even this is only a segment of the circle. In focusing attention upon problems of relief and unemployment as they exist in cities and towns, where agencies of publicity are constantly at work, we are too apt to forget the terrifying problems with which men and women and children, in rural and isolated communities, are faced. The farmer is as dependent for the support of himself and his family upon his crop and other products, as the

wage earner is upon the employment he may be able to secure. Where crops fail, or are destroyed by pest, or rust, or hail, or drought, or where livestock perish through disease or lack of sufficient nourishment, there is a situation often more appalling than any which confronts the city dweller. The condition is only one degree less hazardous or baffling where, for want of markets, crops must be destroyed or cattle slaughtered.

Let us never forget that the problem of privation on the plains is as important as that of privation in the cities and towns. They are the two sides of one and the same problem; the plight of the nation as a whole. To be dealt with successfully, they must be viewed as one.

The rising tide of urban unemployment and of rural distress, has been accompanied by a rising tide of government expenditure. From the time Mr. Bennett's government came into office, until the 31st of March of this year, the federal government had spent, as its share of relief expenditures, the sum of $160,000,000. In addition, similar vast amounts have been spent by the provinces and municipalities. In the same period, the government loaned to the provinces and to corporations, under relief legislation, the sum of $82,000,000, and guaranteed loans to the extent of $66,000,000. This does not include any estimate of the additional amount guaranteed in connection with the government's wheat operations. Apart from the guarantees on this account, Mr. Bennett's administration had incurred, for relief purposes, by the end of our last fiscal year, a total financial responsibility of $308,000,000. This amount is more than the complete annual expenditure of the Dominion of Canada in any year since Confederation, up to the third year of the Great War.

Youths Are Sent to The Camps

And what, as a result of all this, is the present situation? At the end of five years of mounting and colossal expenditures, the numbers of the unemployed are at least four times what they were in September 1930, and relief is demanded on as great a scale as ever. We find, in addition, young, homeless, unemployed men congregated by thousands in camps administered by the Department of National Defence. We have seen these young men become inflammable material in the hands of unscrupulous agitators; and the camps themselves become, as was inevitable, breeding grounds for communism and defeatism. The country has witnessed strikes in relief camps in all parts of Canada. It has seen relief strikers and unemployed trekking into cities already overcrowded with men out of work, and hunger marchers converging from the provinces upon the capital, as a means of indicating the source of responsibility and redress.

But, more than all this, the ruthless manner in which, in some particulars, the situation has been handled, has led to riot, serious injury, and loss of life. The irony of the situation must be apparent to all, when it is recalled that it was at Regina, in the general elections of 1930, that Mr. Bennett, seeking to arouse the passions of the unemployed, and to prejudice their minds against the government which was then in office, used the words: "Nine years of wasted effort before the great betrayal; it did not take Judas that long." It was in the same city that, from the public platform, Mr. Bennett said: "I meet men wearing the white buttons, and all they ask for is the chance to work. Think what it is to have a wife and children, and all you men ask is a chance for employment." It was also in Regina that, for political purposes,

the unemployed were first banded together, and supplied with white buttons, and organized to interrupt political meetings. The ancient Greeks had a clear understanding of human nature and behaviour, and of inevitable sequences, when they accorded Nemesis the place they did in most of their tragedies.

To cope with the nation-wide situation, the Liberal party proposes, if returned to power, to adopt the policies which it has consistently advocated, and which are set forth in the paragraph that appears as the first item in the statement of the party's position, which I read to you on Friday evening last. Let me read that paragraph to you again. You will recall that the statement was first given publicity after it was made in the House of Commons on February 27, 1933. The paragraph is as follows:

Unemployment of First Concern

> The Liberal party believes unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. It would deal with the present emergency conditions through A REPRESENTATIVE NATIONAL COMMISSION, which would co-operate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief and in an endeavour to provide work for the unemployed.
>
> As permanent measures, the Liberal party is pledged to introduce policies which will serve to provide employment by reviving industry and trade; and to introduce A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

You will see, from what I have read, that the Liberal party recognizes that a solution of the unemployment problem must be sought in two directions. Long range

policies and permanent measures must be instituted which, through a revival of trade and industry, will serve to bring about a measure of prosperity. This, of itself, by providing employment, will more effectively than anything else reduce unemployment.

It must be clear that expenditures for purposes of relief, or for providing employment at the instance of the state, cannot be continued indefinitely. Only by removing the restrictions which have throttled and strangled the movement of goods into and out of the country, and through persistent and persuasive endeavour to regain markets, which have been closed against us, and to discover new markets, can there come a revival of trade and business, and the return of work for the men and women of our land.

Confidence in the institutions of government, certainty and stability in the administration of public business, are also essential to recovery. Release from, rather than increase in the burden of the cost of government, reductions, rather than increases, in taxation; co-operation and good-will between the federal and provincial administrations, and between all parts and classes of the country, must also be achieved, if commerce and industry are to revive.

Time, however, is required to give effect to long-range policies and measures. Something additional is, therefore, required to meet conditions of unemployment and distress which long since have constituted a national emergency. This situation the Liberal party proposes to meet by regarding the problem of unemployment, as it has endeavoured to have the present government regard it, as Canada's most urgent national problem, and will deal with it as such.

National Unemployment Commission

You will recall that, during the war, there was established, under Act of the federal Parliament, what was known as the Canadian Patriotic Fund. Its purpose was to provide relief allowances for the needs of dependent wives and families of soldiers overseas. The affairs of the Fund were administered by a national executive committee, which included many of the outstanding citizens of Canada. This committee co-oprated with provincial and local organizations. Much of the work was done by voluntary workers. A close supervision was made of all expenditures. Some fifty million dollars were raised and expended, every cent of which was audited under the supervision of the Auditor General of Canada.

You will also remember that, when the war was over, there was created the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, expressly for the purpose of assisting in finding suitable employment for those who, due to war service, had lost their civil occupations, or, had not yet entered upon their life's callings.

The Liberal party had both these agencies, nation-wide in their scope, very much in mind when it urged that the existing emergency conditions of unemployment be dealt with through a representative national commission, which would co-operate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief, and in an endeavour to provide work for the unemployed.

Who, with a knowledge of what was accomplished in the years of war, and in the years of strain and stress which immediately followed, will venture to say that a government with vision and determination will not be able to effect, in times of peace, a nation-wide co-operative effort equal to any previously achieved? Is war necessary to rouse the nation's will and spirit? Does patriotism exist only in times of war? Are privations and sufferings, the loss of occupation, the inability to secure employment, not just as great, where they arise from economic causes in our own country, as where they are due to strife in some other quarter of the globe? Is not the present and the future of our country, the well-being of its youth, the fears and privations of those who bear the burdens of industry, and the anxieties of the aged, quite as much a matter of national concern as the ambitions of other nations, and the conflicts to which they give rise?

In dealing with great national problems, it is necessary to remember that emergent conditions seldom present exact parallels. Because it has before it the examples of the National Patriotic Fund, and the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, the Liberal party would not wish to have it understood that the commission it proposes will necessarily be modelled on that of either the one or the other. Its functions will include much that is found in both, but they will have to be adapted to the existing situation.

Liberals Would Get Provincial Co-operation

There will necessarily be two main divisions in the commission's work. The one will have to do with the administration of unemployment relief. The other will have to do with the endeavour to provide work for the unemployed. Under the guidance and direction of the commission, steps will be taken to mobilize the agencies for relief, both state and voluntary, and so to co-ordinate their work as to avoid over-lapping, relief rackets and abuses, and to secure a proper supervision and auditing of the

expenditure of all monies. Similarly, in the endeavour to provide employment, effort will be made to mobilize and co-ordinate the activities of agencies prepared to lend their good offices in providing work. The services of all departments of the federal government will be made available to the commission in any and all phases of its work. The Liberal party has no reason to doubt that the service of all departments of provincial governments will be equally available. A guarantee of provincial co-operation is to be found in the fact that, save in one province, out of nine, Liberal governments are already in office.

Perhaps this will make its appeal to the advocates of national government. At the moment, they are embarrassed in directing their energies to practical ends, through being unable to say what the national government's policies are to be, and in not having a leader, or knowing just where one is to be found. The national government party, thus far, has only a name. Mr. Stevens has done better than that.

Would it be possible to conceive a finer example of the kind of national government necessary to cope with social and industrial problems, which depend for their solution so completely on the co-operation of federal and provincial governments, than would be afforded by a Liberal government at Ottawa, and Liberal governments in all the provinces of Canada? It would seem that this is the kind of national government which the people of Canada really want; a government, in the Dominion and provinces alike, that will be able to give expression to the will of the people as unmistakably expressed at the polls.

Perhaps Mr. Woodsworth and members of the C.C.F. will be equally moved to see how constitutional difficulties, which stand in the way of industrial and social reform,

may be removed, and any necessary amendments to the B.N.A. Act secured, through governmental co-operation of this character. They profess that the aim of their party is the establishment of a Co-operative Commonwealth. Where could they find anything more closely resembling such an ideal, that in having all governments of the one mind?

Words No Substitute for Wages

Even Mr. Bennett, seeing that he has begun to wear the garments of reform, should see the wisdom of having his following also give us support. I confess, however, I have less hope of him than of any one else.

The Liberal party has made it abundantly clear in Parliament that that there is no issue between Mr. Bennett and ourselves on the need for social reform. There is, however, a very marked and significant difference between us in the methods by which we would seek reform. There is also a clear-cut and fundamental difference in relation to the vital question of economic recovery.

Mr. Bennett must know by now that no broad scheme of social reform can be carried through successfully in Canada without close co-operation between the Dominion and the provinces; and that, to ignore the provinces, or deliberately to invade their constitutional rights, is a dangerous assault upon the very foundations of our national life. Moreover, he surely is coming to see that words are no substitute for work and wages. The trouble with Mr. Bennett's social reform program is that Mr. Bennett has not distinguished between reform and recovery. He has said that recovery must certainly follow social reform. The situation is precisely the opposite. Economic recovery is essential to social reform. It is the one and

only sure foundation for the successful establishment and continuous operation of social services. A house is not built from the top down. It is constructed from the ground up. The foundations must be well and truly laid, or the whole edifice will crumble. To seek to erect an ambitious program of social services upon a stationary or diminishing national income, is like building a house upon the sands.

Returning to the immediate problem, namely, that of providing employment, let me say, at once, that whatever work it may be necessary for the state to provide should be of a kind which will be of service to the state as a whole. For what it pays out, the state should receive an adequate return. The work should also be of a character to give those thus employed pride in the work itself, and cause to feel that they are in the truest possible sense serving the state in helping to perform services and creating facilities of national importance.

Work and National Improvements

The program to which a national commission would be asked, by a Liberal government, especially to direct its attention, with a view to ensuring co-operative effort, would include necessary projects already commenced or previously undertaken, such as: essential public works, buildings, and municipal improvements; the extension and improvement of highways, and the elimination of level crossings; the provision of air-way facilities and ground services; large-scale schemes of afforestation, aimed, amongst other things, at preventing those conditions of drought and soil drifting which follow upon the absence or wholesale destruction of tree life. Equally important is the preservation, in more ways than one, of what we

now have of natural beauty itself, and also of forest wealth.

I believe the country would welcome, above all else, a comprehensive scheme of urban and rural improvements. Such a scheme would appropriately include the clearance of slum areas, housing programs, the painting and repair of buildings and fences, both in the cities and the country; and, of scenic development, which would serve to make of Canada a country second to none for tourists, and to afford to the people as a whole fuller opportunities of recreation and the enjoyment of natural beauty. Indeed, all projects might readily be made to contribute to these ends. The interests of tourists and the enjoyment of our citizens generally could, for example, be promoted by making many a highway into a tree-way, and by making accessible, and improving the approaches, to areas of great natural beauty. The development of our national parks might well be supplemented by the creation of a larger number of smaller parks. Much of national importance might also be accomplished by the preservation of historic sites, residences and monuments, and the beautification of their surroundings.

All this could be worked out by the commission as part of a long-range scheme of national development, to be proceeded with or discontinued, from time to time, as conditions might determine. The employment which it would serve to create would be all in the nature of constructive work. Comprehensive measures of the kind would serve to increase the social capital of the country as distinct from its private capital. It would improve and beautify our country. Moreover, it is work which would appeal to the imagination, and which should arouse the interest and enthusiasm of those who may be assigned to it.

Take Camps from Military Control

Especially would co-ordinated effort of the kind make its appeal to the single, homeless, unemployed, who, engaged thereon, at this time of distress and discouragement, would be made to feel that they were citizens, in every sense of the word, and engaged upon the country's work. While, necessarily, there must be a difference in the rate of payment to persons thus dependent on the state from that paid to persons employed by private enterprise, so that there will always be an inducement for men to enter private occupations, as opportunities arise, wages should be paid for this class of service. The commission would be especially requested to consider the early transfer of the relief camps from the control of the Department of National Defence, and to enlist the co-operation of every possible agency likely to be of service in the permanent establishment of unemployed men in the normal economic life of the country.

Ladies and gentlemen: In my three radio broadcasts, I have tried to place before you, in language both simple and direct, the situation in Canada, as it is viewed by the party which I have the honour to lead, and which has accorded me its fullest confidence and loyalty during a period of leadership approaching sixteen years. Towards myself, however, in other relationships, its confidence and loyalty has extended over a much longer period of time. I was a comparatively young man when I was invited by Sir Wilfrid Laurier to enter his Cabinet as Minister of Labour of Canada. For eight years before that time, I had held the position of Deputy Minister of Labour, having been appointed to that office on the recommendation of the present Chief Justice of Ontario, the Right Hon-

ourable Sir William Mulock. That appointment was made, because of my special interest in, and study of social and economic problems, for years previous. To trace the sources of that interest, I shoud have to speak of matters too personal, and to which I would not be justified in referring at this time.

In seeking, however, from my fellow-countrymen, an expression of confidence larger than any thus far accorded, I may perhaps be permitted to say that, to my interest in the problems of Labour, more than to any other single reason, is due, I believe, the confidence which, along life's way, I have been privileged to enjoy in increasing measure. To the working men and women of Canada, in town and country alike, I think I can say that, throughout my life, I have been true to the cause.

Problems Require United Effort of All

Unemployment is the hardest cross which a workingman, I might almost say any man, is called upon to bear. Mr. Bennett has tried to solve that problem, but he has tried too late, and he has tried to do it too much alone. I think, too, that his methods and policies have been at fault. The problems of Labour cannot be solved by any one man; they require, more than any other problem, united effort. Their solution, moreover, will not be found in endless experimentation, but only in the application of principles and policies which have stood the test of experience and time. Even in a period of great emergency, such as the present, it is too much to hope to secure the united effort of all, but the effort of a political party, united in its aims and policies from one end of the country to the other, can go a long way towards effecting even that result. Of this, at least, I am sure: the task which con-

fronts Canada today is one to which Liberalism can give its whole heart.

"To loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke", is, if anything, more the aim of Liberalism in this twentieth century than it was even in ancient days. It is with this aim in view, and in this spirit, that, as one of the old political parties of Canada, with traditions of which we are proud, and the desire to render our country, at this hour of its great need, a service which is truly national, we invite all who desire to share, in larger measure, some of the burdens of their fellow-men, to join our ranks, so that, if entrusted with power, the party may, with greater certainty, achieve the objects which it has in view.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for according me the hearing you have on this and previous evenings, and I wish you all "good-night".

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MR. KING

REPLIES TO

MR. BENNETT

September 17th, 1935

Published by the National Liberal Federation, Ottawa.

Mr. King replies to Mr. Bennett

The Past, The Present, The Future

The Issue Defined

Radio address, delivered by Mr. Mackenzie King from Ottawa on September 17th, 1935.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Within the past ten days, you have had the opportunity of listening to four radio addresses by the Prime Minister. The impression Mr. Bennett's addresses have left upon my mind, and, I feel sure, also upon yours, is that Mr. Bennett stands today, just where he stood five years ago. His basic policies remain those upon which he has acted right along.

Moreover, Mr. Bennett's appeal remains the same. He continues to believe that promises count for more than all else in a political campaign; that promises will do the trick, a second time; especially if they are on a grand scale, and made with sufficient emphasis.

I did not expect that Mr. Bennett would venture to announce yet another programme of so-called social reform. Yet that is what he has done. As with the one which preceded it, he hopes that this programme will serve to obliterate the record of the past five years. If the measures now being proposed are calculated to prove so effective, why were not one, or all of them, enacted in one or other of the six sessions of the late parliament?

One-Man Policies

Here again, however, Mr. Bennett is running true to form. The far-reaching measures, now put forward for

the first time, were not so much as hinted at while parliament was in session. In no sense can they be described as the policies of the Conservative party. Obviously, the party has not been consulted, or it has ceased to exist. Already, influential Conservatives, and a large section of the Conservative press, if they have not ridiculed, have been extremely critical of Mr. Bennett's latest proposals.

There is another circumstance which the electorate will do well to have in mind. Should Mr. Bennett be defeated in Calgary West, or drop out of the leadership of the Conservative party, once the elections are over, what guarantee is there that the Conservative party will feel itself bound to enact a single measure proposed by Mr. Bennett since the dissolution of Parliament? In view of Mr. Bennett's conversion to the idea that sixty years should be the limit of a man's working days, and having regard as well, for other passages in his addresses, which would indicate that Mr. Bennett may find it inadvisable, in any eventually, to continue longer in the leadership of his party, the possibility of change in the leadership of the Conservative party is something of which account must be taken at this time. Is it not fair to assume that, with a change of leadership, any measure not congenial to a majority of the members of the Conservative party will be dismissed as being just another of Mr. Bennett's promises made for the purpose of winning an election!

The same, indeed, may be said with respect to all that Mr. Stevens is pledging himself to carry out. If, by any chance, in the present elections, Mr. Stevens should meet with defeat in the constituency of East Kootenay, as he did in Vancouver Centre in 1930, or should, for any other reason, find it impossible to carry on, what, during the next five years, will become of the party Mr.

Stevens himself has brought into being, has named and baptized, and started upon its career under his sole paternity?

Above all, in times such as the present, with great international, as well as national problems to be faced, and with the possibility of war at our very doors, you will do well to consider how inadvisable it is that the fate of Canada should be in the hands of any one man. Surely, it must be apparent to all, that we cannot too quickly return to government by a ministry composed of many men, each bringing his experience and judgment to bear, not to appearances only, but in reality, upon the momentous issues of our day. ,

In the Book of Proverbs, we are told:

"Where no counsel is, the people fall;
But in the multitude of counsellors there is safety."

This is as true today as it was in the days of Solomon. It might be said, with equal truth, that from ancient days to our own, there never has been a time in the world's affairs, more than the present, when there was so much need for men and nations to keep this proverb in mind.

Liberal Policies Unanimously Approved

Let me again remind you of what I have already said of an all-important difference between the Liberal party, and the other parties which are seeking your support in the present elections. The programme of the Liberal party is the work of the party itself. It is not the declaration or manifesto of any one man. It has been endorsed by all who were Liberal members in the last parliament, and by the National Liberal Federation and its affiliated organizations from coast to coast. Not the leader only, but the Liberal party as a whole, is already

committed to, and bound by the policies to which it has given its approval.

So long as I remain the leader of the Liberal party, I intend, as respects its policies, to have this guarantee before asking the electors of Canada to give the party their support. I intend, as well, if the party is returned to power, to see that the policies thus endorsed are carried out. I need scarcely add that it is in this manner alone that, notwithstanding a change in its leadership, a political party can be held to its promises and policies. This method of carrying on government may necessitate less in the way of promises, but it will mean, I believe, very much more in the way of performance. Moreover, it will serve to hold Canada true to the ideal of Democracy, and to preserve our country from Dictatorship. Sooner or later, Dictatorship leads inevitably to the destruction of liberty. It is leading today to war.

If, for any reason, in this general election, I, myself, should suffer defeat in the constituency of Prince Albert, which has honoured me with its representation during the past ten years, and be precluded, subsequently, from re-entering parliament, I would be able to hand over the party leadership to another with the certain knowledge that it was something more than merely the leadership of a political party which was being transferred. I would feel that what I was handing over was a great trust which the Liberals had committed to my charge. If on October 14th, the Liberal party should again be returned to power, it would be even more than this. It would be much more than a trust which the Liberals of Canada had, for the time being, committed to my keeping. It would be a trust which the people of Canada had committed to the keeping of the Liberal party.

When the time comes for me to hand on to another the torch of Liberal leadership in Canada, I hope I shall be able to pass it on, not as a meaningless thing, or some mere symbol of authority, but, as I received it from the hand of Sir Wilfred Laurier—a light, undiminished, which, in no flickering or uncertain way, discloses the path along which the Liberal party is pledged to tread. I shall have, too, the satisfaction of knowing that the policies of the Liberal party are no meaningless or ephemeral things, since they carry with them the authority and pledge of young and old alike, of men and women of all creeds and classes, and of East as well as West.

Five Disastrous Years

I have said that Mr. Bennett stands today exactly where he stood five years ago. Canada has had five years of Bennett policies and promises. Can anyone say that, except to a few privileged interests, these policies have been of benefit to any part of Canada, or to any class in our country?

Five years of Bennett policies and promises have left Canada with a staggering unemployment problem; with ruination staring farmers in the face; with an unparalleled stagnation of transportation; with an enormous diminution in the volume of our foreign and domestic trade; with bitterness toward Canada in trade affairs in other parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and enmity in many foreign countries; with industry and the people of every class being called upon to bear a merciless load of taxation; and with enormous debts and unbalanced budgets in Dominion, provincial and civic administrations.

The worst feature about all that Mr. Bennett has to

say is that he assumes that unemployment and depression are bound to continue indefinitely. What he has been insisting right along was only a temporary condition, has now become chronic. His attitude is one of defeat and despair. Instead of planning for plenty, he plans for scarcity. Instead of aiming at the expansion of trade, he aims at further restriction of trade. Instead of ending unemployment, he now proposes to end work. It is the logical development of the policy of economic nationalism, which he says he deplores, but from which, in his blindness, he can find no means of escape. In planning for scarcity, rather than for plenty, his first step was to restrict or to prohibit trade. That successfully accomplished, the next step was to limit the production and to restrict the sale of commodities. This being in process of accomplishment, he now proposes to restrict work itself, by prescribing the years within which a man shall be permitted to earn his daily bread.

Bennett's Colossal Failures

To cloak his own colossal failures, Mr. Bennett resorts to an old political, but not very creditable device, namely, that of attributing, to policies of his opponents, the evil consequences which flow from his own. Mr. Bennett states that the Liberal policy of freer trade would mean "the wreckage of industry, vastly increased unemployment, drastic reductions in wages, shrinkage in the domestic and foreign markets for our natural products." These are the very results which have been produced, not by the freeing of trade, but by the strangling of trade, through Mr. Bennett's policies of extreme protection.

Five years ago, Mr. Bennett announced his intention to blast a way for Canadian trade into the markets of

the world. He has failed in this, but what he has succeeded in doing, by this mistaken method, has been to blast Canadian trade out of some of its most profitable markets. The most recent and notable example of Mr. Bennett's method of seeking to conceal his own shortcomings, by misrepresenting the attitude of his opponents, is the case of Canada's trade with Japan. That market is now in jeopardy, and may be lost altogether. So obviously inexcusable has been Mr. Bennett's handling of the situation, that he now seeks to divert attention from his own errors by raising the bogey of Liberal readiness to concede any and every concession Japan may ask for.

As for a trade agreement with the United States, Mr. Bennett tells us that this is still a possibility. I shall content myself, therefore, with drawing attention to the fact that the long talked of negotiations have yielded thus far only a year old prospectus, an indication of the half-heartedness with which negotiations have thus far been pursued.

Obviously, it is not possible for me, in the half hour at my disposal, to take up, one after the other, the many subjects dealt with by Mr. Bennett in his radio addresses, which occupied in all, two hours and a half. I shall have to leave for the public meetings, which I am about to address, further consideration of such subjects as I have already dealt with in my previous broadcasts, and which include the all-important questions of unemployment; currency, credit and banking; the marketing of Canada's products; reciprocal agreements with the United States and other countries; as well as constitutional issues and international relations.

I wish, however, to say at once, that there is not the slightest ground for the contention that, if a Liberal gov-

ernment is returned to power, Canada's interests will in any way be prejudicially affected by its dealings with Japan, or, for that matter, with any other country.

What the Liberal Party Will Do

The Liberal party believes that a substantial and far-reaching reduction should be effected in the rate of cusoms duties. This reduction is needed, not to advance, as Mr. Bennett would suggest, the interests of other countries at the expense of our own, but to advance the interests of Canada itself. There is nothing in the record of previous Liberal administrations, or in the statements of the Liberal party at the present time, to justify the assertion that a Liberal government will ignore the legitimate interests of Canadian producers.

Reduce Duties on Implements

The prosperity of Canada depends upon the development of the great primary industries of agriculture, lumbering, mining, and fishing, and upon the sale abroad of surplus quantities of our basic commodities which cannot be consumed at home. If returned to office, a Liberal government will, along with other reductions, immediately and materially reduce duties on these articles which enter into the cost of production of our primary industries, more particularly on the implements and machinery of production.

Reduce Taxation on Necessaries of Life

The Liberal party does not subscribe to the protectionist view that the citizen must be regarded only in his capacity as a producer, and that he has no rights in his capacity as a consumer. For one, in a family, who would

be classed as a producer, there are usually several who are consumers. The extreme protection of recent years has compelled families to pay infinitely more for the necessaries of life, and has added immeasurably to the cost of living. Indeed, today, the family might well be described as the forgotten unit in the scheme of Canada's economy. The Liberal party proposes to effect immediate substantial reductions in the duties on the necessaries of life, and to exempt from the sales tax many articles of domestic consumption, thereby affording a direct measure of relief to every home and to every individual.

If our primary industries are to be developed as they should be, capital as well as labour must be attracted to them. To this end, confidence in the stability of government policies, as well as in administration, is essential. Ever since the present government assumed office, business has suffered from incessant intervention, discriminatory taxation and from the uncertainty and instability of our customs and other fiscal laws. Unpredictable customs rulings, and a ruthless and extreme use of special arbitrary valuations, have impeded, and made impossible, the recovery and expansion of Canada's trade, almost as much as the extravagant and unparalleled increase in duties. The Liberal party, if returned to office, will abolish all unwarranted extra taxes on imports, as imposed and administered by the present government. It will seek, above all else, stability and certainty in customs administration, and continuity in government policy.

Secure Larger Markets

While the negotiation of reciprocal trade agreements may prove an arduous task, the Liberal party believes

that in this way much can be done to secure larger markets for the exportable surpluses of our basic commodities. How readily agreements can be made, when the will to make them is present, and when the right methods are used to bring them about, is apparent from the large number of agreements signed within the last two or three years by many of the principal trading countries of the world. To mention but a few, the United Kingdom has negotiated, since the Imperial Conference of 1932, no less than twenty-one trade agreements. Brazil, since 1931, has negotiated twenty-six agreements. Since 1932, Finland has negotiated seven, and the Argentine five. While Canada's negotiations have been proceeding with the United States, that country, within a little over a year, has negotiated agreements with Belgium, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Brazil, Cuba and Haiti. All these nations have gained an entrance and established a foothold in markets at our very door.

Stevens Remains a Tory

Like Mr. Bennett, Mr. Stevens hopes to make the people of Canada forget his past record in matters of trade by now talking of a reduction in duties on agricultural implements. Indeed, Mr. Stevens goes a step farther, and advocates that duties on textiles should also be reduced. The reduction of duties on agricultural implements and textiles was, time and again, urged upon the government by myself and other Liberal members, when Mr. Stevens was Minister of Trade & Commerce, and, as often, refused or ignored by Mr. Bennett and himself. It will take more than lip service on the part of Mr. Stevens to cause the electorate to overlook the fact

that for four years, as Minister of Trade & Commerce, he was Mr. Bennett's right-hand man in the carrying out of policies of trade restriction and prohibition, and that it was under his own administration that the tariff on textiles, agricultural implements, and hundreds of other articles was raised to unprecedented heights.

While Mr. Stevens denies the existence of any alliance between himself and the Conservative party, and Mr. Bennett would have you believe that he and Mr. Stevens have parted company, it is interesting to note that, up to the present time, Mr. Stevens is not opposed in Kootenay East by a candidate of the Conservative party, nor is Mr. Bennett opposed in Calgary West by a candidate of the Reconstruction party. This does not look like an irreconcilable quarrel, much less like war to the death. There is a growing conviction that, whatever may be the feelings between Mr. Bennett and Mr. Stevens, the followers of both are only temporarily in different camps; that, once the elections are over, their forces will speedily coalesce.

Mr. Bennett, in introducing his latest batch of promises, has harped once more upon the solitary string that the Liberal party has no policies or proposals. The Liberal party, on the contrary, has very definite policies and proposals, but unlike those of Mr. Bennett and Mr. Stevens, they have not been especially concocted since the prorogation of parliament. They have been set forth, time and again, over a period of years, and enjoy the unanimous support of a party united from coast to coast. They have, moreover, been drafted, not simply for the purpose of winning a general election, but of meeting the actual problems of government and of leading Canada out of the depression.

The Liberal Party Pledges Itself

The Liberal party is pledged to regard unemployment as Canada's most urgent problem; to deal with unemployment as a national problem, and through the agency of a representative national commission to cooperate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief, and in an endeavour to provide work for the unemployed. It is pledged to the enactment of a constitutionally valid system of unemployment insurance, and, as rapidly as the financial position of the country warrants its expansion into a general scheme of social insurance, including health insurance as well as old age pensions. It is pledged to policies which will liberate and expand our external trade upon which depends industrial and commercial recovery; to the liberation of internal trade, by ending artificial price control and price fixing, which restricts and hampers trade internally; to the development of primary industries, by reduction in the costs of instruments of production; to state assistance in the marketing of natural products; to the restoration of control by the state over currency and credit, through the reconstitution of the Bank of Canada; to the establishment of an investment control board; to the maintenance of the integrity of the Canadian National Railways as a publicly owned and controlled utility; to the democratization of industry, through policies which will seek to give to workers and consumers a larger share in the government of industry; to the restoration of responsible government; to the re-assertion of personal liberty, and the right of free speech and free association; to measures of electoral reform; to effect, as quickly as may be possible, a balanced budget, retrenchment of public expen-

ditures, and reduction of the principal and interest on the public debt; to an inquiry into federal, provincial and municipal costs of government; to a furtherance of international peace and the work of the League of Nations; and to a more equitable distribution of wealth, which will have regard to human needs, to the furtherance of social justice, and the promotion of the common good.

In the course of his radio addresses, Mr. Bennett has found it necessary to give you reasons, apart altogether from the issues of the campaign, and the policies of the respective parties, why you should withhold your support from me, and give your support to him.

Of me, Mr. Bennett says, that he must warn the country, what will be its fate, if it entrusts itself to the guidance of one so supremely oblivious to the actual problems, so utterly uninformed of the practical ways to deal with them.

Of himself. Mr. Bennett says: "I think that even my harshest critics will admit that I have been a good man of business." He then seeks to convey the impression that any success which may have attended the efforts of the present government has been due to himself, rather than to his colleagues. He tells you that he dislikes to talk about his illness, but that he must do so, because, "it had an influence upon the course of events." "It gravely interfered," he says, "with the development of our programme." "Had I had," he goes on to say, "an unbroken sweep between January and May, we would have been further ahead than we are now. Other vital elements in our programme would now have been enacted into law."

In his parting word, Mr. Bennett did not hesitate to say that no one could be found as capable of administer-

ing the affairs of Canada as himself. Referring to the possibility of anyone else becoming the leader of the government of Canada, he says: "I would be more than content, if I could believe that my successor might do better for you than I." However much this may appear to reflect upon myself, or other political leaders, it is certainly hard upon those who have been Mr. Bennett's colleagues during the years he has been in office, and upon all who belong to the Conservative party.

Here, I may, perhaps be allowed to say to Mr. Bennett that, whatever my qualities for leadership may be, I have never found it necessary, in order that my own personality might thereby be magnified, to deprive my colleagues of due credit for what has been accomplished by the administraton of which I have been the head. Moreover, I have not found it necessary to change the name of my party in the course of a political campaign.

Danger of One-Man Parties

It might be well for me to remind you of what I said a moment ago of the danger which threatens all political programmes that lie too completely in the hands of an individual man.

Does not what Mr. Bennett has said make perfectly clear how completely, the carrying out of the measures he now advocates depends, in Mr. Bennett's own mind, not only upon his remaining at the head of the Conservative party, but upon the condition of his own health. What guarantee is there, unfortunate as it would be, that Mr. Bennett might not again, as he says, "let his party down," and also "let you down". It is to guard against just such contingencies, in the administration of a nation's affairs, that government ought to be widely

distributed among members of a ministry, one and all sharing a collective responsibility for every act. This is the essence of the British system of government. Can we, in the government of our country, afford to risk any contingency against which it is possible to provide, as we face the appalling issues with which, at any moment, Canada may be confronted?

The Liberal Party's Record

Fortunately, I am not obliged to place my own estimate upon the record of the government of which I have been the head. As to business capacity, as well as to all else, the record speaks for itself. When the late Liberal administration took office in 1921, Canada was in the slough of a great depression. Thousands were unemployed, trade was languishing, the railroads were in a desperate condition, the burden of taxation was greater than it had ever been, and the public debt was mounting to unprecedented heights. The country, it might truly be said, was heading for bankruptcy.

What was the story when we left office in 1930? Those years of Liberal administration constituted the greatest period of Canadian trade expansion. In the fiscal year 1928-29, Canada's total trade reached the highest point in our history—(over two and a half billion dollars.) In seven out of nine calendar years, Canada was the fifth largest trading country in the world. Our country had gained the distinction of leading the world in per capita export of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods. In eight fiscal years out of the nine, there were favourable balances of trade. The total of these favourable balances reached the colossal figure of one and

a half billion dollars, or more than the total trade of Canada in any one of the past four years.

During the time the Liberal government was in office, all expenditures, on both current and capital account, were paid out of current revenue. There were surpluses in seven successive years, and a total reduction in the public debt of 276 million dollars. The income tax was reduced on moderate incomes, and exemptions increased. The sales tax was reduced from six to one per cent. Penny postage was restored, and the nuisance taxes were abolished. There were substantial and extensive reductions of the tariff, particularly on the implements and machinery of production in the basic industries, motor vehicles, and on many of the necessities of life. Production was vastly increased, and the cost of living was materially lessened.

The Conservative Record

Now, what is the record of Mr. Bennett's administration? In the five years the Conservative government has been in power, Canada's trade has been cut in half. Contrary to what Mr. Bennett says about Canada having held her own with other countries, we have fallen from the fifth to the eighth place among the trading nations of the world. Deficits have replaced surpluses, and the public debt has been increased by 668 million dollars. Income tax rates have been increased, and exemptions reduced. The sales tax has been increased from one to six per cent., and the nuisance taxes have been restored. Notwithstanding that armies of men are being employed on public works, out of funds furnished from the treasuries of the Dominion, the provinces, and municipalities, unemployment has increased from around one hundred thousand

in 1930, to half a million at the present time. Railway revenues, and total wages paid by the railways, have fallen by fifty per cent. With trade strangled and industry depressed, widespread unrest and discontent prevail throughout the land, and dissension and sectionalism are rife from coast to coast.

Perhaps, from this, it will be apparent that personal success in business is not always the surest guarantee of success in the administration of public affairs. Indeed, the mere suggestion that success in business is a guarantee of success in government, reveals a failure to appreciate the very qualities which count for most in the administration of public affairs. No one would think of suggesting that Sir John A. Macdonald or Sir Wilfrid Laurier owed their success in public life to their capacity to make money. Yet, their names will ever be remembered and honoured by their respective followings, and by the country.

The Art of Government

Ability and political capacity are one thing; the methods that make for success in business are only too often quite another and very different sort of thing. Methods that bring success in business too frequently bring disaster in government. Business is concerned with money. Government is concerned with men. Business is an occupation, an occupation which has for its objective the success of the individual. Government is an art. It is the art of effecting a maximum of co-operative effort in all that pertains to the state. It is the art of promoting unity and good-will in all human relations. Business is concerned primarily with present material gain. Government is concerned not less with

the future than with the present, and with human and spiritual values, much more than with material values. It cares nothing for the gain of special privilege; it cares everything for the common good.

Especially where social problems are concerned, there can be no greater mistake that to believe that the qualities and methods which make for success in business are necessarily the qualities and methods that make for success in government. A broad survey of the industrial field discloses only too plainly that many so-called business successes have been due to a ruthless disregard of humanitarian considerations. Indeed, the crux of the social problem lies in the relative importance we attach to human well-being as against material gain. Until we come to regard Industry as being in the nature of social service and see the necessity of dealing with its problems from the point of view of the sacredness of human life and personality, rather than from that of accumulation of wealth and material reward, there will be, and there should be, no cure for social and industrial unrest

The same, I believe, is true of international problems. Referring to myself, Mr. Bennett says: "Tell him that even the most elementary knowledge of world conditions must persuade anyone, not blind and deaf to facts, that the only way to get more business is by the hard trading way, the Conservative way, the way that puts your present material interests before any ancient theory, however beautiful and beneficent that theory may once have been." This, no doubt, refers to the concluding words of my first broadcast, when I said: "Let us pursue our way, doing unto others as we would have them do unto us."

The Two-fold Aim of Liberalism

At last, the issue between Mr. Bennett and myself is clearly defined. To get more business by the hard trading way, the way that puts present material interests before all else, that, Mr. Bennett says, is the Conservative way. That may be Mr. Bennett's way; it may be, as Mr. Bennett says: "The Conservative way," but it is not my way; and, I am happy to say, it is not "the Liberal way."

Progress has been effected, not by individuals and nations working for themselves alone, and putting material interests before all else, but by a course the very opposite. Individuals and nations who have upheld the Liberal faith, have sought to gain for others, as well as for themselves, the ends desired, in the belief that no man liveth unto himself alone and, no nation liveth unto itself; that the good of all is, in the long run, the good of each; that we are all members one of another.

The individuals and the nations which discard Liberalism, pay by losing their liberty. When liberty goes, little else remains. Today the task of Liberalism is two-fold: it is to maintain what we have already gained of freedom in many spheres, and to gain for our fellowmen more in the way of economic freedom. That battle will not be won by individuals putting their own present and material interests before all else, or by Canada putting her present material interests before all else. In the realm of individual freedom, it will be won by each seeking to gain a larger liberty for others as well as for himself. In the international sphere it will be won by international co-operation and international good-will. To win this two-fold objective, is the aim of Liberalism in the present campaign.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I wish you all "good-night."

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THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

A REPRINT OF
THE STATEMENT to the PRESS

issued by

The Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King

ON THE NIGHT of the GENERAL ELECTIONS,
OCTOBER 14th, 1935.

Issued by
THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF CANADA
114 Wellington St. :: Ottawa.

The Voice of the People

A Reprint of the Statement to the Press
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on the Night of the General Elections,
October 14th, 1935.

I thank the people of Canada for the confidence they have today expressed in Liberal principles and policies, in the Liberal party, and in myself as its leader. The Liberal party has placed its trust in the people. The people today have reciprocated that trust in abundant measure. It will not be betrayed.

I congratulate the members of the Liberal party on the splendid campaign they have waged. We have been attacked on all sides, and we have won on all fronts. Today's overwhelming victory is the response of the people made effective through organized effort in a great cause, which was begun the moment the Liberal party went into opposition in 1930, and which has been carried forward with increasing vigor and determination. In this great effort, men and women, young and old, have equally shared. It has been furthered by a strong and helpful Liberal press; and by efficient organization in all parts of Canada—from the headquarters of the National Liberal Federation in Ottawa and provincial Liberal associations in the provinces, to the committees of Liberal workers in municipalities and in the remotest rural polls.

The whole-hearted co-operation of the Liberal premiers and governments of eight of the nine provinces of Canada was an exceptionally significant feature of the campaign, and one which may be expected to contribute in no uncertain way to the solution of many of our country's perplexing problems.

A Victory for Democracy

Today's victory is a victory for democracy. It discloses that the people may be relied upon to exercise their judgment clearly, in spite of innumerable and unscrupulous efforts to divert the electorate from the real issues before them. It constitutes a great deliverance; a deliverance of the people from one-man government, from mistaken policies, and from autocratic leadership. It is a triumph for broad principles and policies, as against promises and pledges recklessly and extravagantly made for the sole purpose of winning an election. It is a declaration that tradition, experience and achievement are still regarded by the Canadian people as one of the greatest assets a political party may possess. It is a direct response to the Liberal protest against all forms of dictatorship in Canada, whether they incline towards Fascism, Socialism or Sovietism, and equally against endless and dangerous experimentation in matters of government. It is a direct response to the appeal for the maintenance of British parliamentary practice and procedure. It proclaims the end of the super-man idea. It is clear evidence of the desire of the people of Canada to maintain high standards in Canadian public life, and to enjoy a tone in the discussion of public affairs wholly different from that to which, both in and out of Parliament, they have become accustomed during the last five years. It makes clear that the people of Canada have had enough of "blasting" methods, and of "the iron heel"; that they wish to see concord replace discord, and co-operation replace dissension within our own borders; and that good-will and not ill-will should prevail between Canada and other countries.

Features of Campaign Condemned

The results afford the strongest condemnation of the attempts made by the Bennett government to debauch the people with expenditures from the public treasury, and of the efforts made by Mr. Bennett himself to intimidate the electorate through fear, by raising the bogeys of Communism, of the undermining of Canada's industrial standards by unrestricted oriental and other foreign competition, and of the wholesale destruction which he said would await industry under a Liberal government. They afford a conclusive condemnation of the unworthy means employed in the endeavour to effect a so-called national government in Canada; to do, after an election, what no political party was prepared to sponsor in the campaign itself. It is proof of the folly of individuals, whatever their motives, summoning new political parties into being, giving them their names and programs, and expecting any appreciable measure of support. It is to be hoped that the campaign of 1935 will witness the end of hysteria, and a speedy return to sanity, in the discussion and administration of the country's affairs.

Endorsation of Liberal Principles and Policies

In the present campaign, the Liberal party concentrated upon the issues which it considered to be vital to the recovery of our national life, but it by no means restricted its discussion to them. It made its position clear upon all questions of immediate concern. The results of today's voting may, therefore, be regarded as an all but unanimous endorsation of the principles and policies set forth.

Today's election discloses that the people share the view, which the Liberal party has all along maintained, that unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. It is an endorsation of the Liberal proposal to deal with this question by means of a representative national commission, and by policies which will serve to revive industry and trade.

The results make equally clear that the people generally share the view, kept to the fore by the Liberal party, that trade is the basis of industrial and commercial development; and that a Canadian government should do all in its power to negotiate trade agreements with all countries willing to trade with Canada on a reciprocal basis. The results make clear that the people of Canada are opposed to planning for scarcity by the restriction of production, of trade, and of employment, and that they are not satisfied with the Ottawa trade agreements, and welcome the prospect of their early revision. Everywhere, Mr. Bennett has said that the verdict of this election would be a verdict for or against the Empire trade pacts of 1932. There can no longer be any mistake as to what the people think of those agreements and of Mr. Bennett's methods of their negotiation.

A Verdict Against Economic Nationalism and Monopolies

The election is an unmistakable verdict in favor of the liberation of external and internal trade; and in favour of a reciprocal agreement with the United States, and of the restoration of trade with Japan upon a mutually beneficial basis in the case of each of these countries. It constitutes a demand for the abolition of the extravagant increases in the tariff, together with the removal of arbitrary taxes and regulations, as imposed by the present administration, which have had the effect of strangling the commerce of the nation, exploiting consumers, and robbing railways of business. It is a demand for an end to the making and altering of tariffs by executive action, and for the substitution of stability for uncertainty in the administration of customs laws. It is an overwhelming condemnation of the policies of economic nationalism, economic isolation, and economic imperialism, upon which the present government has proceeded in all its legislation; and a corresponding demand for the substitution of policies which will make for economic freedom, national expansion, and international good-will.

The election is an endorsation of the Liberal view that credit is a public matter, not of interest to bankers only, but of direct concern to every citizen. It is a verdict against a privately owned and controlled central bank, and in favor of a properly constituted national bank to perform the functions of rediscount, and the control of currency issue considered in terms of public need. There can be no mistaking the demand for a restoration to the government of Canada of control over credit and currency issue. As the campaign proceeded, the issue of the control, by the people, of all functions of government, through their representatives in Parliament, and not by any other power, became increasingly clear. The electorate has declared that a responsible ministry, not organized finance and international money power, is to control in all matters of state.

The election is an overwhelming verdict against amalgamation of the railways of Canada, and against the creation of other monopolies, whether related to the agencies of transportation and communication, production, trade, industry or banking.

Government in Industry and in the State

It is a verdict for the democratization of industry, and the rights of labour and consumers to have their voice heard and influence felt in the control of industrial policy. It is a warning and rebuke to arrogant employers of labour, who have sought to intimidate their employees, and to prevent them from enjoying the free exercise of the franchise, which is the birthright of every Canadian citizen.

Above all, the election is a demand for the restoration of responsible government in Canada, and government not by a single individual but by the collective wisdom of many minds. The people have expressed their determination to end one-man government and to reverse the trend of the past five years in the direction of dictatorship. They have overwhelmingly condemned the present government, and the arbitrary and autocratic methods by which it has proceeded from the day it assumed office, and the manner in which it has persistently defied the unmistakable will of the people.

It is a verdict in favor of personal liberty, electoral reform, and of measures which will, among other things, prevent the national radio being surreptitiously used by any political party for the defamation of character.

It is a verdict in favor of the reduction of the burden of public debt and taxation, and in favor of the attainment of a balanced budget.

It is a verdict in favor of those courses in international relations which will make for peace and good-will.

It is a verdict in favor of a more equitable distribution of wealth, with increasing regard to human need, to the furtherance of social justice, and to the promotion of the common good.

These are all principles and policies which the Liberal party has consistently and continuously espoused, and for which it has steadily fought. We began the fight for these policies and principles in the Parliament of Canada. We carried our advocacy of them to the people in by-elections and in provincial elections. The voice of the people, though

clear and decisive, remained unheeded, and their will and wish ignored. We have now submitted our policies to the people in a general election. We have received their endorsation. We shall proceed to put these policies into effect.

The Task of Liberalism To-day

A century ago Liberalism in Canada had its birth in the struggle for political liberty and responsible government. The existence of both has been threatened in the period of time that Mr. Bennett has been at the head of affairs. They have been maintained in the measure they have only by continuous and strenuous effort on the part of Liberals in and out of Parliament. They will now be fully restored by a Liberal government.

In the new era which dawns today, the struggle for the rights of the people will, in the realm of economic liberty and security, be carried on as never before. Poverty and adversity, want and misery, are the enemies which Liberalism will seek to banish from our land. They have lain in wait at the gate of every Canadian home during the past five years, and their menacing mien has served to destroy the souls, as well as the minds and bodies, of an ever increasing number of men, women and children in our land. We take up at once, as our supreme task, the endeavor to end poverty in the midst of plenty, starvation and unnecessary suffering in a land of abundance, discontent and distress in a country more blessed by Providence than any other on the face of the globe, and to gain for individual lives, and for the nation as a whole, that "health and peace and sweet content" which is the rightful heritage of all.

The people of Canada have made clear that, in their opinion, "present material interests", and a course of action which does not distinguish between materialistic and spiritual values, must make way for something nobler in the conduct of a nation's affairs; and that self-seeking and selfishness, however much they may appear to lead to wordly success, are not the paths of true greatness either for an individual or a nation. The people of Canada today have reaffirmed their faith in the ancient and beneficent precepts that it is only by sharing each other's burdens, and doing unto others as we would have others do unto us, that men and nations can serve their own best interests and the common good.

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control over expenditures and taxation, and invests the executive with unwarranted arbitrary powers, as for example:

(1) legislation permitting the executive to enact measures by order-in-council for peace, order and good government, and

(2) legislation providing the executive with a "blank cheque" for expenditures of any kind.

Re-Assertion of Personal Liberty.

The Liberal Party believes that under the excuse of the present crisis, the rights of the individual have been violated. Liberalism stands, as always, for the British principle of FREE SPEECH and FREE ASSOCIATION, and to this end will repeal section 98 of the Criminal Code, and end the present practice of arbitrary deportation.

Electoral Reform.

The Liberal Party stands for electoral laws which will ensure A TRUE PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION of the Canadian people and such legislation as may help to REDUCE THE COST OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNS.

A Balanced Budget.

The Liberal Party believes the aim of every government should be the balancing of its budget.

It would seek to effect that end, by RETRENCHMENT OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURES, by REDUCTION OF PRINCIPAL AND INTEREST ON THE PUBLIC DEBT by a REDUCTION IN TAXATION and by INCREASING REVENUES through the encouragement of trade.

It will seek to effect a REDUCTION OF THE COST OF GOVERNMENT in Canada by a careful inquiry into federal, provincial and municipal costs.

International Relations.

The Liberal party will seek to further wherever possible those courses in international relations which make for PEACE AND GOODWILL among nations, and promote friendly intercourse between them. It will seek to further the work of the League of Nations.

More Equitable Distribution of Wealth

The Liberal Party recognizes that the problem of distribution has become more important than that of production, and believes that personality is more sacred than property. It will devote itself to finding ways and means of effecting a fair and just distribution of wealth with increasing regard to HUMAN NEED, to the furtherance of SOCIAL JUSTICE, and to the promotion of THE COMMON GOOD.

NOTE: The paragraphs above have been extracted from the official report of Mr. Mackenzie King's speech in the House of Commons on February 27, 1933.

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The Liberal Party's Position on Some Immediate Problems

Issued by the

National Liberal Federation of Canada

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LEAFLET No. 3A

THE policies of the Liberal Party of Canada in relation to some immediate outstanding problems were set forth by its leader, the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, in the House of Commons on February 27, 1933, as follows:

Unemployment of First Concern.

The Liberal party believes unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. It would deal with the present emergency conditions through A REPRESENTATIVE NATIONAL COMMISSION, which would co-operate with the provinces and municipalities in the administration of unemployment relief and in an endeavour to provide work for the unemployed.

As permanent measures the Liberal Party is pledged to introduce policies which will serve to provide employment by reviving industry and trade; and to introduce A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Liberation of External Trade.

The Liberal party believes that trade is the basis of industrial and commercial development, and that Canada needs trade.

It will promote TRADE WITH ALL NATIONS and negotiate trade agreements with any countries willing to trade with Canada on a reciprocal basis.

It will ABOLISH the extravagant INCREASE IN THE TARIFF made by the present administration, which have had the effect of strangling trade, exploiting consumers and robbing railways of business.

It will ABOLISH ALL UNWARRANTED EXTRA TAXES on imports, such as the exchange and dumping duties, as imposed by the present administration.

It will end the making and altering of tariffs by executive action.

It will substitute STABILITY FOR UNCERTAINTY in the administration of customs laws.

It will continue the Liberal policy of BRITISH PREFERENCE by a percentage reduction in existing tariffs rather than by a percentage increase against foreign countries in existing tariffs.

It will grant to British imports a real preference.

Liberation of Internal Trade.

The Liberal party will seek to END ARTIFICIAL PRICE CONTROL and agreements in restraint of trade. Price fixing by agreements restrict and hamper trade internally. The internal trade of our country has become honeycombed and enmeshed by secret understandings and agreements.

Development of Primary Industries.

The Liberal Party, by its policies, will continue to further the development of agriculture, lumbering, mining and fisheries by effecting REDUCTIONS IN THE COSTS OF PRODUCTION of Canada's basic products and by obtaining WIDER MARKETS therefor, by encouraging export trade, and by state assistance in the marketing of natural products.

Control of Credit.

The Liberal Party believes that credit is a public matter, not of interest to bankers only, but of direct concern to the average citizen. It stands for the immediate establishment of a properly constituted NATIONAL CENTRAL BANK, to perform the functions of rediscount, and the control of currency issue, considered in terms of public need. A Central Bank is necessary to determine the supply of currency in relation to the domestic, social and industrial requirements of the Canadian people; and also to deal with problems of international commerce and exchange.

Control of Investments.

The Liberal Party believes the financial mismanagement of industry is largely responsible for many conditions obtaining to-day.

To prevent exploitation of the public through the sale of watered stocks and worthless securities, it believes AN INVESTMENT CONTROL BOARD should be established, with supervision of issues of securities by companies incorporated under federal charters.

Safeguarding of National Railways.

The Liberal Party stands for the maintenance of the integrity of the Canadian National Railways as A PUBLICLY OWNED AND PUBLICLY CONTROLLED SERVICE.

Democratization of Industry.

The Liberal Party believes that INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION is the problem of the future. It will seek in industrial relations as opportunity offers, to give to workers and consumers a larger share in the Government of industry.

Restoration of Responsible Government.

The Liberal party believes that the present crisis has been made an excuse for the usurpation of the rights of parliament and the assumption of autocratic powers by the executive. Liberalism stands, as always, for the principle of A FREE PARLIAMENT, and for the supremacy of parliament. To this end it would repeal the legislation enacted by the present administration, which deprives parliament of its

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issued by
The Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King
on the Night of the General Elections,
October 14th, 1935.

I thank the people of Canada for the confidence they have today expressed in Liberal principles and policies, in the Liberal party, and in myself as its leader. The Liberal party has placed its trust in the people. The people today have reciprocated that trust in abundant measure. It will not be betrayed.

I congratulate the members of the Liberal party on the splendid campaign they have waged. We have been attacked on all sides, and we have won on all fronts. Today's overwhelming victory is the response of the people made effective through organized effort in a great cause, which was begun the moment the Liberal party went into opposition in 1930, and which has been carried forward with increasing vigor and determination. In this great effort, men and women, young and old, have equally shared. It has been furthered by a strong and helpful Liberal press; and by efficient organization in all parts of Canada—from the headquarters of the National Liberal Federation in Ottawa and provincial Liberal associations in the provinces, to the committees of Liberal workers in municipalities and in the remotest rural polls.

The whole-hearted co-operation of the Liberal premiers and governments of eight of the nine provinces of Canada was an exceptionally significant feature of the campaign, and one which may be expected to contribute in no uncertain way to the solution of many of our country's perplexing problems.

A Victory for Democracy

Today's victory is a victory for democracy. It discloses that the people may be relied upon to exercise their judgment clearly, in spite of innumerable and unscrupulous efforts to divert the electorate from the real issues before them. It constitutes a great deliverance; a deliverance of the people from one-man government, from mistaken policies, and from autocratic leadership. It is a triumph for broad principles and policies, as against promises and pledges recklessly and extravagantly made for the sole purpose of winning an election. It is a declaration that tradition, experience and achievement are still regarded by the Canadian people as one of the greatest assets a political party may possess. It is a direct response to the Liberal protest against all forms of dictatorship in Canada, whether they incline towards Fascism, Socialism or Sovietism, and equally against endless and dangerous experimentation in matters of government. It is a direct response to the appeal for the maintenance of British parliamentary practice and procedure. It proclaims the end of the super-man idea. It is clear evidence of the desire of the people of Canada to maintain high standards in Canadian public life, and to enjoy a tone in the discussion of public affairs wholly different from that to which, both in and out of Parliament, they have become accustomed during the last five years. It makes clear that the people of Canada have had enough of "blasting" methods, and of "the iron heel"; that they wish to see concord replace discord, and co-operation replace dissension within our own borders; and that good-will and not ill-will should prevail between Canada and other countries.

Features of Campaign Condemned

The results afford the strongest condemnation of the attempts made by the Bennett government to debauch the people with expenditures from the public treasury, and of the efforts made by Mr. Bennett himself to intimidate the electorate through fear, by raising the bogeys of Communism, of the undermining of Canada's industrial standards by unrestricted oriental and other foreign competition, and of the wholesale destruction which he said would await industry under a Liberal government. They afford a conclusive condemnation of the unworthy means employed in the endeavour to effect a so-called national government in Canada; to do, after an election, what no political party was prepared to sponsor in the campaign itself. It is proof of the folly of individuals, whatever their motives, summoning new political parties into being, giving them their names and programs, and expecting any appreciable measure of support. It is to be hoped that the campaign of 1935 will witness the end of hysteria, and a speedy return to sanity, in the discussion and administration of the country's affairs.

Endorsation of Liberal Principles and Policies

In the present campaign, the Liberal party concentrated upon the issues which it considered to be vital to the recovery of our national life, but it by no means restricted its discussion to them. It made its position clear upon all questions of immediate concern. The results of today's voting may, therefore, be regarded as an all but unanimous endorsation of the principles and policies set forth.

Today's election discloses that the people share the view, which the Liberal party has all along maintained, that unemployment is Canada's most urgent national problem. It is an endorsation of the Liberal proposal to deal with this question by means of a representative national commission, and by policies which will serve to revive industry and trade.

The results make equally clear that the people generally share the view, kept to the fore by the Liberal party, that trade is the basis of industrial and commercial development; and that a Canadian government should do all in its power to negotiate trade agreements with all countries willing to trade with Canada on a reciprocal basis. The results make clear that the people of Canada are opposed to planning for scarcity by the restriction of production, of trade, and of employment, and that they are not satisfied with the Ottawa trade agreements, and welcome the prospect of their early revision. Everywhere, Mr. Bennett has said that the verdict of this election would be a verdict for or against the Empire trade pacts of 1932. There can no longer be any mistake as to what the people think of those agreements and of Mr. Bennett's methods of their negotiation.

A Verdict Against Economic Nationalism and Monopolies

The election is an unmistakable verdict in favor of the liberation of external and internal trade; and in favour of a reciprocal agreement with the United States, and of the restoration of trade with Japan upon a mutually beneficial basis in the case of each of these countries. It constitutes a demand for the abolition of the extravagant increases in the tariff, together with the removal of arbitrary taxes and regulations, as imposed by the present administration, which have had the effect of strangling the commerce of the nation, exploiting consumers, and robbing railways of business. It is a demand for an end to the making and altering of tariffs by executive action, and for the substitution of stability for uncertainty in the administration of customs laws. It is an overwhelming condemnation of the policies of economic nationalism, economic isolation, and economic imperialism, upon which the present government has proceeded in all its legislation; and a corresponding demand for the substitution of policies which will make for economic freedom, national expansion, and international good-will.

The election is an endorsation of the Liberal view that credit is a public matter, not of interest to bankers only, but of direct concern to every citizen. It is a verdict against a privately owned and controlled central bank, and in favor of a properly constituted national bank to perform the functions of rediscount, and the control of currency issue considered in terms of public need. There can be no mistaking the demand for a restoration to the government of Canada of control over credit and currency issue. As the campaign proceeded, the issue of the control, by the people, of all functions of government, through their representatives in Parliament, and not by any other power, became increasingly clear. The electorate has declared that a responsible ministry, not organized finance and international money power, is to control in all matters of state.

The election is an overwhelming verdict against amalgamation of the railways of Canada, and against the creation of other monopolies, whether related to the agencies of transportation and communication, production, trade, industry or banking.

Government in Industry and in the State

It is a verdict for the democratization of industry, and the rights of labour and consumers to have their voice heard and influence felt in the control of industrial policy. It is a warning and rebuke to arrogant employers of labour, who have sought to intimidate their employees, and to prevent them from enjoying the free exercise of the franchise, which is the birthright of every Canadian citizen.

Above all, the election is a demand for the restoration of responsible government in Canada, and government not by a single individual but by the collective wisdom of many minds. The people have expressed their determination to end one-man government and to reverse the trend of the past five years in the direction of dictatorship. They have overwhelmingly condemned the present government, and the arbitrary and autocratic methods by which it has proceeded from the day it assumed office, and the manner in which it has persistently defied the unmistakable will of the people.

It is a verdict in favor of personal liberty, electoral reform, and of measures which will, among other things, prevent the national radio being surreptitiously used by any political party for the defamation of character.

It is a verdict in favor of the reduction of the burden of public debt and taxation, and in favor of the attainment of a balanced budget.

It is a verdict in favor of those courses in international relations which will make for peace and good-will.

It is a verdict in favor of a more equitable distribution of wealth, with increasing regard to human need, to the furtherance of social justice, and to the promotion of the common good.

These are all principles and policies which the Liberal party has consistently and continuously espoused, and for which it has steadily fought. We began the fight for these policies and principles in the Parliament of Canada. We carried our advocacy of them to the people in by-elections and in provincial elections. The voice of the people, though

clear and decisive, remained unheeded, and their will and wish ignored. We have now submitted our policies to the people in a general election. We have received their endorsation. We shall proceed to put these policies into effect.

The Task of Liberalism To-day

A century ago Liberalism in Canada had its birth in the struggle for political liberty and responsible government. The existence of both has been threatened in the period of time that Mr. Bennett has been at the head of affairs. They have been maintained in the measure they have only by continuous and strenuous effort on the part of Liberals in and out of Parliament. They will now be fully restored by a Liberal government.

In the new era which dawns today, the struggle for the rights of the people will, in the realm of economic liberty and security, be carried on as never before. Poverty and adversity, want and misery, are the enemies which Liberalism will seek to banish from our land. They have lain in wait at the gate of every Canadian home during the past five years, and their menacing mien has served to destroy the souls, as well as the minds and bodies, of an ever increasing number of men, women and children in our land. We take up at once, as our supreme task, the endeavor to end poverty in the midst of plenty, starvation and unnecessary suffering in a land of abundance, discontent and distress in a country more blessed by Providence than any other on the face of the globe, and to gain for individual lives, and for the nation as a whole, that "health and peace and sweet content" which is the rightful heritage of all.

The people of Canada have made clear that, in their opinion, "present material interests", and a course of action which does not distinguish between materialistic and spiritual values, must make way for something nobler in the conduct of a nation's affairs; and that self-seeking and selfishness, however much they may appear to lead to wordly success, are not the paths of true greatness either for an individual or a nation. The people of Canada today have reaffirmed their faith in the ancient and beneficent precepts that it is only by sharing each other's burdens, and doing unto others as we would have others do unto us, that men and nations can serve their own best interests and the common good.

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Twenty Years of Liberal Leadership

Speech by

The Right Honourable
W. L. Mackenzie King
Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada

(Delivered at the Royal York Hotel, Toronto, August 8, 1939)

In response to the toast
proposed by

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE ERNEST LAPOINTE

on the occasion of the Complimentary Banquet tendered Mr. King by the Liberal Party of Canada

on completion of his 20 years of leadership of the party.

Twenty Years of Leadership

Speech by The Right Honourable Mackenzie King*

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am sure you will believe me when I say, though I have addressed many audiences in the past twenty years, there has never been an occasion when I found it more difficult to give expression to my feelings, and, I might equally say, more difficult to conceal my feelings.

It would be strange indeed if one were not deeply moved by a tribute such as that which has been paid to me this evening by this great audience, representative of leading Liberals in the public life of our country, representative of every province of this Dominion, representative of those who are in high places and in humble places in our land, representative of men and women who are advanced in years, and also of those who are just coming forward to face the battle of life.

It has been given to but few men to receive such a tribute and I would have you believe that I am deeply touched by it, that I am very conscious of all it means, and that I am more than grateful to you for it.

A Tribute to Liberalism

But I would also have you believe that I do not regard the great gathering that is assembled here this evening—a gathering, I am told, which numbers between three and four thousand persons —as related solely, or even mostly, to one person. I am far, I say, from believing that this tribute is one which is being paid only to the individual who has had the honour of being the leader of his party for twenty years. I believe it to be equally a tribute to loyal colleagues without whose constant support and aid and ability it would be impossible for any man to lead a political party for any length of time.

I would also have you believe that I feel it to be equally a tribute to the thousands of men and women who have loyally supported my colleagues and myself during the years we have fought together the battles of Liberalism in this country, for without the support of the thousands, yes, the hundreds of thousands, of men and women in the different parts of a vast land such as ours, it would not be possible for any leader to command a following, or any government to continue to hold office for any length of time or to put its policies into effect.

The gathering this evening is much more than a tribute to one man; it is much more than a tribute even to a government and its supporters; it is a tribute to those great principles which underlie government, principles of Liberalism which, in this land, have

* A verbatim shorthand report was made of Mr. Mackenzie King's speech at the time it was delivered, as he spoke extemporaneously. In the editing of the transcript of shorthand notes, the address has been slightly abbreviated. In no material particular has the context been altered.

been kept aglow while the lights of Liberalism have been going out in many parts of the world. That, above all, is what I feel this gathering tonight to be: an expression of the Liberal heart of Canada toward Liberal principles which the party has done its utmost to keep to the fore in these years of change—of rapid change—those principles of Liberalism which we believe are needed in the world at the present time more than they have ever been in the past, and which we are determined to continue to battle for and make triumphant through years to come.

A Word of Personal Thanks

I wish I could find words with which to express my thanks to all who have had to do with this great gathering. I see at this table those who are and have been my associates in the government of the country. I see assembled here as well leading Liberals from the different provinces of our country, who have come, some from the Atlantic, others from the Pacific, to join in this province of Ontario with fellow Liberals from the other provinces of Canada in giving expression, not only of loyalty and good-will towards the Leader of the party, but equally to the views and aims we hold in common. One would be less than human who was not deeply moved by the many expressions of confidence and trust which have been voiced by those who have spoken. I thank one and all for their kindly words and generous personal references.

I see here tonight not only colleagues and most of those who are at the head of the party in the different provinces of Canada, but I see also numbers of those who, through the years, have also been loyal supporters in Parliament, and many others who have been candidates of the Liberal party in its contests during the past twenty years. In addition, I see a very large number who are representative of the men and women in every constituency who, without any thought of office or of recognition for themselves, but believing that a vigilant citizenry is the surest way of keeping a country safe and secure, have been prepared to fight the battle of Liberalism without any hope of personal reward. As its leader, I am proud indeed to have this tribute paid to the party and its principles.

The Influence of Other Lives.

There are many things I should like to say this evening. Perhaps I may be pardoned if, at the outset, I make a few personal references. I would like to avail myself of this occasion, which is one primarily in the nature of a party gathering, to say, in a word or two, what I feel I owe to some of the lives which have meant very much to my own in my task of leadership of the party. Twenty years is a long time to lead a political party. I imagine that no one wonders more than I do myself how it has come about that, twenty years after the great convention of 1919, I should still find myself at the head of the party.

I should like to thank the members of the committee who, in providing the badge which has been presented to each of the guests, arranged to place on either side of the little portrait of myself, which it contains, the portrait of my mother's father and also the portrait of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Those two lives, ladies and gentlemen, have, I think, influenced my own political life more than any others.

William Lyon Mackenzie

My earliest thoughts of politics were associated with the story of our family as I came to know it as a very little lad. The circumstances surrounding the early struggle for freedom in this country were circumstances which, even in childhood days, became very real to me. I am not going to speak of old political controversies. Happily, much of their bitterness has long since disappeared, and I should be the last to wish to revive it. I may be pardoned, however, if I say that the association my mother's father had with this great city in its early beginnings; the associations he had with the constituency of North York, that fine old stronghold of Liberalism; the part he played in helping to bring about responsible government in this country; the exile he suffered because of that struggle, the imprisonment he endured; my mother's birth at a time when her father was still a political exile, and the family circumstances those of extreme poverty and adversity; Mackenzie's return to this country; the warmth of the welcome extended to him by the Liberals of Canada and his return to Parliament—all of these things made a deep impression upon me as a young man, and, if I am in politics today, I believe that the reason, more than anything else, has been a desire, the deepest in my heart, that I might to some extent be able, on behalf of the less fortunate of my fellow-men, to carry on the struggle for a wider freedom to which my grandfather devoted his life.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier

May I speak of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. As quite a young man, I enjoyed the highest honour, I believe, which can come, in a lifetime, to any man, the honour of being chosen by one of noble character and wide experience, accorded his confidence, and placed by him in a position of great responsibility and trust. That is what I owe to Sir Wilfrid Laurier. I was not much experienced in public affairs, though deeply interested in social and industrial questions, when, at the age of thirty-three, Sir Wilfrid took me into his Cabinet. He, thereby, gave me the opportunity of seeing the work of government as it is carried on from within; and the chance, at an early age, of coming to know something of the problems that faced the Dominion as they had to be met at that time, and as they would have to be met in years to come. I learned then some lessons of leadership of a political party, and you know that lessons learned when one is young are apt to be more deeply impressed than those learned at any other time—I learned then what some of the difficulties of government in Canada were, and

something of how those difficulties could best be surmounted. If I have been successful in helping to meet some of those difficulties, I cannot attribute that success too largely to the example set his colleagues by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and to the political precepts he instilled, consciously and unconsciously, in the minds of those who sat with him around the Council table.

I might say many things of much that was learned at that time, but I shall speak only of one or two precepts which I believe help to account for the fact that we are assembled here in the numbers we are this evening.

Precepts for Public Life

One thing I heard Sir Wilfrid Laurier say, and repeat time and again, was that "it does not do to cherish resentment in public life". I would like to say that, not only to the young Liberals who are coming on, but to all who have any desire to serve their country in a true and noble way: "It does not do to cherish resentment in public life".

I think, ladies and gentlemen, I may point to my record over the twenty years and say that, if in other things I may not have been as successful as I should like to have been, in this I have been true to my great leader, that I have not cherished resentment toward any man or toward any woman in any part of this great country. I have regarded my public life as a public trust, and I have sought, above all else, to keep any matter that might injure my feelings in a personal way so removed from my thoughts that it might never adversely influence my judgment with respect to public affairs.

There is another thing which I first learned from Sir Wilfrid Laurier and which I have always sought to remember. It is that Canada is a very difficult country to govern, and that, if Canada is to be kept as one, full account must be taken of the different elements of which it is composed. Canada's population is made up of persons of different origins and traditions; it is made up in largest part of two great peoples differing in race, differing also largely in religion, though not wholly so; it is made up of people whose interests, economic and otherwise, lie in a variety of directions. There are many who have come to Canada from foreign lands to seek here a new life, new liberty and new freedom. What Laurier sought to impress upon all his colleagues—it was something which, being of the minority in race and religion, he felt deeply in his own nature— was that in a country such as Canada we must constantly have the rights of minorities in our thoughts, that no portion of the population should ever seek to dominate in virtue of the fact that in numbers it is larger than other portions; that it is always well to remember that there can be no great body of opinion or belief that has not some real justification for it.

You have heard tonight my good friend, Ernest Lapointe, speak to you from his heart, as he always speaks. I ask you if

the note which he sounded was not the one which was most familiar when Sir Wilfrid Laurier was at the head of the affairs of this country, the note of chivalry which is so characteristic of the French race and of the French people.

The need of chivalry is another precept I have sought to keep in mind in dealing with political opponents and with all who may differ from me in opinion. I say, ladies and gentlemen, that I believe no man can hope to be successful for any length of time in attempting to carry on the government of Canada who does not seek to be chivalrous to friends and foes alike.

Home Influences and Friends

You have been kind enough, Mr. Lapointe, to make a reference to my mother. I would like to join with my mother's name, that of my father. My father in his earlier years, took an active part in public life. In the county of Waterloo, where I was born, he was President of the Reform Association. At one time he was nominated as the party's candidate for Parliament. He felt it necessary to decline the nomination because of his family obligations. It was through my mother and father that I came to believe it was not less a privilege than a duty to share in some form of public service. The desire to serve, and the desire to help better social conditions, is something which was inspired in my home. I think I can honestly say that this desire lies deeper in my nature than anything else. May I add that I believe it to be the motive which lies deepest in the natures of all who seek to play a disinterested part in public affairs.

Sir William Mulock

There is another name I wish to mention—it is that of Sir William Mulock. There have been many friendships between men in public life in this country, but I doubt if there has been any personal and political friendship which has been closer, which has meant more than the friendship which I have been privileged to enjoy with Sir William Mulock for fifty years. We are all sorry Sir William is not with us tonight. He expected to be here. Having been slightly indisposed during the last few days, it seemed the part of discretion for him, at his ninety-five years, not to attempt to be present tonight. In Sir William's absence, I should like to say what I had wished to say in his presence. I can never be too grateful to him for the opportunity that he, too, afforded me in public life.

I need not remind you that it was Sir William Mulock who, as long ago as 1900, invited me to become the deputy minister of the Department of Labour. My thoughts go back to those years, when talking over social and industrial problems with Sir William, he decided to introduce into Parliament an act which would establish a Department of Labour in Canada. I recall with a great deal of interest today, and I would ask my fellow Liberals to remember, in these days when men and women are discussing

social and industrial problems as never before, that it was a Liberal party in Canada, a Liberal minister and a Liberal Prime Minister, who, forty years ago, first introduced far-reaching legislation with respect to the conditions of labour of that day, and to meet other industrial and social problems which were beginning to arise at that time. I am profoundly thankful that, through the providence of God, Sir William has been spared to witness many evidences of his political wisdom, and to enjoy, at the end of a long public career, the great respect he does of his fellow-countrymen in all parts of our Dominion.

Others to be Remembered

May I also say how very proud I am to have at my side this evening Sir Allan Aylesworth. It was Sir Allan who placed my name in nomination for the leadership of the Liberal party at the great convention of 1919. He is one who has never failed to be true to the principles for which he has fought over many years. He has long been an ornament to the great profession to which he belongs, an ornament also to the Parliament of Canada.

May I refer also to the presence this evening of my good friend Senator Dandurand, the leader of the government in the Senate, with whom I have been so closely associated during all the years I have been in Parliament. He, as you know, is the senior member of the Senate of Canada. During a lifetime of public service he has given the best that is in him to the people of Canada and to great international causes, always seeking to maintain and to further the fundamental principles of freedom.

I must mention also my friend George Graham, because I owe him a very great debt. I am sorry he has not been able to be with us this evening. I would like to say that few men in the public life of Canada have given more help to their leader, or been more loyal, than George Graham has been to me from the day I became the leader of the party.

I should be sorry to conclude these personal references without speaking of Lady Laurier, who bequeathed me the house in which I have lived during the most of the time I have been in Parliament, and speaking, also, of my late friend, the Honourable Peter Larkin, who, along with other friends helped to make my home the one that it is today.

Did time permit, I should like to refer to many others who are much in my thoughts tonight, but I realize you desire to have me speak more particularly of our Party and I will, therefore, come to what I wish most to say in that regard.

A Remarkable Party Record

I have said that, in these days, twenty years is a long time for anyone to be a leader of a political party. What is more remarkable, however, is the fact that in that period of twenty years there have been, as Mr. Lapointe has said, five general elections, of which the Liberal party has carried four. What, perhaps, is most

remarkable of all, is that at the present time, at the end of those twenty years, the government has in parliament a larger following that has been given to any other political leader in the history of Canada. That, ladies and gentlemen, has not come about wholly by chance. I shall give you some of the reasons which, to my mind, help to account for our having the strong party we have today.

First I should place the success which has attended our efforts to secure and maintain unity within the party. That is best exemplified by the colleagues I have at my side today, and the colleagues I have had beside me in the past. Every province in Canada is represented in the Cabinet today. Such was also the case in the first administration I formed.

Let your thoughts go back to the convention of 1919; what was the position of the Liberal party at that time? The country had been through a great war. In the course of that war divisions had inevitably been created. After the formation of the Union Government and the introduction of conscription, the party was openly divided. In the election which took place under the War Times Election Act the Liberals were left with a mere handful of members in the House of Commons. The convention of 1919 helped to bring members of the party together. From that time on, though we encountered many difficulties, we became stronger and stronger. As the years went by, past differences were forgotten, old wounds were healed. We became again a united party.

Nor did we achieve the results we did because times and conditions were easy. We encountered more difficulties at the time we came into office than any previous government. You may recall that, at the time, the total Liberal representation in the House of Commons from the western provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia did not exceed six in all. Moreover, we were confronted with the difficulty of having to co-operate with or to contend with third parties, as well as with an official opposition. It was the first time any government had been faced with several parties on the opposition benches. We also faced, at the outset, a period of great depression. During recent years there has been a condition of change in the world the like of which has never been known before. Subversive tendencies have made it difficult for governments anywhere and everywhere. The miracle is that, in the face of such difficulties, we have succeeded in maintaining the unity of the party, and the unity of the country, to the degree we have.

Canadian Unity the Chief Objective

The reason, above all others, which accounts for our success as a party is that we have sought, above all else, the unity of our country. We have put that before us as the chief of all our objectives. The unity of the government, the unity of the party, were necessary means to that great end.

Canada, as I have repeated, is a difficult country to govern; it is difficult because it is a vast country; it is difficult also because it is a country which but very recently has come into being.

We speak of Confederation as though the Dominion, as we know it, had come into existence in 1867. True enough, 1867 was the date of Confederation, but the Dominion was not then what it has since become. In 1867, there were only four provinces. It was 1870 before Manitoba became a province; it was 1871 before British Columbia was admitted into the Dominion; it was 1873 before Prince Edward Island entered Confederation; it was 1905 before Saskatchewan and Alberta were created as provinces. After all, the period of the history of this broad Dominion does not extend over many years.

During the early years the work that was carried on by government was largely in the nature of development, of settlement, the construction of railways and other necessary public works. Government was concerned largely with material things, but, during these last few years, new classes of social and human problems have come very much to the fore. The early period was one of expansion. Periods of expansion are usually comparatively easy for administrations. We have come now to what, in many ways, might be described as an era of contraction. Speaking in terms of the agencies of transportation and communication, our country is smaller than it was. People are in immediate contact and association with each other, and with other parts of the world, in a way they have never been at any previous time.

Under Confederation, the functions of government were divided between the Dominion and the provinces. Some particular services were assigned to the provinces; other services to the Dominion. But in this period of contraction, and in this time of strain and stress, at home as well as abroad, it has become increasingly difficult for the separate governments, the provincial and the Dominion, to administer affairs in the comparatively easy fashion in which they could be administered some years ago. Difficulties at the outset wholly unforeseen have developed, and these difficulties have become more and more emphasized because of the kind of particularization, in one form or another, which has asserted itself in other countries, as well as our own. I believe we shall be on the way to a solution of these difficulties before very long, now that the relations of the provinces and the Dominion have received the consideration they have at the hands of a great commission, and which, later on, they will receive by the people's representatives in the Provinces and the Dominion alike.

A Nation-wide Party an Essential of National Unity

Today, we are hearing a great deal about the old political parties, as though they were something in the nature of a menace to the country, rather than, as I believe them to be, one of the great instruments for helping to bind together the widely separated parts of the country.

I ask you to consider the nature of a political party. What its purpose is. A political party is not an end in itself. A political party is a means to an end, and that end is the government of the country. It is the means whereby men and women who feel and think alike in regard to the problems of state may so blend their minds and their opinions, and so combine their forces, as to make prevail, in the government of the country, policies based upon the views and principles which they hold in common. In a country of vast distances, such as ours, it is essential that we should have an instrument which serves the interests not of one class merely, or one particular creed, or of one section of the country, but, rather, an instrument which is large enough and strong enough to bring together in common effort those who are of different racial origins and religious faiths, those who belong to different classes, those who come from different sections of the country, those who have different immediate interests to serve.

The Right View of Leadership

In the years that I have been in office in our country, I have sought to regard the position of Prime Minister as first, only in the sense of being first among equals. I have striven to avoid anything that savoured of dictatorship. After all, the best way in which Canada can be governed—and, indeed, the only way, for long—is by the bringing together, into the closest possible association with each other, men of different races and different beliefs and allowing them to share equally in the shaping of the policies of the country.

Mr. Lapointe has referred tonight to something I said at Quebec. May I remind you that, in the periods in our country's history, which have been periods of struggle and transition, it has been found absolutely necessary to have working in close association with each other, men who were representative in a very real way of the great elements which compose this nation.

In the early days of the struggle for political freedom, Mackenzie was associated with Papineau; later, in achieving responsible government, Baldwin and Lafontaine were closely associated; later still, Macdonald and Cartier were associated in the work of Confederation. In a similar way, I have sought and have succeeded in binding close to myself, in all that pertains to the government of this country, my true and trusted friend, Ernest Lapointe. He is the one who, I believe, above all others in Canada, is able to represent the point of view of the province of Quebec from which he comes, and to speak for those of the French race and descent in our country. He knows their sentiments, he senses their feelings, and he understands to the full the matters which to them are of greatest concern.

Mr. Lapointe and I have sat together at the council table now for many years. In all that time, although we differ in racial origin, although we are representative of different religious beliefs,

I cannot think of an occasion when he and I, with respect to any public question in Canada, have ever materially disagreed. We have been able to discover, in comparison with those things on which we might be expected to differ, so many more things that we have in common, that we have been able to see pretty much eye to eye with regard to all the larger issues of this land. And what I say with respect to my colleague and friend, Ernest Lapointe, I can say in almost equal measure with respect to every other colleague I have had.

It is absolutely necessary in the government of this country that the voices that speak for those who dwell by the sea, whether it be the Atlantic or the Pacific, the voices of those who come from industrial provinces, such as Ontario and Quebec, the voices of those who come from vast agrarian areas, such as are found in the provinces of western Canada, should be heard in equal measure. It is necessary, moreover, in order that the several voices may be duly harmonized, there should be a blending of minds, begotten of utmost confidence and the closest association. Only in this way can policies be made to serve the general good, rather than particular and special interests.

Party True to its Principles and Leader

If we are a united party, a strong party, in Canada today, it is also because as a party we have been true to the principles of Liberalism, and because the party has been true to its leader. The leader, on his part, has sought to be true to the party and also to himself. Together, we have sought to serve those great principles which, I believe, are more needed today than at any time in our country's history.

This is a family gathering. It is not necessary, therefore, to say much about what Liberal principles are. I noticed, however, today, that one of the Toronto papers had been kind enough to refer to something I said twenty years ago of the meaning of "Liberalism", as I then understood it. What was there set forth was that Liberalism was the expression of a wider human freedom in all the relationships of life; a wider human freedom for those who live and work on farms, for those who work in shops and factories and mines; a wider human freedom for young and old, for men and women everywhere, in relation to their environments. That has been, I believe, at all times, and in all places, the great aim and the great purpose of Liberalism. I should like to express the purpose of Liberalism tonight as being "to defend and to extend the frontiers of freedom".

Efforts to extend and to defend Freedom

As a young man, much concerned with the social questions of the day, my thoughts were mostly in the direction of seeking to enlarge freedom. As I have had experience in government over these many years, I have come to see that there is another aspect

of Liberalism which is just as important, and which, in our time, has become almost more important than seeking to extend freedom, and that is to preserve freedom, and to defend freedom.

We have seen freedom threatened in many parts of the world, and threatened in no small measure even in our own. As Liberals, we have sought to see that the ground which had been secured in the past was held and consolidated, and, in this period when changes have been taking place so rapidly, that nothing of freedom was lost. I have sought above everything else—and to no little extent have been ridiculed because of it—to see that the constitution of this country was maintained, and the supremacy of Parliament upheld. Why has that been so? Because I believe the constitution of the country to be the paladium of its liberties, the bulwark of its freedom. That does not mean that the Constitution should never be altered. If we are to progress, change is essential in the Constitution, as in all else. The moment, however, for the sake of short cuts and quick action, the structure of the Constitution is materially changed, so that its spirit is lost, through the elimination of some of its seeming restraints, that moment, the chances are a hundred to one it will be found that something of freedom is also being destroyed.

That is why, during recent years, some of us in Parliament opposed as strongly as we could, the efforts which were made, first of all, to do away with the control Parliament had, and ought at all times to have over legislation, by the enactment of legislation, not by Parliament in the form of laws, but by the Executive in the form of orders-in-council under general powers previously secured in the name of peace, order and good government. It explains why we struggled so hard to maintain the control of the purse by Parliament, and to prevent the issuance of blank cheques which would allow governments to do as they pleased with the monies of the people. It was for the same reason we fought measures which sought to give to the administration itself unlimited control of both the import and export trade of the country.

When you stop to look into the matter, you will discover that our country, four or five years ago, had come as near to becoming a dictatorship, in the powers accorded the Executive, as it was possible to have it under our constitution. It may be necessary for a government to be given such powers in times of war, but they can never be justified except to meet the gravest of emergencies.

When, except because of some grave emergency, you give a government, any government, the power under general authority to enact what laws it likes, apart altogether from Parliament, and to do as it pleases with public funds, and to stop trade, either import or export, at the will of the ministry, you have a condition of affairs which immediately threatens the whole basis of a people's liberty and freedom. It was dangers of that kind which we sought so strenously to avoid, and the safeguards against which, since com-

ing again into office, we have restored. We have resolutely sought to preserve the underlying and basic principles of the parliamentary system.

The Dangers of Third Parties and of a Single Party.

In this connection, may I say a word with regard to the part played by major political parties as a means of preserving national unity and national freedom. A government and an opposition are, I believe, essential to the administration of public affairs under the British system of government. Both, I believe, are secured most effiectively by two major political parties, representing opposing attitudes of mind, the Liberal and the Conservative. Major political parties, instead of several parties, or a single party, assure that at all times the government of the day will have an effective opposition, itself prepared, once a government is defeated, to take on the responsibilities of office. Meanwhile, they help to create political relationships which extend as a series of links across the entire nation.

What is the alternative—or what, rather, are the alternatives to perpetuating the so-called old political parties? There are only two that I can see. One is the creation of third parties, greater or less in number; the other, the elimination of all but a single party.

Once you begin to have a number of parties, that minute you commence to encourage sectionalism, that minute you begin to encourage government by classes or groups, government by those who are interested in some particular "ism", as opposed to government, which seeks, above all else, to give expression to the general will. Liberalism always places the general good before the particular interest, be it of class, or race, or creed. For that reason we, as Liberals, have felt that as one great party, nation-wide in extent and outlook, we could best offset the tendencies to division and cleavage in our land.

The other alternative, a single party, means the abolition of all opposition. Once that form of government takes its rise, you have immediately a dictatorship. Once a country allows the control of its affairs to pass into the hands of one political party, with one leader, and one policy, there inevitably begins the glorification of its leader as the embodiment of the entire state, the imposition of the party's will by force, and the end to liberty in the country itself. For these reasons, we have sought, as I have said, to avoid the growth of anything savouring of dictatorship in our country, and I think we have succeeded.

Industrial and International Peace

I had meant to speak not only of some of the things that in the last twenty years we have sought to avoid, but also of many we have sought to effect. I have, unfortunately, devoted to personal matters much more time than I had intended. Let me hurriedly mention one or two things for which we have consistently striven.

I would say that, next to national unity, the furtherance of industrial and international peace has been kept to the fore. As I have already mentioned, it was a Liberal administration that established the Canadian Department of Labour. The government of that day and subsequent Liberal governments have given special attention to legislation aimed at improving relations between the parties to industry. Personally, I have striven, throughout the past twenty years, I might say the past forty years, above all else, to help remove differences which tend to separate class from class. I have striven not less zealously to do what I could to remove the causes of international strife.

Canada's Position as a Nation

As Liberals, we have also sought to see that the position of Canada as a nation within the British Commonwealth was furthered to the uttermost. You will recall that it was a Liberal administration which was the first to have this country negotiate and sign its own treaties. You may remember that it was a Liberal administration which first established legations in several countries, and first welcomed foreign legations to our Capital. These have been among expressions of a fuller nationhood. By such contacts we have established, we have been able to promote closer relationships between nations.

As an illustration, I need only mention the success we have had in negotiating reciprocal trade treaties with the United States. Ever since Confederation, efforts to that end have been made, but all heretofore had been unsuccessful. In the time we have been in office, we have succeeded, not only in making two extensive trade treaties with the United States, but we have played an all-important part in helping to bring into being the treaty between Great Britain and the United States. I venture to say that, in these days, the condition of the world being what it is, no single achievement either in this country or the United States or Great Britain has done more, to point the way to the ultimate solution of world difficulties than these negotiations and agreements.

We have not merely sought to make Canada outstanding as a nation amongst the nations of the British Commonwealth, we have striven above all else to make Canada a power for good amongst the nations of the world.

No Commitments with respect to Unknown Situations

I have been asked at different times to make a declaration with regard to the present situation. First of all, let me say, that with world conditions what they are, no man in public life can be too careful with respect to what he has to say about other countries.

I have been asked to speak plainly, to take a firm stand, and to say at once what Canada is going to do in certain emergencies. There is one thing, ladies and gentlemen, that I will not do, have not done, and cannot be persuaded on any account to do, and that

is to say what this Dominion of Canada will do in a situation that is unknown, that may or may not take place at some future time, and of the circumstances and causes of which we know nothing at the present time.

The Liberal party has always been prepared, at the right time, to take its stand with regard to behaviour on the part of other nations to which it has reason to take exception. I do not believe, however, that we are helping the cause of international peace when, instead of attending to our own business, we prefer to give our attention to the internal affairs of other lands. That the form of government in some countries may be different from ours is their affair; our obligation is to see to our own methods of government. Also that we so conduct our affairs, and so exert our power that, as opportunity affords, we may be in a position so to use our power as to further the betterment of relations between nations.

The World Situation of Today

May I repeat, this evening, something that I have quoted on many occasions, because I believe it to be profoundly true with respect to what is actually taking place in the world at this time. The words are those of the great scientist, Pasteur, who, viewing the conditions of Europe at the time of the Franco-Prussian war, said of the world of his day:

> "Two contrary laws seem to be wrestling with each other nowadays: the one, a law of blood and of death, ever imagining new means of destruction, and forcing nations to be constantly ready for the battlefield—the other, a law of peace, work, and health, ever evolving new means of delivering man from the scourges which beset him. The one seeks violent conquest, the other the relief of Humanity. The latter places one human life above any victory; while the former would sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives to the ambition of one. Which of these two laws will ultimately prevail, God alone knows."

Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you, is that not exactly the condition we have today—forces seeking destruction, forces seeking conquest by might, and other forces working in accordance with and seeking to further the law of peace, work, and health? Those opposing powers are in conflict with each other. The only way in which Force can be effectively **met** is by Force, but the only way in which Force can be **overcome** is by Persuasion. The country that wishes to be of service to other parts of the world, as well as of service to itself, will do all in its power so to prepare as to be able to resist whatever force may be brought against it; at the same time it will go forward equally striving to further peace and good-will among all peoples and races and nations by policies which serve to bring about bonds of union between them.

I have here a paragraph which sets forth what was said by a British officer during the period of the great war. It seems to me

to express a truth which we cannot take too much to heart:

> "We ought to recognize that the real struggle in which this war is only an episode, is not merely between our own countries and anything so unstable and transitory as modern Germany, but between permanent and irreconcilable claimants for the soul of man, and that what makes the German spirit dangerous is not that it is alien, but that it is horribly congenial to almost the whole modern world, with all its cult of power as an end in itself, its coarse material standards, its subordination of personality to mechanism, its worship of an elaborate and soul destroying organization. And if we feel that the absolute claim of personality, the preservation and development of spiritual freedom are worth any sacrifice in time of war, we ought equally to feel that they are worth any sacrifice in time of peace."

In other words, the evils we are facing today are not those of any one people or country, they are evils which are beginning to permeate the whole modern world. The task they impose is that of preserving what is highest in human personality. For that particular end, we must strive above all else.

Humanity the Chief Concern

In speaking at the Guildhall, in London, after returning to England from this country, His Majesty the King quoted a phrase by the late Professor Goldwin Smith, a former resident of this city. It expresses a thought much needed to be kept in mind at this time. The quotation is:—"Over all nations is Humanity." That is something the significance of which cannot be too strongly emphasized. What we need to learn is that in no nation are all the people bad; that within every nation there are hundreds of thousands of men and women who are just as anxious as we are to prevent war, not to speak of the possible destruction of civilization. We must seek by our words, we must seek by our actions, so to conduct the affairs of our country that nothing may be said or done which will render impossible closer relationships between ourselves and those men and women of any and every country who also are striving for peace. Only by joint effort of the kind will peace, rather than war, ultimately triumph.

The Freedom of Mankind

May I leave this thought with you as a last one. Liberalism began with a struggle to extend and to defend freedom. Its work through the years has been to continue the effort to extend and to defend freedom. In the past, in Canada, that effort has been made primarily in relation to freedom within our own country. So far as the future is concerned, we, as Liberals, if we be true to our cause, will seek to extend and defend freedom, not only for ourselves in our own land, but will be prepared to do so, as circumstances may determine, in the interest of mankind.

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BLITZKRIEG

By HENRY J. REILLY

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With the compliments of the author

Brigadier General Henry J. Reilly, O.R.C., U.S.A.

who is convinced that *Blitzkrieg* is the most important factor in the war as it answers the question as to the best war use of aviation, mechanization and motorization and shows the opportunity offered industrial nations and denied the others.

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BLITZKRIEG

By Henry J. Reilly

"BLITZKRIEG" or lightning war is not a German term for just any kind of quickly waged and violent war. It is a name for a special kind of quickly waged and violent war which has a technique of its own. The ideas which lie back of this technique began taking shape in Germany in the period after the failure of either the Allies or the Germans to break through on the Western Front during 1915 and 1916, and they matured after the outbreak of the civil war in Spain.

While some of the guiding conceptions of the Blitzkrieg were tried out in Ethiopia, the results were not considered conclusive. The Ethiopians were a semi-savage people, and they lacked the modern armament and equipment necessary to offer the Italian invaders the kind of resistance essential if Blitzkrieg were to receive a real and complete battlefield test. But Spain furnished a fine proving ground. Then Albania was a dress rehearsal. And in Poland the system was put to the final proof.

The technique of Blitzkrieg is based on the principle of surprise as opposed to an effort to crush an enemy by bringing an overwhelming superiority in numbers and armament to bear against him. It can be likened to the swift and deadly thrust of a rapier as opposed to the crushing blow of a battle-axe or a war club. The objective is not the enemy civilian population but the enemy armed forces, both ground and air.

From the days of earliest military history, surprise has played a prominent part in winning victory. When coupled with better tactics — that is, superior methods of combat on the battlefield — surprise has always given victory against an enemy that relies on superior numbers and courage.

The Christians talked of "Mongol hordes" in an effort to explain their own quick and bloody defeats at Mongol hands. There were no military Mongol hordes in superior numbers. Probably the Christians outnumbered the Mongols in all the battles fought. But the Mongols used their ability to make long, hard marches on their tough Asiatic horses to take by surprise the slow-moving, ponderous masses of knights, men-at-arms and foot soldiers composing the Christian armies. In battle the Mongols had a definite tactical scheme. First their mounted archers, keeping out of reach

of the Christians, shot holes in their ranks. When in consequence a certain amount of confusion had been created, then — and only then — did they charge. The Christians had no tactics in the proper sense of the word. They simply moved forward *en masse*, trusting to courage and numbers.

The war of 1914–1918 offered a parallel, so far as fundamentals are concerned. The Allies, conscious of their superior potential resources, leaned strongly towards the idea of crushing Germany and Austria-Hungary by sheer weight of numbers and metal. Too many of the Allied conferences held during the early years of the war resulted in nothing but an agreement for all the Allies — West, East and South — to make a simultaneous general attack.

The Allies adopted the usury idea of wearing the enemy down by killing and wounding large numbers of his troops. This method seemed particularly attractive because the enemy was distinctly inferior in man power. But it produced the really terrible Allied casualty lists. Nor did it result in any military advantage sufficient to compensate for even a fraction of the losses.

The artillery preparations for the large-scale Allied and German attacks were kept up for days at a time. Enormous quantities of shells were "dumped" on enemy positions. Yet again and again when the infantry went forward they found enough enemy machine guns still in action to cause enormous losses. What was worse, while ground would be captured, the expected crumbling of the enemy and the opening of a path for a break-through to decisive victory did not materialize. The Allied attacks on the Somme, the German ones on Verdun, are the best examples of the fallacy of the idea of crushing an enemy by usury methods.

As a consequence of these failures, leaders began seeking more and more for methods based on superior tactical skill and on surprise. Von Mackensen's break through the Russian line on the Dunajec River in 1915 was an example of superior tactics. He used the artillery rolling barrage to protect his advancing infantry — the first time such a barrage had been used on a large scale.

The successful British attack with tanks at Cambrai was a surprise. It was successful because of the use of a new instrument of war; the tank surprised the Germans. The successful German attack on the Russian Riga line was a surprise attack without a warning artillery preparation. The artillery gave close support to the infantry during its forward advance. In this advance there was no rigid timetable, with the infantry advancing at a given

rate per minute back of an artillery barrage which moved forward according to a precise schedule. Instead, the artillery concentrated its fire on the localities in the enemy line which were the strongest and could offer the greatest resistance to the attacking infantry. While this was going on, the attacking infantry pushed in around the flanks of those positions and cut them off. If they did not surrender, infantry was left to watch them while the main force went on. This happened regardless of whether or not troops on the right or left kept up. A considerable number of heavy trench mortars and light artillery kept up with the infantry to smash opposition where they could, and, where they could not, to smother it with a concentration of fire, while the infantry broke through the weaker spots and outflanked and cut off the stronger ones. The attack was like a tide coming in, rushing around the rocks which it cannot roll forward as it does the pebbles and shells. But the tide nevertheless finishes by submerging the rocks.

The success of the Riga experiment led to the use of the method on a large scale against the British in March and April 1918, and against the French in May. These surprise attacks, employing new artillery and infantry tactics, were so successful that in each case they just missed achieving a complete break-through. Victory for Germany would probably have been the result had a break-through occurred. Fortunately, the Germans lacked the reserve necessary to keep the attacks going; while the Allies possessed reserves enough finally to stop them. The Germans were exhausted just as a break-through seemed imminent.

The attack of July 15 and 16, 1918, from Château-Thierry on the Marne to Rheims, and thence across the Champagne to the Argonne Forest, was the last occasion when the Germans made this sort of an attack on a large scale. From just east of Château-Thierry to Rheims the attack penetrated deeply and threatened a break-through. However, in the Champagne new defensive tactics were used. Only a few men were left in the front line and the artillery and infantry were echeloned in depth. They barely succeeded in stopping the Germans.[1] Once again, the probabilities are that the Germans would have broken through had they possessed the reserves to continue the attack.

Then came the Franco-American counterattack from Château-

[1] The author was in the line near Suippes during this attack and was an eyewitness of how narrow was the margin of victory for the French and Americans.

Thierry to Soissons, begun on July 18. It drove deep into the western flank of the German salient which had been made by the May attack and enlarged by the successes on July 15 and 16 between Château-Thierry and Rheims. The continuation of this attack, and the tremendous increase in the Allied reserves due to the continuous arrival in France of the American troops by the hundreds of thousands, robbed Germany of the initiative and put her on the defensive until the Armistice ended the fighting.

However, neither the events themselves nor the ensuing German defeat were evidence that the new method of attack was wrong. On the contrary, the more the record of the fighting was studied the clearer it seemed that the method of surprise attack was correct. Such was the origin of the idea of the Blitzkrieg, which gradually developed in German minds. It offered a technique of successful surprise and of the exploitation of it by tactics which could rapidly be adjusted to meet successfully each local situation, rather than a plan of formal tactics based on artillery and infantry timetables rigidly laid down before the battle.

However, the children of the gas engine — the tank, the armored car and the airplane — played only a limited part in the German attacks which I have described above. The Germans had but few tanks. Their airplanes did a limited amount of bombing and machine gunning of troops on the ground; but the technique had not yet been evolved for enabling airplanes to give full and continuous support in an attack.

The British and French, however, had developed the tank and had been devoting considerable effort to a study of its best tactical uses. From the beginning their views diverged into two separate conceptions. The French considered the tank as an accompanying weapon to help the infantry overcome enemy machine guns and move forward. They therefore distributed it along the line of the attacking infantry. The British used this type of tank tactics also. But more and more a school developed in England which wanted the tanks utilized in groups, to smash a hole entirely through the enemy line; the tanks would use their own speed and fire power and would not be held down to the pace of the accompanying infantry. In general, the partisans of this plan wished to revive something like the crushing charge of the armored knight against the unarmored foot soldier.

On August 8, 1918, such an attack was made. It was a great success. The lack of morale shown by the German foot soldier on

this occasion caused Ludendorff to call August 8 the black day of the war. Believers in the tank as a weapon in itself, as opposed to the conception that it was merely a weapon to support the infantry, were jubilant.

The leader of this school of thought was General Fuller, who, I believe, possesses one of the most brilliant military minds so far produced in this century. Since 1918 he has had more to do than any other soldier with developing the uses of the tank, armored car and other motor vehicles for land combat. In planning the Blitzkrieg, the Germans adopted many of his ideas. Another officer whose brilliant military mind has helped shape the Blitzkrieg technique is an Italian, General Giulio Douhet.

Soldiers have long studied the problems involved in breaking through a relatively short front when there is a dense population in the rear trained and ready to come to arms within a few days. Some believers in the growing power of aviation argued that the airplane provided the answer. Airplanes would bomb the civilian population and so shatter their morale that whether or not the nation had been trained in universal military service it would sue for peace even before its army had been beaten in battle.

General Giulio Douhet's name has been erroneously attached to this idea. What he advocated was the preparation in time of peace of a large aviation force which, when war comes, will be ready to take off into enemy country without delay. Its objective would not be the civilian population, but the things used by a country first to mobilize and then to concentrate its war strength. "Mobilization" is calling to the colors the civilians who form the trained reserve. This takes time. "Concentration" is moving the units of the army, after they have been raised to war strength, from the places of local assembly — by rail, ship, bus and on foot — to the localities where they are to commence fighting. This also takes time. Thus the essential in each of the two processes needed to bring even the most modern, up-to-date army to the point where it can become effective is *time*.

But a large aviation, prepared in advance, needs no time in order to become effective. It already is mobilized and concentrated. It can start immediately for its goal. From this fact there followed a logical deduction. Why not use an air force against those means which an enemy uses, first to mobilize his troops and then to concentrate them? The means in question consists of barracks, stables, gun sheds, arsenals, railways, railway stations,

bridges, ships, docks, electric light plants and power plants of all kinds. As Douhet conceived it, aviation would be used to make a surprise attack; but the surprise would not be in respect to the places attacked but in respect to the moment of the attack.

Up to the start of the Italian campaign in Ethiopia those military experts who were trying to decide what new equipment science and industry had placed in the locker of Mars, in order to make more effective use of the age-old principles of surprise, had reached three main conclusions: 1, despite the development of trench systems, surprise based on adequate artillery and infantry tactics was still feasible; 2, under certain circumstances, an attack of a large number of tanks can produce an effect which is decisive locally if not for the whole front; and 3, the essential factor is time. Even nations with conscript armies need a period of about ten days to complete mobilization, and a further period for concentration. Now no nation can afford to mobilize and concentrate its full body of troops in peacetime as a merely precautionary measure, still less can it remain in that condition indefinitely. Therefore, the period required by a potential enemy for mobilization and concentration provides an opportunity for effective surprise; and this is a type of attack for which the machine children of the gas engine are especially fitted.

It was to prevent a German surprise attack of this sort that the Maginot Line was conceived and built. Knowing that partially garrisoned fortifications can be captured by surprise, the French created a special corps of troops to garrison it permanently.

Ethiopia provided new experience and new ideas. I shall not go into details. Suffice it to say that the Italians found that while aviation alone could seriously damage the enemy by bombing points of military importance out of artillery reach, such bombings did not produce decisive results. Only when the aviation acted in direct support of troops operating on the ground were decisive victories gained. They also found that tanks operating alone not only failed to produce decisive results but frequently were in great danger, and sometimes were lost, when surrounded by enemy infantry. They found, further, that tanks operating in conjunction with infantry, artillery, cavalry and aviation as well produced excellent results.

In other words, the conclusion reached in Ethiopia was that tanks and aviation, far from replacing ground troops in any way, simply added two more essentials to an up-to-date army. Furthermore, despite Italian achievements in road building, the Italians found as they advanced that mechanized transport was not a substitute for animals if their troops were to be able to fight and were to be supplied anywhere and everywhere. In Ethiopia, the Italians used many thousands of horses, mules, donkeys and camels. In other words, neither in combat nor on the march had the gas engine and its progeny replaced the known tools of war. They had simply added to their number. However, due to the speed of the new mechanical instruments, the possibility of surprise attack had, under certain conditions, been tremendously increased. In cases where mechanized and motorized troops[2] supported by airplanes could act, a surprise blow could be struck in a way never before possible.

However, the conclusions drawn from the Italian campaign in Ethiopia were tentative. They could not be considered conclusive because the Ethiopians were deficient in artillery of all types, and had practically no tanks or aviation at all. But new opportunities for experimentation soon were provided in Spain. Until the battle of Teruel in the winter of 1937–38 the civil conflict in Spain did not assume the character of what could be defined as war (grand warfare); it consisted merely of isolated operations (minor warfare). Beginning with the battle of Teruel, however, and continuing through the final campaign in Catalonia, the number of troops, guns, tanks and planes engaged was sufficiently large to permit one to draw some definite conclusions.[3]

The operations in the final period of warfare in Spain fall into two categories — hard-fought, knockdown and drag-out battles; and pursuits. Teruel, Alfambra, Sarrión, Ebro and Segre belong in the first class. The separate operations leading up to the advance on and capture of Castellón-de-la-Plana consisted of a series of stubborn small battles fought along a wide front. The operations after Alfambra, terminated only when Franco reached the Segre and Ebro Rivers and the Mediterranean at Vinaroz, were a large-scale pursuit. The operations in Catalonia after the crossing of the Segre and Ebro Rivers and the capture of the main positions beyond were another large-scale pursuit. It ter-

[2] Mechanized troops are infantry, cavalry and artillery which use motorized *matériel* in battle. Motorized troops are infantry, artillery and cavalry which use motor transport to get them to the battlefield but which, once there, fight as in the days before the advent of the gas engine.

[3] In the Catalonian offensive Franco assaulted with 352,000 troops, 16,300 of them Italians. In the Seros sector alone 448 guns fired 120,000 rounds for the jump-off of 5 infantry divisions on a front of 10 kilometers. These 5 divisions totalled around 80,000 men.

minated only when the remnants of the governmental armies were driven across the French frontier.

The results showed that weapons and tactics essential in one of the two categories of fighting were frequently of little use in the other. In a hard-fought battle the ability to give and take hard blows was proved to be absolutely necessary. Speed at the sacrifice of this ability introduced dangers which frequently led to defeat. Therefore artillery with first-class fire power, heavily armed infantry, armored tanks with cannon and huge quantities of ammunition were required or else defeat was certain. Similarly, the ability of such troops and their supplies to move fast was entirely subordinate to their ability to march and fight regardless of the difficulties of terrain. Therefore, while motor transport and mechanized heavy artillery and tanks were used wherever the ground permitted, the troops as a whole depended upon horses, mules and donkeys.

For pursuit, on the other hand, the primary requisite was speed, in combination with enough combat power to overcome whatever minor resistance rear guards and the braver elements of defeated troops might put up. The elements that produced the best results were light speedy tanks armed with machine guns, armored cars and motorcycle infantry where the terrain permitted their use; on other terrains, horse cavalry was needed. All this had to be backed up by infantry and by artillery carried in motor trucks where that was possible; in other cases infantry had to march. As the pursuit continued, the infantry would be more and more outdistanced until it was as much as several days in the rear.

The light tanks were shown to be useless in heavy battle because where they were not destroyed by artillery fire they were burnt or captured by the enemy infantry. Even the armored tanks that carried cannon failed when they attacked enemy infantry alone.[4] They proved useful only when they attacked with, and were backed up by, their own infantry, preceded first by a heavy artillery bombardment and then by a heavy aviation bombardment of the enemy position. Thus for hard-fought combat the French theory of tanks as infantry support weapons proved to be correct; while for pursuit General Fuller's theory of mechanized vehicles acting independently was shown to be correct.

[4] In the battle of Fuente de Ebro seven companies of Franco's infantry, unsupported by artillery, decisively defeated from 90 to 100 tanks attacking alone.

In Spain aviation played a rôle which few had foreseen in advance. Such reliable evidence as exists shows that bombing of civilian populations did not produce results worth the risk to planes and pilots, particularly where modern anti-aircraft fire had to be faced. Bombing of important military objectives far in the rear, in accordance with Douhet's theory, while producing considerable damage, was never decisive. This was due to the fact that since airplanes are unable to capture (*i.e.* occupy) and hold territory, they could not prevent the enemy from renewing activity in the localities which had been bombed as soon as the bombing ceased. Also, due to lack of accuracy in bombing and an inability to keep up the bombing incessantly, the destruction accomplished was never total.

However, in battle and pursuit, the rôle played by the Spanish, Italian and German aviation was so important that we are safe in saying that in battle where two sides are equal in everything but aviation, the side which possesses it and uses it as it was used in Spain will win.

In heavy combat, as the preparatory artillery fire ceased, heavy bombing planes bombed and re-bombed the enemy positions from one end to the other. This was followed, during the advance of the attacking infantry and tanks, by continuous diving attacks and light bombing and machine gunning of the enemy positions by the assault aviation. For pursuit, airplanes bombed and machine gunned retreating enemy elements far to the rear. Their bombs and heavy machine guns also furnished the light mechanized and horse cavalry with the high-explosive and heavy machine gun fire which their artillery and heavy machine guns frequently could not provide because they were unable to keep up. In other words, this support from the aviation prevented the artillery and heavy machine guns of the enemy's rear guard from holding up the light mechanized forces and horse cavalry, which would have given the main enemy forces a chance to retreat in order or to organize a new defensive position.

Thus in the one real test, that of battle, the Spanish war proved: 1, that the children of the gas engine could not accomplish decisive results alone; 2, that in heavy combat, while their support is essential, they are subordinate to the infantry and artillery, as their speed cannot compensate for their inability (unlike the infantry and artillery) to take and give heavy blows; and 3, that for pursuit, or against an enemy lacking the artillery of vari-

ous types and the tanks and aviation necessary for successful defense, light and mechanized forces supported by aviation can strike surprise blows which may prove decisive.

With the acceptance by the German and Italian High Commands and General Staffs of the accuracy of this third conclusion, and following the reorganization and rearmament of their armed forces accordingly, the long evolution of the theory of Blitzkrieg was over. It was ready for use as a well-rounded conception of military strategy.

It is important to note the difference between the third and the second conclusions just recorded. The third lies at the basis of the idea of Blitzkrieg; the second indicates conditions under which it could not work and therefore should not be tried.

Thus Blitzkrieg would not be tried against the Maginot Line. Nor, probably, would it be tried against an enemy with a strong air force and numerous large-caliber anti-aircraft and anti-tank guns — in other words, an enemy prepared not only to engage in hard combat against infantry and artillery but also against tanks, armored cars and aviation.

The seizure of Albania gave the Italians the opportunity to indulge in a dress rehearsal of Blitzkrieg. They knew just what force the Albanians could mobilize and how long mobilization would require. They knew that while the Albanians, once they were mobilized, could put a respectable force of infantry and field artillery into the field, they lacked aviation, armored tanks with cannon, and large-caliber anti-aircraft and anti-tank guns. In other words, the period needed by the Albanians for mobilization provided the time needed to execute a successful surprise attack. Lack of *matériel* for heavy combat meant that the Albanian power of resistance against aviation and light troop attacks was so slight that the Italians need not send across the Adriatic the troops and *matériel* necessary for heavy combat. Actually they sent only 23,000 light troops, backed up by armored motorized divisions and supported by aviation. The reports that these troops had to make numerous assaults before they succeeded in landing are not supported by reliable evidence.[5] Inside of a few days the light armored cars and motorcycle troops, backed by more heavily armored and armed mechanized troops, and supported by aviation, had occupied all of Albania. Twelve hundred Grenadier Guard Infantry, fully equipped and armed, were flown over the Adriatic and landed near the capital just as the advance elements of the light troops entered the city. If the light troops had met with any resistance from King Zog's troops, the Grenadiers were there to reinforce them. It was all over before the average Albanian knew what was happening.

[5] In fact, such evidence as I could accumulate on the spot was to the contrary. I talked shortly after the invasion with all the eyewitnesses I could find. The marks of shell fire, etc., indicated no resistance of any consequence.

The Albanian dress rehearsal showed that the technique of Blitzkrieg had been properly developed.

The suppression of the Polish Republic proved that a brave, well-armed, well-equipped and well-trained army, according to ordinary standards, is incapable of resisting a Blitzkrieg attack. True, the Poles made strategic errors in trying to defend all of Poland, instead of accepting the invasion of the western part of their territory as a necessary evil and concentrating their army where it could have made the most effective resistance. But even if they had adopted this correct strategical procedure they would have been beaten. The reason for this statement is that the Poles lacked the aviation, the well-armored tanks with cannon, and the large-caliber anti-tank and anti-aircraft guns which would be needed to stop and defeat a Blitzkrieg force. And I might say in passing that the Regular Army and National Guard of the United States would fare no better today, and for exactly the same reason.

The Blitzkrieg technique, as exemplified so successfully in Poland, follows certain well-defined successive steps:

1. An airplane attack is made on all enemy aviation and aërodromes.

2. An airplane attack is made on all railway junctions and stations, barracks, depots, bridges, and motor convoys on roads — that is, everything used by an army for mobilization and concentration. (If the aviation is large enough it carries out 1 and 2 simultaneously.)

3. While this is going on, the artillery of all calibers which already is in place near the border heavily shells all the enemy batteries, trenches and other works, while the regular infantry assaults and takes them. Heavy bombing and light diving bombing and machine gunning by airplanes assist this preparation. These operations by the troops armed and trained for hard combat open the way for the Blitzkrieg troops. Of course, if there are no minor fortifications or organized resistance of any kind at the frontier, this step is not necessary. In those circumstances the

Blitzkrieg troops start their invasion directly after steps 1 and 2 have been executed.

4. The light divisions made up of motorcycle infantry and machine guns, armored cars, light tanks (carried in trucks), horse cavalry, and sometimes horse artillery (light) and artillery carried in trucks, lead the way.

5. After the light divisions come the armored divisions, each composed of about 400 tanks (generally medium-sized), motorized infantry, artillery, anti-tank and anti-aircraft artillery, and engineers. The light and armored divisions are closely supported by aviation, which is ready at all times with heavy bombing planes and diving light bombing and machine gun planes to help overcome any enemy resistance.

6. Next come infantry and artillery in motor trucks. Italy also has arrangements to pick up infantry units and fly them wherever needed. Reliable reports indicate that Germany has at least four regularly organized air regiments, each consisting of a fully equipped and armed regiment of infantry, with the transport planes necessary to fly them all at one and the same time. The purpose of these is to reinforce quickly the light and armored divisions should they meet with more resistance than they can overcome with their aviation support. The troops would not be landed by parachute in the rear of the enemy, a procedure few military men would care to sanction; troops so landed would probably be a present to the enemy. Instead, the airplanes land just out of enemy artillery range, in the rear of their own troops.

The Blitzkrieg troops do not attempt to engage in knockdown, drag-out combat with enemy troops prepared for this type of fighting. Instead, they go around the flanks, leaving the other job to the regular divisions which come plodding along in the rear.

No nation in Central Europe or the Balkans is armed and equipped, any more than was Poland, to withstand a Blitzkrieg attack. Nor is Turkey. The possibility therefore is that in the not distant future either Germany or Italy, or both, will use their special light and armored divisions and aviation to enforce their will in these regions should any of the countries involved dare to be intractable either economically or militarily.

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CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT—UNREVISED EDITION

Thursday, January 25, 1940

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HOUSE OF COMMONS

Speaker: The Honourable PIERRE-FRANÇOIS CASGRAIN

SIXTH SESSION—EIGHTEENTH PARLIAMENT—OPENING

THURSDAY, January 25, 1940.

The parliament which had been prorogued from time to time to the twenty-fifth day of January, 1940, met this day at Ottawa, for the dispatch of business.

The house met at three o'clock, the Speaker in the chair.

Mr. Speaker read a communication from the Governor General's secretary, announcing that His Excellency the Governor General would proceed to the Senate chamber at three p.m. on this day, for the purpose of formally opening the session of the dominion parliament.

A message was delivered by Major A. R. Thompson, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, as follows:

Mr. Speaker, His Excellency the Governor General desires the immediate attendance of this honourable house in the chamber of the honourable the Senate.

Accordingly the house went up to the Senate chamber.

And the house being returned to the Commons chamber:

VACANCIES

Mr. SPEAKER: I have the honour to inform the house that during the recess I received communications from several members, notifying me that the following vacancies had occurred in the representation, viz:

Of Wilfrid Girouard, Esquire, member for the electoral district of Drummond-Arthabaska, by resignation;

Of Pierre Emile Cote, Esquire, member for the electoral district of Bonaventure, by resignation;

Of Otto Buchanan Elliott, Esquire, member for the electoral district of Kindersley, by resignation;

Of James Warren Rutherford, Esquire, member for the electoral district of Kent, Ontario, by decease;

Of Joseph Leon Vital Mallette, Esquire, member for the electoral district of Jacques-Cartier, by decease;

Of Alexander MacGillivray Young, Esquire, member for the electoral district of Saskatoon City, by decease;

Of Hon. Fernand Rinfret, member for the electoral district of St. James, by decease;

Of Alfred Edgar MacLean, Esquire, member for the electoral district of Prince, by decease.

I accordingly issued my several warrants to the chief electoral officer to make out new writs of election for the said electoral districts, respectively.

NEW MEMBERS

Mr. SPEAKER: I have the honour to inform the house that during the recess the clerk of the house has received from the chief electoral officer certificates of the election and return of the following members, viz:

Of Douglas George Leopold Cunnington, Esquire, for the electoral district of Calgary West;

Of Arthur Lisle Thompson, Esquire, for the electoral district of Kent, Ontario;

Of Eugene Durocher, Esquire, for the electoral district of St. James;

Of Elphège Marier, Esquire, for the electoral district of Jacques-Cartier;

Of Hon. James Layton Ralston, for the electoral district of Prince;

Of Walter George Brown, Esquire, for the electoral district of Saskatoon City.

NEW MEMBERS INTRODUCED

Hon. James Layton Ralston, member for the electoral district of Prince, introduced by Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and Right Hon. Ernest Lapointe.

Arthur Lisle Thompson, Esquire, member for the electoral district of Kent, Ontario, introduced by Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and Hon. N. A. McLarty.

Eugene Durocher, Esquire, member for the electoral district of St. James, introduced by Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and Right Hon. Ernest Lapointe.

Elphège Marier, Esquire, member for the electoral district of Jacques Cartier, introduced by Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and Right Hon. Ernest Lapointe.

Douglas George Leopold Cunnington, Esquire, member for the electoral district of Calgary West, introduced by Hon. Robert J. Manion and Mr. E. E. Perley.

Walter George Brown, Esquire, member for the electoral district of Saskatoon City, introduced by Miss Agnes C. Macphail and Mr. Joseph Needham.

OATHS OF OFFICE

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 1, respecting the administration of oaths of office.

Motion agreed to and bill read the first time.

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S SPEECH

Mr. SPEAKER: I have the honour to inform the house that when the house did attend His Excellency the Governor General this day in the Senate chamber, His Excellency was pleased to make a speech to both houses of parliament. To prevent mistakes, I have obtained a copy, which is as follows. Shall I dispense?

Mr. MANION: No; I should like to have it read.

Mr. SPEAKER: I will have it read by the clerk assistant.

Honourable Members of the Senate:

Members of the House of Commons:

During the months which have elapsed since the close of the special session, my ministers have given unremitting attention to the organization and prosecution of Canada's war effort. The government has been in constant consultation with the government of the United Kingdom, and the measures adopted have been those which it is believed will best serve the common cause.

Vigorous action has been taken through all branches of the armed forces to provide for the security and defence of Canada, and for co-operation with the allied forces on land, on sea and in the air.

For the effective prosecution of the war, Canada's industrial, financial and other resources are being steadily mobilized and all war activities coordinated. The production and marketing of agricultural and other primary products have been given constructive direction; and safeguards have been provided against undue enhancement, under war conditions, of the prices of food, fuel and other necessaries of life.

Since last you met the developments of the war have made increasingly clear the nature of the struggle in which we are engaged. The very existence of nations that cherish independence and democratic ideals is menaced by enemy forces of ruthless aggression which aim to dominate mankind by terror and violence. The Canadian people have shown their determination to share with Britain and France to the utmost of their strength in the defence of freedom.

My ministers are of the opinion that the effective prosecution of the war makes it imperative that those who are charged with the grave responsibility of carrying on the government of Canada should, in this critical period, be fortified by a direct and unquestioned mandate from the people. My advisers, accordingly, having regard to existing conditions and the stage of the life of the present parliament, have decided upon an immediate appeal to the country.

Honourable Members of the Senate:

Members of the House of Commons:

In all that pertains to the discharge of your responsible duties, may Divine Providence be your strength and guide.

WAR MEASURES ACT

ORDERS IN COUNCIL RESPECTING WAR EMERGENCY MATTERS TABLED

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I wish to table certain orders in council respecting war emergency matters. These are the various orders that have been passed under the War Measures Act. There are typewritten copies of all measures that have been passed since the close of the special session and up to and including January 17, 1940. All orders in council passed under the authority of the War Measures Act having the character of legislation are being printed and I have every reason to believe that they will be ready, both in French and in English, by the middle of next week.

LIBRARY OF PARLIAMENT

Mr. SPEAKER: I have the honour to lay before the house the report of the general librarian of parliament.

ACTING DEPUTY SERGEANT AT ARMS

Mr. SPEAKER: I beg to inform the house that I have appointed John Laundy to be acting deputy sergeant at arms during the present session.

DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT

STATEMENT OF THE PRIME MINISTER AS TO PROPOSED GENERAL ELECTION

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I rise to move that the house do now adjourn, but if the house would permit me so to do I should like to make a statement to hon. members with respect to the paragraph in the speech from the throne which refers to an immediate dissolution. Hon. members will be interested in knowing the circumstances which

have actuated the ministry in advising his excellency that no time should be lost in having an appeal to the country.

The paragraph to which I have particular reference is the following:

My ministers are of the opinion that the effective prosecution of the war makes it imperative that those who are charged with the grave responsibility of carrying on the government of Canada should, in this critical period, be fortified by a direct and unquestioned mandate from the people. My advisers, accordingly, having regard to existing conditions and the stage of the life of the present parliament, have decided upon an immediate appeal to the country.

The house will recall that at the special session my hon. friend the leader of the opposition (Mr. Manion) asked me if I was prepared to give an undertaking that an election would not be called by the present government before parliament had again been summoned. I gave him that assurance and I should like to read to the house the words used in that connection. They will be found at page 175 of unrevised *Hansard* of September 12 last, and at page 157 of the revised *Hansard*. They are as follows:

As to the question of a general election before another session, my hon. friend has been kind enough to say that I told him some time ago that I would not think of anything of the kind or countenance it. Nor have I had a suggestion from any member of parliament that a general election should be thought of between now and another session.

I wish to direct particular attention to these words: "before another session" and "a general election should be thought of between now"—that is the time at which I was speaking last September—"and another session."

I then gave to the house my own views with respect to the undesirability of parliament extending its own term. Perhaps I had better give that paragraph, as it follows in natural sequence. I said:

The term of parliament is five years; and as time runs on there may be in the minds of some a temptation to follow the course which was adopted during the last war and have parliament perpetuate its term, provided the war is not over at that time. Personally, I never liked the extension which was made during the time of the last conflict. In my opinion, the people of the country have the right to say whom they wish to have administering the affairs of Canada, and they should exercise that right periodically at the time provided for in the constitution. I do not think any parliament should take it upon itself to deprive the people of that right. That is my feeling, very strongly, at the moment. There may be conditions between now and the end of this parliament which may necessitate a reconsideration of this question, but I should hope that everyone would expect that the people of Canada should have a chance to express their minds freely with regard to the administration, the opposition, third parties and generally with their representation in parliament within the period of time which the constitution provides.

I returned to the question of calling the next session of parliament, and said:

It is my intention to have parliament called again in January. It may possibly be necessary to have parliament called before that, but I should expect that we would follow the usual procedure and bring hon. members together some time in the month of January. At that time, we will be in a position to consider what steps may be most necessary with regard to developments that may ensue meanwhile. I hope I have made perfectly clear the position of my colleagues and myself.

Then my hon. friend the leader of the opposition was kind enough to say:

May I be allowed, Mr. Speaker, to break the rules and speak again merely to express my thanks to the Prime Minister for his straightforward answer to my question.

I think it is quite clear from what I have read what was in my mind at the time as to the different circumstances that might arise in a period of war; and that my intention was that before there should be a dissolution of this parliament, parliament itself should be summoned and given that information; in other words, that there would be no election between the last special session and the calling of the present session.

May I say, Mr. Speaker, that at that time I had hoped that circumstances might be such as would permit of another session of this parliament being held before a general election. But as I have said, no one can foresee what is likely to take place in a time of war, and none can foretell the degree to which a government may continue to enjoy the confidence of the people in carrying on the affairs of the nation at so critical a time. I was careful therefore to say that it would be desirable when parliament next assembled to have had a careful review in the interval of all circumstances which would bear on the question of whether it would be advisable to proceed in a period of war with a pre-election session, or to have on the hustings such discussion as must necessarily take place—in other words, to avoid two political battles, one in parliament and one on the hustings as well.

I had felt, I must say, up until a very short time ago that it was going to be possible, at a session called in the month of January, to present to this parliament the measures which the government felt it would be necessary, before an appeal to the people, to carry through for the effective prosecution of the war. I had always been very much concerned, as I think the house is well aware, about the long period of time required by our elections act for a general election. Under the act and its administration I think something like eight weeks

is required to elapse between the date of dissolution and the day of election. I had felt that possibly we might get over the difficulty of having such a long interval while war was on and parliament was not in session, by shortening the time in which there would be no parliament through an amendment to our elections act to reduce the period in which the country would be without a parliament to something like four weeks. I spoke to my hon. friend the leader of the opposition about that prior to the special session of last year. I should have liked to introduce such a measure at that time, but I gathered from what he said to me and from what others have said, that the introduction of any measure to amend the elections act would be certain to create some suspicion in the minds of some hon. members and to provoke a kind of discussion that would not be advisable.

Mr. MANION: If the right hon. gentleman will permit me to interject, I should like him to take his own responsibility for his acts and not try to put it on other people.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I am going to take full responsibility, Mr. Speaker—

Mr. MANION: Then take it.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I thought I had done my hon. friend a courtesy in mentioning that I had talked the matter over with him before the last session and that he had given me his view that it would be unwise to attempt a measure of that kind.

Mr. MANION: The right hon. gentleman told me that he was going to bring it in at this session of parliament. I pointed out that such a period would not give a leader time to cross this country, and my right hon. friend's reply was, "Why should a leader cross this country?" So far as bringing in such a measure last session is concerned, there was no discussion.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Possibly there may be some misunderstanding in the mind of my hon. friend as to just what our conversation was. At any rate he is quite right when he says that he had mentioned to me, as one of the reasons why it would not be advisable to try to shorten the period for the election, that the leader would wish to take seven weeks, at least, in discussing issues before the electorate in the country. However, my hon. friend has made quite clear his own point of view, which is that he should have a period of something like eight weeks, because that is about the time required under the act, to address the electorate in a period of a general election.

If that is the case, it demands consideration at once of just when a dissolution should take place which will involve a campaign of something like eight weeks, and controversy on electoral matters throughout that period of time, at a time when the country is in a state of war and Europe is in the condition which we all know it to be in to-day.

But I am getting away from what I had wished to make clear to the house, which was that I had hoped there would be a feeling of sufficient confidence in the present administration, and an evidence of sufficient unity between all parts of this country to have enabled us, at a session at this time, to introduce a number of measures and then to go to the country a little later on. Until a week or two ago—indeed, until a week ago—it was my intention that this should be the procedure. But, as hon. members know, just a week ago to-day, or yesterday, the premier of the largest province in this country—

Miss MACPHAIL: A Liberal.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: —introduced in the Ontario legislature a resolution which was directed in no uncertain terms at the government of Canada now administering its affairs. That resolution was seconded by the leader of the Conservative opposition in the Ontario legislature; and when it came to a vote, the resolution was supported by all of the ministers of the Ontario government who were present in the house at the time, by some of the members of the Liberal party in Ontario, and by all of the Conservative members in the legislature. The resolution had been preceded by some discussion in the legislature—a discussion which had taken place, I think, for a couple of days—attacking the manner in which this government has sought to administer the affairs of the country during this period of war. I think I would have paid little or no attention to that discussion had it been confined to the leader of the government of Ontario and to the leader of the opposition of Ontario; I would have allowed it to pass, and not made further mention of the matter other than to discuss the merits of any points which might have been raised in the discussion. However, when the Ontario legislature adopted the resolution and it was given a permanent place on the records of the legislature, quite a different situation presented itself to this government. May I read the resolution?

That this house has heard with interest the reports made by the prime minister and the leader of the opposition of the result of their visit to Ottawa, to discuss war measures with the national government and this house hereby endorses the statements made by the two members in question and joins with them in regretting that the federal government at Ottawa has made so little effort to prosecute Canada's duty in the war in the vigorous manner the people of Canada desire to see.

I ask hon. members to notice the extent of the charge which is made there. It is a charge against the federal government. It is not against myself alone personally but against the entire administration. There have been, as no doubt hon. members are aware, many other attacks upon me personally as leader of the government; but this is against the government at Ottawa, and the charge is that we have made so little effort to prosecute the war. It is further suggested that this criticism, or censure, or whatever it is, is being made in the name of the people of Canada, because it reads: "to prosecute Canada's duty in the war in the vigorous manner the people of Canada desire to see."

I do not think I need say to hon. members that, since war was declared, and this parliament decided that Canada would participate in the war—decided in the unanimous manner in which it did—my colleagues and myself have given every ounce of our strength and every hour of our time in the most devoted manner possible endeavouring to further Canada's war effort, and the interests of the nation. We have not tried to do so in a dramatic or spectacular manner. We are too conscious of the gravity of the responsibility which is ours. But we have steadily, day in, day out, given the most careful and thoughtful consideration to every step that should be taken to see that that step would be taken in a manner which would meet with the approval of the people of Canada, and which, so far as the war is concerned, would best serve to further Canada's war effort in the most effective manner possible. I had thought, and I believe, that the Canadian people approve both the manner in which the government has undertaken its duties, and the way in which it has discharged them. The very fact that we have to-day throughout the country a chorus, one might almost say, of the press expressing the hope that this administration will continue to carry on, is the best evidence that at least the press of the country, which have to do with the moulding of public opinion, and know something about current opinion, believe that this government has solidly behind it the support of the people.

However, that is not the only thing. Even that resolution might have been put to one side were it not for the evident purpose which lies back of it. That resolution was passed to start a political campaign while this parliament was in session, to have advantage taken of the fact that my colleagues and myself would be obliged to give our attention and our whole attention while parliament was sitting to the work of parliament as well as to the problems of the war and the carrying on of Canada's war effort, while other gentlemen were to be free to criticize our effort, to misrepresent everything that was done, and everything that to them might seem to be left undone. In other words, we were to continue to carry the grave responsibility of doing our duty in the matter of Canada's war effort, and at the same time assume a very great responsibility—not as great as the other, but a very great responsibility—of meeting parliament day in and day out and to try so to conduct debates here as to have due regard for what is taking place in Europe and the care to be exercized with respect to whatever is said and whatever is done, and to have at the same time an electoral campaign carried on against us by those who are political opponents of the administration.

What is the cry already? Already, after this resolution is passed, the leader of the Conservative party of Ontario, at a political meeting, tells the meeting, and through the meeting the province, and through the province the country, that the election must start at once; and he gives them the slogan, "King must go." That is to be the slogan. I am quite prepared to accept that slogan if he will add the words, "to the country." But I ask hon. members: How can I be expected to do what is expected of me by this country in a time of war as leader of the government of Canada if all of my time and thought is to be surrounded by the animosities of political opponents who are seeking to undermine every effort that is being put forward in the leadership of the administration?

I should have thought that, at least until this house had met and expressed its views, those who have any sense of public duty would have been content to allow their political animosity not to be given too much expression. However, it is now evident that a political campaign has begun. That being so, I ask hon. members whether it is wise to try to carry on a political campaign in the country and a political campaign in this parliament—two campaigns at one and the same time—while war is going on at the front.

People the world over will understand, I believe, what may be said on the hustings, and they will be prepared to make some allowance for extreme statements made in the course of a political campaign. They can understand political opponents speaking there in a different way than where they have the responsibility which rests upon members in this house. It is a very different thing to have such discussions introduced into the debates in this house as is inevitable once a campaign has started in the country.

Apart from that, however, may I say there are very strong reasons—and they are set forth in the speech from the throne—why it is in the public interest, in the interest of the country, and in the interest of the allied powers, if we are to have an election, as it is now perfectly evident that we must have, we should have it just as soon as possible, and have it over at the earliest moment.

In the first place, as indicated by the speech from the throne, this is the sixth session of the present parliament, one session having been a special one. This parliament was returned in 1935 and this is 1940. That in itself, in my opinion, is the strongest reason why there should be an election at this time. Some may say that this was not the case with Sir Robert Borden; that this was not the view that he took. Sir Robert Borden's government was returned to power in 1911 and war came on in 1914. Sir Robert had been in office for only three years, and there were the most cogent of reasons why he should carry on. He had still another two years before his term would be completed. Our situation, however, is quite different. As everyone knows, this is the last session of this parliament. When the time came for dissolution as fixed by the constitution, Sir Robert Borden found difficulties in the way, because of the stage to which the war had advanced, of giving to the people the right to which they are periodically entitled of declaring to whom they wish to entrust the management of their affairs, and this at a very critical time. There is, therefore, the strongest constitutional reason why we should meet the country just as soon as we possibly can.

But I would mention another circumstance. Had I thought that it would have been in the interests of the country so to do, I would have gone to the people immediately after the last special session in order that those charged with the great responsibility of government in war time might have a direct and unquestionable mandate from the electorate. I realized at that time, however, that it was necessary that Canada's war effort should be gotten under way as expeditiously as possible, that the country should be changed as speedily as possible from a peace-time to a war-time organization, that all necessary military and economic measures should be taken without delay. Once those measures were under way it was clear the situation would be entirely different. Fortunately, in the months that have elapsed since the special session, the government has been able to organize Canada's war effort and to do so very effectively. We have brought into the public service, irrespective of the parties to which they belong, key men who, I believe, enjoy the confidence of the people generally. We have formed the necessary boards to deal with the different war activities. All the work of organization with respect to the army, the navy and the air force has been admirably initiated and developed. The first Canadian division is now in Great Britain and the British commonwealth air training scheme is under way. We have just carried through, in the course of a day or two, our Canadian war loan, so that provision is made from that source for the financial needs of the country for the next considerable period of time. In connection with economic, financial and military affairs the basic work has been successfully planned and accomplished and the officials of the permanent service are at this moment in the best position—a better position than they are ever likely to be in at any other time—to carry out further development while a political campaign is in progress.

May I again ask hon. members this question: If an election is to take place, is it not wise to have it just as soon as we possibly can?

Miss MACPHAIL: In the winter?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I will answer my hon. friend's question in that regard. What about the men who are fighting overseas? What about the military forces everywhere? They have to face the winter.

Miss MACPHAIL: I should like to see them drive over the roads.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I have considered that question carefully and I think my answer will appeal to my hon. friend as well as to others. I am told by the chief electoral officer that an election will take nearly eight weeks. Provided we have a dissolution in the very near future, we might have the election over before the end of March. Before the end of March the roads will not have been broken up.

Miss MACPHAIL: They will be piled up, fence-high.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I do not care what time of year an election is held, there will always be some objections to consider. If you have not an election before the roads begin to break up in the month of March, and if you are considering in the matter the physical condition of the country, April will not be a month for an election, nor will May—May, more particularly, for the reason that if you start the election before May you will have to have the lists prepared before that month; and as everyone knows, the first of

May is the time when a large percentage of the people in the cities move from one location to another, so that if proper lists were to be in existence, there would have to be a further revision of lists at that time. If you go past that time, it takes you into the month of June. For many reasons, I do not think it is advisable that we should wait until June for a general election.

May I give what I regard as the strongest reason for having an immediate election. The one thing that has caused me more anxiety than anything else, with regard to the question of having a general election, is what may happen at the front while an election is taking place. I have had to face, and my colleagues have had to face, the probability of a great offensive on the western front taking place in the spring. I say that if it is possible for this country to have its general elections over before a great offensive takes place, or before the worst of the fighting in Europe takes place, then it is entirely in the public interest that this should be done. There will be very heavy problems to consider at that time, once the war "begins in earnest", as people are saying; there will be tremendous problems to consider, and the government that has to deal with those problems must have to no uncertain degree the confidence and the backing of the people of this country.

Now I hope hon. members will realize that what I am proposing at the moment is not to extend my time of office, or that of my colleagues, but solely to allow the people of this country to say, as they are entitled to say, who they wish to carry on their government during this very critical time. If I were seeking to extend the time of the present administration or to extend my own time as leader of the government of this dominion, then I might be open to criticism from hon. gentlemen opposite and from opponents in different parts of the country. But when I am prepared to entrust my political future and the political future of this administration—not merely prepared but anxious that it should be entrusted—to the voice of the people of this country, no criticism can be raised against an intent of that kind.

One other point. The taking of the military vote is an important matter in connection with an election in war time. I think this country still has vivid recollections of how that vote was taken in the last war. We do not want any more occurrences of the kind. We want a perfectly straightforward and honest expression of opinion from the military forces; they are, if anything, more entitled to it than any other class in this country. May I draw attention to this: That vote can, I believe, be taken while the first division is still in England, before its members may go to Europe, if an election is brought on before May. Though of this I cannot, of course, say. If delayed, the soldiers' vote will certainly have to be taken while they are fighting on the continent of Europe, which would present a very different situation. This government intends, as all hon. members know, if it is returned, to see that this first division is reinforced in strength from month to month and week to week, but it also intends to see that a second division is sent overseas as soon as may be possible. Now that second division, the men who are likely to go in it and form part of it, are in this country at the present time; they can still be in the country during a political campaign if the latter is held immediately. I ask if it is not fairer to them, if it is not better for everyone, that while they are still in a position to exercise the franchise in their own land, they should have their right to record their vote with respect to the government that is to carry on when their lives are at stake?

Mr. CAHAN: Does my right hon. friend intend to introduce legislation to that effect?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My hon. friend will himself see just how advisable that would be. I may say to him at once that the government intends to make provision for the military vote being taken overseas, and will do that under the War Measures Act as a most necessary war measure.

Mr. MANION: That is the way Hitler would do it.

Mr. LAPOINTE (Quebec East): Hitler does not take any vote.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: One word further in regard to the holding of an election at this time. My colleagues and I have realized, as perhaps no others could possibly begin to realize, how important it is that we should begin immediately to prepare for post-war problems. Parliament should be in a position to deal not merely with the immediate problems of war, but also with those problems which will arise as soon as the war is over and even before. Measures such as the unemployment insurance legislation should be passed as speedily as possible. I ask hon. members: Do they believe it is going to be possible to put through these measures except by a parliament that comes fresh from the people with a mandate to carry on the government and enact such necessary measures?

May I conclude what I have to say as to the significance of an election in time of war by quoting a passage, the value of which I think will be appreciated by all those who are

lovers of liberty and freedom. I have before me a statement made by President Abraham Lincoln concerning the question of having an election in war time. President Lincoln in the time of his administration was faced with a problem much more critical than any problem with which we in Canada are faced at this moment; it was that of having an election during a period of civil war, an election at a time when his whole country was divided by civil war. Lincoln had to ask himself the question whether he should take advantage of some means whereby he could extend his term and the term of his government, or whether the people should be given the right which is always theirs of saying periodically who should carry on their government. I should like to read what President Lincoln had to say with respect to the election which took place under his administration during the period of the civil war. I read from a volume entitled, "Abraham Lincoln, Complete Works," comprising his speeches, letters, state papers, and miscellaneous writings; edited by John G. Nicolay and John Hay. The volume I have in my hand is one which was given to me by Lady Laurier. It was taken from Sir Wilfrid Laurier's library after Sir Wilfrid's death. These are the words Lincoln used in responding to a serenade which took place on November 10, 1864. They will be found at page 595 of volume 2:

If the loyal people united were put to the utmost of their strength by the rebellion, must they not fail when divided and partially paralyzed by a political war among themselves? But the election was a necessity. We cannot have free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forego or postpone a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us. The strife of the election is but human nature practically applied to the facts of the case. What has occurred in this case must ever recur in similar cases. Human nature will not change. In any future great national trial, compared with the men of this, we shall have as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good. Let us, therefore, study the incidents of this as philosophy to learn wisdom from, and none of them as wrongs to be revenged. But the election, along with its incidental and undesirable strife, has done good too. It has demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war. Until now, it has not been known to the world that this was a possibility. It shows, also, how sound and how strong we still are. It shows that, even among candidates of the same party, he who is most devoted to the Union and most opposed to treason can receive most of the people's votes.

Mr. Speaker, when at previous sessions we were considering the possibility of this country having to decide the part it would take should a great war come in Europe, as the leader of the Liberal party and the leader of the present administration I took the position very strongly, time and time again, that parliament would decide that question. I was told from many sides that it was ridiculous to think of allowing parliament to decide the question of peace or war, that the war would speedily assume proportions which would make impossible anything in the way of parliamentary discussion. I gave my word to the people of this country that parliament would decide, and that the extent to which Canada would participate in the war would depend upon the decision of our own parliament and the provision that parliament might make. I kept my word in that regard. Parliament did decide—it gave its decision in no uncertain terms, and gave this government the means wherewith to carry on Canada's war effort. Now we are confronted with a situation in which our strength is being impaired by those who seek to create in the public mind distrust concerning both our ability and our patriotic efforts. There is only one national authority higher than parliament; that is the people themselves whose servants as members of parliament we all are. Just as I was prepared to trust parliament to make the decision as to Canada's participation in war, so I am prepared to trust the people with respect to the all-important decision as to what government is to administer their affairs during the years in which this war may be waged and probably be concerned with the terms of peace.

It is not an easy or light responsibility, Mr. Speaker, which my colleagues and I have at this time and have had during the past four or five months—yes, and I might well say during the last few years. We are in the midst of the worst situation this world has ever known, and I am afraid that the situation is going to get worse and worse. No one can say how long this war will last. Those who seem to be best informed tell us it is not going to be one year or two years; it may be three years; it may be longer than that. As respects the countries that may be drawn into the conflict, there appears to be a danger of the war spreading over vaster areas than were ever thought of before it commenced.

So may I say that if we have to carry the grave responsibility of office in war and at a time of war such as the present, then we must be fortified by the voice of this country, expressed in no uncertain terms. If there is any group of men more capable of carrying on Canada's war effort and likely to do so more effectively, then the people should have the right to entrust them with that great

obligation. We propose to leave it to the people of Canada to say whom they wish to carry on the government of Canada in this period of world war.

I move, Mr. Speaker, that the house do now adjourn.

Hon. R. J. MANION (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker—

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The motion is not before the house.

Mr. MANION: Do I understand that no one is to be allowed to say anything in reply to the Prime Minister's prepared speech? Is it the intention to gag this house, in addition to everything else? Is the Prime Minister to come before this house and make a prepared speech, of which no hint was given to anyone, and then attempt to close the mouths of the rest of us? I ask him if he dares do that.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The parliamentary procedure of this house is for the Speaker to put a motion first. Then, if hon. gentlemen wish to speak, they may do so.

Some hon. MEMBERS: The motion is not debatable.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The motion is not debatable, but the Speaker can put the motion just the same. If my hon. friend wishes to speak, I should be quite pleased to have him do so.

Mr. MANION: I certainly wish to speak.

In the first place, Mr. Speaker, I should like it distinctly pointed out that there is no particular courtesy in permitting me to speak, any more than there was courtesy in permitting the Prime Minister to speak on a motion which is not debatable. I should like that distinctly understood. I should like to point out also that the custom in the parliament of Canada has always been for the government to give a copy of the speech from the throne to the leader of the opposition an hour or so in advance, and up to the present session that has always been done by this government. No such courtesy was extended to-day, not even up to the time when you, Mr. Speaker, had the copy of the speech in your hands. So far as I know, no copy has been in the hands of anyone in this house except the Prime Minister and the Speaker. I merely point this out, sir, because it is a discourtesy which not only offends all the parliamentary traditions of this and the British house, but also shows an unfair decision on the part of the Prime Minister to try to catch everyone in this house without preparation, by the unprecedented step he has taken to-day. Until I went into the senate chamber I had absolutely no hint that there was any thought of anything like this. The Prime Minister called the parliament of Canada together to-day in the usual way. He brought members here from the four corners of Canada apparently, so far as one can judge—we do not yet know the intention—to dissolve the house to-night. That is what I understand; that is the only conclusion I can draw, although in one part of his speech the right hon. gentleman said we understood what was in his mind. Well, I doubt if when he spoke last session he thoroughly understood what was in his mind, because usually when the right hon. gentleman speaks as he did at that time he leaves himself an opportunity to back out one of the rear doors or slip out a window. That was what he did then.

The only reason why I mention this particularly, sir, is that it is so unprecedented to treat an opposition in this manner. Not only does the right hon. gentleman suggest, in the speech from the throne at a supposedly regular session of parliament, that he is going to have an immediate election, but he prepares a political speech to be delivered here this afternoon and gives no one else any opportunity of preparing any remarks in advance. As the Prime Minister was speaking I had to sit here and try to outline a few points I desired to make as a result of this unprecedented act. For that reason, Mr. Speaker, I ask you and hon. members of the house to bear with me if my remarks are rather disjointed.

It would have been so easy, once the right hon. gentleman and his government decided on a step like this, to follow the usual courteous practice of a prime minister and a government. However, I must say this is not the first time that the right hon. gentleman has shown this type of discourtesy towards me since I became leader of the opposition. I regret that very much, because many times in the past I have said that whatever faults the right hon. gentleman might have—and I suppose I have pointed out his faults as often as anyone—that was one fault he did not have; he was usually courteous in social life and elsewhere. But he has not shown any of that courtesy in this instance. What he has done from a political point of view is to carry on what I consider unscrupulous politics at this time, by calling for an immediate election without any hint to the people, in order to gag discussion in this house and throughout the country—at all events any prepared discussion—and to attempt to get a snap decision of the people of Canada on this great question.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Will my hon. friend allow me to say one word in regard to

what he suggested was discourtesy on my part in not giving him a copy of the speech from the throne? He will realize that a speech from the throne containing a declaration of an immediate appeal to the country was a document which had to be kept very secret. Otherwise, as my hon. friend knows, the information would have been on the streets of this country before it was announced in parliament. That is the sole reason why copies of the speech were not given out before his excellency read the speech.

Mr. MANION: The right hon. gentleman merely adds insult to injury. He suggests that if he had given me a copy of the speech I would have blathered it all over the streets. As a matter of fact I have no doubt at all that the press had copies of the speech before it was read in the senate.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I will say that no one had a copy of the speech except His Excellency the Governor General.

Mr. MANION: I have no doubt at all that the press have copies of it now, while I have not.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Then instructions have not been carried out, which were that copies of the speech were not to be handed out until after it had been read by his excellency.

Mr. MANION: Yes, read by His Excellency the Governor General about three-quarters of an hour ago. I had not seen a copy, and that is why I had to ask Mr. Speaker to read the speech. However, that is a small matter, but it is just in line with all the other acts of the Prime Minister in this unprecedented action of his. He says, in his remarks, that the Canadian people have approved—according to his idea—the acts of this government. If the Canadian people have approved the acts of this government, why then this hurry for an election at this time? Why call a snap election on this group of two hundred and forty-five members, or thereabouts, who have come here from all parts of Canada, at great expense in many instances? Why snap an election in that manner? This is simply an attempt to take unawares not only this opposition but other opposition groups in the house.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I will tell my hon. friend the reason why I did not do so prior to the calling of the house was that I had given a promise it would not be done until the house had been called. I would have asked for a dissolution the night the Ontario resolution was put through had it not been for that.

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

Mr. MANION: Is the right hon. gentleman telling me that he meant to put over a trick of this kind, and that he intended to do that at this time? Does he mean he would not call an election until the next session of the house or until another session of the house when he could put over a trick such as this? That makes it that much worse. The understanding was that the House of Commons would be called in regular session and that we would discuss the activities of the government, the effort of the government in the conduct of the war, and so on. If we had come here, as we have, and gone on for a few weeks, the Prime Minister might have decided that an election should be called; but to put over a political trick of this kind I say is disgraceful and is sneering at the political traditions of Canada and the British empire.

If the Prime Minister had wished to do what he has done this afternoon, why did he not discuss the matter in confidence with me and with the leaders of the other parties in this house? That would have been the better course. I should like to ask the right hon. gentleman and the right hon. gentleman the Minister of Justice (Mr. Lapointe), who sits beside him, both of whom have over and over again held themselves out as the great supporters of democracy, the great believers in democracy—I would like to ask these right hon. gentlemen this question: Where is the democracy in the present act?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I will answer the question; my hon. friend has asked it.

Mr. MANION: My right hon. friend has had long enough.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Let me answer it. Democracy does not mean only responsibility to the leader of the Conservative party or to the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation or to the leader of the Social Credit group, but it does mean that I am answerable to the people of this country.

Mr. MANION: Through the House of Commons. The right hon. gentleman is answerable to the people of this country through the House of Commons.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: No, by direct approach to the people themselves, face to face with the problem.

Mr. MANION: Yes, in something like a fair manner, not by a piece of hoodwinking such as has been done to-day by calling the members of the House of Commons together, calling them from right across this country, having them here for a few hours, and then having them go back to meet their electors.

And this has happened after four months in which there has been the greatest degree

of propaganda that has been put out by any government in the history of any British country. Since the government led by the right hon. gentleman has been the war-time government it has failed. For example, he and his government have appointed I don't know how many press liaison groups, but I do know this, that one of those press liaison officers is Major Thomas Wayling—and I am not saying anything against Tom or against his appointment. However, one of them is Major Thomas Wayling—and he is only one, because there have been half a dozen of them since this government started the war.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. MANION: Well, since this government started to carry on Canada's war effort, in the manner in which it has been carried on. The government has appointed about half a dozen liaison groups, one of which is working with the Department of National Defence. Major Wayling's press release body has released one hundred and sixty-five press releases since the war began, or more than one each day the war has been carried on. In addition to that, there have been half a dozen other press release groups. Then, you cannot turn on a radio without hearing the words of some minister of the government who is putting out what is supposedly a description of Canada's war effort, but about two-thirds of those speeches are political propaganda.

Having called this House of Commons together, as the Prime Minister did, why does he not make a report to it, as he should? Why does he not make a statement respecting the actions of the government? Why does he not make that statement right here, before the House of Commons? May I point out that at the short session of parliament held in September the party which I have the honour to lead, and for which I spoke, offered full cooperation and assistance to the government. And I say without fear of successful contradiction that on that occasion we gave cooperation, advice and assistance. Not only did we offer to do that, but in the last four months, since the adjournment of the short sessions, we have carried out our pledge. There has never been a day in which I have gone forth in Canada to make any political speech—not one. I did put out three or four brief statements in regard to certain matters such as mothers' allowances and allowances for dependents, but in that time I have never made a political speech. The party which I have the honour to lead has stood by that promise of cooperation, not only through the short session but since the close of it. I have never on any occasion been called in or shown anything by the Prime Minister with regard to the war. In fact, except two or three times socially I have not seen the Prime Minister since the last session. I say there has been no failure by one of the great parties of this country to cooperate with the government. I say we showed a desire to play ball, but the present procedure on the part of the Prime Minister shows an inexcusable desire to play politics instead. In other words, instead of preparing for the war they were preparing for an election. So far as I can see, that is what they were trying to do.

Let me deal briefly with the right hon. gentleman's remarks about the Ontario situation. Apparently he blames the calling of the general election on a resolution passed in the legislature of Ontario. I should like to ask him what right the provincial legislature of Ontario has to dictate to the people of this country when there shall be an election. What right has it to dictate to the federal government of Canada? Should not this House of Commons be the body which would make that decision?

The Prime Minister has stated that the resolution was moved by Mr. Hepburn and seconded by Colonel Drew. According to the press it was moved by Mr. Hepburn and seconded by one of his ministers, the Hon. Mr. McQuesten. Colonel George Drew did not second it. Anyway, no matter who moved or seconded it, this is the forum before which the right hon. gentleman has to answer—not the provincial forum in Ontario. If he really wanted to call an election because of that resolution, why did he not call it? Why call the House of Commons here to deal with that question?

Another matter I should like to mention briefly is the soldiers' vote. The right hon. gentleman has said that the government is going to bring in by way of regulation under the War Measures Act something which would permit the soldiers to vote overseas. The right hon. gentleman has been travelling around this country for years talking about the supremacy of parliament. The parliament of Canada is now in session; and yet he tells us to-day, when parliament is in session, that under the War Measures Act he and his government are going to prepare something by way of a frame-up—and I think that is a proper word—to provide for the soldiers' vote overseas. That is what he says. I can only say that his talk in the past about the supremacy of parliament was never better proven to be humbug than it has been to-day.

Then, he has said that a new parliament would take up post-war problems. Well, this

government has never solved any of the pre-war problems; I do not know how it is going to solve post-war problems.

Mr. ROGERS: Oh, Oh.

Mr. MANION: Let me say to the Minister of National Defence (Mr. Rogers) who is laughing now that for years he was Minister of Labour. He was the man who was supposed to handle unemployment in this country. I say that no Minister of Labour in the history of Canada has ever made such a complete failure of the handling of such a problem as has the hon. gentleman. His reward for handling the Department of Labour in such a weak manner was to be made Minister of National Defence, at the present time, the most important department in the government. How can the people of Canada expect that a Minister of Labour who made a failure of running the labour department should make a success of the administration of the Department of National Defence? This is one of the reasons why the Department of National Defence has been such a farce under the present Minister of National Defence, as was the Department of Labour under the same minister.

The minister who preceded the present Minister of National Defence has many faults, as I expect many of us have. That hon. gentleman was shown up in this parliament as having acted, to say the least, not advisedly in regard to the Bren gun. But he was defended by the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King). He was defended by the Minister of Transport (Mr. Howe). He was defended by the then Minister of Labour, the present Minister of National Defence. He was defended also by one or two others, but I have forgotten which ones. These hon. gentlemen stood by him. Why then has he been demoted? If he was right, why has he been demoted? If he was wrong, why has he been kept in the government? What I meant really to say was that with all his faults I think the former Minister of National Defence (Mr. Mackenzie) was a more capable Minister of National Defence than is the present minister.

I have a few words to say in regard to the government's present war effort which has been referred to in the speech from the throne, as well as by the Prime Minister in his remarks on the floor of the house this afternoon. In view of the fact that long before the war this government was nicknamed the "do-nothing government," the people of Canada should not have expected that this government would be able to handle the war effort at all well. The people have not been disappointed in that. Not only did this government not prepare for war, but to my mind they have handled the war effort of Canada in a most disgraceful manner. After more than a year's warning we have called up one division to go overseas. There were not enough clothes for these men; there were not enough boots, not enough blankets and not enough machine guns. These men went overseas unequipped to a large extent. What equipment they had was obtained by gathering in what clothes and equipment could be found scattered here, there and everywhere throughout all sections of Canada. I know of one battalion from British Columbia which was dressed in cotton underwear and cotton clothing. These men crossed this north country in the middle of December and continued across the north Atlantic in the same kind of weather. I say, again without fear of contradiction—this information comes to me from doctors in charge of these militia regiments—that many of these men are sick and large numbers have been sent to the hospital because of lack of preparation and because of lack of vision on the part of this government.

If it were true that no one had foreseen the danger of war then perhaps I could not criticize. But I find that the Prime Minister, in his remarks on the address in reply to the speech from the throne during last session—I refer particularly to pages 29, 30, 31 and 32 of *Hansard*—said repeatedly that for as long as five years he had thought of nothing except the necessity of preparing for war. Yet no preparation of any kind was made. If it were not for the fact that this is a tragedy, some of the stories which we hear about the lack of preparation would be quite funny. For example, when the war began a general wrote me—I wonder if I can remember the phrase he used?—stating that the anti-aircraft units had no anti-aircraft guns, and that the searchlight units had no searchlights. That is what has happened all across this country. There has been a complete lack of preparation, and as a result the war effort so far is deplorable.

I intended to deal with this quite fully when I was speaking on the address in reply to the speech from the throne. Whatever has been achieved in the way of preparation has been obtained only by kicking this government into action. The matter of mother's allowances was settled only the other day. There are thousands of widows and other dependants of men who have enlisted to whom this government has failed to give the proper allowance. One man told me that he had been in the army for four months and had had to sell an old car which he had so that

he could carry on. His wife had not received her separation allowance. Along toward Christmas we heard that these separation allowances were being paid, but the mothers are still without their allowances.

Many of the boys who enlisted were on relief, and they owed no gratitude to this government for anything which had been done to relieve their distress or to give them work and wages. These boys had the guts to join the army to fight for Canada; they had the decency to come forward and offer their lives for democracy; yet in many instances the mothers of these boys who were on relief, partly on account of the inactivity of the former Minister of Labour and the government generally in not solving this problem, are being faced with hunger. I have in my office scores, perhaps hundreds, of pitiful and pathetic letters from mothers of boys who are now in the army. Many of these mothers have pleaded with me not to let it be known publicly that they are not being treated decently by this government. They did not want their boys overseas to know of the suffering they are going through because their sons offered their lives. This matter was cleared up only a few days ago. Rather, it is not all cleared up, but a statement was put out by the Department of National Defence containing the promise to straighten out this disgraceful condition. This government never does anything without being kicked into doing it.

The wheat sale to Russia was another example. Wheat was sold to Russia, and it was only after protests were made across Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific that this government acted. As usual, it had to be kicked into doing it.

There was no defence for this country. What is even worse, there were no plans for defence or for equipment. Yet as far back as 1936, if not earlier, the defence association of Canada was pleading with this government to get ready for the inevitable war. They asked the government not only to prepare defence plans but to prepare defences. Yet practically nothing was done in regard to that. That is why the record of this government has been so deplorable, indeed so disgraceful.

I have one other matter to touch upon and then I shall have concluded for the present. The right hon. gentleman through the mouth of his excellency has made reference to the British commonwealth air-training plan. On December 17 the right hon. gentleman boasted over the radio that this plan was the result of an original proposal by the British to establish air-training schools in Canada for British pilots. The fact is that by July 1, 1938 —personally I think it goes back to 1937—the British had been over here pleading with the Prime Minister to give them the right as one of the partners in the empire to establish air-training schools in Canada to train British pilots. It was pointed out that Great Britain was in distress. It was pointed out that the fog in that country cut down the number of possible flying hours and caused innumerable accidents. It was pointed out that in case of war with Germany that country would be able to send across the hordes of aeroplanes with which she was so well equipped to bomb the aeroplane manufacturing plants and the aerodromes of the British.

All this was pointed out to the Prime Minister in 1937. The then Minister of National Defence referred to the fact that the Vancouver *Sun*, a Liberal organ, in the issue of July 7, 1937, I think it was, made the statement that this government had fumbled the issue—that is the word they used—of helping the British to establish air-training schools in this country.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I just wish to say, in reply to my hon. friend that what I said in this house of July 1 and which is on *Hansard* is literally and absolutely the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth; and what I said in my broadcast is based on my statement, and I stand by it as absolutely correct.

Mr. MANION: I am not going to question that; but if the right hon. gentleman had wanted to be fair he should have been fair this afternoon and permitted me to bring down to this chamber my papers, and I would have shown the facts out of his own mouth. He admitted himself—he admitted it over the radio on December 17—that the British had made exploratory proposals to the government—verbal, of course, nothing written, because there was great play on the word "request." Senator Dandurand in the other chamber in 1938, in a speech occupying half a page of *Hansard*, used the word "request" nine or ten times to emphasize the point that the British had not made any request. But the fact remains, and the Prime Minister admits it in his own words, that the British, in informal exploratory conversations, proposed establishing schools for the training of British air pilots in Canada.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: We said that we would provide the facilities ourselves and give them the opportunities here, but that the administration must be under the government of Canada, not under the government of the United Kingdom.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. MANION: My hon. friends had better not applaud too soon. He said that we would, in our establishments here, give them the right to train. Where were our establishments? Where were our personnel? Where were our machines? We did not have any establishments or machines. Look up the speech of the ex-Minister of National Defence (Mr. Mackenzie) in the House of Commons last year and see how many fighting planes we had. We did not have any. We did not have any facilities at all to train the British.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Then we would have been no further ahead.

Mr. MANION: Well, I will deal with that too. The ex-Minister of National Defence, in a speech in this house which I would quote if I had had time to look up *Hansard*, said that the government were so anxious to co-operate with the British—reinforcing what the Prime Minister said—that we were going to train 126—I think that was the number—of pilots here a year, and all we were going to permit the British to send across were fifty a year. Those were his words as reported in *Hansard*—fifty a year. Yet Sir Kingsley Wood, the head of the air defence force in Britain, made the statement in October—I believe it was on October 9, because I had been studying this matter, and getting thoroughly shocked as I studied it—that what the British had hoped was that there would be 25,000 pilots trained a year. And we were going to train fifty. That is what the ex-minister of National Defence stated. At that rate it would have taken us five hundred years to provide them with one year's supply of pilots. That is the proposal; those figures are taken from the actual record. Fifty years, is it? Well, it does not matter, but I think if you divide fifty into 25,000 you have, not fifty but five hundred. Some of my hon. friends laughed a little too soon. Sometimes the loud laugh speaks the vacant mind.

When the British were facing an unscrupulous man like Hitler; when it was known that Hitler had at least twice as many planes as the British and the French combined; when the British appealed to the right hon. gentleman, in the face of that emergency, with war in the offing, to permit the establishment of air-training schools in Canada to train pilots for Britain and the empire, and the right hon. gentleman refused, he did something which made him unfit to remain Prime Minister of this country.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I just wish to make perfectly clear that I refused nothing except the matter of who was to administer the schools and by whom they were to be provided.

Mr. MANION: I will go on with that. The right hon. gentleman says he refused nothing. But on December 17 he said that the proposal which he now brings forward, and which he calls the British commonwealth air-training plan, is in effect merely a continuation of the original proposal. But this is not a British commonwealth air-training plan at all. It is largely a Canadian air-training plan. The British proposed to come over here and establish schools for their flying pilots, to be maintained at their own expense. Let us see what would have happened if the right hon. gentleman had said "yes" to them at that time, as I say he should have done. They would have come over here and established their air-training schools. They would have brought over their British young men to train at the rate of 25,000 a year. If that figure is an exaggeration, it is Sir Kingsley Wood's exaggeration, not mine. If the right hon. gentleman cares to look up his speech of December 17, he will see that he himself said that we were going to train many thousands a year. So apparently many thousands a year are needed: Sir Kingsley Wood said 25,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE (Vancouver Centre): My hon. friend evidently has not learned what the suggestion related to. It did not relate to the training of pilots generally; it related to an advanced stage of development. That advanced stage we promised that we would provide in accordance with the wishes of the British government.

Mr. MANION: Yes; and we have provided a lot of it! We have not even got started providing it yet. The British would have come over here in their thousands to train. Then, when we wanted our young men—

Mr. MACKENZIE (Vancouver Centre): May I inform my hon. friend that last year, when the $6,000,000 vote was passed by this house, the British themselves only asked us to train fifty pilots.

Mr. MANION: I remember the minister saying that, but I remember also that Sir Kingsley Wood had said that 25,000 must be trained annually, and I pointed out last March that fifty was merely a "fleabite". It was not a very elegant term, but I used it. I say that the British would have sent over thousands to train here, and then, when we wanted our men trained, we could have sent them to the same schools to have them properly trained at little cost to us. On top of that, it would have meant the building up

in Canada of a great industry for the production of planes, which industry is now being built up in the United States and in Great Britain itself. Here we are, a country with hundreds of thousands of unemployed looking for opportunities of work. The Prime Minister has this proposal put up to him by the British to come to their aid in a time of distress. He refused; and the British then started to do what they did not wish to do; they built up manufacturing plants for their planes in their own country—manufacturing plants which they came over here with the intention of establishing in Canada. I learned when I was in England not long ago that on one occasion they came over here with a hundred million dollars' worth of orders for Canadian plants, but they received from the Prime Minister of Canada such a cold reception to this request that they refused to give any of those contracts at that time.

That is another reason why this government, I contend, has shown itself, in its preparation for and its carrying on of Canada's war effort, unfit to govern.

Mr. LAPOINTE (Quebec East): That is a strong case for a general election.

Mr. MANION: Yes—at the proper time. I am not objecting particularly to a general election. I am objecting to the tricky manner in which it is being called. I am objecting to the House of Commons being called together and then laughed at by the Prime Minister and—if you like—by the Minister of Justice (Mr. Lapointe), in the face of all their talk across this country of the supremacy of this parliament. They are laughing at the House of Commons and at the supremacy of parliament. They tell parliament in session that they are going to pass under the War Measures Act regulations for the overseas soldiers' vote. What sense of fairness can we expect in a government which has done what it has done to-day with regard to this overseas vote?

However, I wish to close. I merely wanted to point out a few of the things which came into my head when the Prime Minister was speaking. All of them are mentioned in the speech from the throne. I say that the Prime Minister, in refusing the British the opportunity to train their pilots here, did what was unfair to the people of Canada.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I absolutely deny that there was any refusal to train pilots here. My hon. friend, by endless repetition of a statement of that kind, cannot give it any veracity.

Mr. MANION: Well, I can give it veracity by the right hon. gentleman's own words, and before this election is over I will quote them over and over again. His words distinctly state that these proposals came from the British informally. He said that they came here; they were not requests, they were "proposals", or some such word as that, which anyway meant that; that they had carried on informal conversations with this government in Canada; and he said that he refused, on the ground of constitutional practice.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May I say to my hon. friend that these informal conversations were within two or three weeks of the time I spoke here on the first of July.

Mr. MANION: He says that, Mr. Speaker, but where did the Vancouver *Sun* get its information a year before that?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Probably from my hon. friend.

Mr. MANION: No, I was not even in politics then. I was not in the house and I knew nothing about it. They may have got it from the former Minister of National Defence, who sits near him, and who was out there about that time, and I have rather wondered if he did not give them the information in disgust at the refusal of this government to give the British government a decent break.

I do not intend to take up any more of the time of the house. I repeat what I said at the beginning, that this is a most unfair procedure, unfair not only to the parliament of Canada but to the people of Canada, and I suggest to the Prime Minister that even now—he has not definitely said that he is going to dissolve the house to-night but I take it that he is—

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I think after my hon. friend's speech it would be advisable to.

Mr. MANION: I do not mind but if the right hon. gentleman will give a chance for the discussion to go on I will make a speech that will make him think it is even more advisable. If he wants something to hang his hat on I will give him something.

I say that it is the duty of the Prime Minister and his government to come before parliament and give an account of their stewardship.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: No, it is to go before the people of Canada.

Mr. MANION: The Prime Minister could have gone before the people without making a joke of the members of this house, without calling them together from Vancouver in the west and from Halifax in the east.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: And he would have done that if he had not promised my hon. friend that he would not have an election before another session.

Mr. MANION: He promised that he would not have an election until another session of the house. Did he mean by that to hoodwink the members of this parliament? Was that his trickery? I say that if the Prime Minister meant to do what he is doing to-day he meant to hoodwink us and he was guilty of a despicable political trick.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My words were very clear and were made clear because of my responsibility in the matter. I pointed out that parliament would be called. What was advisable to do when parliament was called would depend upon what had happened in the interval. It is because of what has happened in the interval—

Mr. MANION: What has happened in the interval? The right hon. gentleman has been violently attacked by Mitch Hepburn. Is there anything new about that? So far as I am concerned I think Mitch is right. I think he has been right all along, and never was I so sure that he is right as I am now made sure by this piece of political trickery of the Prime Minister to-day. It is running away from parliament; it is not facing the people.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. leader of the opposition has repeatedly used the word "trickery". I do not think that is parliamentary.

Mr. LAPOINTE (Quebec East): It would be all right in the legislature of Ontario.

Mr. MANION: I will withdraw the word, but I do not quite know what other word to substitute that will express my opinion. Perhaps your honour will help me out. I do not wish to be unparliamentary and will withdraw the word. I will say this, that never in the history of our country was there a more unparliamentary act than what the Prime Minister is doing here this afternoon.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Never was there a more responsible act.

Mr. MANION: Than what the right hon. gentleman is doing?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Yes.

Mr. MANION: If the right hon. gentleman will change the first syllable and make the word "irresponsible", I will agree.

I shall not take up any more of the time of the house. I am willing to let the people decide. But I still think that in decency—I do not say that offensively—and as a matter of fair dealing with the House of Commons and the parliamentary system in Great Britain and Canada the Prime Minister and his government should come back here, carry on the session and bring in legislation for taking the soldiers' votes overseas. Of course I shall be told: What did the other party do about the soldiers' votes? Because it is already implied that something unfair was done. I was not a member of any government prior to 1921, and had nothing to do with what was done at that time, but even if I had been a member of that government, is it any justification for doing something wrong now to say that something was done wrongly then? The whole defence of this government in nearly everything has been: But you people from 1914 to 1918 did worse—the old *tu quoque* argument. Have we not gone ahead at all; have we made no progress in democracy and decency in this country in the last twenty-five years? If there were mistakes or crookedness in those days—I am not denying that there may have been because I do not know much about it—surely that is all the more reason that such things should not be repeated now. That is my argument. This is a time to fight for democracy here at home. What is it going to profit us if we fight for democracy in Europe and lose it here in Canada? And that is what we are doing by such an act as the Prime Minister is pulling off to-day. He is endangering the whole democratic principle for which we are fighting along with Britain and France. The whole difference between Hitlerian dictatorship and our system is the difference between free speech and no free speech. The place for free speech is in the parliament of Canada.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: It is in the country.

Mr. MANION: It is in parliament since parliament has been called. We shall have it on the hustings too. But the place to have questions answered is here in parliament. With the parliament of Canada dissolved how can I get information, without any returns, without any questions being answered? I do not expect that any of the ministers will give me much help. The place to give that information is here in the House of Commons. The place to discuss these matters is here in the House of Commons. I submit that this government has been extravagant; it has been careless; not only has it been unprepared but it has been deplorably weak in carrying on the war activities of this country. I say that;

and this is the place for me to get the information I want to prove my case, not out on the hustings where the ministers will simply deny that the facts are there.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Then my hon. friend is making his assertions without any proof?

Mr. MANION: I have plenty of proof. If the right hon. gentleman will allow the session to go over until next week; if he will go back to his early affirmations of fair dealing and democratic principles which he used to talk so much about all across this country, and will live up to them this session, I will give him evidence in support of all the statements I have made.

I have nothing more to say. If it is the decision of the Prime Minister to dissolve the house to-night, we shall leave it in the mouths of the people to say which party they want to govern them and to carry on Canada's war effort. I venture to make this prophecy. In view of the unpreparedness of the government, in view of its weak war effort, and in view of the attempt of this government to put over this piece of trickery on a snap decision—I beg pardon, Mr. Speaker, for using the word "trickery," but I cannot think of any other word to express my opinion—in view of the government's act to-day in trying to bring about a snap decision without the members of this house being given a fair opportunity to get the information they seek and to discuss that information here in this house, I am convinced that not only the Prime Minister but his government will be swept out of power and some other group will be put in power to carry on the affairs of this country and Canada's war effort.

Mr. WOODSWORTH: Mr. Speaker,—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. WOODSWORTH: I rise to a point of order.

Mr. SPEAKER: I would draw the attention of the hon. member and of the house to the fact that the motion before the house is not debatable, and the hon. member can proceed only with the unanimous consent of the house. Has the hon. member the unanimous consent of the house?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Yes.

Mr. J. S. WOODSWORTH (Winnipeg North Centre): Mr. Speaker, on the point of order I submit that the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) was out of order in making his statement, as was also the leader of the opposition (Mr. Manion), but I urge that it does not require the unanimous consent of the house to give a member of parliament the right to speak in a situation of this kind.

Almost for the first time in my political life I find myself very nearly in complete agreement with the leader of the opposition, not because he is a Conservative, but because I believe that in this regard he is standing for the fundamental rights of parliament and the fundamental principles of democracy. No word is more frequently in the mouth of the Prime Minister than that phrase of his, "parliament will decide", the words, "the rights of the people", and "democracy"; and yet to-day, in my humble judgment at any rate, he is violating the fundamental principles of both. It is not a question whether we are to have an election or not; under our constitution it is for him to decide; but it is a question as to the manner in which it shall be done, and the time.

The Prime Minister suddenly springs upon us the proposal of an election within a few weeks. We do not know whether this means that the voice of this parliament will be absolutely stifled. At the moment we do not know. We do know, however, that the Prime Minister has made a first-class political speech. He has thrown out the general idea of unemployment insurance. Some of us in this corner have been talking about unemployment insurance for years and have been unable to get the government to move. They have raised all sorts of constitutional objections. But now the suggestion is made that it may possibly come to pass—fine political propaganda but no legislation whatever.

We are told that we may have after-war problems to discuss and the government must have time to consider that question. The time to consider after-war problems is now, in this parliament, instead of giving a blank cheque to a government that has not shown itself particularly in favour of the common people of the country. I wonder whether the government has been so long in office and has got so far away from the people that it does not understand the hardships that are being endured by many Canadians to-day. When you come into the city of Ottawa, as I did yesterday morning, you meet soldiers and officials of every kind at every turn, and where you do not find officials you find people hunting for jobs. Does the government quite realize the position of the ordinary people of the country?

I do not say that under the circumstances under which an election is to be carried on this government is bound to be defeated, but

I do know there is a great deal of dissatisfaction already, even before the war has begun in earnest. I suggest that the least this government can do is to give a full account of its stewardship during the last six months. During the special session which we had in September we had no opportunity of discussing the general affairs of the country. It is all very well to say that the war is all-important, but in Canada there are other important matters than the war; and the war will be successful only as there are people in the country who will support it. But the people are not contented to-day. I repeat, the least the government can do, if it is an honest government, is to give a direct account of its stewardship.

We are told that we cannot do what Great Britain does, that we cannot come together every few weeks, almost in continuous session, to discuss the affairs of the state. The government over there is subject to a barrage of criticism from the opposition and that has been generally considered to be a very good thing; but this government seems to avoid criticism. There is no reason why the acts of the last three months since war was declared should not be fully considered.

We are coming to the point where we are governed by order in council. The officials have been kind enough to send me advance copies of orders in council. They come to my desk almost daily. I cannot begin to keep track of them, they are so numerous. Some of these orders in council are taking away the fundamental rights of British people —the right to free speech, the right to free assembly, the right to the exercise of unionism under war conditions, and so on. This condition is coming to pass, and now we are to be denied the rights of parliament. We were taught in our school days that the Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights and similar instruments had settled all these matters forever for the British people, but it would seem as if each generation must make secure its own rights and fight these battles over again in new forms.

The people of the country are anxious to know how some of these war contracts have been let, and they have a right to know. A great many people in Canada want to know, and they have a right to know, how all these dollar-a-year men have been selected, what their qualifications are, and what are the advantages which an inside knowledge may give them. The people of the country want to know why it was that the government got away from the five per cent profit legislation. It may be all very well to say, "Oh, well, under the War Measures Act we can do that"; but this five per cent profit limit was the considered position of this parliament a year ago. Under the War Measures Act apparently anything can be done and so the five per cent profit limit has been swept aside. What will come next? Is there any guarantee whatever?

We are told now that under the regulations in connection with the War Measures Act we are going to have an arrangement with regard to the vote of soldiers overseas. Why should there be any recourse to that procedure when parliament is now sitting? This is the place in which to do that sort of thing, but we are not to have the right to discuss these orders in council.

Some people have been quite enthusiastic over the recent bond issue. Three and a quarter per cent sounds very fine, but the Minister of Justice (Mr. Lapointe) the other day made a most revealing statement. I have a high regard for him, but it was one of the most cynical remarks I have ever heard broadcast throughout the country when he advocated "profitable patriotism". In the last war the various revelations that were made showed the profitable patriotism that had been manifested on the part of the bacon people, the boots people, and a whole lot of others; and now the Minister of Justice actually appeals to the cupidity of the Canadian people and says that we ought to have "profitable patriotism" in this country. It is a low motive to which to appeal.

There is something further I wish to say. If this parliament continues I shall say it at greater length on some future occasion. I desire to say something about the methods that have been used in Canada to compel young men to enlist. It is quite true that because of the opposition of the province of Quebec we have no conscription legislation on our books. But it is also true that in very many parts of the country men who have been on relief for years have been urged to enlist, and told that unless they enlist their relief will be cut off. That is the most despicable form of conscription I know of. I want to say a word for the youth of this country. The Prime Minister will probably rise in his place and say that we have no conscription in this country. No conscription? When thousands of our youth have been forced to enlist by the desperate alternative of enlisting or starving to death, it is time someone said something about the matter. These young fellows who are going to the war have a right to know what provision will be made for them when they come back. One of the bitterest things said to me was said by a returned man in my own

city a few weeks ago. He said, "Yes, these young fellows that are going in now are very nattily dressed, they get good meals, they are provided for, they are heroes; but a whole lot of the fellows that went to the last war are eating in soup-kitchens." Yes, that is true. This government has been in office for years, and before it should be entrusted with another term of office it ought at least to give an account of its stewardship during the time the war has been in progress, and, indeed, for the last six months.

Free speech; the Prime Minister is urging that. Free parliament. I do not know what this order means to-day. I have been in the house for nearly twenty years, and for the life of me I do not know what is going to happen to-night, whether we are going to have a chance to debate an address in reply to the speech from the throne or not. We are all out of order. I do not know what is going to happen. There is an attempt to strangle free speech in this parliament, by shortening the session if not cutting it off absolutely. Having been called together we should remain here for a few weeks at least. What is the desperate need for hurrying this thing along? Is it in order that our people in the rural districts shall have to go out on the wintry roads in order to vote, an impossibility for many of them? Is it because there is a quarrel between the Prime Minister and the premier of Ontario? The latter gentleman sat in this house for some years. We all know he was quarrelling with the Prime Minister, but it is news to us that an election should be called and the whole country upset merely because Mr. Mitchell Hepburn says that the Prime Minister is not doing his duty. Surely the people of this country are not going to be hoodwinked by anything of that kind. If we have an election what freedom shall we have?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Why does my hon. friend confine it to Mr. Hepburn?

Mr. WOODSWORTH: Well, the leader of the Ontario opposition also.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What about the legislature of a province?

Mr. WOODSWORTH: The Prime Minister is a good constitutionalist; let me ask him whether a provincial legislature has any right to interfere in matters like that?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I do not think it has, and that is one of the reasons why this government should make its authority clear.

Mr. WOODSWORTH: The people are not so concerned with niceties of that kind that they will be hoodwinked by such an excuse. As the leader of the opposition (Mr. Manion) pointed out, this defence of not calling an election before parliament was called together, and then claiming since it is called we can immediately have an election, makes me tired; and I think it will make the country tired. I do not mind facing an election, but do not let us resort to that kind of thing. Why does the government not come to this parliament, give an account of its stewardship, and then go to the country? It is here that the government ought to announce its policies for the coming election. The government ought to come out fairly in this parliament and say, We propose to do this, that and the other. Surely the government does not want a blank cheque. There ought to be a debate in this parliament on the government's proposals; when that is all over we can go to the country, having all spoken our minds, having all declared our several positions, and then the people will know what they are voting for. They do not now know.

The Prime Minister talks about free speech. Under the War Measures Act regulations to-day we are in a precarious position. How can I go to the country and say what I think about war; how can I discuss freely the shortcomings of the government without coming under those regulations? It cannot be done.

An hon. MEMBER: And they know it.

Mr. WOODSWORTH: It cannot be done; I am likely to be picked up by any local police officer, and if I were unfortunate enough to live in Ontario I would be prosecuted by the attorney general of that province. That might be an easy way of getting rid of people who do not agree with the government. Already the people of this country have been frightened. One of my own sons came back the other day from Scotland; he said to me: "You know it is astonishing, as soon as I landed on the shores of Canada I felt that in some way the people of Canada had been frightened, were afraid to speak out what they thought." He had come from Great Britain, where they are not afraid to speak what they think. As we all know, there is literature published in Great Britain and coming to this country that is banned in this dominion. It is a ridiculous situation. Does anyone think the mother of parliaments over there would stand for this kind of thing? We are told that Canada is fighting on the side of Great Britain to save democracy; fighting for liberty, free speech, free institutions. We

are told that we have no fight with the German people, but that the trouble with the German people is that they are too submissive, too subservient, that they will take whatever is handed to them by the fuehrer. Are we to become so subservient that we have a virtual dictatorship set up in this country? As I look across at the Prime Minister he does not look like a dictator—

Miss MACPHAIL: But he is one.

Mr. WOODSWORTH: —he does not speak like one, but he is acting like a dictator today. This government is strong; it can carry on for another six months without any extension of power of any kind; but the fact that this government is strong here in Ottawa and the Liberal party is strong in a number of the provinces is no reason why it should use its strength to put over something that is essentially in contradiction to British practice and parliamentary institutions.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May I say to my hon. friend the leader of the opposition (Mr. Manion) that I have the assurance of the under-secretary of state that a copy of the speech from the throne was delivered at his office the moment his excellency began to read the speech.

Mr. MANION: I was in the senate chamber listening to his excellency.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: But it was sent to my hon. friend's office and received by his secretary.

Mr. MANION: It should have been sent at least an hour in advance.

An hon. MEMBER: Do we sit to-night?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May I say to my hon. friend that I intend to have my colleagues meet with me immediately and decide what is best to do with respect to further proceedings in this parliament in the light of the kind of discussion we have listened to this afternoon.

At six o'clock the house took recess.

The eighteenth parliament was dissolved on Thursday, January 25, 1940, by proclamation of His Excellency the Governor General.

APPENDIX

The Ministry, and List of Members with Constituencies and Post Office Addresses

THE MINISTRY

January 25—1940

Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King	Prime Minister. President of the Privy Council. Secretary of State for External Affairs.
Hon. Raoul Dandurand (Senator)	Minister without portfolio.
Hon. Thomas Alexander Crerar	Minister of Mines and Resources.
Right Hon. Ernest Lapointe	Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada; Acting Secretary of State of Canada.
Hon. Pierre Joseph Arthur Cardin	Minister of Public Works.
Hon. William Daum Euler	Minister of Trade and Commerce.
Hon. James Layton Ralston	Minister of Finance.
Hon. Ian Alistair Mackenzie	Minister of Pensions and National Health.
Hon. Charles Gavan Power	Postmaster General.
Hon. James Lorimer Ilsley	Minister of National Revenue.
Hon. Joseph Enoil Michaud	Minister of Fisheries.
Hon. Norman McLeod Rogers	Minister of National Defence.
Hon. Clarence Decatur Howe	Minister of Transport.
Hon. James Garfield Gardiner	Minister of Agriculture.
Hon. Norman Alexander McLarty	Minister of Labour.
Hon. James Angus MacKinnon	Minister without portfolio.

ALPHABETICAL LIST

OF THE

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Sixth Session, Eighteenth Parliament

(Honourable Pierre François Casgrain, Speaker)

Name of Member	Constituency	Post Office Address
Ahearn, Thomas Franklin	Ottawa West	Ottawa, Ont.
Anderson, Alexander James	High Park	Toronto, Ont.
Baker, Richard Langton	Eglinton	Toronto, Ont.
Barber, Harry James	Fraser Valley	Chilliwack, B.C.
Barry, John Patrick	Northumberland (N.B.)	Chatham, N.B.
Beaubien, Arthur Lucien	Provencher	St. Jean Baptiste, Man.
Bercovitch, Peter	Cartier	Montreal, Que.
Bertrand, Elie Oscar	Prescott	L'Orignal, Ont.
Bertrand, Ernest	Laurier	Montreal, Que.
Black, Donald Elmer	Châteauguay-Huntingdon	Aubrey, Que.
Black, Martha Louise	Yukon	Ottawa, Ont.
Blackmore, John Horne	Lethbridge	Raymond, Alta.
Blair, John Knox	Wellington North	Arthur, Ont.
Blais, Frank	Chapleau	Amos, Que.
Blanchette, Joseph Adéodat	Compton	Chartierville, Que.
Bonnier, Joseph A.	St. Henry	Montreal, Que.
Bothwell, Charles Edward	Swift Current	Swift Current, Sask.
Bouchard, Georges	Kamouraska	Ste. Anne de la Pocatière, Que.
Boulanger, Oscar L.	Bellechasse	Quebec, Que.
Bradette, Joseph Arthur	Cochrane	Cochrane, Ont.
Brasset, Maurice	Gaspé	Percé, Que.
Brooks, Alfred Johnson	Royal	Sussex, N.B.
Brown, Albert A.	Hamilton East	Hamilton, Ont.
Brown, Walter George	Saskatoon City	Saskatoon, Sask.
Brunelle, Hervé Edgar	Champlain	Cap de la Madeleine Centre, Que.
Cahan, Hon. Charles Hazlitt	St. Lawrence-St. George	Montreal, Que.
Cameron, Charles Alexander	Hastings South	Belleville, Ont.
Cardin, Hon. P. J. Arthur	Richelieu-Verchères	Ottawa, Ont.
Casgrain, Hon. Pierre François	Charlevoix-Saguenay	Montreal, Que.
Casselman, Arza Clair	Grenville-Dundas	Prescott, Ont.
Chevrier, Lionel	Stormont	Cornwall, Ont.
Church, Thomas Langton	Broadview	Toronto, Ont.
Clark, Stuart Murray	Essex South	Harrow, Ont.

Name of Member	Constituency	Post Office Address
Clark, William George	York-Sunbury	Fredericton, N.B.
Clarke, Harry Gladstone	Rosedale	Toronto, Ont.
Cleaver, Hughes	Halton	Burlington, Ont.
Cochrane, Kenneth Judson	Cumberland	Port Greville, N.S.
Coldwell, Major James William	Rosetown-Biggar	Regina, Sask.
Crerar, Hon. Thomas Alexander	Churchill	Ottawa, Ont.
Crète, J. Alphida	St. Maurice-Laflèche	Grand'Mère, Que.
Cunnington, Douglas George Leopold	Calgary West	Calgary, Alta.
Damude, Arthur B.	Welland	Fonthill, Ont.
Davidson, Robert Greig	Stanstead	North Hatley, Que.
Deachman, Robert John	Huron North	Wingham, Ont.
Denis, Azellus	St. Denis	Montreal, Que.
Deslauriers, Hermas	St. Mary	Montreal, Que.
Donnelly, Thomas F.	Wood Mountain	Meyronne, Sask.
Douglas, James Lester	Queens	Charlottetown, P. E. I.
Douglas, Thomas Clement	Weyburn	Weyburn, Sask.
Dubois, Lucien	Nicolet-Yamaska	Gentilly, Que.
Dubuc, Julien Edouard Alfred	Chicoutimi	Chicoutimi, Que.
Duffus, Joseph James	Peterborough West	Peterborough, Ont.
Dunning, Hon. Charles Avery	Queens	Ottawa, Ont.
Dupuis, Vincent	Chambly-Rouville	Laprairie, Que.
Durocher, Eugene	St. James	Montreal, Que.
Dussault, Joseph Etienne	Lévis	Lévis, Que.
Elliott, Hon. John Campbell	Middlesex West	London, Ont.
Emmerson, Henry Read	Westmorland	Dorchester, N.B.
Esling, William Kemble	Kootenay West	Rossland, B.C.
Euler, Hon. William Daum	Waterloo North	Ottawa, Ont.
Evans, Charles Robert	Maple Creek	Piapot, Sask.
Factor, Samuel	Spadina	Toronto, Ont.
Fafard, J. Fernand	Montmagny-L'Islet	L'Islet, Co. L'Islet, Que.
Fair, Robert	Battle River	Paradise Valley, Alta.
Farquhar, Thomas	Algoma East	Mindemoya, Ont.
Ferguson, Rork Scott	Hastings-Peterborough	Norwood, Ont., R.R. 3.
Ferland, Charles Edouard	Joliette-l'Assomption-Montcalm	Joliette, Que.
Ferron, J. Emile	Berthier-Maskinongé	Louiseville, Que.
Finn, Robert Emmett	Halifax	Halifax, N.S.
Fleming, Harry Raymond	Humboldt	Humboldt, Sask.
Fontaine, Th. Adélard	St. Hyacinthe-Bagot	St. Hyacinthe, Que.
Fournier, Alphonse	Hull	Hull, Que.
Fournier, Sarto	Maisonneuve-Rosemount	Montreal, Que.
Francœur, Joseph Napoleon	Lotbinière	Quebec, Que.
Fraser, William Alexander	Northumberland (Ont.)	Trenton, Ont.
Furniss, Stephen Joseph	Muskoka-Ontario	Brechin, Ont.
Gardiner, Hon. James Garfield	Assiniboia	Ottawa, Ont.
Gariépy, Wilfrid	Three Rivers	Three Rivers, Que.
Gauthier, Pierre	Portneuf	Deschambault, Que.

Name of Member	Constituency	Post Office Address
Gladstone, Robert William	Wellington South	Guelph, Ont.
Glen, James Allison	Marquette	Russell, Man.
Golding, William Henry	Huron-Perth	Seaforth, Ont.
Gosselin, Louis	Brome-Missisquoi	Notre-Dame de Stanbridge, Que.
Goulet, Alfred	Russell	Bourget, Ont.
Grant, Thomas Vincent	Kings	Montague, P.E.I.
Gray, Ross Wilfred	Lambton West	Sarnia, Ont.
Graydon, Gordon	Peel	Brampton, Ont.
Green, Howard Charles	Vancouver South	Vancouver, B.C.
Hamilton, Henry Sidney	Algoma West	Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.
Hansell, Ernest George	Macleod	Vulcan, Alta.
Hanson, Olof	Skeena	Prince Rupert, B.C.
Harris, Joseph Henry	Danforth	Toronto, Ont.
Hartigan, David James	Cape Breton South	New Waterford, N.S.
Hayhurst, William	Vegreville	Vegreville, Alta.
Heaps, Abraham Albert	Winnipeg North	Winnipeg, Man.
Héon, Georges Henri	Argenteuil	Lachute, Que.
Hill, Burton Maxwell	Charlotte	St. Stephen, N.B.
Homuth, Karl K.	Waterloo South	Preston, Ont.
Howard, Charles Benjamin	Sherbrooke	Sherbrooke, Que.
Howden, John Power	St. Boniface	Norwood Grove, Man.
Howe, Hon. Clarence Decatur	Port Arthur	Ottawa, Ont.
Hurtubise, Joseph Raoul	Nipissing	Sudbury, Ont.
Hushion, William James	St. Ann	Montreal, Que.
Hyndman, Alonzo Bowen	Carleton	Carp, Ont.
Ilsley, Hon. James Lorimer	Digby-Annapolis-Kings	Ottawa, Ont.
Isnor, Gordon B.	Halifax	Halifax, N.S.
Jaques, Norman	Wetaskiwin	Mirror, Alta.
Jean, Joseph	Mercier	Montreal, Que.
Johnston, Charles Edward	Bow River	Three Hills, Alta.
Johnston, John Frederick	Lake Centre	Bladworth, Sask.
Kennedy, Orvis A.	Edmonton East	Edmonton, Alta.
King, Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie	Prince Albert	Ottawa, Ont.
Kinley, John James	Queens-Lunenburg	Lunenburg, N.S.
Kirk, James Ralph	Antigonish-Guysborough	Antigonish, N.S.
Kuhl, Walter Frederick	Jasper-Edson	Spruce Grove, Alta.
Lacombe, Liguori	Laval-Two Mountains	St. Scholastique, Que.
Lacroix, Edouard	Beauce	Lacroix, Que.
Lacroix, Wilfrid	Quebec-Montmorency	Quebec, Que.
Lalonde, Maurice	Labelle	Mont Laurier, Que.
Landeryou, John Charles	Calgary East	Calgary, Alta.
Lapointe, Arthur Joseph	Matapedia-Matane	Price, Que.
Lapointe, Right Hon. Ernest	Quebec East	Ottawa, Ont.
Lawson, Hon. James Earl	York South	Toronto, Ont.
Leader, Harry	Portage la Prairie	Portage la Prairie, Man.
Leclerc, Joseph Hermas	Shefford	Granby, Que.
Leduc, Rodolphe	Wright	Maniwaki, Que.

Name of Member	Constituency	Post Office Address
Lennard, Frank Exton	Wentworth	Dundas, Ont.
Little, Walter	Timiskaming	Kirkland Lake, Ont.
Lockhart, Norman J. M.	Lincoln	St. Catharines, Ont.
Macdonald, William Ross	Brantford City	Brantford, Ont.
MacInnis, Angus	Vancouver East	Vancouver, B.C.
MacKenzie, Frederick Donald	Neepawa	Neepawa, Man.
Mackenzie, Hon. Ian Alistair	Vancouver Centre	Ottawa, Ont.
MacKinnon, Hon. James A.	Edmonton West	Edmonton, Alta.
MacLean, Matthew	Cape Breton North-Victoria	Sydney Mines, N.S.
MacLennan, Donald	Inverness-Richmond	Inverness, N.S.
MacMillan, John Angus	Mackenzie	Wadena, Sask.
MacNeil, Charles Grant	Vancouver North	Vancouver, B.C.
MacNicol, John Ritchie	Davenport	Toronto, Ont.
Macphail, Agnes Campbell	Grey-Bruce	Ceylon, Ont.
MacRae, John Donald	Glengarry	Apple Hill, Ont.
McAvity, Allan Getchell	St. John-Albert	Little River, N.B.
McCallum, Angus Neil	Frontenac-Addington	Sunbury, Ont.
McCann, James J	Renfrew South	Renfrew, Ont.
McCuaig, Duncan Fletcher	Simcoe North	Barrie, Ont.
McCulloch, Henry B.	Pictou	New Glasgow, N.S.
McDonald, George William	Souris	Boissevain, Man.
McDonald, Wallace Reginald	Pontiac	Chapeau, Que.
McGeer, Gerald Grattan	Vancouver-Burrard	Vancouver, B.C.
McGregor, Robert Henry	York East	Toronto, Ont.
McIntosh, Cameron Ross	North Battleford	North Battleford, Sask.
McIvor, Daniel	Fort William	Fort William, Ont.
McKenzie, Hugh Alexander	Lambton-Kent	Watford, Ont.
McKinnon, Hugh Bathgate	Kenora-Rainy River	Kenora, Ont.
McLarty, Hon. Norman Alexander	Essex West	Ottawa, Ont.
McLean, George Alexander	Simcoe East	Orillia, Ont.
McLean, Malcolm	Melfort	Eldersley, Sask.
McNevin, Bruce	Victoria (Ont.)	Omemee, Ont.
McNiven, Donald Alexander	Regina City	Regina, Sask.
McPhee, George W.	Yorkton	Yorkton, Sask.
Manion, Hon. Robert James	London	Ottawa, Ont.
Marier, Elphège	Jacques Cartier	Pointe Claire, Que.
Marsh, John Allmond	Hamilton West	Hamilton, Ont.
Marshall, James Alexander	Camrose	Bashaw, Alta.
Martin, Paul	Essex East	Walkerville, Ont.
Massey, Denton	Greenwood	Toronto, Ont.
Matthews, James Ewen	Brandon	Brandon, Man.
Maybank, Ralph	Winnipeg South-Centre	Fort Garry, Man.
Mayhew, Robert Wellington	Victoria (B.C.)	Victoria, B.C.
Michaud, Hon. Joseph Enoil	Restigouche-Madawaska	Ottawa, Ont.
Mills, Wilson Henry	Elgin	Sparta, Ont.
Mitchell, Archibald Hugh	Medicine Hat	Medicine Hat, Alta.
Moore, William Henry	Ontario	Dunbarton, Ont.
Motherwell, Hon. William R.	Melville	Abernethy, Sask.

Name of Member	Constituency	Post Office Address
Mullins, James Patrick	Richmond-Wolfe	Bromptonville, Que.
Mulock, William Pate	York North	Toronto, Ont.
Mutch, Leslie Alexander	Winnipeg South	Winnipeg, Man.
Needham, Joseph	The Battlefords	Unity, Sask.
Neill, Alan Webster	Comox-Alberni	Alberni, B.C.
O'Neill, Thomas James	Kamloops	Kamloops, B.C.
Parent, Charles	Quebec West and South	Quebec, Que.
Parent, Louis Etienne	Terrebonne	Ste. Agathe des Monts, Que.
Patterson, J. E. Jack	Victoria-Carleton	Florenceville, N.B.
Pelletier, René Antoine	Peace River	Falher, Alta.
Perley, Ernest Edward	Qu'Appelle	Wolseley, Sask.
Pinard, Joseph Albert	Ottawa East	Ottawa, Ont.
Plaxton, Hugh John	Trinity	Toronto, Ont.
Poole, Eric Joseph	Red Deer	Calgary, Alta.
Pottier, Vincent Joseph	Shelburne-Yarmouth-Clare	Yarmouth, N.S.
Pouliot, Jean-François	Témiscouata	Rivière du Loup, Que.
Power, Hon. Charles Gavan	Quebec South	Ottawa, Ont.
Purdy, Gordon Timlin	Colchester-Hants	Truro, N.S.
Quelch, Victor	Acadia	Morrin, Alta.
Ralston, Hon. James Layton	Prince	Ottawa, Ont.
Raymond, Maxime	Beauharnois-Laprairie	Montreal, Que.
Reid, Thomas	New Westminster	Newton, B.C.
Rennie, Almon Secord	Oxford	Tillsonburg, Ont.
Rhéaume, Martial	St. Johns-Iberville-Napierville	St. Johns, Que.
Rickard, Wilbert Franklin	Durham	Newcastle, Ont.
Roberge, Eusèbe	Mégantic-Frontenac	Laurierville, Que.
Robichaud, Louis P. A.	Kent (N.B.)	Richibucto, N.B.
Rogers, Hon. Norman McLeod	Kingston City	Ottawa, Ont.
Ross, Douglas Gooderham	St. Paul's	Toronto, Ont.
Ross, Duncan Graham	Middlesex East	Lucan, Ont.
Ross, John Gordon	Moose Jaw	Moose Jaw, Sask.
Rowe, Percy John	Athabaska	Peterboro, Ont.
Rowe, Hon. William Earl	Dufferin-Simcoe	Newton Robinson, Ont.
St-Père, Edouard Charles	Hochelaga	Montreal, Que.
Sanderson, Frederick George	Perth	St. Marys, Ont.
Senn, Mark Cecil	Haldimand	Caledonia, Ont.
Slaght, Arthur Graeme	Parry Sound	Toronto, Ont.
Spence, David	Parkdale	Toronto, Ont.
Stevens, Hon. Henry Herbert	Kootenay East	Ottawa, Ont.
Stewart, Hon. Hugh Alexander	Leeds	Brockville, Ont
Stirling, Hon. Grote	Yale	Kelowna, B.C.
Streight, John Everett Lyle	York West	Toronto, Ont.
Sylvestre, Armand	Lake St. John-Roberval	Roberval, Que.
Taylor, James Samuel	Nanaimo	Vancouver, B.C.
Taylor, William Horace	Norfolk	Scotland, Ont., R.R. 3.

Name of Member	Constituency	Post Office Address
Telford, William Pattison	Grey North	Owen Sound, Ont.
Thauvette, Joseph	Vaudreuil-Soulanges	Vaudreuil, Que.
Thompson, Arthur Lisle	Kent (Ont.)	Chatham, Ont.
Thompson, Thomas Alfred	Lanark	Almonte, Ont.
Thorson, Joseph Thorarinn	Selkirk	Winnipeg, Man.
Tomlinson, William Rae	Bruce	Port Elgin, Ont.
Tremblay, Léonard David	Dorchester	St. Malachie, Que.
Tucker, Walter Adam	Rosthern	Rosthern, Sask.
Turgeon, James Gray	Cariboo	Vancouver, B.C.
Turner, John Mouat	Springfield	Winnipeg, Man.
Tustin, George James	Prince Edward-Lennox	Napanee, Ont.
Veniot, Clarence Joseph	Gloucester	Bathurst, N.B.
Vien, Thomas	Outremont	Montreal, Que.
Walsh, William Allen	Mount Royal	Outremont, Que.
Ward, William John	Dauphin	Dauphin, Man.
Warren, Ralph Melville	Renfrew North	Eganville, Ont.
Weir, William Gilbert	Macdonald	Carman, Man.
Wermenlinger, Edgard Jules	Verdun	Verdun, Que.
White, Robert Smeaton	St. Antoine-Westmount	Westmount, Que.
Winkler, Howard Waldemar	Lisgar	Morden, Man.
Wood, George Ernest	Brant	Cainsville, Ont. R.R. 1.
Woodsworth, James Shaver	Winnipeg North Centre	Winnipeg, Man.

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Prière aux députés de renvoyer les épreuves dans les vingt-quatre-heures.

Il est publié, pour l'édition anglaise, deux index séparés, l'un pour l'édition non revisée, 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 512.

D 53797

CANADA AND THE WAR

Parliament and the People

UNITY AND FREEDOM

A Radio Address by
Right Honourable
W. L. MACKENZIE KING
Ottawa, 7th February, 1940

Parliament and the People

UNITY AND FREEDOM

A radio address delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King from Ottawa, 7th February, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—

When Parliament concluded its Special War Session in September last, the Canadian people knew that Canada was united. What was of equal importance, there was left on the minds of the peoples of Europe the clear impression of a country at one in its determination to put forth a supreme national effort towards the winning of the war.

The reality of Canadian unity, in carrying on the war, was splendidly confirmed and reinforced just six weeks later. On October 25th, the people of the province of Quebec, with a voice which carried across the Atlantic, gave their answer to a challenge which had thrown suspicion on their loyalty. Her people could not have proclaimed more conclusively, at any time, or in any way, their unity with the rest of Canada in support of the war effort of the federal ministry.

I shall always regard this two-fold demonstration of Canadian unity, this evidence of the common determination of all Canadians to share in the struggle and the sacrifice, as the greatest of the contributions that, in the early stages of the conflict, Canada could possibly have made towards the winning of the war. As we preserve our national unity, so shall we increase our national strength.

How Canadian Unity Might Have Been Destroyed.

It will add to our understanding of what is essential to the prosecution of Canada's war effort if we recognize, at once, that this demonstration of unity, in Parliament, on the part of the people's representatives, and, in the province of Quebec, by the people themselves, was not born of the moment, and did not arise wholly of itself. It was the result, in no uncertain measure, of the known policies of the present administration, policies which, over many years, in matters of war and peace, have been clearly shown to be in accord with the will of the Canadian people.

That unity did not come from committing Canada to war before Parliament had made its decision. It was not brought about by agreeing to send expeditionary forces overseas, before Parliament had decided that Canada should participate in war, and had appropriated moneys for its prosecution. It was not brought about by the government seeking from Parliament, in time of peace, the appropriation of huge sums of money for military expenditures in preparation for Canada's participation in a European war. Our unity was not maintained by committing Canada to fight in Europe, before, or at the time of the Munich conferences, or even after Czechoslovakia was invaded, when, as we now know, the British government itself was unwilling to take that step. It was not achieved by declaring that, without consulting either the Parliament or the people of Canada, the government would commit this country to fight at any time, at any place, in any cause, if Britain went to war. Least of all was it brought about by pledges to extend the life of Parliament in a time of war without any reference to the people, or to form a so-called "national" government that might enforce conscription

or disfranchise many classes of Canadian citizens. The memories of those experiences in the last war are still bitter in the minds of the Canadian people.

How Canadian Unity Was Achieved.

Unity was made possible by none of these things. On the other hand, it was made possible, and it was achieved by the assurances given the people of Canada, year in and year out, that if my colleagues and I could prevent it, none of these things would happen. We were determined that Parliament, or the people themselves, would decide whether Canada should participate in war. That assurance I gave the Canadian people repeatedly. I kept that promise. And I held this country to that course, steadfastly, patiently, and honourably, in spite of criticism, in spite of abuse, and in spite of aggressive demands that I should break so solemn a trust.

I knew as you must know, that, without disastrous results, we could not have entered the war, except as a united nation. I know, and you know that we cannot continue at war, at least with the strength we all desire, except as a united nation. I believe that every fair-minded citizen will agree that the policies which have united Canada are the policies which will keep our country united. Extreme measures used by men of extreme views—whatever means and methods may be taken to enforce them—will only serve to divide and destroy what is most essential in the prosecution of the war—the support, by the people at large, of Canada's war effort.

Necessary Freedom of Action Carefully Safeguarded.

In September last, in asserting in Parliament, on your behalf, the constitutional right of the people to select their representatives, I gave to members of Parliament, an assurance that a general election would not be held before Parliament had again been summoned. I undertook that the members would be called together not later than the month of January. I made clear, however, that it might be necessary to have Parliament summoned at an earlier date. I had in mind, when I spoke, as it is always necessary for one charged with the responsibilities of government to have in mind, that it is impossible, when events move swiftly, to foresee what may happen in an interval of time. I knew that the measures necessary to maintain national unity, and to promote Canada's war effort, could only be determined in the light of subsequent events. It was obviously essential that I should not so bind the administration's freedom of action in a time of war, as to prevent the government from taking, at the moment when the necessity arose, whatever action might become imperative. The undertaking I then gave was limited to having no election before Parliament was again summoned; and to have Parliament called in January, if it did not become imperative to have it summoned earlier. What I said specifically was: "At that time, we will be in a position to consider what steps may be most necessary with regard to developments that may ensue meanwhile". What did take place in the interval bears out, I think, the wisdom of this precaution.

I may say that in naming January as the month within which Parliament would be called, and before which time no general election would, in the ordinary course of events, be brought on, I had in mind the obligation which clearly rested

on my colleagues and myself of organizing Canada's war effort in the most effective manner, and with the least possible delay. I had in mind the presentation to Parliament, when it met, of the record of what had been accomplished. I would have preferred, and would have mentioned an earlier date than January, had I believed that Canada's war effort could have been properly organized and sufficiently advanced in a shorter period of time.

Organization of Canada's War Effort.

Since the special session of Parliament, my colleagues and I, as you all know, have devoted ourselves patiently, energetically, and unitedly to transforming the wishes of Parliament and the people into action. You know something of what within five months' time has been accomplished. The government's record will be fully presented to you in the course of the present campaign, and criticisms of that record met without fear.

It is true that from time to time, already, there have been criticisms. It would be a miracle if the transformation of a peaceful country into a nation at war were not marked by some shortcomings, by some unpreparedness, by some shortage of supplies. But those are minor matters and shrink into insignificance when placed in their appropriate perspective beside the true magnitude of our war effort.

Criticism, where it has been constructive, has been met by appropriate measures. But other criticisms have developed in recent days, not constructive, but destructive; not designed to further Canada's war effort, but to advance personal ambitions; to spread disunion, and to undermine confidence in an administration whose conduct of the war up to the beginning of the present year received general commendation.

Resolution of Ontario Legislature Beginning of a Political Campaign.

The nature of the political campaign it was intended to wage became very clear once the Ontario Legislature was called into session. I need not repeat how the opportunity was seized by the leaders in that Assembly to play a part in Ontario at the beginning of the New Year not unlike that which had been played by the leader of the government of another province during the old year. The utterances of the leaders themselves might well have been ignored, and, so far as I am concerned, they would have been ignored, if a formal resolution of the Ontario Legislature condemning the war effort of the government of Canada, had not been passed and become a part of the records of that Assembly.

Whatever might have been thought of tactics of the kind by those of us in Canada who have become all too familiar with them, the government could not be indifferent to the manner in which, as a consequence, Canada's war effort might come to be viewed in other lands. But for the undertaking not to seek a dissolution of Parliament before Members were once again called together, these events would have led me to ask His Excellency for an immediate dissolution, without awaiting the assembling of Members. In the circumstances, I took the earliest opportunity possible to acquaint Parliament with the decision to hold an immediate election. The government's intention was announced in the Speech from the Throne. At the earliest opportunity, I made on the floor of Parliament itself a statement of the reasons which made an immediate dissolution not only desirable but imperative.

Parliament Supreme Over Government But Not Over People.

I have been told that, in that procedure, I was not paying the respect due to Parliament; that, in season and out of season, I had stressed the supremacy of Parliament, and was now deserting the convictions and doctrines which I firmly held. It is perfectly true that I have never failed to stress the supremacy of Parliament. But it has been the supremacy of Parliament over the government that I have sought to preserve, not the supremacy of Parliament over the people. The Parliament just dissolved was elected in 1935; five sessions had already been held. The fact that anyone could assume that, in the circumstances mentioned, the supremacy of Parliament might mean depriving the people of their right to an early general election, shows how far some men have drifted in their thinking from any true conception of popular government, and how close they have come to sharing the mentality of dictators.

I had hoped there might have been an opportunity to present to Parliament, in its opening days, an account of the government's conduct of the war. It was obvious, however, to any unprejudiced observer that all that had been gained by the maintenance of parliamentary and national unity was, in the new session, about to be endangered by a bitter political controversy in Parliament. That controversy, once it had begun, would not, because of the time we had at our disposal, have been carried to any conclusion on the floor of the House of Commons. It could not have been ended before there was reason to expect a spring offensive in Europe. It would have received a disproportionate attention in the lands of our allies, and in the capital of our foes. It would, inevitably, have been followed by a dissolution under conditions

that would not have been understood abroad. It would have had no finality, for it would have been followed by another campaign.

People in all lands understand that in a general election exaggerated statements will be made, and extreme political attitudes taken. Such allowances for the bitterness of party strife would, however, not have been made in the case of similar statements made on the floor of Parliament.

Canada's War Effort the First Consideration.

No government, charged with the duty of carrying on Canada's war effort, and, at the same time, the regular business of Parliament could, in addition, be expected to face two political campaigns—one carried on in Parliament itself before dissolution, another in the country after dissolution —and thereby almost certainly postpone the decision of the electors until the allied cause had reached a new and terrible emergency.

The responsibility for recommending the dissolution was mine. I took that responsibility in pursuance of my conception of my duty. I did so because I believed it to be right, and in the interest of this country. Above all else, I acted as I did in order that the unity of Parliament might be preserved in the eyes of the world.

I knew that a general election had to come—so did our political opponents. I believed that it ought, if possible, to be over before the spring offensive. I believed that it ought to be brought on before roads were broken up and became impassable. I believed that it ought to come before our men in England went to France. I believed it ought to come before our Second Division left this country. If Parliament

had been permitted to carry on to the end of March or April, and had, thereby, rendered inevitable a general election at a time when our men were facing all the horrors of concentrated warfare, I would have been told, and rightly so, that I was not fit to be the leader of the government, for allowing matters to drift in that way.

Immediate Election Rendered Imperative.

The decision to dissolve was not the result of impulse. It was the inevitable result of the outbreak of a political and partisan struggle, combined with the factors of time to which I have referred. If there had been any hope of a brief session, calmly devoted to the discussion of national affairs, such a session would have been held. That hope disappeared with the resolution of the Ontario Legislature, which marked, and was intended as, the beginning of a political campaign. A general election this year being necessary under our constitution, I am sure you will agree that no time better suited to the needs of Canada and the allied powers could have been selected than the present. Once the stress of events had forced the decision, the straight-forward thing was to announce it at once, and to proceed with the election at once.

I am perfectly certain that from one end of Canada to the other there is thankfulness in the hearts of all that the country will not need to wait a day longer than is necessary for a new Parliament, in order that those who are charged with the responsibility of carrying on the great task of Canada's government in war may be fortified with a direct and unquestioned mandate from the people.

The Preservation of National Unity.

The first duty of any government charged with responsibility in this country is, has been, and will be to maintain national unity. That task, above all others, I have made the supreme endeavour of my public life.

Canada is a nation strong in the equal partnership of two great races. Through generations, men and women of many lands have come to share that partnership. No Prime Minister would be true, either to himself, or to the people to whom he is responsible, were he not to lend every effort of mind and of heart to the maintenance of national unity. Especially is this true at a time in the world's history when, over many years, we have been witnessing civil strife, and war between nations, in well nigh every quarter of the globe except our own. The preservation of national unity has been made increasingly difficult in our country as, from time to time, demands have been made upon my colleagues and myself for unconditional declarations of participation, by Canada, in European conflicts, before the actual time, occasion, or nature of the conflicts themselves were known. This impatient and extreme course of procedure served only to bring into being contending forces in every part of Canada: one determined that Canada should participate in any and every war in which Britain might be engaged, and, the other, equally determined that there should be no Canadian participation in any European wars.

Once again, I ask you to consider where Canada would have been at the outbreak of the present war in Europe, if I, or any of my colleagues, had identified himself with either of these extreme attitudes; or if, through unwise and unnecessary declarations in advance of an actual and known condition, we had helped to precipitate an open conflict of opposed opinions?

Efforts to Maintain Peace in Europe.

I have long held the belief that conditions in Europe could not continue to go, as during the last four years they had been going, from bad to worse, without the moment coming when Europe itself would burst into flames and freedom everywhere be menaced. Holding that belief, I have done all that was within my power, and have sought to have done all that was within the power of this country, to avert such a catastrophe by fostering, everywhere and always, policies of international understanding, friendship, and good-will. At the same time, I have had continually to face the prospect of the failure to maintain peace. I have also had to consider the possible coming of the day when Britain and France might be drawn into a great conflict for the preservation of their freedom and, indeed, of their very existence. I have had, all the while, to ask myself how best our country could be kept united, and its policies so shaped that, if the moment ever came for Canada to declare what part she was prepared to take in a world struggle to thwart aggression and to preserve freedom, she could speak with the single voice of a united people.

Efforts to Preserve Unity in Canada.

I think I know something of the love of liberty which resides in the breast of every Canadian. I think I know something, too, of what men and women, of every part of Canada, of every class, and race, and creed, feel they owe to the manner in which their liberties have been secured under British institutions in our free association as a free nation in the British Commonwealth. I have, therefore, never doubted the singleness of mind and purpose with which we would all

be prepared to play our part in any struggle which threatened our freedom. My task was to see that no false step, no extreme policies or measures, no hasty action should be allowed to destroy, in advance, either the clearness of vision of our people, or its power for action. I was determined that, if the moment for decision ever came, no cleavages of opinion, in Parliament or in the country, should frustrate Canada's power to put forth her utmost effort.

The only absolute proof of any course of action is to be found in its results. You will recall my repeated assurances that Canada would participate in war only after a decision by Parliament or the people; also, my refusal last year to allow a general election to be brought on in July or August, though strongly pressed by the Leader of the Opposition, and many of my own following, to dissolve Parliament at that time. You will also recall how speedily Parliament was summoned into special session at the moment of the crisis. You know the unanimity which marked the proceedings of Parliament and its momentous decision. You know what effect all those things have had upon the continued unity of this nation in a time of war. Knowing all these things as you do, I ask you, my fellow countrymen, has the course which I have pursued over the years I have been in office, as the leader of the government of this country, not been the right, and, indeed, the only wise and proper one? Quite apart from myself, if you will permit me to say so, you will do well, I believe, to judge of the future in the light of the past.

The People's Right to Decide Upon Leaders and Policies.

As to what leader or policies are hereafter to govern the conduct of the war, it is of course for you to say. It is your future, not that of any leader or of any government, that is at

stake. No Parliament, least of all a Parliament that had run its course, and was elected without any reference to war and its appalling consequences, could have determined whom you wished to guide the destinies of this country.

My leadership today is being called in question by some who desire to see the government of this country in other hands. It is urged that other and more extreme policies should be substituted for those which my colleagues and I believe to be the only ones that, in these very critical times, can keep Canada united, and enable this country to put forth the utmost of her strength, and the maximum of her national effort in the winning of the war. Happily, at this moment, all political parties in our country claim to be of one mind in a determination to have Canada do all in her power to help win the war. I, at least, am prepared to say that such differences of opinion as do exist are for the most part either on subjects apart altogether from the war, or arise from differences of temperament, differences of method, and I think I might add, differences of experience.

How Best to Give Effect to Will of People—(a) in Canada's War Effort.

What, then, are the issues in this election? It seems to me that there are two real issues. Behind all the clashes of political conflict, the first issue concerns the maintenance of national unity. On that first issue depends the second issue, which is the whole policy of the government in the prosecution of the war. Both issues rise superior to personalities.

The people of Canada are being asked to decide through what government, and as a result of what policies the will of the people of Canada is likely to be carried out most com-

pletely and effectively in the prosecuton of the war effort. That war effort, as I have said, has been developed upon foundations carefully prepared. It has been furthered by steady, persistent and patient labour. We have had the experience of the last war to guide us. With that experience illuminating the course which we have had to follow, we have used every effort to avoid the errors of haste and confusion, and the needless sacrifice of blood and treasure that is their inevitable result. In a struggle that is certain to be long and exhausting, our contribution will be effective to the extent that it is carefully planned in close co-operation with that of our allies.

Not only must we plan carefully, patiently and wisely for a long war, but we must never lose sight of the fact that we must, at once, prepare, as well, for the aftermath of the war.

How Best to Give Effect to Will of People—(b) in Relation to Peace and Post-war Problems.

Every thoughtful Canadian has before him, as an incentive to highest endeavour, the vision of a new and juster world in which humble men and women may be allowed to live in freedom in the land of their fathers.

The men whom you choose to entrust with the responsibility of government must be ready not only to face unflinchingly the dire necessities of war; they must also be prepared with a sense of national unity, and the idealism of international good-will, to face the problems of peace.

We often hear of the ideals of racial tolerance and good neighbourhood on which our own nationhood is founded.

We cannot hear of them too often. No one surely will deny that a Canada in which East and West, French and English, Catholic and Protestant, Capital and Labour, contribute to real national unity can bring more precious gifts to the building of the new world than a Canada torn asunder by sectional, racial, religious or social conflicts.

People Themselves to Decide Canada's Future and Their Own Fate.

The decision is yours. It is not your representatives in Parliament who are now being asked to decide on the present and future of this country at a time of war. It is you, yourselves, who are not only the masters of Parliament, but, as never before, the masters of your own fate.

I say to you that never have the Canadian people been called upon to make so serious a decision. On that decision will depend not only our contribution to the war, but the maintenance of our own integrity and unity as a nation in a shattered world, to which a united Canada may well bring a new hope to mankind.

I would earnestly suggest that before arriving at your decision you ask yourselves these questions:

Should not this great task be entrusted to men who, tried in the school of experience, familiar with the problems to be faced, and advocates of policies widely supported, have throughout been united by a community of views?

Or should the conduct of your government in these critical days be handed over to men, most of whom are without experience in government, and who are bound together by no common principles or agreed policies?

When a vague suggestion is made of a "national" government of all the talents, you would do well to ask and to insist upon knowing who the men will be, and what talents they possess.

Is it not further essential that you should know whether they represent, in fair proportion, the two great races of this Dominion? It is my firm conviction, on which I have acted throughout my political life, that our national unity can only be maintained by a government in which there is always an intimate and generous association between French and English. My own relations, over so many years, with that most loyal and truest of colleagues, the Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe, have themselves reflected that equal and cordial partnership between the original founders of this nation.

A United War Effort of a United Canada.

A united war effort of a united Canada represents, I believe, the heartfelt desire of the Canadian people. If you will ask yourselves the questions I have suggested, ponder them in your hearts, and answer them as Canadians, I have no doubt of what your decision will be.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

War Record of the Mackenzie King Administration

A Radio Address by

Right Honourable

W. L. MACKENZIE KING

Ottawa, 21st February, 1940

CANADA AND THE WAR

War Record of the Mackenzie King Administration

The second of a series of radio addresses delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King from Ottawa: 21st February, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Since my broadcast was delivered, the Leader of the Opposition has also spoken to you over the radio. In his broadcast, on Friday evening last, Dr. Manion gave it as his opinion that the present administration no longer merited your confidence. He centred his attack on the government's war effort. These are the words he used:

> **"Canada confronts a grave crisis. The King Government is responsible for our unpreparedness, and our weak war effort. Therefore, it is the duty of all those who love this Canada of ours to work together to defeat that government."**

There is no mistaking the meaning of that language. Dr. Manion wishes the present government to be defeated. He has stated the issue as he sees it. It is the government's war record. I am quite prepared to accept his challenge. He has named the issue. I now propose to meet it.

Canada's Contribution Made Possible Through Foresight

In what I am about to say, I shall emphasize, and I hope that you will remember, the following important facts. My

colleagues and I took every care to see that war, if it came, should find Canada as well prepared as a peace-loving country could be. When war was near, we took every possible step to place our defence forces in a state of preparation for active service. When war appeared inevitable, Parliament was instantly summoned. Canada forthwith, by the decision of her Parliament, took her place at the side of the Allies.

In anticipation of Parliament's decision, we had already begun direct and daily consultation with Britain. We have since continued such consultation for the purpose of working out and perfecting plans for vigorous, prompt and effective co-operation. We had established the security of this country in its own defences. We were, therefore, able at once to make valuable contributions to the cause of the Allies. We were able to mobilize farm and factory, manpower and money, on the side of Britain and France. Our foresight made possible the steady growth of our national endeavour. It ensured from that day, and from this day, onward, a maximum of effort, with a minimum of waste.

Needs of Allied Powers Basis of Canada's War Effort

I cannot reveal the details of the plans of the Allies. You will understand why. I would like to tell you what they are, but I have no intention of telling the enemy. I can only assure you of the most complete and continuous co-operation between our Allies and ourselves.

In the last war, Canada's main contribution was the despatch of infantry to France. That was what the Allied powers wanted Canada to do then. Our whole military effort

was concentrated upon that contribution, and the courageous achievements of our men filled Canada with pride, Britain and France with inspiration, and the enemy with confusion. But, military historians and present-day experts agree that there was, in the strategy of the last war, a woeful waste of treasure and of life.

In 1914, we had no Air Force of our own, although on the honour roll of the Royal Air Force are imperishably enshrined the names of thousands of young Canadians. Our naval service in 1914 was exceedingly small. It had, in fact, no separate existence in time of war. Such is not the case today. The Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Air Force are today separate, distinct, and well organized services. They are vital elements in the defence of Canada. They are important links in the unbroken chain of allied strength.

The Land—The Sea—The Air—Industrial Activity

Already we have organized and despatched an expeditionary force. Three contingents have safely crossed the Atlantic. Our men have been subjected to the strictest standards of health and training. The First Division is now completing its training in England, the Second is well advanced in training in Canada. When the day comes for our soldiers to face the enemy, they will be found, in physique and morale, the equal of their fathers and predecessors who made Canada a nation on the fields of Flanders. They will be better equipped than their comrades were in the last war.

But, as you know, the main theatre of war thus far has not been on land; it has been on the sea, and in the air. In

those elements, the strength, the skill, and I may say, the brutality of the enemy have combined in a vain effort to strike terror into the hearts of the British and French peoples. The strategy of yesterday is not the strategy of today. It may be that the strategy of today will not be the strategy of tomorrow. Time will tell that story. Thus far, while we have been told that the presence of Canadian land forces will be no less heartily welcomed, we have been definitely asked to direct our effort especially towards the development of our naval and air services, and to industrial activity. I think you will agree that the course of the war, up to the present, has shown with what foresight the Allied plans have been laid.

Position Wholly Different from that of 1914

I need hardly remind you how the conditions of the present war differ from those that prevailed in 1914. Methods of warfare are new, weapons are new, and, abroad, the strategic picture is now entirely different. Today Germany fights on only one front. This time Russia is not our ally, Italy is not our ally, Japan is not our ally. In the early years of the last war, we relied on British ships alone to protect our eastern shores and the waters of the Gulf. Diplomacy had made our western ocean, in very truth, Pacific.

Our own position, as a country, has also changed. Today Canada stands, before the world, as a nation. We have the privileges of nationhood. We have also its responsibilities. The first of these is responsibility for our own national security. The primary duty of each member of the British Commonwealth is to provide for its own defence. That is the basis of our free association, and of all Empire co-operation. It has been so recognized at every Imperial Conference since 1923.

The threats to Canadian security are far greater today than they were in 1914. To the East, on the Atlantic, we face warfare. To the West, on the Pacific, we face doubt and uncertainty. We must keep constantly in mind the possibility of attacks from the sea, on either coast; and in the air, from many points of the compass. Whatever contribution we can or could make outside of Canada would be seriously weakened, and might easily be destroyed, if we had neglected our own defences. Never forget that fact.

The Charge of Unpreparedness

The Leader of the Opposition charges the government with "unpreparedness". Unpreparedness for what? Does he mean unpreparedness for national defence, or does he mean unpreparedness by Canada, in peace time, for active participation in war in Europe? If he means unpreparedness for the defence of Canada, his charges are untrue. If he means unpreparedness in peace time for active participation, by Canada, in a European war, in his anxiety to condemn the government, he forgets the facts and condemns himself. In peace time, he never advocated preparedness for a war in Europe. The government never advocated preparedness for a war in Europe. As a matter of fact, there was general agreement, both in this country and in Great Britain, that it would be extremely unlikely that Canadian expeditionary forces would again take part in a European war.

Today, Dr. Manion quite fails to distinguish between preparedness, in peace time, for national defence, and preparedness, in peace time, to send forces overseas. He knew the difference, however, when Parliament was in regular session in March, 1939. He knew the difference from March, 1939, to September, 1939, when Parliament met in war session.

He knew the difference until an expeditionary force was already on its way overseas. He kept silent in peace time because he knew, as everyone listening to me knows, that neither Parliament nor the people would have supported expenditures, in peace time, to prepare for active participation by Canada in a European war.

It is perfectly true that we did not, in times of peace, budget for times of war. If we had, our measures would not have received the support of Parliament. By preparedness in peace time, the present government always meant, and always said it meant, preparedness to meet the possibility of attacks upon Canada in the event of war. The government repeatedly told Parliament that our peace time military expenditures were exclusively for the defence of Canada.

Outstanding Features of Government's War Record

I propose now, as simply as I can, to tell you the main facts concerning the government's record in war.

Parliament was summoned on the 1st day of September, 1939. Britain declared war on September the third. I announced on the 1st of September that if Britain did declare war, the government would recommend to Parliament that Canada should stand at her side. We never doubted that Parliament would accept our policy. We, therefore, as I have already mentioned, entered into immediate consultation with the British government, in order to arrive without delay at a basis of co-operative action. We quickly reached an understanding about the things that had to be done at once. These I outlined to Parliament on September 8th.

Earliest Measures of Co-operation—at Sea, on Land, and in the Air

The British government told us that we could render the greatest help by assisting in the naval and air defence of Newfoundland, Labrador, the French Islands in the Gulf, and the British and French West Indies. We provided that assistance at once. The British government also urged upon us the importance of increasing air training, and naval and air facilities, and of sending trained airmen and mechanics overseas as soon as possible. We lost no time in doing as we were asked.

Meanwhile, we continued daily consultation with the British authorities. By September 19th, we had heard more of their plans, and were in a position to announce a more extended programme. We learned that technical men, doctors and engineers were needed for the land forces. In the light of this information we decided to concentrate on recruiting men of the types which were urgently and especially needed. We had already begun to organize and train an army division which was to be ready to proceed overseas as soon as it was required. On that day, the government decided to organize a second division. In order that we might devote our energy and strength to fill the needs of the allied forces, in the manner in which we had been asked, further general recruiting was postponed for the time being.

The Canadian Navy was already watching over our own coastal waters, Newfoundland and the West Indies. It was taking its share of convoy duty, of mine-sweeping, and of anti-submarine defence. We began immediately to construct anti-submarine and mine-sweeping craft. We also authorized a plan of intensified air training in Canada to provide a progressively increasing number of pilots and airmen. These

things were planned and done, within three weeks of the outbreak of war, after consultation with, and in co-operation with, the British authorities. Is this, I ask, unpreparedness? I leave the answer to you.

The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan

Within a month of the outbreak of war, the swift domination of Poland had demonstrated the decisive importance of superior air power. The significance of the conquest, and the means by which it was accomplished, were not without their immediate effect. If the Germans believed that the war was to be won with air power, the Allies were determined, not only that theirs would be the superiority in air power, but that the enemy should know this as soon and as clearly as possible. Out of this determination, there emerged the epoch-making proposal for a gigantic plan for joint air training. On September 26th, it was presented by the British government to the other governments of the British Commonwealth. The vastness of its scope and power immediately fired the imagination of all. We in Canada, some months prior to the outbreak of war, had made an agreement with Britain for the advanced training of a definite number of British pilots in Royal Canadian Air Force establishments. That fact and the geographic advantages of our country, made Canada the logical centre for this great enterprise.

Agreement Concluded in Minimum of Time

Our acceptance of the proposal in principle was prompt and decisive. The acceptance by Australia and New Zealand was equally so. By October 10th, I was able to announce that Missions were to be sent to Ottawa from the United

Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, to work out all the complicated technical and financial details of the training plan. The British, Australian and New Zealand Missions arrived in due course. By November 27th, a basis of agreement had been reached. The approval of the governments of the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand had still to be obtained. On December 17th, I gave to you over the radio an outline of the plan, which, on that day, had been accepted by all four governments. I suggest to you that, having regard to the elements of time and space, the signing of that agreement is a tribute to the vigour and efficiency of our action.

Air Training Plan May Prove Decisive Factor in Winning of War

In this truly tremendous project, Canada has assumed the major share. What this Air Training Plan will probably mean to the allied cause, you have already been told. When, on October 10th, I announced the proposal, I said that the government of the United Kingdom had indicated its opinion that, with the facilities which Canada possessed, this co-operative effort might prove to be of the most essential and decisive character. Shortly after the agreement was signed, the British government again advised us that in its opinion the Air Training Scheme would do more to assist in ultimate victory than any other form of military aid which Canada could give. At the same time, the British government told us that it would welcome no less heartily the presence of Canadian land forces in the theatre of war at the earliest possible moment. You know how soon this wish was gratified, and how quickly the British people were given an opportunity to welcome our troops. On the very day I was announcing

to you the signing of the Air Training Agreement, the First Contingent of the First Division of the Canadian Active Service Force was landing in the United Kingdom.

Development of Plan Proceeding Rapidly

We did not wait for the signing of the Agreement to get on with the job of carrying out the programme finally agreed upon. Before the Agreement was signed, the ground had been prepared, and much had already been accomplished. Everyday since, the work has been proceeding with vigour and speed. Some forty complete airports were available as a result of civil developments, and forty new airports are being developed from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The delivery of planes from manufacturers in Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States is actively proceeding. Deliveries of advanced training aircraft being supplied by the British Air Ministry have begun and are continuing. Orders have been placed for hundreds of other planes of Canadian and American manufacture.

Between the outbreak of war and the end of the year, contracts for the Royal Canadian Air Force, to the value of over seven and a half million dollars had been let for works and buildings most of which will be used for air training. The recruitment of personnel to man the schools is well advanced, and the training of instructors is actively in progress. By spring the training establishments will be ready to receive pupils.

An Army Division Already Overseas— Another Shortly to Cross

I have already referred to the landing in the United Kingdom, on December 17th, of the First Contingent of the First

Division of the Canadian Active ServiceForce. This contingent was accompanied by its Commanding Officer, Major General A. G. L. McNaughton, who had been appointed to that command on October 6th. The Second Contingent landed on the last two days of the old year. With the recent landing of the Third Contingent, Canada now has a complete division and additional auxiliary units, engaged in advanced training in England. All three contingents made the crossing safely and exactly according to a schedule worked out months in advance. All left Canada fully clothed and fully equipped.

Meanwhile the training of the Second Division is proceeding rapidly, and the decision has been reached to despatch it overseas at an appropriate time.

Army Cooperation Air Squadrons Also Proceeding Overseas

An Army Co-operation Air Squadron has also completed its training in Canada. It will very soon be joining the First Division overseas. A second similar Air Squadron to co-operate with the Second Division is in training.

The Navy Performing Silent and Effective Service

The navy has been well called the silent service. No detailed account can be given of its activities. I may mention, however, that we have added to it steadily both in men and ships. Since the beginning of the year, orders have been placed for the largest naval ship-building programme ever undertaken in Canada. The part the navy has played in the vital task of convoying shipping in the sea lanes of the North

Atlantic, the life line of Britain and France, has received the highest praise of the allied powers.

Today, there are over 70,000 men under arms in the Canadian Active Service Force, over 9,000 in the Royal Canadian Air Force, and over 6,000 in the Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve. These numbers will be increased by tens of thousands of young Canadians, as the Air Training Plan develops, and men continue to be recruited for the other services. On the sea, on land, and in the air, Canada's achievements in this war may well be a source of national pride.

The Home Front—The Furnishing of Supplies

I would like now to tell you in a few words something of what has been done on the home front. We call it the home front because in this part of national service are enlisted every miner, every farmer, every fisherman, every lumberman, indeed every worker in Canada.

I need not tell you that the furnishing of supplies of all kinds is of vital importance to the success of the British and the Allied powers. Our work on the home front is designed to fit into a common plan. In this too, our Allies have told us what they require. In this too, we have done everything within our power to meet their needs. This work is just as much part of the allied plan and just as important as our contribution of men to the armed services.

We hear so much about the vastness of our territory and the extent of our natural resources that sometimes we ourselves are apt to overlook them. Today, that very vastness and those very resources are a lasting reservoir of strength to the allied cause; for Canada stands to Europe as the

nearest, the surest and the safest source of those materials and supplies without which no great nation could wage a successful war.

But our vastness and our wealth of raw materials would be of no avail unless we were able to produce, and to transport. At this crisis in our history, we are fortunate in the development of production and transportation as two arms of national service.

Railways—Airways—National Broadcasting: Essential Factors in War Economy

We do not always remember that the federation of Canada as one nation stretching from sea to sea was made possible by the railways. While we are joined in sentiment by bonds of the heart, we are welded in material things by bonds of steel. The railways are on the front line of our national defence. The present government has resolutely refused to cut down the railway facilities of this country. Today they are at their very height of operating efficiency. Every dollar we have spent on the maintenance of the railways may now be viewed as a dollar spent on defence and preparedness. We are more than ready to meet the demands which have over-taxed the transportation systems of other countries.

What is true of our railways is true also of our progress in civil aviation. No money could have been more wisely spent on national preparedness than the investment in the Trans-Canada Air Lines. I might remind you, in passing, that this vast national service was begun and developed entirely by the present administration.

During the last three years, there has also been built, with the active approval and under the guidance of the present administration, a chain of high-powered broadcasting stations.

Again, what is true of our railways is true also of our harbours. At Halifax and St. John, for example, since Canada entered the war, traffic has more than doubled. There has been no congestion and no delay. This has been accomplished under the direction of a Transport Controller, of whose excellent work like that of our other war administrators, very little has been heard or said.

While these things are sometimes taken for granted, I suggest to you that they, also, are essential elements of a well-directed and well-prepared national economy, geared for war.

Industry Transformed to Serve Wartime Needs

Industry, of course, could not be transformed as readily as our transport facilities were. We had built up no huge armament industry in peace time. I hope with all my heart, and I know that you hope also that such an industrial enterprise will never need to form a permanent addition to the economy of Canada. Nevertheless, preparations had been made for the production of munitions in case the dire need for them ever arose. Long before the outbreak of war, the government had caused a complete industrial survey of Canada to be made.

The government also, in June last, sponsored at their request, a visit to the United Kingdom of a delegation organized by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. Its object was to study the production of arms and munitions in Great Britain, and to assist in the speedy adaptation of Canadian industry to the needs of warfare, if ever it came. The

delegation was headed by Major-General McNaughton. Through the office of Canada's High Commissioner in London, every facility was accorded the delegation while it was in Britain. The assistance afforded to the governments of Great Britain and Canada and to Canadian industry itself, as a result of that visit, was of supreme value.

Enormous Quantities of War Supplies

You all know of the establishment of the War Supply Board, under the control of experienced and public-spirited men. They have had two tasks. Their first duty has been to mobilize our industrial resources. Their second has been to place orders and to let contracts. Particulars of these contracts, amounting, in all, to over $110,000,000, have been published from day to day. In awarding these contracts the members of the Board have been instructed by the government to guard against both patronage and profiteering. Its members, chosen without regard to party, have, I believe, been guided by three principles: honesty, efficiency, and economy. The government is determined that in this war the public trust will not be surrendered to private greed.

There was, at the outset, some impatience because orders were not placed more speedily. The impatience, while perhaps natural, was ill-founded. Orders could hardly have been placed by Canada before Parliament had made the necessary appropriations, or authorized the expenditure. They could not have been placed on behalf of the United Kingdom until the British government itself was prepared to place them. To meet their own immediate requirements, the allied powers had on hand large reserves of supplies of all kinds. We, like them, needed time to determine precisely what our own forces were to be, and what they would require. Moreover, it was

necessary for all nations involved in the war to await developments, and to know what form the war would take. In our preparation, we all had to keep in mind many phases and stages of the conflict, the last no less then the first.

Agriculture Adapted to War Needs— the Farmer's Interest Safeguarded

While the War Supply Board has been bringing our industrial resources into preparation and action, two other branches of government have been concerned with matters which intimately affect the welfare of each one of you. The Agricultural Supplies Committee has been working steadily, with two objects in view. It has been trying, with success, to adapt our farming methods to the needs of war. It has been planning to prevent disaster to agriculture in the period after the war. The Canadian farmer made a tremendous contribution to the winning of the last war. He is helping to win this war. We do not propose, if we can avoid it, that he should lose the fruit of his labours, or find himself, in peace time, once again the victim of a depression which he did nothing to create.

The Consumers' Interest Watched— Prices Controlled

There is another matter which affects the well-being of each one of you. Most of all, it concerns the lives of those whose main problem is meeting the cost of the necessities which keep body and soul together. In order to prevent, as far as is humanly possible, the placing of additional burdens upon the workers of this land, the government, as early as September 3rd, set up the Wartime Prices and Trade Board.

That Board, as you are aware, has done its work well. I regret I have not time tonight to describe what it has accomplished. I may tell you, however, that we have given its members very wide powers. I promise you, that as long as vigour and vigilance, and the punishment of the guilty can prevent such a calamity, there will be no undue rise in the cost of the necessities of life.

This, Ladies and Gentlemen, has been the record of the war effort of the present administration at this time of crisis in the world's affairs. What I have told you relates almost exclusively to the period which has elapsed since the beginning of war—a period of less than half a year.

National Unity and War Effort Inseparable

In my first broadcast, I told you how the present government had brought to the side of Britain and France the united war effort of a united Canada. I told you what had to be done, and what had not to be done, to achieve that end. I told you of the responsible trust placed upon my colleagues and myself to preserve calm and patience during the long and difficult months that preceded the tragedy of war. In this broadcast, I have told you something of the energy and vigour with which, since we entered the war, the present Administration has prosecuted Canada's war effort. National unity was maintained prior to, and at the moment of, the declaration of war. The war effort was made possible by the unity thus achieved. Never forget that the two are inseparable.

This is the record which the Leader of the Opposition says constitutes the issue in the present election. He appeals to you to defeat the government because of the inefficiency of its war effort. I maintain that, if ever a government was

entitled to the continued confidence of the people because of the manner in which, at a time of war, it had administered a great national trust, the present government merits that confidence. At all events, it is for you to judge. It is your interests and your future that today are being weighed in the political balance.

The People to Decide

My colleagues and I are quite prepared to be judged on our record by the people of this country. Happily, it is to your judgment that we make our appeal. This election will determine your representation in the Parliament of Canada for the next five years. It affords you a full and free opportunity to decide what is best for yourselves.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

Canada's War Effort—How Best Promoted

"NATIONAL" VERSUS "UNION" GOVERNMENT

A Radio Address by
Right Honourable
W. L. MACKENZIE KING
Ottawa, 23rd February, 1940

Canada's War Effort—How Best Promoted

"NATIONAL" VERSUS "UNION" GOVERNMENT

The third of a series of radio addresses delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King from Ottawa: 23rd February, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In his opening broadcast on February the 16th, the Leader of the Opposition set before you two objectives. The first was to defeat the present government because of its war record. The second was to allow him to form, in its stead, what he calls, a "national" government. On Wednesday evening, I met his challenge with respect to our war record. I propose, tonight, to meet his challenge with respect to his so-called "national" government.

In his broadcast, Dr. Manion stated it as his fixed conviction that "only through national government could we do that service to our country, to our Empire, and to civilization, which is demanded of us, now that we are in this war beside Britain and France."

This, fortunately for you, but unfortunately for the Leader of the Opposition, is not the only occasion on which Dr. Manion has expressed his views upon national government.

Leader of Opposition Holds Opposite Views.

As recently as July the 26th, less than six weeks before the outbreak of war, he expressed convictions no less definite, even if opposite. I will read you a report of what he said.

"National Conservative Leader, Robert J. Manion today refused to recognize "national government" as a cure for Canada's present-day ills, arguing that such a set-up would inevitably lead to a Socialist regime dictated by a combination of the C.C.F., Social Credit and "all other Cave of Adullam parties."

"Every Government," said he, "starts to die soon after it is elected. A National Government would be the same in this respect as any other. Therefore after a period of time the Opposition would come into power.

"But the Opposition to a National Government, presumably made up of Liberals and Conservatives, would be the Social Credit, C.C.F., and other Socialist groups that cared to join with them. It would be these parties that would take over the reins of power when the National Government had outlived its usefulness."

What I have just read, you will find in the Toronto Globe and Mail of July the 27th.

Merits of Union Government More Apparent Than Real.

I would gladly let the matter rest where Dr. Manion left it on July 26th, if I did not know that the idea of a government where all party differences are submerged in a time of stress undoubtedly makes a strong appeal. Unfortunately, its attractiveness is more apparent than real.

Most of us would like to see, at all times, a political condition where

"none was for a party;"
and "all were for the State."

Could any form of government effect such a transformation in human nature, I am sure that most of us would welcome it with enthusiasm. I, for one, would certainly not wish to discourage the idealism which longs for cessation of all forms of strife, and the permanence of good-will and understanding as the basis of human relations. But those who think that a union government will achieve these desirable ends are, I believe, grieviously mistaken.

Men will always differ in opinion, and it is right that they should do so. There is, however, no reason why differences of opinion should be accompanied by bitterness. Men can differ, and still work together in good-will, without surrendering the right to independent thought, speech and action.

The words "national government" are deliberately used to suggest a sort of patriotic idealism. The phrase itself has a patriotic ring, even if it does not ring true.

The True Meaning of National Government

But let us stop a moment to see what the words "national government" really mean. We must be careful not to be carried away by catch-words and slogans. They are often dangerous and frequently deceptive. Let us look beneath the label to see what is underneath. Let us see if the goods, when we inspect them, are in accordance with the advertisement. Let us look particularly to see whether the Leader of the Opposition, in his present appeal, is not misusing both the word "national" and the word "government".

A national government, in the correct sense of the term, is the government which carries on the business of the nation. It represents the nation in accordance with parliamentary procedure and practice. Under the British system, it must be a representative and responsible government. It means a government which represents the majority in Parliament. It does not mean, as I said recently in the House of Commons, a government which is responsible to the official Opposition, or to any other minority group. It means a government which is responsible to the people. Representation of the people and responsibility to the people are the pillars of our parliamentary system. Since everyone cannot rule at one and the same time, the right to rule is given to those who command the confidence of the largest number. Government by majority rule is, under our system, the only true national government. Equally, it is the only true democratic government.

Union Government—What it Means

The only government that can be called truly national is a government which reflects a practical unanimity of sentiment and belief held in common by a majority of the people's representatives. In Canada, such a government should also represent, in fair proportion, every section of the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific. A truly national government cannot be founded upon an unnatural attempt to harmonize conflicting views and opinions. A combination created as a result of bargaining between conflicting parties and groups is not a national government. I might add that a political leader who cannot command support in all parts of the country will have little chance of forming a government strong enough to be a unifying force in time of war.

When the Leader of the Opposition talks of national government what he really means is "union" government.

I can quite understand why Dr. Manion doesn't like that name. He would, however, have treated you more fairly if he had used it. Probably he doesn't like the name because it summons up from the past memories of many things we would like to forget. What, however, Dr. Manion is avowedly advocating is a government composed of men of different political parties, and, therefore, of conflicting political opinions.

Place of Political Parties in Government

There is, of course, nothing to prevent political parties maintaining their identity and still working together for a common object. Dr. Manion's party did that at the special war session of Parliament last September. That is a matter of attitude to meet compelling circumstances in special cases. It is an attitude which was clearly defined by Sir Wilfrid Laurier during the last war and maintained by him throughout. Speaking for the Liberal Opposition, in Parliament in 1915, Sir Wilfrid used these words:

> "We are prepared to give to the government, to those who for the moment have the confidence of the Canadian people under our constitutional system, the support to which they are entitled for the attainment of the great end which we all have in mind."

Canada, like other democratic countries, has relied on government by political parties. It is a great mistake to speak of political parties as though they were a menace to the country. Parties are not ends in themselves. They are only means to an end. Through them, men and women who share similar views on great public questions are able to make those views prevail. Party government enables those who are willing to blend their views and opinions, so to combine forces as to advance policies founded on common

views and principles. Political parties are not water-tight compartments. They are not secret societies or exclusive clubs. They do not bar men and women from membership because of race, class, or creed. Anyone is free to belong to whatever party he pleases. If he ceases, for the time being, to give his support to a party to which he normally belongs, it may be, and usually is, because he is not satisfied with its present policy, or with its leader; or, because, he believes that in the existing situation he would advance the country's interest by placing his support elsewhere. If he chooses to to continue to support a party or a leader who no longer represents his views, that is his misfortune, if not his fault. If his party is not the majority party, his views will or should be advanced by the minority leader who speaks for him.

Mackenzie King Government a True National Government.

The present government of Canada is, in the truest sense, a national government. It had in the late Parliament the support of a majority of the representatives of the people. That majority happened to be the largest majority which any government in Canada has ever had. Dr. Manion has told you that "every government starts to die soon after it is elected". That may have been his experience in office. I am happy to say it has not been mine. The majority with which we began was not only maintained but increased as the sessions passed by.

Union Government Leads to Dictatorship.

A union government is almost certain to mean one of two things: a weak government, or a dictatorial government. It might conceivably be both, because the terms are not

necessarily contradictory. Weak, because it leads to endless compromises, and the stifling of views. Differences which now divide parties in Parliament would be transferred from Parliament to the Cabinet. What should be a clash of public principles might well become a clash of personal interests. Effective government would be crippled by compromise, or paralysed by inaction.

On the other hand, such a government might easily follow the European pattern. There the merging of parties into one, the suppression of minorities, and the silencing of opposition have soon resulted in the abolition of representative institutions. That is the soil in which dictatorships grow and flourish.

Union Government a Pretext for Other Ends.

Union government may also be a mere subterfuge to bring together, under the guise of a combination of parties, men of divergent views whose main purpose is to take some course of action which they would not be prepared to champion openly.

The main argument since the outbreak of war for a "national" or union government originated in the desire to postpone an election, and to extend the life of Parliament. Such a course would have turned Parliament and the government into a virtual dictatorship. It would have been a denial of the undoubted right of a free people to choose their parliament within the constitutional period fixed for the express purpose of maintaining representative government. That pretext for union government was ended when Parliament was dissolved.

Leader of Opposition in a Quandry.

For your guidance, and for the guidance of the Leader of the Opposition, let me come now to one or two very practical matters, of which full account will have to be taken should the present government be defeated and Dr. Manion called upon to form his "union" government. To whom will he turn? At present, no one knows. His invitations to men of other parties thus far seem as a great secret as the acceptances.

In an attempt to find out if he himself really knows, I am going to ask him a few questions on your behalf. Who are the men of brains, inside or outside his own party, who will be asked to join him? All, obviously, cannot be members of his own party, because it would not require a union government to enlist his own supporters.

He has asked you to defeat the present government. Such a defeat would be a condemnation of our conduct of the war, and an expression of lack of confidence in our ability to administer the national affairs of Canada. Yet Dr. Manion has said that his government will include men of both the old parties. Does he propose to include in his government members of a government whose administration has been condemned and who have lost the confidence of the people? Dr. Manion cannot have it both ways. It is, in any case, hard to believe that Dr. Manion can expect to attract to his government any of the men whom today he so violently and recklessly condemns.

Who are to Compose Union Government?

Where then does Dr. Manion propose to find members of the Liberal party to include in his "union" government? I think you should ask him to tell you what Liberals he has

in mind. Has he any hope of getting the consent of outstanding members of the party to join him? What will be the extent of the following which they will be able to bring to the support of the new ministry? Never forget that the value of a leader in any government depends not only on his own qualities, but also upon the strength and character of the following he is able to command. I should also like to ask him what kind of "union" government it would be if no Liberals were included.

A union government is necessarily in the nature of a political bargain. Most bargains require at least two parties to make them. Dr. Manion's union government would probably require at least three. Does Dr. Manion wish to take Mr. Woodsworth into his government? Will Mr. Woodsworth come if he is called? I doubt very much if the leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation will be prepared to sacrifice his principles upon the altar of Conservative necessity. Would Mr. Woodsworth's C.C.F. supporters follow their leader into such an unaccustomed fold? Will Mr. Blackmore join him and take Social Credit with him? Will Mr. Herridge's New Democracy be born in time? Does Dr. Manion want him if it is? If elected, will Mr. Herridge join Dr. Manion if he does? Who knows what members the present groups will have in the next Parliament? We have had a long succession of third parties in Canada. Sooner or later, one after another, they have vanished. In the last election, Dr. Manion's present first lieutenant, Mr. Stevens, was the leader of such a party. He ended up as the Casabianca on the burning deck of the Reconstruction Party.

Dr. Manion says he may take a woman into his Cabinet. If their support for union government is to be gained by this means, the women of Canada will, I imagine, wish to have a more definite proposal than this. From now on, they will be

anxiously watching the lists of his candidates to see whether he will make his choice from his own party, or from some other party or group. Will his Minister of Youth appear in the list of his candidates on nomination day?

How Will Union Government Ministers Find Seats in Parliament?

There is another very practical consideration. It would be well for you, the electors, and for Dr. Manion himself not to lose sight of it. If the ministers of the new union government are not to be found amongst the candidates to be nominated on nomination day, or, what is much more important, elected on election day, where and how is he going to get them elected to Parliament?

I have had some experience in forming ministries. I can tell Dr. Manion he would be wise to get his best brains into the House in a general election, and not to wait until the election is over to identify them and to discover constituencies willing to return them. His followers, who may be called upon to surrender their seats, may not share his high opinion of the mentality of their successors. Moreover, if the Cabinet is to be representative, ministers will also need to be selected from all parts of the country. Only a government that commands the support of all sections can expect to obtain such representations.

But perhaps Dr. Manion has not abandoned the hope of an alliance between the two old parties, which would leave what he calls "the extremists" to form the opposition. This was the only kind of union government which he could see on July 26th, 1939, and you remember how roundly he condemned it.

No Possibility of a Conservative Government.

It is just possible Dr. Manion plans to include all parties in his combination, thereby extinguishing opposition altogether. If he does, he has turned another political somersault, for, as late as November 2nd, 1939, not four months ago, he used these words:

> "Considering everything, the course followed by the government in keeping full control of our war programme is probably the best for Canada as, under our parliamentary system, an alert and constructively critical Opposition is second only in importance to the government itself."

With Dr. Manion's view, as expressed at that time, I am in the most complete agreement. I have not changed my views. I can only assume that Dr. Manion has changed his views because he sees no possibility whatever of the election of a Conservative government.

Opposition an Essential Part of Parliamentary System.

Let it never be forgotten that the existence of an official Opposition gives our system of government two great advantages. Without an Opposition a much needed safeguard against hasty and ill-advised action on the part of the administration would be lacking. Even the best of governments will make mistakes. In time of war, avoidable mistakes may be much more costly than in time of peace. Responsible criticism helps to ensure good administration.

If there is no effective Opposition, the people are left without a known alternative to the administration, once a government loses the confidence of parliament or the country. This is the second advantage of an opposition properly per-

forming its constitutional duty. Those who desire to defeat a government should know who its successors will be and what their policies are. In the fact that, under the British system of parliamentary government, there is a responsible opposition, ready to assume the burden of office whenever an existing administration loses the confidence of the country, lies the secret of the peaceful political evolution of the British Commonwealth. It is our strongest protection against violent and revolutionary change.

That is one of the reasons why Parliament itself by statute has made the Leader of the Opposition a salaried officer. His position in Parliament, in many respects, is second only to that of the Prime Minister. It is his duty to contribute to the collective thinking and to the parliamentary discussions which help to shape the policies on which government and laws are founded. A great modern writer has said: "It is not always realized how much of the essence of democracy is contained in the insistence on a tolerated and official opposition." Under this system even political opponents serve a common purpose. It is because your representatives pool their experience, air their differences, and even their discontents, that progress becomes possible. Any other system is a denial of democracy. It becomes either out and out autocracy, or dictatorship under some other disguise.

Liberals Will Constitute Opposition if Present Government Not Returned.

In order that there may be no misunderstanding about the position of the members of the present government, I should like to make that position very clearly known. In saying what I do, I speak with the authority and support of every member of the Cabinet. If, after an appeal has been

made to the country on our war effort and our policies, we are not returned to power, those of us who are elected, together with our following, will not betray our parliamentary duty, but will constitute His Majesty's Loyal Opposition. I make that simple, straightforward statement, so that there will be no mistake in the minds either of the people, or of Dr. Manion concerning our position; and no recriminations later on because anyone was left in doubt.

Responsibility for Government One Thing—Monopoly of Government Another.

Under our parliamentary system, the party with a majority in the House of Commons is charged with responsibility for government. From that it cannot escape, even if it would. But responsibility for government does not mean a monopoly of government. Responsibility for policy does not, for a moment, imply the desire or the power to restrict administration, and the business of carrying out the work of government to members of the majority party. I myself, as I think you know, have always looked upon public office as a high trust and a great duty. I have never sanctioned the dismissal of any public servant merely because of his political affiliations. Nor have I made party affiliation the criterion of appointments to the public service. I have been careful to recognize, at all times, the difference between the direction of policy, and the administrative work of government.

No Patronage in Canada's War Effort.

With respect to its war effort, the present government has had no desire to exercise, and has not exercised, so-called patronage. When we have named military leaders, we have looked for soldiers and sailors, and not politicians or partisans.

We have asked how they can serve Canada, now and in the future, not what political party they have served in the past. With respect to all military appointments, commissions and promotions, you have been told by the highest military authority that political or private patronage does not exist, that it has been stamped out by the Minister of National Defence, and that merit is the sole criterion for selection and promotion.

What is true of the fighting forces is true also of the other branches of our war activity. We have selected the ablest men available. Politics and partisanship have brought no preferment. As you all know, many of the most important positions are held by well-known Conservatives. Some by members of other parties and some by men who profess allegiance to no particular party. We shall continue to bring to the service of Canada the best men we can get. It doesn't require a union government to join together intelligence and patriotism.

Services of Non-partisan Character to be Utilized in Advisory Capacity.

With the war and its problems growing in intensity and magnitude, I shall seek, if we are returned to power, to bring to the aid of the Ministry, in an advisory capacity, a still larger number of men of outstanding ability and experience whose services in one way or another might be made available to the State, and add strength to the administration of our policies. How best their services might be consolidated and used, whether in immediate association with the war cabinet, or with a member of the Cabinet, intimately associated with its war activities, is something that I would like to consider with my colleagues before the next Parliament reassembles.

All important administrative developments must be worked out by a ministry in the light of its responsibility for government as it is actually carried on. In this election, I do not intend, any more than I have done in previous elections, to make promise after promise for the sake of gaining political support. I prefer not to count my chickens until they are hatched, and I do not expect them to be hatched by promises.

Dr. Manion Begins at Wrong Time and Wrong End.

It must already be apparent to the Leader of the Opposition, but I should like to make it equally clear to you, that if Dr. Manion really hopes to form and lead a union government, he is beginning at the wrong time and at the wrong end. The time to form a union government is before, not after, a general election.

That, you will recall, was what was done in 1917. The union government of Sir Robert Borden was not formed after a general election. It was formed first. The elections followed immediately afterwards. Throughout the campaign, its leaders were known; its ministers were known; its policies were known. Its candidates in the constituencies were known. They were union government candidates, definitely pledged to support, not some government to be formed after the elections were over, but the union government headed by Sir Robert Borden. The government had not been formed to implement some policy vaguely described as the winning of the war. Sir Wilfrid Laurier and those who shared his opinions were every bit as anxious to win the war as Sir Robert and his followers. They differed on a specific policy. That policy was conscription. The union government was formed to obtain the support of the country for that policy.

Electors Being Led up a Blind Alley.

In the elections of 1917, the leaders of opposed parties who joined together to form the union government stood side by side on political platforms throughout the campaign. Their policy was openly supported and openly attacked. The electorate was not asked to engage in a game of blind man's buff, in which the parties constituting the union government, their leaders, their policies, and even their candidates, were all unknown. Believe it or not, that is exactly the situation as we have it today. You are actually being invited by Dr. Manion to go, from now on till March 26th, up a blind alley, which he says leads to national government, and on that day, in some booth at the end of the dark road, to mark and deposit your ballot for a government that is not yet in being, and may never come into existence.

An Unquestioned Mandate Essential to Canada's War Effort.

Regardless of all else, I am sure you will not wish, either on the days immediately following the election, or so long as the war continues, to have the government of this country busy with bickerings and bargainings between opposing groups when its whole effort should be devoted to the prosecution of the war.

I want to say to you, my fellow-countrymen, very earnestly, that the times through which we are passing are such that no government, except it be a government enjoying the most complete confidence of the people of Canada, can hope to meet the grave needs of the present, and the still graver needs of the future.

This war demands Canada's utmost effort. Such an effort can be made only by a government which draws its strength from every section of the country and has been given an unquestioned mandate by the people. Can you name any political group or combination of men, other than the present government, which is likely to enjoy your confidence, or has the remotest chance of being representative of Canadian opinion as a whole? This is the vital question which you, the electors must continue to ask yourselves between now and the 26th of March. If, in the interval, you have failed to take all these matters into account, it will be too late to retrace your steps once that day has passed.

New Dangers and Terrors Threaten World.

Ladies and gentlemen, since Canada answered the call of freedom, new dangers and terrors have come to threaten the allied powers and ourselves. Do not forget that Asia as well as Europe is aflame. Finland today fights gallantly against the aggression of brutal force. Who will say what nation is safe from attack as the fateful months roll on? It may even be that before the forces of evil are vanquished, the whole world will be engulfed in the angry seas of battle.

Let us not imagine that our land will inevitably escape the wrath that darkens land and sea, or that our shores will necessarily be spared as the conflict grows and spreads. He would be a foolish man who refused to face the possibilities and realities of a shattered world.

We face a future unknown and unpredictable. We cannot tell what calamities may strike us before the present year is ended, or what perils may be upon us in 1941 or 1942. Failure to view the situation as a whole, and to take account

of all conceivable possibilities, might be fraught with the gravest dangers. There must be no surrender to the insistent clamour of those who refuse to look beyond the problems of the moment.

A Strong and Experienced Government— Canada's Greatest Need.

The great co-operative war effort which this government has planned is gaining every day in momentum. Our hope lies in the gathering of our strength to meet the gathering of the storm.

No one can doubt the courage, the will, the endurance of the people of Canada. But the possession of these qualities is not alone sufficient to ensure victory. They must be marshalled and guided by a government that is strong, steady, vigorous, patient, provident and experienced.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

The Training of British Pilots and the Joint Air Training Plan

MACKENZIE KING REPLIES TO DR. MANION

A Radio Address by
Right Honourable
W. L. MACKENZIE KING
Ottawa, 8th March, 1940

The Training of British Pilots and the Joint Air Training Plan

MACKENZIE KING REPLIES TO DR. MANION

A radio address delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King from Ottawa, 8th March, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

As you are aware, the joint air training plan now being developed has made Canada, for the purpose of final victory in the present war, a pivotal centre of the British Commonwealth. The facts pertaining to this great enterprize are of record and beyond question. Nevertheless, in an attempt to discredit the government, the Leader of the Opposition and his associates keep on misstating the facts concerning the training of British pilots in Canada and Canada's vital contribution to the Plan itself. Misrepresentation of the kind cannot assist the prosecution of Canada's war effort. It may do an infinite amount of harm to the Allied cause.

False Representations Respecting Training of British Pilots in Canada

Speaking in the House of Commons on January the 25th of this very year, Dr. Manion used the following words: "The

fact is that by July 1, 1938—personally, I think it goes back to 1937—the British had been over here pleading with the Prime Minister to give them the right as one of the partners in the Empire to establish air training schools in Canada to train British pilots." As recently as last night, this statement was repeated by Dr. Manion in a nation-wide broadcast. Since it was originally made, it has been re-asserted and re-echoed by his candidates and supporters throughout the Dominion.

Speaking as Prime Minister of Canada, I wish to say at once that the statement is wholly incorrect. Once again, I ask Dr. Manion to specify who the British were who came to plead with me, when they came over here, and exactly what was the nature of their pleading. No British came to Canada pleading with the Prime Minister in 1937, in 1938, or in any other year. In the year 1937, I had no conversation with anyone on the possibility of establishing air training schools in Canada to train British pilots. In 1938, I had no conversation with anyone, on any phase of the subject, until one particular matter was brought up for consideration in May of that year by the then High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, Sir Francis Floud.

A True Statement of the Matter

I challenge Dr. Manion and all his associates, known and anonymous, to identify anyone, other than Sir Francis Floud, who, prior to July 1st, 1938, was authorized by the British Government to discuss with me any matter pertaining to the training of British pilots in Canada. Sir Francis Floud had not come to Ottawa for any such purpose. He had been in Ottawa for four years as High Commissioner of the United Kingdom. When Sir Francis came to confer with me, he

said that it was only within the preceding 24 hours that he had received a communication from his government in reference to the matter of which he wished to speak. I did not gather from anything said that there was so much as a suggestion of any plan for the general training of British pilots in Canada. Partnership in the Empire was never mentioned. The British Government, as I understood it, wished to explore the possibility of sending to Canada, for further training in Canada, some British air pilots who had already received training in the United Kingdom. The kind of training mentioned was advanced training in long distance flying and gunnery practice. Canada had been thought of for this class of training because of two very obvious advantages. We possessed large, safe, open spaces not to be found in Great Britain. We were much closer to the British Isles than any other British Dominion. No definite proposal or request was made by Sir Francis Floud. The British government wished to find out, by way of preliminary exploration whether there would be any objection to such training in Canada, in establishments to be owned, maintained, and controlled by the government of the United Kingdom.

Question One Not of Facilities but of Administration

I pointed out to the British High Commissioner that, apart from possible controversy which might arise, for the government of the United Kingdom to own, maintain, control and direct any air training establishments in Canada, would involve important questions of jurisdiction and administration. I explained that our position as a free nation in the British Commonwealth demanded that all military establishments in

Canada should be under the control of the Canadian Government. With that stand, I believe all true Canadians will agree.

To the idea of facilities being provided in Canada for the advanced training of British air pilots, I took no exception whatever. On the contrary, with the approval of my colleagues in the Cabinet, I offered, on behalf of the Canadian government, to have such facilities provided at once under the control of the Canadian Department of National Defence. All this was fully explained by myself in the House of Commons on July 1st, 1938, almost immediately after the conversations themselves had taken place. The facts are on record. They are true, uncontradicted, and uncontradictable. No person in this Dominion, has any excuse whatsoever for misrepresenting them. The records of the British Parliament, no less than our own, confirm the truth of the statements I am making.

Canada's Offer Cordially Welcomed by the British Government

Our offer was cordially welcomed by the British government. On July 7th, 1938, in the British House of Commons, Mr. Attlee, the Leader of the Opposition, asked Sir Kingsley Wood, the Secretary of State for Air, whether his attention had been drawn to the statement of the Prime Minister of Canada that the Dominion government were prepared, in connection with their own establishments, to help in affording facilities for the training of pilots for the Royal Air Force, and whether he had any statement to make.

To this question Sir Kingsley Wood replied as follows: "Yes, Sir, an offer to this effect has been communicated to

His Majesty's government in the United Kingdom by the Canadian Prime Minister through the United Kingdom High Commissioner. A reply has been sent expressing warm appreciation of the offer, and arrangements are being made in accordance with a suggestion of the Canadian Prime Minister for an officer to be sent immediately to Canada to explore, in co-operation with the Canadian government, the possibility of working out such a scheme for training facilities in Canada."

Dr. Manion has always found it convenient to ignore this official and appreciative acknowledgment by the British government.

Agreement Respecting Joint Training Between the Governments of the United Kingdom and Canada

An expert from the British Air Ministry came to Canada almost immediately thereafter. He was cordially welcomed. There was the closest co-operation between him and our own officials. On the basis of a joint survey, an agreement was reached between the two governments. It covered a period of three years. Under the agreement, we undertook to expand our own services and provide facilities necessary for the joint advanced training of British and Canadian pilots.

The British undertook to send to Canada fifty Royal Air Force pilots a year. The number of fifty, was fixed not by us, but by the British government. That number represented as many pilots as the British government, at that time, was prepared to send to Canada for training. For the express purpose of providing the necessary facilities and expansion of our own services, we asked and received from Parliament a

special appropriation of six million dollars. This was over and above the greatly increased amounts for the Air Force for which provision was being made in the general estimates.

Dr. Manion Confuses Two Wholly Different Matters

All these facts are on the records of Parliament. They were given in reply to questions raised by Dr. Manion himself. Notwithstanding his prior knowledge of these matters, Dr. Manion, speaking in the House of Commons on the 25th of January of this year, said: "All we were going to permit the British to send across were fifty a year....Yet Sir Kingsley Wood, the head of the air defence force in Britain, made the statement in October—I believe it was on October 9th, because I have been studying this matter, and getting thoroughly shocked as I studied it—that what the British had hoped was that there would be 25,000 pilots trained a year. And we are going to train fifty."

Dr. Manion went on to say—"Let us see what would have happened if the right honourable gentleman (that is myself) had said "yes" to them at that time; as I say he should have done. They would have come over here and established their air training schools. They would have brought over their British young men to train at the rate of 25,000 a year. If that figure is an exaggeration, it is Sir Kingsley Wood's exaggeration, not mine."

Dr. Manion, in support of his allegation, if not as evidence of his study, was referring to a statement by Sir Kingsley Wood which was made more than a month after the outbreak of war. In this statement, Sir Kingsley Wood was announcing, in the British House of Commons, the proposal

for the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. It was made, in fact, on October the 10th, the day on which I made an identical announcement in Canada. Sir Kingsley Wood's statement contained no figures and had no reference whatever to anything considered prior to the war. In his anxiety to condemn the present government, Dr. Manion overlooked the dates, he misinterpreted the situation, failed to realize to what scheme Sir Kingsley Wood was referring, and misapplied the British minister's speech.

Dr. Manion's Study Not Sufficiently Close

The figures Dr. Manion quoted, as being Sir Kingsley Wood's, were not used by Sir Kingsley Wood at all. Quite evidently, Dr. Manion had confused Sir Kingsley Wood's speech with a speculative statement that accompanied the press report. The Canadian Press despatch from London, reporting Sir Kingsley Wood's statement, added the following paragraph:

> "The scheme will mean that many thousands of pilots and airmen will be trained in Canada, but no accurate estimate of the total could be obtained. It was thought likely the number would exceed 25,000 annually."

Apparently, Dr. Manion's close study, which gave him such a shock, was not close enough to enable him to distinguish between the Minister's speech and the reporter's guess.

Does Dr. Manion really believe that Sir Kingsley Wood, or the British government, had ever, at any time, any idea of establishing air training schools in Canada, in peace time, to train 25,000 British pilots a year? This figure will, I believe, be found to represent more than ten times the number of pilots trained in the United Kingdom in peacetime in any

year prior to the war. Moreover, Dr. Manion's statement implies that the British government intended to abandon all the air training in the United Kingdom, and transfer the whole of it to Canada. Does he believe any such scheme would have met with approval either in the United Kingdom or in Canada?

Complete Misrepresentation Respecting Establishment of Aircraft Industry

This is the mythical scheme which was never advanced and could never have been advanced by any man in his senses. Nevertheless, Dr. Manion, in his speech in Parliament on January the 25th, went on to say, and continues today to say, that this scheme would have secured for Canada a great aircraft industry. This industry, he and others are now saying, has been lost to Canada and is being developed instead in the United States and in Great Britain.

Just listen to this. I quote Dr. Manion's exact words: "The Prime Minister had this proposal put up to him by the British to come to their aid in their distress. He refused and the British started then to do what he refused to do. They built up manufacturing plants for the manufacture of planes in their own country, manufacturing plants which they came over here to establish in Canada. I learned, when I was in England not long ago, that on one occasion they came over here with one hundred million dollars worth of orders for Canadian plants, but they received from the Prime Minister of Canada such a cold reception to this request that they refused to give any contracts at that time."

The statement that, as a result of the alleged refusal of training facilities, the British did not set up manufacturing

plants which they intended to establish in Canada, is not only a further misrepresentation of facts, it is an insult to the British government. The British government made no attempt to bribe Canada with orders for aeroplanes.

No Attempt at Bribery by the British Government

Dr. Manion says that he learned, not long ago, that "they"—whoever "they" may be—came over to Canada with one hundred million dollars worth of orders for Canadian plants, which were not placed because the same mysterious "they" received from the Prime Minister of Canada such a cold reception to this request. Where Dr. Manion received this information, I, of course, do not know. But I submit that before he bases an election appeal upon it, and asks your support in virtue of it, he should tell you who gave it to him. He certainly did not receive if from the British government, because they also have regard for the facts. He might tell us who is supposed to have come with the orders. He might inform the electors of Canada who was authorized to buy the consent of the Canadian government to an offer which was never made, with contracts which were never let, and never proposed. As the head of the Canadian government, I would like to know these things, and would like also, as always, to share my knowledge with you.

Visit of British Aircraft Missions

Two British aircraft missions visited Ottawa during 1938. The first of these was known as the Weir Mission. Its visit to Canada was brief and incidental. Its main purpose was to

visit the United States. While it was a Mission which came to confer with manufacturers, our government gave it all possible assistance and, on June 21st, 1938, we were officially thanked by the British Government for our help.

The second aircraft Mission was sent specifically to Canada. In announcing its purpose on July 13th, Sir Kingsley Wood stated, in the British House of Commons, that it was visiting our country to negotiate with the Canadian aircraft industry for the manufacture of bomber aircraft in Canada. The Mission was headed by Sir Hardman Lever. It was here from July 28th to September 7th, 1938. Its visit was successful and resulted in the organization of a representative co-operative group of Canadian aircraft manufacturers for the manufacture of bomber planes. Initial orders were immediately placed. Canada's aircraft industry has since made marked progress. Only yesterday, Sir Kingsley Wood told the British House of Commons that the first military aircraft manufactured in Canada for the British government had already been flown. He added that large additional orders had recently been placed in Canada.

British Commonwealth Air Training Plan Assisted and Accelerated by Canada's Action in 1938 and 1939

Ladies and Gentlemen: Dr. Manion and his associates are now saying that the great British Commonwealth Air Training Plan would have been further advanced, and would have cost Canada less, had the Canadian Government not refused to accept the proposals which Dr. Manion continues to allege were made by the British Government. I have proved to you that no such proposals were made. Apart from this, however,

the Commonwealth Plan could not possibly have been evolved in peace time. It could not have been developed sooner. No earlier discussion or decision could have affected our military and financial position under the agreement as it was finally signed.

As I mentioned in a previous broadcast, the Commonwealth Plan was not projected until about a month after the outbreak of war. It was put forward by the British War Cabinet after the swift domination of Poland by Germany had demonstrated the decisive importance of superior air power. The fact, however, is that Canada's action in 1938 and 1939, the surveys which were then made, and the questions of jurisdiction which were then determined, settled the principle upon which any plan of joint training would be organized and controlled.

By our action at that time, the development of the present Plan was materially assisted and accelerated. The evidence of our sincerity and competence was so complete that, when the Plan was proposed by the British War Cabinet, the governments of the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand had no hesitation in selecting Canada as the site and centre, for the whole Commonwealth, of this great joint training enterprise. As I said at the beginning of my remarks, it has made Canada, in the present war, a pivotal centre for the purpose of final victory.

A fair and impartial judgment

On December 17th, in a public interview given on the eve of his departure from Canada, Lord Riverdale, the head of the British Air Mission, said: "We have had wonderful co-operation from your government and from your Air Force

officers. This agreement is a wonderful achievement, and all the parties are completely satisfied with it." Speaking in his native city of Sheffield, upon his return to the United Kingdom, Lord Riverdale again referred to what had been accomplished at Ottawa. He described the work of the several Missions "as the biggest thing ever done in the Empire". At this moment of political controversy, Lord Riverdale's appreciation may not be without its value in assisting you to form a fair and impartial judgment.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

The Choice That Lies Before The Electors

A FINAL WORD TO THE CANADIAN PEOPLE.

A Radio Address by
Right Honourable
W. L. MACKENZIE KING
Ottawa, 21st March, 1940

The Choice That Lies Before The Electors

A FINAL WORD TO THE CANADIAN PEOPLE.

A radio address delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King from Ottawa, 21st March, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

This is the last of the nation-wide broadcasts which I shall make to you before you go to the polls on Tuesday next. I feel sure you all realize that on that day you will be discharging a most important and serious duty. By your individual vote, you will be helping to determine what government is to manage the affairs of Canada during the next five fateful years. It will affect your own well-being and the well-being of all your fellow citizens. Of all elections, this, of course, is true. But your individual vote in the present elections will have an effect far beyond that which it would have in ordinary times. This year it will be immediately related to all that pertains to war and peace.

The national and international significance of the elections.

You know what Canada's war effort has been. You have heard from British and French statesmen what it has

meant to the allied powers since the outbreak of war. Your decision respecting the government which has carried it on is being awaited with deep concern not by our country only but by the allied powers and by the enemy. You know how anxious they were, across the seas, in October last, when the war effort of Canada's federal government was challenged in the province of Quebec. Nothing since the outbreak of war gave so much heart to the British and the French, or so disappointed the desires and hopes of the enemy, as the evidence that election afforded of a united war effort of a united Canada. Canada's voice as expressed by your votes on election day will carry an even greater measure of elation or despair to the contending forces in Europe. It will be full of meaning as well, to the small nations that are seeking to protect their freedom. It will be significant for all democracies. For it will be the first vote of a free democracy cast in the present war where democracy is fighting for its existence.

The importance of looking to the future.

On Monday next, before you mark your ballots, it will be your duty to look as far ahead as you can. Remember that the present war may last for years. No one can say how long it may last, nor to what dimensions it may grow. When it ends there will come the making of peace. Should that be within the lifetime of the new parliament, the government that you choose to administer your affairs on Tuesday next will be the government to voice your views at the peace-table. When you cast your ballots consider also that momentous fact.

For most people, it is always a little difficult to look into the future. At all times, our feelings and prejudices are apt to blind our vision. Too frequently they control our judgment.

This is true in politics at all times, even in peace times. It is doubly true at a time of war when tempers are frayed, minds are impatient, passions easily aroused, and hatreds intensified. And yet, there is no time in which this ability to look ahead, to see beyond the immediate present, to judge conditions not only as they are, but as they are likely to be, is so greatly needed as in time of war.

I cannot over-emphasize that truth. And if it is your duty to look ahead at election time, it has been my duty at all times.

Far reaching decisions.

During recent years, when world conditions were steadily deteriorating, when the world's peace was threatened, when the hopes of saving it were imperilled, it was my duty each and every day, calmly to consider the future. When national unity was endangered, when the Leader of the Opposition was demanding a general election in July and August of last year, when war came in September, when I had to consider the summoning of Parliament in war session, and recommending to Parliament Canada's participation at the side of Britain and France, I had again carefully to look beyond the present to the future.

I had particularly considered the future, as well as the circumstances then existing, when I recommended the dissolution of Parliament and an immediate election. I, of course, have been only too well aware that my motives as well as my actions would be misconstrued by opponents in a political campaign. I have had however in these matters but one question to ask myself: What, in the interests of Canada, in the interests of Canada's war effort, in the cause of the

allies, was the right thing to do. Having decided upon what I believed to be right, I have not hesitated in acting upon that decision.

Dissolution of Parliament more than justified.

I think that even my opponents are beginning to see that I was right in not permitting a political campaign to be started in Parliament, and followed later by another in the country. You will probably agree also that I was right in making it possible for all the men in our defence forces to cast their votes under the most favourable conditions, and in making it possible to have the elections concluded before war itself bursts forth in all its fury. Are you not heartily glad that the past eight weeks are over? Can you bear to think of what it would mean to us all, if this year's political campaign were still some weeks or months away, or were just about to begin, instead of happily being, as it is, almost at its close?

The importance of wise counsel in political affairs.

In deciding upon the right course, I have had to guide me such political experience and wisdom as I have gained in a life-time spent in the country's service. I have also fortunately had what is most valuable of all, the counsel and advice of able, trusted and experienced colleagues, with whom, over many years, I have fully shared every confidence in matters of common national concern.

"Where no counsel is, the people fall;

"But in the multitude of counsellors there is safety."

That ancient proverb I have kept constantly in mind through-

out the whole of my public life. One of the curses of our age has been that the decisions affecting the lives of multitudes have been made and are being made without reflection, consultation or knowledge, by irresponsible and inexperienced men.

Necessity for Prime Minister to be at seat of government.

In Parliament and during the present elections—as recently even as last night—I have been taken to task by the Leader of the Opposition for having remained at the seat of government, instead of making repeated journeys across the Dominion. May I say that I have gained my acquaintance with Canada and her problems by the study of a life-time, and by daily association and correspondence with representative citizens from all parts of the country. I made my position in this regard quite clear in Parliament over a year ago.

These are the words I used: "The position of the leader of a government in Canada today is not unlike that of the captain of a ship when the ship is in a storm. The captain of the ship must not be spending his time wandering among the passengers on the decks; his place is at the helm." Some say, I should have said "on the bridge". The meaning, I think, is perfectly clear. I continued: "Mr. Speaker, I intend to remain at the helm of this ship of state just so long as I have the confidence of the people of Canada, and have the strength to perform the duties of my office. But if I have to gain that confidence by going back and forth across the country, making speeches here and there, and by seeking to cater to local tastes and prejudices, I do not wish to occupy office for a day. So long as God gives me strength to do my duty, I shall seek to serve the country as best I can, according to the light my conscience may give me."

The nation's business at a time of war.

I need not tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that in past years I have known no greater privilege than the opportunity a general election affords of meeting and greeting large numbers of my fellow citizens. I have always immensely enjoyed visiting all parts of the Dominion, and addressing public meetings. In the present campaign, I would particularly have welcomed that opportunity. I have never felt more deeply the importance of the issue. I have never realized more clearly the far-reaching possible consequences of the outcome of the contest itself. I would have liked to discuss them with you face to face. But this is a time of war. There is no Parliament in existence. Most of my colleagues are necessarily absent in different parts of the country. The business of government must still be carried on. Daily attention must be given to vital questions affecting the business of the country and particularly the conduct of the war. The Prime Minister of Canada is, by law and custom, also the Secretary of State for External Affairs. Our external affairs include foreign affairs and inter-imperial relations. Since the outbreak of war, not a day has passed in the course of which telegrams and despatches of the utmost importance have not been received and immediate decisions required. In these circumstances, I have had no other choice but to give the responsibilities of my office my first attention and to make the country's affairs my first duty.

Country before Party—Participation in the campaign.

In this, at least, I hope I have placed country before party. In this too, as in all else, I have had to look to the future. I have had to consider the obligations that will

continue to rest upon my shoulders should the present administration be sustained, and what my duties will be the morning, and the days, and the months after the elections, when calm judgment will, more than ever, be required for the decisions that have hourly to be made.

In the part which I have taken in the campaign in public meetings and on the air, I think you will have observed that I have tried to promote a fair and calm discussion of our national affairs. I have been careful to avoid inflicting personal wounds upon those who have differed from me and with whom, in your interests it may be necessary for me hereafter to associate in Parliament or elsewhere. I have sought to avoid coercion of thought and of speech. I have tried to make my appeal without bitterness to your intelligence and your reason. I have not neglected the campaign. Fortunately, the radio has made it possible for me, with few absences from the Capital, to speak to a larger number of my fellow-citizens than I could possibly have addressed in any other way in previous elections.

For your understanding of all this, and for giving me the opportunity of talking to you in your homes, in your offices, and your meeting places, I would like to express my warmest thanks.

A two-fold task—the making of war and the making of peace.

In previous broadcasts, and in other public addresses, I have tried to put the issues before you clearly. I would like to remind you once again that you are being asked to decide what group of men working together, in harmony of thought and solidarity of purpose, can best use their abilities and their experience for the furtherance of Canada's war

effort, and the maintenance of a united country. A united war effort and a united Canada:—never forget that the two are inseparable.

You are selecting men not for a month, not for a year, but it may be for five years. The five years that lie before us will not be easier than the five years which lie behind us. They will be the most difficult, the most dangerous, the most exacting five years in the history of this country. During those five years, our security, our existence, and the security and existence of free peoples the world over, will be menaced as they have never been menaced before. I pray with all my heart that these next five years will also make real the dream of a just and enduring peace. Those who will guide the destinies of this nation are being called therefore to a great two-fold task—the making of war and the making of peace.

The question to be decided.

In choosing the persons to represent you and your interests in the tasks of war and peace, you will do well carefully to examine the records of the men who are offering to serve you. There are two questions which it seems to me you will wish to ask yourselves, and the answers to which will help you to a wise decision. They are, in a sense, one question expressed in different terms. In the interests of all concerned, is it not most prudent and wise to entrust the war-time government of Canada to men who are known to all the country, tried in the school of experience, familiar with the problems to be faced, and advocates of policies which are known and widely supported—men who, throughout, have been united by a community of views? Or to express it another way: Should the government in these critical days be handed over to men, practically all of who are still unknown and who are bound together by no common principles and agreed policies?

Necessity for a clear and unquestioned mandate.

Something more, however, is required of the people of Canada at this time than merely to decide what particular government is to hold office. If Canada's war effort is to be sustained, it is imperative that no doubts be left in the mind of any one that the government that is to carry on Canada's war effort has the nation solidly at its back. That does not mean that in supporting the present administration, should such be your desire, you are approving of each and every detail of its war administration. It means that recognizing the enormous problems with which the present administration has been faced in its war effort, you believe it has done as well, if not better, than any other administration similarly placed could have done. It means you feel that with the knowledge it already possesses, and the experience which it has already gained, the present government is in a better position to carry on than any newly formed administration could possibly be.

Please do not forget that what is being chosen on March the 26th is Canada's war-time government. That, if the government's action in the prosecution of the war is to be strong and decisive, its mandate must be clear and unquestioned. The government that is to carry on will need the encouragement of your hands upon its shoulders. It will need to be supported, in the eyes of the world, as well as in its own eyes, by a national verdict that is unmistakable.

Support of third party candidates a positive danger.

And, just here, let me say that there is a very real danger involved in voting for the candidates of political groups which cannot hope themselves to form a government. However

great may be the sympathies which are felt for the peace-time objects of third parties, the pursuit of these objects in a time of war will serve only to distract our energies from the all-important task of prosecuting the war to a successful conclusion. Unless the war is won, these groups, and their hopes and policies as well, will disappear in the universal disaster. When victory has been achieved, there will be time, in the peace which has been secured, to thresh out our domestic differences, and to contest the rival merits of untried political theories. At this time, all our efforts must be directed to winning the victory and achieving the peace. I earnestly submit that, in casting his ballot, every citizen should put out of his mind all other questions except one—will my vote contribute to the establishment and maintenance of a strong, united government, capable of a strong, united war effort? A vote cast for the candidate of a political group without hope of a majority in Parliament cannot, in the present situation, be other than a vote against a strong, united government. It may serve to frustrate Canada's war effort; it cannot possibly promote it.

Abuse substituted for argument—personalities for policies.

There is one other matter to which I wish to refer. It concerns not only the next Parliament, but the future of the public life of this country. I believe that I am stating what is in the minds of hundreds of thousands of men and women of Canada when I express the strongest possible resentment at the methods of political controversy which have been adopted by Dr. Manion and not a few of those who have supported him on public platforms throughout the present campaign. Instead of discussing public issues on their merits,

there has been a deliberate effort to destroy the reputations of public men. Slanderous personal attacks have been launched against men who have served this country faithfully, honestly, and industriously over many years, and at no time more than in this hour of its greatest need. You have heard assailed in public meetings, and in your own homes, the motives and characters of men who value their personal honour above all else. Was this necessary to the winning of the election, to say nothing of the winning of the war?

Do I need to ask if there is a single Canadian, worthy of the name, who in his or her own heart really believes that my colleagues and myself, carrying out the greatest responsibility in the name of the Canadian people, would knowingly countenance for one moment the betrayal of the national trust at a time when sore trials and great burdens are upon every man and woman in this country? Does anyone think that there is a single member of the administration, with the eyes not only of the country, but also of his own associates of the cabinet upon him, who would knowingly or negligently permit the advancement of the personal interest, either of himself, his friends, or his associates, to the detriment of the public welfare, or the surrender of accepted standards of public conduct? Hundreds of my fellow citizens who normally do not support the Liberal Party have intimated to me in the course of the present campaign that they propose to show at the polls on Tuesday next their condemnation of the attempt to substitute abuse for argument, and personalities for policies.

Degraded standards of public controversy a menace to Canada's future.

I have been in the Parliament of Canada for nearly twenty-five years, and in the public service of my country for a much

longer time. I have always considered public service both a privilege and a duty. My own public career cannot last, in the nature of things, for many more years. Even if I desired it, there is little I could wish for in the way of honourable recognition beyond what I have already received. I am content to leave the name I bear, as I am the names of those from whom I received it, to the safekeeping of those who cherish a respect for integrity in public life, and honour the traditions of disinterested public service. It is, however, not of myself I am thinking at the moment. I am thinking of the future of our country. I am thinking of the consequences which will follow if honourable men, valuing their reputations, are deterred from entering our Parliament and our Legislature rather than submit to the degraded standards of public controversy so evident in the present campaign. What is to become of our country if the affairs of government are, in consequence, to be left to men of the type who substitute for political argument the grossest kind of personal abuse. That is the process which destroyed democratic government in Germany. It is all too rapidly making its evil presence felt in our own land.

Dr. Manion's many promissory notes.

Dr. Manion has endeavoured to substitute promises for policies. He has travelled from coast to coast. His transcontinental path has been strewn with promissory notes which he can never meet, with pledges which he cannot redeem. At no place has he enunciated a war policy. At every place he has left behind him a peace promise. Nearly every promise has been designed to influence unduly the community in which it has been made. Nearly every promise has been a promise to spend the tax-payer's money. In nearly every case it has been a promise to spend the taxpayer's money on something

which has nothing to do with the winning of the war. What, however, Dr. Manion has failed to tell you is that to redeem his promises he himself will have to be elected, have a following sufficiently large to entitle him to be called upon to form a government and then in bringing together the men of conflicting political views persuade them to honour pledges about which they have never been consulted. What must be apparent to all is that most of his promises would require a complete reversal of Conservative policy to bring them into being.

Still, Dr. Manion's promises do not appear to worry him. They do worry, however, his own followers, and the newspapers who support him. They are aghast at his spendthrift recklessness. They would worry too the tax-payers of Canada if they ever became effective. They should worry all those who believe in a vigorous war effort, because the cost of keeping them would be an impossible drain upon the resources which will be desperately needed for the great task before us.

The choice of a war-time government.

Ladies and gentlemen, the man who has asked that this government should be judged upon its record of performance, asks you in time of peril to entrust the government to him on a record of promise. Your duty is to choose a strong and united government, able to hold this country constant, and able, by reason of plans wisely laid, to speed the momentum of its war effort until victory is achieved. This is a war-time election, and it is a war-time government that is being chosen. I know that throughout this country the belief is widely and generally held that there should be no change at the present

time. I believe that the public realizes that in spite of some shortcomings, some omissions, some imperfections, this government has done a good job.

Any wise man must know that no country can be at one and the same time a great democracy cherishing peace, and a military autocracy planning for war. When peace was possible we did everything within our power to preserve it. When peace was threatened, we did what we could as a peaceful democracy to prepare for war in a manner which appealed even to our present critics. When the peace of the world was finally broken, we did everything possible to co-operate with our allies in the waging of war. Even our present critics approved of what we did, until the election opened up for them a vision of office, and inspired them with a dream of power.

Achievements of the Mackenzie King administration.

Let me recall to you, very briefly, some of the achievements of the present government. In peace time, we had the courage to multiply the defence estimates—and when I say courage, I mean that very thing. Because even our opponents will admit that it takes courage to tax a peaceful and peace-loving democracy for defence against a war remote from our shores. We rebuilt our national defences; we reorganized the Air Force; we built the Trans-Canada Air Lines; we established the Bank of Canada as a truly national institution; we have found for our producers wider markets, we greatly increased Canada's trade and we established the friendliest of relations with our immediate neighbor. We did much, as well, to bring Canada and Britain closer than ever together.

Since the outbreak of war, we have organized agriculture to meet war conditions. We have saved workers and merchants from the disaster of falling international exchange, and the inflation of Canadian money. We have protected the worker and the housewife from an undue rise in the price of the necessities of life. We have equipped and sent overseas soldiers and airmen. Our second division is training in Canada. We greatly strengthened the Army and the Royal Canadian Navy. We have played the major part in the establishment of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan. I dislike prophecies, but I suggest that, as you watch events develop, you remember my words, and the words of British statesmen, that final victory may well be shaped by that great and powerful instrument. We have published in the open light of day every contract made for the purchase of war supplies.

Methods taken to ensure victory.

To assist in victory, we have brought to the service of Canada outstanding men of other parties, and of no party. We have made merit the sole criterion of promotion in the armed forces. We have allowed no man and no group of men, however powerful, to use the national calamity for scandalous profit making. If you are old enough to remember the last war, your own fairmindedness will make the comparisons. If you are not old enough to remember the last war, I suggest that you ask your fathers and mothers who do.

We began at the side of Britain and France in full understanding. We remain there today. We have succeeded in maintaining a united Canada. The traditional loyalty of our French-speaking compatriots has once again inspired us with a sense of national unity. They too, stand side by side with

English-speaking Canada, with Britain and with France, in defence of altar, home and the elemental rights of mankind.

I submit to you with humility, but also with confidence, that this is no time to refuse your continued and generous support to a government which has begun a great task. I urge upon you that this is no time to change a government which is capable of completing that task by a continuance of experience, vigour, confidence in the justice of our cause, and an undimmed conception of the realities of national unity and co-operation.

A pledge of service.

As I have already said, the men whom you are electing will carry the responsibilities of war and peace. Theirs will be the most arduous of all duties, and the highest of all privileges. They will be charged with the duty of sustaining the war effort of a free people until victory is assured. Theirs will be the privilege, when peace comes, of helping humanity itself to a new hope. They will need not only your support, but your overwhelming support, to fortify them and to encourage them in the stormy and shattering days, and months, and years, that are before us. Should this great task be entrusted by you to the present administration, on behalf of those who have planned Canada's effort in war, and will continue to work undaunted for victory and a just and enduring peace, I pledge to your service the strength and vigour of our united labours.

The voice of Canada.

While the war lasts, you and I, no matter what our burdens may be, will be inspired by the knowledge that young Canadian men, like their fathers before them, are once again

willing to offer life itself upon the altars of nationhood and humanity. We will do our utmost to make our endeavours worthy of them. When the war is over, the cause of peace will also need the help of Canada. It will need the united authentic voice of this nation speaking to all nations through a strong government. For the voice of Canada is the voice of the new world. It is, moreover, the voice of a young and free nation which is giving of its best in the cause of human freedom. It is the voice of generosity, good-will, reconciliation, healing and Christian brotherhood.

May the duty which you owe to Canada and her future guide you in the choice which it is yours to make.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

The Defence of Freedom at Home and Abroad

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 1940 CAMPAIGN.

A Radio Address by
Right Honourable
W. L. MACKENZIE KING
Ottawa, 23rd March, 1940

The Defence of Freedom at Home and Abroad

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 1940 CAMPAIGN.

A radio address delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King from Ottawa, 23rd March, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In the last of the broadcasts in the present campaign, I am pleased to have the opportunity of speaking to the men and women of my native province. As most of you are aware, I was born and educated in Ontario. I have lived here for the whole of my life. With the province and its capital city, Toronto, there are personal and family associations which extend over more than a century and a quarter. They are intimately connected with the establishment and defence of political freedom. This evening, I would like to make clear wherein the main objective of the government in the prosecution of Canada's war effort has been and will continue to be the preservation and extension of freedom at home and abroad.

Defence of Freedom at home and abroad.

Amidst the din and turmoil of a political conflict, it is not always easy for those in the thick of the fight to appreciate the full significance of the battle in which they are engaged. We are, however, sufficiently near the end of the present elections for all to discern the main objectives of our

campaign. The government has maintained and protected the foundations of our own political freedom, while at the same time we have been striving with all our strength to contribute to the preservation, and, I trust, to the expansion of freedom across the seas. I would like you to have that picture in your minds when you go to the polls on Tuesday next. It will help you to appreciate the part which each one of you, as a citizen of Canada, can have in the making of history.

Doing the Right Thing.

I know that many of you have been perplexed by not a few of the matters to which frequent reference has been made by our political opponents. You want to be sure in your own minds that in the important actions which our opponents have questioned or condemned, the present administration has done the right thing. Above all, you want to be sure that you are doing the right thing if you cast your ballot, in support of the present government, as I hope you may feel the interests of the country demand.

Let me proceed to remove what doubts may still exist, and make clear to you the full significance of the course which we have followed and the position we have taken.

In this old province of Ontario, throughout the campaign, two subjects have been discussed largely to the exclusion of all others: they are the dissolution of Parliament on January 25th, and Dr. Manion's proposal for a so-called National Government. The one relates to the past, the other to the future. Tonight I propose briefly to discuss both.

Representatives, Government and Parliament all responsible to the People.

In matters of government, the final test of all actions and policies is whether they serve the interests of the people better than some other course. Government is not conducted to serve the political interests of the opponents of an administration, or the personal interests of the people's representatives in Parliament. The interests of the people themselves are the supreme concern of democratic government. You, the people, would do well to remember that you, at all times, are the sovereign power in the State. Your representatives in Parliament do not constitute the power of democracy. Neither the government, nor even Parliament, is sovereign. Your representatives, your government, and your Parliament, are your servants; all alike are finally responsible to you, their masters. Once you allow yourselves to be blind to this view, once you begin to think of your representatives as possessing rights superior to those which you yourself enjoy, once you think of the government as supreme over Parliament, or of Parliament as supreme over the people, the whole structure of representative and responsible government will begin to crumble, and the basis of democratic freedom and popular liberties will eventually be destroyed.

The Dissolution of Parliament more than Justified.

The fact that after five sessions of a Parliament elected in 1935, a dissolution in 1940, under any circumstances or at any moment, could be called into question, when the law of the land requires a general election at least once in every five years, shows how completely some persons have overlooked, if indeed they have ever fully understood, the safeguards by which our liberties are secured. It should never be forgotten that only by free and regular elections is democracy itself preserved.

Burke long ago pointed out that it is not the will of the House of Commons but the will of the country that should prevail if government by the people is to survive. I might add that our democratic system of government is even less likely to be preserved if, in the House of Commons, the wishes of an Opposition or of any minority group, are to be allowed to interfere with or to delay an appeal to the country by a government whose sole and final responsibility is to the people. This is particularly applicable in the case of the

present administration which, right to the end of Parliament, continued to enjoy the unbroken support of the largest following any Ministry has had in the Canadian House of Commons.

Prime Minister's duty to protect People in rights secured by Constitution.

The British system of government places certain responsibilities upon the Prime Minister which he alone can discharge. It is a special duty for him to see that the Constitution is at all times upheld, and this in spirit as well as in letter. Not only does the letter of the Constitution require that an election be held at least every five years, but the spirit of the Constitution requires that where any great question arises, upon which the people have not had an opportunity to pronounce at the previous election, they shall be given that opportunity, even if it involves the dissolution of Parliament some considerable time in advance of the end of its normal life. To see that the electorate is afforded such opportunity is part of the special responsibility of the Prime Minister.

Election at earliest possible date imperative.

Obviously, that opportunity could not be given at the outbreak of war. It was then my duty to have Parliament summoned immediately, that it might decide upon the all-important question of Canada's participation and, in the event of any participation, make the necessary provision for the conduct of the war. Once it was decided that Canada should enter the war at the side of Britain and France, it was not less imperative that there should be no delay in the immediate organization of our war effort. As soon, however, as that organization was sufficiently effected to permit of an election being held, it was clearly my duty to see that, with as little delay as possible, the people were given the opportunity to say who, during the next five years, were to represent them in their Parliament in the making of war, and may we not also pray, in the making of peace.

Speaking out of the wealth of his long political experience, I once heard Sir Wilfrid Laurier describe the Constitution, in its bearing upon the relationship between Parliament and the people, as "the Ark of the Covenant." It is by upholding the Constitution that the rights of the people are preserved.

National interest the first consideration.

In the performance of this task, as with all else, a Prime Minister is responsible not only for what he does, but for what he fails or refuses to do. Please remember this when you ask the reasons which led me to advise dissolution at the time I did, and under the circumstances then existing. In advising dissolution, I had to consider not only what the situation was, but how it might develop as a result of the dissolution of Parliament. I had equally to consider what situation was likely to develop if dissolution were deferred.

Just consider the position we would now be in, if I had not taken the course I did. In all probability, Parliament would still be sitting, with dissolution probable at any time, and a general election certain as soon as dissolution came. Suppose that dissolution had come after Easter, since it could hardly have come before.

What would have followed had parliament not been dissolved.

Today we would probably have been just on the eve of a general election campaign, which would have taken the next eight weeks. It might not have come until June or July—June is the month Dr. Manion and his friends were evidently counting upon for an election. After eight weeks or more of bitter wrangling in Parliament, we should have had another eight weeks of political controversy in the country. I wonder in what shape Canadian unity and Canada's war effort would have been at the end of that time? I wonder how this country would have appeared in the eyes of our allies, and also in the eyes of the enemy! Today, instead, the election which preserved your rights is happily almost over.

Obvious advantages which have followed dissolution.

The people of Canada have been enabled, in the past eight weeks, to hear the issues fully discussed at a time when the allied war front in Europe has been comparatively quiet. What is even more important, if the present administration is returned, the government itself will, without further interruption, be in a position to give its whole time and attention to the prosecution of Canada's war effort. Are we not fortunate indeed that the men in our fighting forces have already cast their ballots, and that the election will be over before the intensity of wholesale and concentrated warfare descends upon Europe. If I had not acted as I did, I would, at this moment, have been rightly receiving the strongest condemnation for failing to foresee the consequences of delay. And I would have been properly blamed for those consequences.

Highest interests of the people served.

I now ask you whether the interests of the people of Canada have not been better served by my action in accepting the challenge, immediately the efficiency of our war effort was called into question. The dissolution may have upset the well-laid plans of men more concerned with their own personal and political advantage than with Canada's war effort. But, since there had to be an election this year, I am confident that the people of Canada will rejoice when this campaign is ended, and they have returned, as I believe they will, a strong government backed by an unquestioned mandate —a government able and anxious, once again, to give its full and undivided attention to the winning of the war.

I knew that by dissolving Parliament I was subjecting my colleagues and myself to attack. I knew that, in the campaign, our opponents would make a hundred irresponsible and reckless charges while we were replying carefully and accurately to one. If there was any political advantage in the dissolution of Parliament, it was not an advantage to the Liberal party or to the present administration; it was an

advantage to our opponents. Had we kept Parliament in session we could have replied fully and completely to their unfounded and irresponsible charges. We were convinced, however, that the needs of Canada and her allies had imposed upon us for more important tasks than the waging of a political campaign in Parliament, and a continuation of that campaign a few months later in the country.

Striking vindication of democratic government.

I do not think I should let the present occasion pass without citing for you the opinion, on the dissolution, of the best known authority on the constitution of the British Empire and responsible government in the Dominions. That authority is Mr. Berriedale Keith, of Edinburgh University. I quote from a letter written by Mr. Berriedale Keith and published in "The Scotsman" of Edinburgh, on January 27th, two days after the dissolution of our Parliament. It reads: "It cannot be said for a moment that any unfair advantage is being taken. Mr. King is simply availing himself of the earliest possible moment to secure the authority of the electorate for the concentration of Canadian energy on winning the war. He could not have dissolved sooner, for time was necessary to conclude the air training scheme and to organize the military forces. The episode should be treated in its true light, the most striking vindication of democratic government in the British Commonwealth." This, I believe, ladies and gentlemen, will be the verdict of history.

Reasons for an election in time of war.

Criticism of the dissolution has, from the beginning, been voiced by those who were disappointed and frustrated by the unsuccessful attempt to prolong the life of Parliament with the object of forming a union government. You will recall how many were asking: "Why have an election at all in time of war?" Perhaps you have been among the number who have felt that an effort should have been made to continue Parliament in existence indefinitely. Parliament could only have been kept in existence beyond five years by over-riding

the Constitution, and by depriving you of the right to choose whom you wished to manage your affairs in time of war. Had members of the House of Commons joined in extending the life of Parliament, without authority from the Constitution or from you, they would have completely usurped all your rights and powers.

Abraham Lincoln faced with a similar situation.

Abraham Lincoln, at the time of the great civil war, was faced with the problem of an election in war time in circumstances even more difficult. The Constitution of the United States for a presidential election every four years. The Civil War began in April, 1861. The presidential elections were due in November, 1864. Lincoln had to decide whether he and his colleagues would override the Constitution and extend their own term on the pretext that the Constitution was not framed to cope with civil war. Lincoln maintained that failure to hold the elections would be an admission that the rebellion had succeeded, and that America's free institutions had already been destroyed in a war for freedom. "We cannot", he said, "have free government without elections." The elections were held. Lincoln and his government were returned, and the world was shown that, even in the midst of a civil war, democracy and freedom could be maintained.

Chapters in the history of democracy.

I venture to say that when Tuesday next is past, it will be the proud boast of the people of this country, if not indeed of the whole British Empire, that Canada has added another chapter to the history of democracy in the new world. For our country will have shown, that under British parliament institutions, it is also possible for a free people, at a time of war, to preserve their electoral freedom and the fundamental liberties which it secures.

The case for and against National Government.

Let me now say a few words about the proposal for national government as it has been discussed in the present elections. What Dr. Manion means, when he speaks of

national government, is a coalition, or union government—a government composed of members of different political parties who combine their forces to achieve a given end. There may be times when this form of government may be desirable. In some circumstances, it may even be a necessity. Such a situation may arise when a government and an opposition are so evenly balanced that party government is well-nigh impossible. This was the situation after the union of Upper and Lower Canada before Confederation. No party could secure a clear majority, and, without a coalition, government itself could not be carried on. This was the situation which led George Brown and others to join with Sir John A. Macdonald to form a coalition government.

Circumstances have also arisen in which men of opposing parties regard a specific policy as essential to the welfare of the country, and see no way of securing its adoption except by combining their forces in a union government. This was the case in 1917, when the union government of Sir Robert Borden was formed to put through conscription. Neither of these situations presents itself in Canada today, and neither seems likely to arise.

Motive underlying Dr. Manion's advocacy of National Government.

All that Dr. Manion is trying to do is to elect a party government by the device of calling it a national government.

There is a right way and a wrong way to go about every thing. If Dr. Manion, and those who are supporting his idea of national government, ever had any real desire to form such a government, they would not have expended so much of their efforts on antagonizing and villifying the very men with whom they would have to co-operate in the affairs of government. Instead, they would have done their utmost to conciliate them, and to remove any feelings of personal antipathy and antagonism from those with whom they differed politically.

Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Robert Borden.

Dr. Manion has referred to the coalition or union governments formed by Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Robert Borden. Neither Sir John A. nor Sir Robert struck their party colours and then tried to make a Joseph's coat of the rags and tatters that remained. Neither of them "submerged," as Dr. Manion says he has done, the party which had made him its leader. They recognized that, with the destruction of party identity, the elements of coalition and union necessary to form a national government themselves disappeared. Sir John did not seek to destroy the character of the men with whom he was to have an intimate and close association in government. On the contrary, he sought to bury every feeling of personal and political difference, and to build up in the minds of the public a feeling of confidence in those with whom he was associated in the coalition government.

Dr. Manion and his lieutenants.

When Sir Robert Borden invited Mr. Rowell and other Liberals to join him in forming a union government, he did not begin by saying of them, as Dr. Manion said of me at Halifax some days ago, that they were "neither mentally nor temperamentally qualified to head an administration".

Dr. Manion's abuse and irresponsibilities have been so extravagant that even he can scarcely hope that you will accept his statements at their face value. Sir Robert Borden would not have said, nor would he have permitted any of his supporters, in his presence and without rebuke, to say of a Minister of the Crown what was said in Dr. Manion's presence of the Minister of National Defence at his public meeting at Toronto. These were the words used: "That dyspeptic little son of Mars has been a standing joke in every military camp since he blossomed forth as our new war lord last September."

Evidence of Nazi mentality in public utterances.

These words were used of a Minister of the Crown who, in the last war, enlisted as a private. They were used of a man who was gassed in the last war. They were used of a

man whose physical and moral courage has triumphed over the physical handicap which is the heritage of his war service. They were used of a man who did not seek the portfolio of Minister of National Defence, but accepted its burdens as a patriotic duty.

The words were used by a man who is not without ambition to occupy the position now held by the honourable, and able public servant whose sterling qualities and patriotic services he so contemptuously dismisses.

I suggest that you examine with care the words spoken at Dr. Manion's meeting. Is there not in their use something singularly akin to the language and the methods of those very Nazis whose system is endangering freedom the world over. What will become of Canada if the mentality and the methods implied by that utterance ever become a part of the supreme authority in our country?

Impossibility of Dr. Manion now forming a National Government.

I ask you to consider carefully whether men of this type can hope to unite Canada in a national government pledged to a vigorous war effort. Dr. Manion and his associates by seeking throughout the campaign to question the motives, to decry the ability and the integrity, and to destroy the character and reputations of their opponents have, by these attempts to create suspicion and prejudice, removed every possibility of a national government with Dr. Manion at its head. It is too late now for Dr. Manion and his supporters to change their tactics, either toward the Conservative party, which they have submerged, or toward the Liberal party, which they have sought to defame. Fortunately, however, it is not too late for you to express your condemnation of methods which threaten to destroy our public life.

The governments of the United Kingdom and Australia.

You are being told by our opponents that Canada alone of the democratic countries has not adopted National Govern-

ment as a device for carrying on the war. The United Kingdom and Australia are held up as examples for Canada to follow. It is true that the government of the United Kingdom is called a National Government, but it is such only in name. It was not in any event formed to carry on the war. It was formed in 1931, to meet a financial emergency. It was faced from the outset with a vigorous opposition. That opposition has remained throughout and is stronger today that it was in 1931. As you well know, Mr. Atlee, the Leader of the Labour Party, and Sir Archibald Sinclair, the Leader of the Liberal party, have co-operated in Parliament in the prosecution of the war, but have remained leaders of the Opposition. They felt that they could best serve the public interest at this time of war by declining office and by remaining in active Opposition in loyal fulfilment of their parliamentary function.

In Australia, until a few days ago, they had a minority government. The parties in Opposition had many more members than the government party. Recently the minority parties formed a coalition. The largest single party in Parliament, the Labour Party, is still in opposition, and a very formidable opposition it is.

Impossible for Dr. Manion to form a strong united government.

I think all will agree that what Canada needs most at this time is a strong, united representative government. May I ask those of you who may still feel inclined toward Dr. Manion's idea of national government will a vote for Dr. Manion's candidate help to establish the strong government we most need? That depends first of all on Dr. Manion's chance of securing a majority in Parliament. Without a majority he will have no opportunity to form any government, national or otherwise. What are his chances? In some thirty constituencies he has no candidates. He had given up hope in them before the contest began. He no longer has the united support of the historic party whose name and traditions he threw away. Has he found recruits in other parties for

his so-called "national government" party? We now have the answer. One of his supporters has told us that among the candidates supporting Dr. Manion are two Liberals and one man who previously belonged to no party! The two Liberals mentioned are as unknown to me as I imagine they are to most of you. I doubt if they will be classed, even by Dr. Manion, as Cabinet timber.

Attempt to form another one-man party.

Dr. Manion's is the third attempt in five short years to create a one-man party in Canada. Mr. Stevens tried with the success you know. Mr. Herridge has tried without success. Dr. Manion has a little more audacity than his predecessors. He is not content to call his experiment a party, he calls it a government.

You know and I know, and I believe Dr. Manion knows, he will not secure a majority from his own candidates. But suppose the present administration should fail to elect enough supporters to give it a majority, and, that instead, Dr. Manion's supporters, plus the C.C.F., plus a few Social Credit-New Democrats and Independents have a combined majority. What kind of government will result? Will it be the kind of government Canada wants in war-time? Will it be strong enough to prosecute our war effort effectively?

Serious consequences were present government to fail of a majority.

And how would all this look to the outside world? How would it be viewed in Germany? The government which had taken Canada unitedly into the war would have been defeated. Four conflicting groups would be contending for power. The three groups who together had defeated the government would be without any basis of common action; one opposed to giving military aid to the allies, one for conscription, the third and largest without any fixed policy at all. The old Conservative party would be gone, and its so-called "national" successor trying in vain to form a government.

The present administration would either have to try to carry on with a daily prospect of defeat, or we would have to resign, go into opposition and leave those who had defeated us to form a government.

Danger of War Cabinet becoming a debating society.

If the present administration resigned in such circumstances, Dr. Manion would naturally be called upon to form a government. Could he form any government, let alone a strong government? Where would he find allies? The C.C.F. leaders have repudiated such an alliance in advance; the New Democracy has not committed itself. Perhaps the price of their support would be an experiment in social credit and monetary inflation. But what would such an experiment do to Canada's war effort? It might well, by destroying our credit, destroy the country altogether.

In such a combination, who would be the Ministers? Can you imagine an effective government stretching all the way from genuine Conservatism to the extremity of monetary theorists? The cabinet would cease to be a maker of policy and a director of administration. It would become a debating society. And all this at a time when the war would probably be growing in intensity, and when Canada would, as never before, need a strong government with unquestioned popular support.

Government's return evidence of a united war effort of a united Canada.

Let me now present the alternative. What will happen if the present government is returned with a clear and substantial majority? It will mean that the government which brought Canada into the war at the side of Britain and France, has been sustained. It will mean that men and women of all provinces, of all creeds and classes, have given their support to a tried and experienced administration, for the united war effort of a united Canada. It will mean that once

the heat of the campaign has passed, our citizens will be able to forget party differences, and join with the war administration in the winning of the war. The return of the present administration will, without question, be held as the greatest evidence of the unity of the nation in its war effort. Such a result would do much to sustain the morale and to uplift the spirits of those at whose side Canada fights for victory, freedom, and an enduring peace.

An appeal to the Canadian people.

Ladies and gentlemen: Since the outbreak of war, causes have not changed, issues have not changed. Today, we see them in clearer outline than they appeared before our eyes in the tragic month of September. On the day when His Majesty the King proclaimed a state of war between the United Kingdom and Germany, it was my duty and my privilege to speak to the people of Canada. At that time, I concluded with an appeal which I would like to repeat to you tonight:

"The people of Canada will, I know, face the days of stress and strain which lie ahead with calm and resolute courage. There is no home in Canada, no family, and no individual whose fortunes and freedom are not bound up in the present struggle. I appeal to my fellow-Canadians to unite in a national effort to save from destruction all that makes life itself worth living, and to preserve for future generations those liberties and institutions which others have bequeathed to us."

The real aim:—Victory, Peace, Freedom.

At this time, all our thoughts should be concentrated upon one object. That object is a great united national effort to achieve victory, to secure peace, and to maintain freedom, not only in Canada but for Britain and France and wherever tyranny and aggression have sought to extend their sway. Victory, Peace, Freedom, these three—how may each one

best be attained, and maintained? That is the thought I would like you to have in your minds as you go to the polls on Tuesday next.

The real issue:—Canada's destiny and the fate of the world.

Remember that the real issue which lies before us all is nothing less than our future destiny and the fate of the world. May Divine Providence strengthen us in our determination, and guide you in your choice.

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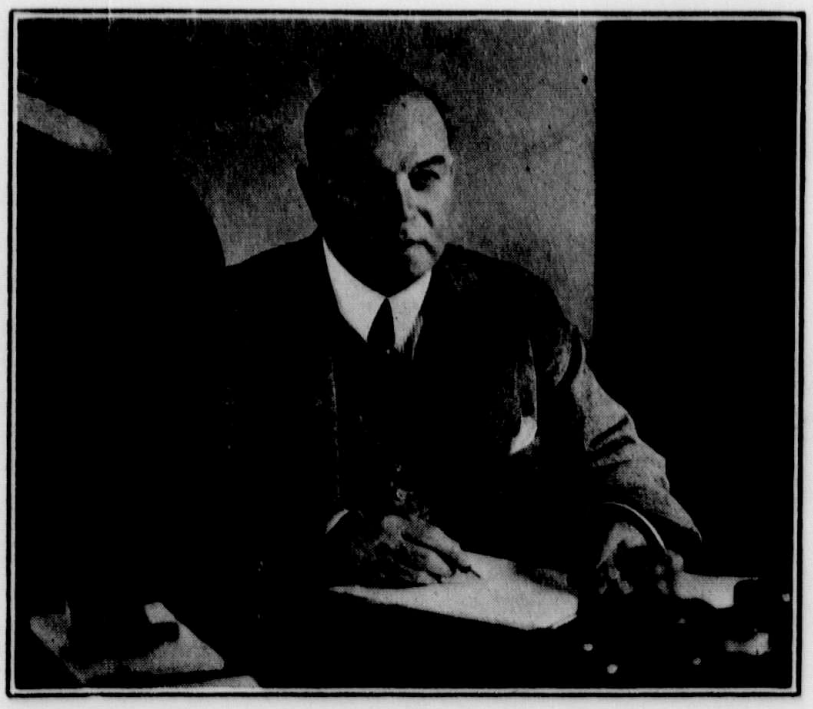
WHO IS THIS MAN KING?



WHO IS THIS MAN KING?

His name in full is William Lyon Mackenzie King.

He is Prime Minister of Canada now, for the fourth time.

He is the only Prime Minister in the world who was leader of a political party in 1919; the only leader of a political party who has been continuously the leader of his party since 1919.

He was born December 17, 1874.

His mother's father was William Lyon Mackenzie who was foremost in the struggle for responsible government in Upper Canada in 1837.

His father's father was a member of a regiment of Royal Horse Artillery. In the Rebellion, he fought with Her Majesty's troops against Mackenzie.

His mother was the "rebel" leader's youngest daughter. She was born while Mackenzie was in exile.

His father, John King, was a lawyer, an authority on the law of Libel and Slander. He was, for twenty years, a lecturer in Osgoode Hall Law School, Toronto.

Mackenzie King is an honour graduate of Toronto University in Political Science.

He further pursued his studies in Political Science in universities in the United States (Chicago and Harvard) and abroad —travelling in Great Britain and Europe.

In 1900 at twenty-five years of age he was appointed to the staff of Harvard University in the Department of Political Economy.

The same year he was asked by the Laurier Government to become Deputy Minister of the Department of Labour which was about to be established.

He resigned the Harvard position and for eight years served Canada as its first Deputy Minister of Labour and Editor of the Labour Gazette.

In this capacity he acted successfully as a conciliator in many serious disputes between Capital and Labour.

He drafted and set on foot legislation that has been praised and copied by Labour experts throughout the world.

He was sent to England by the Canadian Government in 1906 to arrange for reciprocal legislation on important matters affecting Labour in Canada and the United Kingdom.

In 1907 he investigated, as Royal Commissioner for the Canadian Government, the Anti-Asiatic riots in British Columbia, and the question of Oriental Labour in Canada.

In 1908, he visited India and negotiated on behalf of the Canadian Government an agreement between the Governments of India and Canada, restricting immigration from India to Canada. He was a representative of the Governments of Great Britain and Canada on the International Opium Commission which met in Shanghai, China, 1908.

In 1908 he resigned as Deputy Minister of Labour and ran in North Waterloo, his native constituency, in the general elections of 1908.

He was elected.

He was thereupon called to the Cabinet of SirWilfrid Laurier and became Minister of Labour.

As Minister of Labour he originated special legislation in connection with various matters.

In September 1911 he was defeated in North Waterloo as he fought for Laurier's Reciprocity Treaty with the United States.

From 1912 to 1914 he undertook work of organization for the Liberal party and was editor of the Liberal Monthly.

Mr. King was President of the General Reform Association of Ontario, 1912-1914.

In 1914 he became Director of Industrial Research under the Rockefeller Foundation. He did not, as his opponents say, go to live in the United States. He continued to reside in Canada.

From 1914 to 1917, and subsequently, he rendered extensive service in furthering continuous and maximum production of essential war supplies through the adjustment of relations between workers and employers in several of the most important war industries on this continent.

He was a member of the National Executive of the Canadian Patriotic Fund, 1914-1920.

In the war-time election of 1917 Mr. King ran in North York as a Laurier Liberal. He was defeated.

The issue in that election was Conscription. Laurier opposed conscription because he feared it would lead to Canadian disunity.

Subsequent events have shown that Laurier was right with respect to the conscription issue, as he was right with respect to the Reciprocity issue.

In 1918 there was published Mr. King's important book "Industry and Humanity—A Study of the Principles Underlying Industrial Reconstruction".

Mr. King has written other books, among them: "The Secret of Heroism" and "The Message of the Carillon and other Addresses".

Mr. King was elected leader of the Liberal party on August 7th, 1919, at a conference of delegates from Coast to Coast, in succession to the great Laurier who died on February 17th of that year.

He was returned, in 1919, to the House of Commons as member for Prince, Prince Edward Island.

The new leader faced the heavy task of re-uniting the Liberal party for the achievement of his great national ideal of a united Canada.

He found a confusion of thought, a war of ideas and ideals, reflected in Parliament by several political parties, which made strong and sound government next to impossible.

In the Autumn of 1921 Parliament was dissolved.

There was a general election on December 6th, 1921.

The rump of the Union Government, which had held on to office, was defeated. The Liberal party was given a majority of seats in the Commons. But there were several groups in the House, and there were heavy seas ahead for Mr. King.

Mr. King himself was elected in North York where he had been defeated in 1917.

He was called on to form a Government.

His Government continued till July 1926.

A general election in 1925 had resulted in no party having a majority in the House of Commons, and in Mr. King's defeat in North York. He was immediately offered several seats. He was returned for the constituency of Prince Albert, Saskatchewan.

He has been returned as member for Prince Albert, by handsome majorities ever since.

At the end of the 1925-26 session, Mr. King advised the Governor General to dissolve Parliament and call a general election before the Imperial Conference of that year.

The Governor General refused to accept the advice he tendered. Mr. King resigned. The Governor General called Mr. Meighen to form a government. Mr. Meighen's government was defeated in the House of Commons in three days.

Then there was another general election.

It was a triumph for Mr. King and the principle of "Responsible Government" on which issue the election was fought.

In September 1926 Mr. King formed another administration which held office till July 1930.

During the years 1926-30, the Mackenzie King Government had reduced the national debt by $273,000,000.

During his term of office, at Imperial Conferences in London, Mr. King had taken a foremost part in confirming the national status of Canada.

This status was subsequently defined and approved by Great Britain in the Statute of Westminster.

In 1935 Mr. King led the Liberals back into power with the largest majority ever given to any party in Canada.

In spite of world-wide turmoil, wars and rumors of wars, and in spite of numerous by-elections, Mr. King's Government continued in office with the same magnificient support. In fact the Liberal majority was increased as the Sessions went by.

Canada regained her lost status among the trading nations of the world.

Now another war has enveloped the British Empire, and Canada is again at the side of Britain and France in the defence of freedom against aggression and tyranny.

Mr. King throughout all the hectic turmoil preceding and subsequent to Canada's entry into the conflict has maintained his quiet dignity, his patience, his independence of thought.

Never has a leader shown greater qualities of statesmanship.

Notwithstanding the bitterness engendered by the mistakes of the last war, at the momentous Session of last September, Mr. King was able to lead a United Canada in the House of Commons.

He is one of Canada's outstanding scholars, and holds their highest degrees from the Universities of Toronto, McGill, Queens, Chicago, Harvard, Yale, Edinburgh, Cambridge and Oxford.

He has received the freedom of the cities of London, England, Sheffield, Manchester, Edinburgh and Aberdeen.

Three times Mr. King has been Canada's representative at Imperial Conferences in England—1923, 1926 and 1937. He was Member of the Council and of the Assembly, League of Nations, Geneva, 1928; and a member and vice-president of the Assembly of the League of Nations, 1936

He represented Canada at the Coronation of Their Majesties King George VI and Queen Elizabeth.

And so, in briefest outline you see "This Man King". He has been in public life now for forty years. A Member of the

Parliament of Canada for nearly a quarter of a century. Leader of his party for nearly twenty-one years and Prime Minister of Canada for nearly thirteen years.

The years of his Premiership have witnessed some of the most troublous and dangerous periods of history, a time when it would have been so easy to have said or done the wrong thing.

His standing today among the statesmen of the Empire is unimpeached and unimpeachable.

He has surrounded himself with a Cabinet of exceptionally capable and loyal colleagues.

For the prosecution of Canada's war effort he has chosen outstanding business men and members of Canada's defence forces regardless of their political affiliations.

Whatever his critics may have to say of him, these are great and all important facts that none dare deny. They are outstanding in the record of his career.

At sixty-five years of age he is occupying the position of first citizen of Canada, placed there by the free will vote of the people; he maintains the dignity and responsibility of his high office in a manner which worthily upholds the good name and national honour of the Canadian people.

Does not this record speak for itself?

Who is better qualified to head Canada's war administration and, when the war is over, to represent Canada at conferences concerned with the world's peace.?

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MACKENZIE KING

TO THE

PEOPLE OF CANADA

1940

MACKENZIE KING

TO THE

PEOPLE OF CANADA

1940

A reprint of the series of radio broadcasts
delivered by Prime Minister Mackenzie King
to the people of Canada.

February 7th, 21st, and 23rd, 1940

Parliament and the People

UNITY AND FREEDOM

A radio address delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King from Ottawa, 7th February, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—

When Parliament concluded its Special War Session in September last, the Canadian people knew that Canada was united. What was of equal importance, there was left on the minds of the peoples of Europe the clear impression of a country at one in its determination to put forth a supreme national effort towards the winning of the war.

The reality of Canadian unity, in carrying on the war, was splendidly confirmed and reinforced just six weeks later. On October 25th, the people of the province of Quebec, with a voice which carried across the Atlantic, gave their answer to a challenge which had thrown suspicion on their loyalty. Her people could not have proclaimed more conclusively, at any time, or in any way, their unity with the rest of Canada in support of the war effort of the federal ministry.

I shall always regard this two-fold demonstration of Canadian unity, this evidence of the common determination of all Canadians to share in the struggle and the sacrifice, as the greatest of the contributions that, in the early stages of the conflict, Canada could possibly have made towards the winning of the war. As we preserve our national unity, so shall we increase our national strength.

How Canadian Unity Might Have Been Destroyed.

It will add to our understanding of what is essential to the prosecution of Canada's war effort if we recognize, at once, that this demonstration of unity, in Parliament, on the part of the people's representatives, and, in the province of Quebec, by the people themselves, was not born of the moment, and did not arise wholly of itself. It was the result, in no uncertain measure, of the known policies of the present administration, policies which, over many years, in matters of war and peace, have been clearly shown to be in accord with the will of the Canadian people.

That unity did not come from committing Canada to war before Parliament had made its decision. It was not brought about by agreeing to send expeditionary forces overseas, before Parliament had decided that Canada should participate in war, and had appropriated moneys for its prosecution. It was not brought about by the government seeking from Parliament, in time of peace, the appropriation of huge sums of money for military expenditures in preparation for Canada's participation in a European war. Our unity was not maintained by committing Canada to fight in Europe, before, or at the time of the Munich conferences, or even after Czechoslovakia was invaded, when, as we now know, the British government itself was unwilling to take that step. It was not achieved by declaring that, without consulting either the Parliament or the people of Canada, the government would commit this country to fight at any time, at any place, in any cause, if Britain went to war. Least of all was it brought about by pledges to extend the life of Parliament in a time of war without any reference to the people, or to form a so-called "national" government that might enforce conscription

or disfranchise many classes of Canadian citizens. The memories of those experiences in the last war are still bitter in the minds of the Canadian people.

How Canadian Unity Was Achieved.

Unity was made possible by none of these things. On the other hand, it was made possible, and it was achieved by the assurances given the people of Canada, year in and year out, that if my colleagues and I could prevent it, none of these things would happen. We were determined that Parliament, or the people themselves, would decide whether Canada should participate in war. That assurance I gave the Canadian people repeatedly. I kept that promise. And I held this country to that course, steadfastly, patiently, and honourably, in spite of criticism, in spite of abuse, and in spite of aggressive demands that I should break so solemn a trust.

I knew as you must know, that, without disastrous results, we could not have entered the war, except as a united nation. I know, and you know that we cannot continue at war, at least with the strength we all desire, except as a united nation. I believe that every fair-minded citizen will agree that the policies which have united Canada are the policies which will keep our country united. Extreme measures used by men of extreme views—whatever means and methods may be taken to enforce them—will only serve to divide and destroy what is most essential in the prosecution of the war—the support, by the people at large, of Canada's war effort.

Necessary Freedom of Action Carefully Safeguarded.

In September last, in asserting in Parliament, on your behalf, the constitutional right of the people to select their

representatives, I gave to members of Parliament, an assurance that a general election would not be held before Parliament had again been summoned. I undertook that the members would be called together not later than the month of January. I made clear, however, that it might be necessary to have Parliament summoned at an earlier date. I had in mind, when I spoke, as it is always necessary for one charged with the responsibilities of government to have in mind, that it is impossible, when events move swiftly, to foresee what may happen in an interval of time. I knew that the measures necessary to maintain national unity, and to promote Canada's war effort, could only be determined in the light of subsequent events. It was obviously essential that I should not so bind the administration's freedom of action in a time of war, as to prevent the government from taking, at the moment when the necessity arose, whatever action might become imperative. The undertaking I then gave was limited to having no election before Parliament was again summoned; and to have Parliament called in January, if it did not become imperative to have it summoned earlier. What I said specifically was: "At that time, we will be in a position to consider what steps may be most necessary with regard to developments that may ensue meanwhile". What did take place in the interval bears out, I think, the wisdom of this precaution.

I may say that in naming January as the month within which Parliament would be called, and before which time no general election would, in the ordinary course of events, be brought on, I had in mind the obligation which clearly rested on my colleagues and myself of organizing Canada's war effort in the most effective manner, and with the least possible delay. I had in mind the presentation to Parliament, when it met, of the record of what had been accomplished. I would have preferred, and would have mentioned an earlier date

than January, had I believed that Canada's war effort could have been properly organized and sufficiently advanced in a shorter period of time.

Organization of Canada's War Effort.

Since the special session of Parliament, my colleagues and I, as you all know, have devoted ourselves patiently, energetically, and unitedly to transforming the wishes of Parliament and the people into action. You know something of what within five months' time has been accomplished. The government's record will be fully presented to you in the course of the present campaign, and criticisms of that record met without fear.

It is true that from time to time, already, there have been criticisms. It would be a miracle if the transformation of a peaceful country into a nation at war were not marked by some shortcomings, by some unpreparedness, by some shortage of supplies. But those are minor matters and shrink into insignificance when placed in their appropriate perspective beside the true magnitude of our war effort.

Criticism, where it has been constructive, has been met by appropriate measures. But other criticisms have developed in recent days, not constructive, but destructive; not designed to further Canada's war effort, but to advance personal ambitions; to spread disunion, and to undermine confidence in an administration whose conduct of the war up to the beginning of the present year received general commendation.

Resolution of Ontario Legislature Beginning of a Political Campaign.

The nature of the political campaign it was intended to wage became very clear once the Ontario Legislature was

called into session. I need not repeat how the opportunity was seized by the leaders in that Assembly to play a part in Ontario at the beginning of the New Year not unlike that which had been played by the leader of the government of another province during the old year. The utterances of the leaders themselves might well have been ignored, and, so far as I am concerned, they would have been ignored, if a formal resolution of the Ontario Legislature condemning the war effort of the government of Canada, had not been passed and become a part of the records of that Assembly.

Whatever might have been thought of tactics of the kind by those of us in Canada who have become all too familiar with them, the government could not be indifferent to the manner in which, as a consequence, Canada's war effort might come to be viewed in other lands. But for the undertaking not to seek a dissolution of Parliament before Members were once again called together, these events would have led me to ask His Excellency for an immediate dissolution, without awaiting the assembling of Members. In the circumstances, I took the earliest opportunity possible to acquaint Parliament with the decision to hold an immediate election. The government's intention was announced in the Speech from the Throne. At the earliest opportunity, I made on the floor of Parliament itself a statement of the reasons which made an immediate dissolution not only desirable but imperative.

Parliament Supreme Over Government But Not Over People.

I have been told that, in that procedure, I was not paying the respect due to Parliament; that, in season and out of season, I had stressed the supremacy of Parliament, and was now deserting the convictions and doctrines which I firmly held. It is perfectly true that I have never failed to stress

the supremacy of Parliament. But it has been the supremacy of Parliament over the government that I have sought to preserve, not the supremacy of Parliament over the people. The Parliament just dissolved was elected in 1935; five sessions had already been held. The fact that anyone could assume that, in the circumstances mentioned, the supremacy of Parliament might mean depriving the people of their right to an early general election, shows how far some men have drifted in their thinking from any true conception of popular government, and how close they have come to sharing the mentality of dictators.

I had hoped there might have been an opportunity to present to Parliament, in its opening days, an account of the government's conduct of the war. It was obvious, however, to any unprejudiced observer that all that had been gained by the maintenance of parliamentary and national unity was, in the new session, about to be endangered by a bitter political controversy in Parliament. That controversy, once it had begun, would not, because of the time we had at our disposal, have been carried to any conclusion on the floor of the House of Commons. It could not have been ended before there was reason to expect a spring offensive in Europe. It would have received a disproportionate attention in the lands of our allies, and in the capital of our foes. It would, inevitably, have been followed by a dissolution under conditions that would not have been understood abroad. It would have had no finality, for it would have been followed by another campaign.

People in all lands understand that in a general election exaggerated statements will be made, and extreme political attitudes taken. Such allowances for the bitterness of party strife would, however, not have been made in the case of similar statements made on the floor of Parliament.

Canada's War Effort the First Consideration.

No government, charged with the duty of carrying on Canada's war effort, and, at the same time, the regular business of Parliament could, in addition, be expected to face two political campaigns—one carried on in Parliament itself before dissolution, another in the country after dissolution —and thereby almost certainly postpone the decision of the electors until the allied cause had reached a new and terrible emergency.

The responsibility for recommending the dissolution was mine. I took that responsibility in pursuance of my conception of my duty. I did so because I believed it to be right, and in the interest of this country. Above all else, I acted as I did in order that the unity of Parliament might be preserved in the eyes of the world.

I knew that a general election had to come—so did our political opponents. I believed that it ought, if possible, to be over before the spring offensive. I believed that it ought to be brought on before roads were broken up and became impassable. I believed that it ought to come before our men in England went to France. I believed it ought to come before our Second Division left this country. If Parliament had been permitted to carry on to the end of March or April, and had, thereby, rendered inevitable a general election at a time when our men were facing all the horrors of concentrated warfare, I would have been told, and rightly so, that I was not fit to be the leader of the government, for allowing matters to drift in that way.

Immediate Election Rendered Imperative.

The decision to dissolve was not the result of impulse. It was the inevitable result of the outbreak of a political and partisan struggle, combined with the factors of time to which

I have referred. If there had been any hope of a brief session, calmly devoted to the discussion of national affairs, such a session would have been held. That hope disappeared with the resolution of the Ontario Legislature, which marked, and was intended as, the beginning of a political campaign. A general election this year being necessary under our constitution, I am sure you will agree that no time better suited to the needs of Canada and the allied powers could have been selected than the present. Once the stress of events had forced the decision, the straight-forward thing was to announce it at once, and to proceed with the election at once.

I am perfectly certain that from one end of Canada to the other there is thankfulness in the hearts of all that the country will not need to wait a day longer than is necessary for a new Parliament, in order that those who are charged with the responsibility of carrying on the great task of Canada's government in war may be fortified with a direct and unquestioned mandate from the people.

The Preservation of National Unity.

The first duty of any government charged with responsibility in this country is, has been, and will be to maintain national unity. That task, above all others, I have made the supreme endeavour of my public life.

Canada is a nation strong in the equal partnership of two great races. Through generations, men and women of many lands have come to share that partnership. No Prime Minister would be true, either to himself, or to the people to whom he is responsible, were he not to lend every effort of mind and of heart to the maintenance of national unity. Especially is this true at a time in the world's history when, over many years, we have been witnessing civil strife, and war between nations, in well nigh every quarter of the globe

except our own. The preservation of national unity has been made increasingly difficult in our country as, from time to time, demands have been made upon my colleagues and myself for unconditional declarations of participation, by Canada, in European conflicts, before the actual time, occasion, or nature of the conflicts themselves were known. This impatient and extreme course of procedure served only to bring into being contending forces in every part of Canada: one determined that Canada should participate in any and every war in which Britain might be engaged, and, the other, equally determined that there should be no Canadian participation in any European wars.

Once again, I ask you to consider where Canada would have been at the outbreak of the present war in Europe, if I, or any of my colleagues, had identified himself with either of these extreme attitudes; or if, through unwise and unnecessary declarations in advance of an actual and known condition, we had helped to precipitate an open conflict of opposed opinions?

Efforts to Maintain Peace in Europe.

I have long held the belief that conditions in Europe could not continue to go, as during the last four years they had been going, from bad to worse, without the moment coming when Europe itself would burst into flames and freedom everywhere be menaced. Holding that belief, I have done all that was within my power, and have sought to have done all that was within the power of this country, to avert such a catastrophe by fostering, everywhere and always, policies of international understanding, friendship, and good-will. At the same time, I have had continually to face the prospect of the failure to maintain peace. I have also had to consider the possible coming of the day when Britain and France

might be drawn into a great conflict for the preservation of their freedom and, indeed, of their very existence. I have had, all the while, to ask myself how best our country could be kept united, and its policies so shaped that, if the moment ever came for Canada to declare what part she was prepared to take in a world struggle to thwart aggression and to preserve freedom, she could speak with the single voice of a united people.

Efforts to Preserve Unity in Canada.

I think I know something of the love of liberty which resides in the breast of every Canadian. I think I know something, too, of what men and women, of every part of Canada, of every class, and race, and creed, feel they owe to the manner in which their liberties have been secured under British institutions in our free association as a free nation in the British Commonwealth. I have, therefore, never doubted the singleness of mind and purpose with which we would all be prepared to play our part in any struggle which threatened our freedom. My task was to see that no false step, no extreme policies or measures, no hasty action should be allowed to destroy, in advance, either the clearness of vision of our people, or its power for action. I was determined that, if the moment for decision ever came, no cleavages of opinion, in Parliament or in the country, should frustrate Canada's power to put forth her utmost effort.

The only absolute proof of any course of action is to be found in its results. You will recall my repeated assurances that Canada would participate in war only after a decision by Parliament or the people; also, my refusal last year to allow a general election to be brought on in July or August, though strongly pressed by the Leader of the Opposition, and many of my own following, to dissolve Parliament at

that time. You will also recall how speedily Parliament was summoned into special session at the moment of the crisis. You know the unanimity which marked the proceedings of Parliament and its momentous decision. You know what effect all those things have had upon the continued unity of this nation in a time of war. Knowing all these things as you do, I ask you, my fellow countrymen, has the course which I have pursued over the years I have been in office, as the leader of the government of this country, not been the right, and, indeed, the only wise and proper one? Quite apart from myself, if you will permit me to say so, you will do well, I believe, to judge of the future in the light of the past.

The People's Right to Decide Upon Leaders and Policies.

As to what leader or policies are hereafter to govern the conduct of the war, it is of course for you to say. It is your future, not that of any leader or of any government, that is at stake. No Parliament, least of all a Parliament that had run its course, and was elected without any reference to war and its appalling consequences, could have determined whom you wished to guide the destinies of this country.

My leadership today is being called in question by some who desire to see the government of this country in other hands. It is urged that other and more extreme policies should be substituted for those which my colleagues and I believe to be the only ones that, in these very critical times, can keep Canada united, and enable this country to put forth the utmost of her strength, and the maximum of her national effort in the winning of the war. Happily, at this moment, all political parties in our country claim to be of one mind in a determination to have Canada do all in her power to help win the war. I, at least, am prepared to say that such differ-

ences of opinion as do exist are for the most part either on subjects apart altogether from the war, or arise from differences of temperament, differences of method, and I think I might add, differences of experience.

How Best to Give Effect to Will of People— (a) in Canada's War Effort.

What, then, are the issues in this election? It seems to me that there are two real issues. Behind all the clashes of political conflict, the first issue concerns the maintenance of national unity. On that first issue depends the second issue, which is the whole policy of the government in the prosecution of the war. Both issues rise superior to personalities.

The people of Canada are being asked to decide through what government, and as a result of what policies the will of the people of Canada is likely to be carried out most completely and effectively in the prosecuton of the war effort. That war effort, as I have said, has been developed upon foundations carefully prepared. It has been furthered by steady, persistent and patient labour. We have had the experience of the last war to guide us. With that experience illuminating the course which we have had to follow, we have used every effort to avoid the errors of haste and confusion, and the needless sacrifice of blood and treasure that is their inevitable result. In a struggle that is certain to be long and exhausting, our contribution will be effective to the extent that it is carefully planned in close co-operation with that of our allies.

Not only must we plan carefully, patiently and wisely for a long war, but we must never lose sight of the fact that we must, at once, prepare, as well, for the aftermath of the war.

How Best to Give Effect to Will of People—(b) in Relation to Peace and Post-war Problems.

Every thoughtful Canadian has before him, as an incentive to highest endeavour, the vision of a new and juster world in which humble men and women may be allowed to live in freedom in the land of their fathers.

The men whom you choose to entrust with the responsibility of government must be ready not only to face unflinchingly the dire necessities of war; they must also be prepared with a sense of national unity, and the idealism of international good-will, to face the problems of peace.

We often hear of the ideals of racial tolerance and good neighbourhood on which our own nationhood is founded. We cannot hear of them too often. No one surely will deny that a Canada in which East and West, French and English, Catholic and Protestant, Capital and Labour, contribute to real national unity can bring more precious gifts to the building of the new world than a Canada torn asunder by sectional, racial, religious or social conflicts.

People Themselves to Decide Canada's Future and Their Own Fate.

The decision is yours. It is not your representatives in Parliament who are now being asked to decide on the present and future of this country at a time of war. It is you, yourselves, who are not only the masters of Parliament, but, as never before, the masters of your own fate.

I say to you that never have the Canadian people been called upon to make so serious a decision. On that decision will depend not only our contribution to the war, but the maintenance of our own integrity and unity as a nation in a

shattered world, to which a united Canada may well bring a new hope to mankind.

I would earnestly suggest that before arriving at your decision you ask yourselves these questions:

Should not this great task be entrusted to men who, tried in the school of experience, familiar with the problems to be faced, and advocates of policies widely supported, have throughout been united by a community of views?

Or should the conduct of your government in these critical days be handed over to men, most of whom are without experience in government, and who are bound together by no common principles or agreed policies?

When a vague suggestion is made of a "national" government of all the talents, you would do well to ask and to insist upon knowing who the men will be, and what talents they possess.

Is it not further essential that you should know whether they represent, in fair proportion, the two great races of this Dominion? It is my firm conviction, on which I have acted throughout my political life, that our national unity can only be maintained by a government in which there is always an intimate and generous association between French and English. My own relations, over so many years, with that most loyal and truest of colleagues, the Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe, have themselves reflected that equal and cordial partnership between the original founders of this nation.

A United War Effort of a United Canada.

A united war effort of a united Canada represents, I believe, the heartfelt desire of the Canadian people. If you will ask yourselves the questions I have suggested, ponder them in your hearts, and answer them as Canadians, I have no doubt of what your decision will be.

War Record of the Mackenzie King Administration

NATIONAL DEFENCE AND INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

The second of a series of radio addresses delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King from Ottawa: 21st February, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Since my broadcast was delivered, the Leader of the Opposition has also spoken to you over the radio. In his broadcast, on Friday evening last, Dr. Manion gave it as his opinion that the present administration no longer merited your confidence. He centred his attack on the government's war effort. These are the words he used:

> "Canada confronts a grave crisis. The King Government is responsible for our unpreparedness, and our weak war effort. Therefore, it is the duty of all those who love this Canada of ours to work together to defeat that government."

There is no mistaking the meaning of that language. Dr. Manion wishes the present government to be defeated. He has stated the issue as he sees it. It is the government's war record. I am quite prepared to accept his challenge. He has named the issue. I now propose to meet it.

Canada's Contribution Made Possible Through Foresight

In what I am about to say, I shall emphasize, and I hope that you will remember, the following important facts. My

colleagues and I took every care to see that war, if it came, should find Canada as well prepared as a peace-loving country could be. When war was near, we took every possible step to place our defence forces in a state of preparation for active service. When war appeared inevitable, Parliament was instantly summoned. Canada forthwith, by the decision of her Parliament, took her place at the side of the Allies.

In anticipation of Parliament's decision, we had already begun direct and daily consultation with Britain. We have since continued such consultation for the purpose of working out and perfecting plans for vigorous, prompt and effective co-operation. We had established the security of this country in its own defences. We were, therefore, able at once to make valuable contributions to the cause of the Allies. We were able to mobilize farm and factory, manpower and money, on the side of Britain and France. Our foresight made possible the steady growth of our national endeavour. It ensured from that day, and from this day, onward, a maximum of effort, with a minimum of waste.

Needs of Allied Powers Basis of Canada's War Effort

I cannot reveal the details of the plans of the Allies. You will understand why. I would like to tell you what they are, but I have no intention of telling the enemy. I can only assure you of the most complete and continuous co-operation between our Allies and ourselves.

In the last war, Canada's main contribution was the despatch of infantry to France. That was what the Allied powers wanted Canada to do then. Our whole military effort

was concentrated upon that contribution, and the courageous achievements of our men filled Canada with pride, Britain and France with inspiration, and the enemy with confusion. But, military historians and present-day experts agree that there was, in the strategy of the last war, a woeful waste of treasure and of life.

In 1914, we had no Air Force of our own, although on the honour roll of the Royal Air Force are imperishably enshrined the names of thousands of young Canadians. Our naval service in 1914 was exceedingly small. It had, in fact, no separate existence in time of war. Such is not the case today. The Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Air Force are today separate, distinct, and well organized services. They are vital elements in the defence of Canada. They are important links in the unbroken chain of allied strength.

The Land—The Sea—The Air—Industrial Activity

Already we have organized and despatched an expeditionary force. Three contingents have safely crossed the Atlantic. Our men have been subjected to the strictest standards of health and training. The First Division is now completing its training in England, the Second is well advanced in training in Canada. When the day comes for our soldiers to face the enemy, they will be found, in physique and morale, the equal of their fathers and predecessors who made Canada a nation on the fields of Flanders. They will be better equipped than their comrades were in the last war.

But, as you know, the main theatre of war thus far has not been on land; it has been on the sea, and in the air. In those elements, the strength, the skill, and I may say, the brutality of the enemy have combined in a vain effort to

strike terror into the hearts of the British and French peoples. The strategy of yesterday is not the strategy of today. It may be that the strategy of today will not be the strategy of tomorrow. Time will tell that story. Thus far, while we have been told that the presence of Canadian land forces will be no less heartily welcomed, we have been definitely asked to direct our effort especially towards the development of our naval and air services, and to industrial activity. I think you will agree that the course of the war, up to the present, has shown with what foresight the Allied plans have been laid.

Position Wholly Different from that of 1914

I need hardly remind you how the conditions of the present war differ from those that prevailed in 1914. Methods of warfare are new, weapons are new, and, abroad, the strategic picture is now entirely different. Today Germany fights on only one front. This time Russia is not our ally, Italy is not our ally, Japan is not our ally. In the early years of the last war, we relied on British ships alone to protect our eastern shores and the waters of the Gulf. Diplomacy had made our western ocean, in very truth, Pacific.

Our own position, as a country, has also changed. Today Canada stands, before the world, as a nation. We have the privileges of nationhood. We have also its responsibilities. The first of these is responsibility for our own national security. The primary duty of each member of the British Commonwealth is to provide for its own defence. That is the basis of our free association, and of all Empire co-operation. It has been so recognized at every Imperial Conference since 1923.

The threats to Canadian security are far greater today than they were in 1914. To the East, on the Atlantic, we face warfare. To the West, on the Pacific, we face doubt and

uncertainty. We must keep constantly in mind the possibility of attacks from the sea, on either coast; and in the air, from many points of the compass. Whatever contribution we can or could make outside of Canada would be seriously weakened, and might easily be destroyed, if we had neglected our own defences. Never forget that fact.

The Charge of Unpreparedness

The Leader of the Opposition charges the government with "unpreparedness". Unpreparedness for what? Does he mean unpreparedness for national defence, or does he mean unpreparedness by Canada, in peace time, for active participation in war in Europe? If he means unpreparedness for the defence of Canada, his charges are untrue. If he means unpreparedness in peace time for active participation, by Canada, in a European war, in his anxiety to condemn the government, he forgets the facts and condemns himself. In peace time, he never advocated preparedness for a war in Europe. The government never advocated preparedness for a war in Europe. As a matter of fact, there was general agreement, both in this country and in Great Britain, that it would be extremely unlikely that Canadian expeditionary forces would again take part in a European war.

Today, Dr. Manion quite fails to distinguish between preparedness, in peace time, for national defence, and preparedness, in peace time, to send forces overseas. He knew the difference, however, when Parliament was in regular session in March, 1939. He knew the difference from March, 1939, to September, 1939, when Parliament met in war session. He knew the difference until an expeditionary force was already on its way overseas. He kept silent in peace time because he knew, as everyone listening to me knows, that neither Parliament nor the people would have supported ex-

penditures, in peace time, to prepare for active participation by Canada in a European war.

It is perfectly true that we did not, in times of peace, budget for times of war. If we had, our measures would not have received the support of Parliament. By preparedness in peace time, the present government always meant, and always said it meant, preparedness to meet the possibility of attacks upon Canada in the event of war. The government repeatedly told Parliament that our peace time military expenditures were exclusively for the defence of Canada.

Outstanding Features of Government's War Record

I propose now, as simply as I can, to tell you the main facts concerning the government's record in war.

Parliament was summoned on the 1st day of September, 1939. Britain declared war on September the third. I announced on the 1st of September that if Britain did declare war, the government would recommend to Parliament that Canada should stand at her side. We never doubted that Parliament would accept our policy. We, therefore, as I have already mentioned, entered into immediate consultation with the British government, in order to arrive without delay at a basis of co-operative action. We quickly reached an understanding about the things that had to be done at once. These I outlined to Parliament on September 8th.

Earliest Measures of Co-operation—at Sea, on Land, and in the Air

The British government told us that we could render the greatest help by assisting in the naval and air defence of Newfoundland, Labrador, the French Islands in the Gulf, and

the British and French West Indies. We provided that assistance at once. The British government also urged upon us the importance of increasing air training, and naval and air facilities, and of sending trained airmen and mechanics overseas as soon as possible. We lost no time in doing as we were asked.

Meanwhile, we continued daily consultation with the British authorities. By September 19th, we had heard more of their plans, and were in a position to announce a more extended programme. We learned that technical men, doctors and engineers were needed for the land forces. In the light of this information we decided to concentrate on recruiting men of the types which were urgently and especially needed. We had already begun to organize and train an army division which was to be ready to proceed overseas as soon as it was required. On that day, the government decided to organize a second division. In order that we might devote our energy and strength to fill the needs of the allied forces, in the manner in which we had been asked, further general recruiting was postponed for the time being.

The Canadian Navy was already watching over our own coastal waters, Newfoundland and the West Indies. It was taking its share of convoy duty, of mine-sweeping, and of anti-submarine defence. We began immediately to construct anti-submarine and mine-sweeping craft. We also authorized a plan of intensified air training in Canada to provide a progressively increasing number of pilots and airmen. These things were planned and done, within three weeks of the outbreak of war, after consultation with, and in co-operation with, the British authorities. Is this, I ask, unpreparedness? I leave the answer to you.

The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan

Within a month of the outbreak of war, the swift domination of Poland had demonstrated the decisive import-

ance of superior air power. The significance of the conquest, and the means by which it was accomplished, were not without their immediate effect. If the Germans believed that the war was to be won with air power, the Allies were determined, not only that theirs would be the superiority in air power, but that the enemy should know this as soon and as clearly as possible. Out of this determination, there emerged the epoch-making proposal for a gigantic plan for joint air training. On September 26th, it was presented by the British government to the other governments of the British Commonwealth. The vastness of its scope and power immediately fired the imagination of all. We in Canada, some months prior to the outbreak of war, had made an agreement with Britain for the advanced training of a definite number of British pilots in Royal Canadian Air Force establishments. That fact and the geographic advantages of our country, made Canada the logical centre for this great enterprise.

Agreement Concluded in Minimum of Time

Our acceptance of the proposal in principle was prompt and decisive. The acceptance by Australia and New Zealand was equally so. By October 10th, I was able to announce that Missions were to be sent to Ottawa from the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, to work out all the complicated technical and financial details of the training plan. The British, Australian and New Zealand Missions arrived in due course. By November 27th, a basis of agreement had been reached. The approval of the governments of the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand had still to be obtained. On December 17th, I gave to you over the radio an outline of the plan, which, on that day, had been accepted by all four governments. I suggest to you that, having regard to the elements of time and space, the signing of that agreement is a tribute to the vigour and efficiency of our action.

Air Training Plan May Prove Decisive Factor in Winning of War

In this truly tremendous project, Canada has assumed the major share. What this Air Training Plan will probably mean to the allied cause, you have already been told. When, on October 10th, I announced the proposal, I said that the government of the United Kingdom had indicated its opinion that, with the facilities which Canada possessed, this co-operative effort might prove to be of the most essential and decisive character. Shortly after the agreement was signed, the British government again advised us that in its opinion the Air Training Scheme would do more to assist in ultimate victory than any other form of military aid which Canada could give. At the same time, the British government told us that it would welcome no less heartily the presence of Canadian land forces in the theatre of war at the earliest possible moment. You know how soon this wish was gratified, and how quickly the British people were given an opportunity to welcome our troops. On the very day I was announcing to you the signing of the Air Training Agreement, the First Contingent of the First Division of the Canadian Active Service Force was landing in the United Kingdom.

Development of Plan Proceeding Rapidly

We did not wait for the signing of the Agreement to get on with the job of carrying out the programme finally agreed upon. Before the Agreement was signed, the ground had been prepared, and much had already been accomplished. Every-day since, the work has been proceeding with vigour and speed. Some forty complete airports were available as a result of civil developments, and forty new airports are being developed from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The delivery of planes from manufacturers in Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States is actively proceeding. Deliveries of advanced training aircraft being supplied by the British Air Ministry have begun and are continuing. Orders have been placed for hundreds of other planes of Canadian and American manufacture.

Between the outbreak of war and the end of the year, contracts for the Royal Canadian Air Force, to the value of over seven and a half million dollars had been let for works and buildings most of which will be used for air training. The recruitment of personnel to man the schools is well advanced, and the training of instructors is actively in progress. By spring the training establishments will be ready to receive pupils.

An Army Division Already Overseas— Another Shortly to Cross

I have already referred to the landing in the United Kingdom, on December 17th, of the First Contingent of the First Division of the Canadian Active ServiceForce. This contingent was accompanied by its Commanding Officer, Major General A. G. L. McNaughton, who had been appointed to that command on October 6th. The Second Contingent landed on the last two days of the old year. With the recent landing of the Third Contingent, Canada now has a complete division and additional auxiliary units, engaged in advanced training in England. All three contingents made the crossing safely and exactly according to a schedule worked out months in advance. All left Canada fully clothed and fully equipped.

Meanwhile the training of the Second Division is proceeding rapidly, and the decision has been reached to despatch it overseas at an appropriate time.

Army Cooperation Air Squadrons Also Proceeding Overseas

An Army Co-operation Air Squadron has also completed its training in Canada. It will very soon be joining the First Division overseas. A second similar Air Squadron to co-operate with the Second Division is in training.

The Navy Performing Silent and Effective Service

The navy has been well called the silent service. No detailed account can be given of its activities. I may mention, however, that we have added to it steadily both in men and ships. Since the beginning of the year, orders have been placed for the largest naval ship-building programme ever undertaken in Canada. The part the navy has played in the vital task of convoying shipping in the sea lanes of the North Atlantic, the life line of Britain and France, has received the highest praise of the allied powers.

Today, there are over 70,000 men under arms in the Canadian Active Service Force, over 9,000 in the Royal Canadian Air Force, and over 6,000 in the Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve. These numbers will be increased by tens of thousands of young Canadians, as the Air Training Plan develops, and men continue to be recruited for the other services. On the sea, on land, and in the air, Canada's achievements in this war may well be a source of national pride.

The Home Front—The Furnishing of Supplies

I would like now to tell you in a few words something of what has been done on the home front. We call it the home front because in this part of national service are enlisted every miner, every farmer, every fisherman, every lumberman, indeed every worker in Canada.

I need not tell you that the furnishing of supplies of all kinds is of vital importance to the success of the British and

the Allied powers. Our work on the home front is designed to fit into a common plan. In this too, our Allies have told us what they require. In this too, we have done everything within our power to meet their needs. This work is just as much part of the allied plan and just as important as our contribution of men to the armed services.

We hear so much about the vastness of our territory and the extent of our natural resources that sometimes we ourselves are apt to overlook them. Today, that very vastness and those very resources are a lasting reservoir of strength to the allied cause; for Canada stands to Europe as the nearest, the surest and the safest source of those materials and supplies without which no great nation could wage a successful war.

But our vastness and our wealth of raw materials would be of no avail unless we were able to produce, and to transport. At this crisis in our history, we are fortunate in the development of production and transportation as two arms of national service.

Railways—Airways—National Broadcasting: Essential Factors in War Economy

We do not always remember that the federation of Canada as one nation stretching from sea to sea was made possible by the railways. While we are joined in sentiment by bonds of the heart, we are welded in material things by bonds of steel. The railways are on the front line of our national defence. The present government has resolutely refused to cut down the railway facilities of this country. Today they are at their very height of operating efficiency. Every dollar we have spent on the maintenance of the railways may now be viewed as a dollar spent on defence and preparedness. We are more than ready to meet the demands which have over-taxed the transportation systems of other countries.

What is true of our railways is true also of our progress in civil aviation. No money could have been more wisely

spent on national preparedness than the investment in the Trans-Canada Air Lines. I might remind you, in passing, that this vast national service was begun and developed entirely by the present administration.

During the last three years, there has also been built, with the active approval and under the guidance of the present administration, a chain of high-powered broadcasting stations.

Again, what is true of our railways is true also of our harbours. At Halifax and St. John, for example, since Canada entered the war, traffic has more than doubled. There has been no congestion and no delay. This has been accomplished under the direction of a Transport Controller, of whose excellent work like that of our other war administrators, very little has been heard or said.

While these things are sometimes taken for granted, I suggest to you that they, also, are essential elements of a well-directed and well-prepared national economy, geared for war.

Industry Transformed to Serve Wartime Needs

Industry, of course, could not be transformed as readily as our transport facilities were. We had built up no huge armament industry in peace time. I hope with all my heart, and I know that you hope also that such an industrial enterprise will never need to form a permanent addition to the economy of Canada. Nevertheless, preparations had been made for the production of munitions in case the dire need for them ever arose. Long before the outbreak of war, the government had caused a complete industrial survey of Canada to be made.

The government also, in June last, sponsored at their request, a visit to the United Kingdom of a delegation organized by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. Its object was to study the production of arms and munitions in Great Britain, and to assist in the speedy adaptation of Canadian industry to the needs of warfare, if ever it came. The

delegation was headed by Major-General McNaughton. Through the office of Canada's High Commissioner in London, every facility was accorded the delegation while it was in Britain. The assistance afforded to the governments of Great Britain and Canada and to Canadian industry itself, as a result of that visit, was of supreme value.

Enormous Quantities of War Supplies

You all know of the establishment of the War Supply Board, under the control of experienced and public-spirited men. They have had two tasks. Their first duty has been to mobilize our industrial resources. Their second has been to place orders and to let contracts. Particulars of these contracts, amounting, in all, to over $110,000,000, have been published from day to day. In awarding these contracts the members of the Board have been instructed by the government to guard against both patronage and profiteering. Its members, chosen without regard to party, have, I believe, been guided by three principles: honesty, efficiency, and economy. The government is determined that in this war the public trust will not be surrendered to private greed.

There was, at the outset, some impatience because orders were not placed more speedily. The impatience, while perhaps natural, was ill-founded. Orders could hardly have been placed by Canada before Parliament had made the necessary appropriations, or authorized the expenditure. They could not have been placed on behalf of the United Kingdom until the British government itself was prepared to place them. To meet their own immediate requirements, the allied powers had on hand large reserves of supplies of all kinds. We, like them, needed time to determine precisely what our own forces were to be, and what they would require. Moreover, it was necessary for all nations involved in the war to await developments, and to know what form the war would take. In our preparation, we all had to keep in mind many phases and stages of the conflict, the last no less then the first.

Agriculture Adapted to War Needs— the Farmer's Interest Safeguarded

While the War Supply Board has been bringing our industrial resources into preparation and action, two other branches of government have been concerned with matters which intimately affect the welfare of each one of you. The Agricultural Supplies Committee has been working steadily, with two objects in view. It has been trying, with success, to adapt our farming methods to the needs of war. It has been planning to prevent disaster to agriculture in the period after the war. The Canadian farmer made a tremendous contribution to the winning of the last war. He is helping to win this war. We do not propose, if we can avoid it, that he should lose the fruit of his labours, or find himself, in peace time, once again the victim of a depression which he did nothing to create.

The Consumers' Interest Watched— Prices Controlled

There is another matter which affects the well-being of each one of you. Most of all, it concerns the lives of those whose main problem is meeting the cost of the necessities which keep body and soul together. In order to prevent, as far as is humanly possible, the placing of additional burdens upon the workers of this land, the government, as early as September 3rd, set up the Wartime Prices and Trade Board. That Board, as you are aware, has done its work well. I regret I have not time tonight to describe what it has accomplished. I may tell you, however, that we have given its members very wide powers. I promise you, that as long as vigour and vigilance, and the punishment of the guilty can prevent such a calamity, there will be no undue rise in the cost of the necessities of life.

This, Ladies and Gentlemen, has been the record of the war effort of the present administration at this time of crisis in the world's affairs. What I have told you relates almost

exclusively to the period which has elapsed since the beginning of war—a period of less than half a year.

National Unity and War Effort Inseparable

In my first broadcast, I told you how the present government had brought to the side of Britain and France the united war effort of a united Canada. I told you what had to be done, and what had not to be done, to achieve that end. I told you of the responsible trust placed upon my colleagues and myself to preserve calm and patience during the long and difficult months that preceded the tragedy of war. In this broadcast, I have told you something of the energy and vigour with which, since we entered the war, the present Administration has prosecuted Canada's war effort. National unity was maintained prior to, and at the moment of, the declaration of war. The war effort was made possible by the unity thus achieved. Never forget that the two are inseparable.

This is the record which the Leader of the Opposition says constitutes the issue in the present election. He appeals to you to defeat the government because of the inefficiency of its war effort. I maintain that, if ever a government was entitled to the continued confidence of the people because of the manner in which, at a time of war, it had administered a great national trust, the present government merits that confidence. At all events, it is for you to judge. It is your interests and your future that today are being weighed in the political balance.

The People to Decide

My colleagues and I are quite prepared to be judged on our record by the people of this country. Happily, it is to your judgment that we make our appeal. This election will determine your representation in the Parliament of Canada for the next five years. It affords you a full and free opportunity to decide what is best for yourselves.

CANADA AND THE WAR

Canada's War Effort—How Best Promoted

"NATIONAL" VERSUS "UNION" GOVERNMENT

The third of a series of radio addresses delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King from Ottawa; 23rd February, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In his opening broadcast on February the 16th, the Leader of the Opposition set before you two objectives. The first was to defeat the present government because of its war record. The second was to allow him to form, in its stead, what he calls, a "national" government. On Wednesday evening, I met his challenge with respect to our war record. I propose, tonight, to meet his challenge with respect to his so-called "national" government.

In his broadcast, Dr. Manion stated it as his fixed conviction that "only through national government could we do that service to our country, to our Empire, and to civilization, which is demanded of us, now that we are in this war beside Britain and France."

This, fortunately for you, but unfortunately for the Leader of the Opposition, is not the only occasion on which Dr. Manion has expressed his views upon national government.

Leader of Opposition Holds Opposite Views.

As recently as July the 26th, less than six weeks before the outbreak of war, he expressed convictions no less definite, even if opposite. I will read you a report of what he said.

"National Conservative Leader, Robert J. Manion today refused to recognize "national government" as a cure for Canada's present-day ills, arguing that such a set-up would inevitably lead to a Socialist regime dictated by a combination of the C.C.F., Social Credit and "all other Cave of Adullam parties."

"Every Government," said he, "starts to die soon after it is elected. A National Government would be the same in this respect as any other. Therefore after a period of time the Opposition would come into power.

"But the Opposition to a National Government, presumably made up of Liberals and Conservatives, would be the Social Credit, C.C.F., and other Socialist groups that cared to join with them. It would be these parties that would take over the reins of power when the National Government had outlived its usefulness."

What I have just read, you will find in the Toronto Globe and Mail of July the 27th.

Merits of Union Government More Apparent Than Real.

I would gladly let the matter rest where Dr. Manion left it on July 26th, if I did not know that the idea of a government where all party differences are submerged in a time of stress undoubtedly makes a strong appeal. Unfortunately, its attractiveness is more apparent than real.

Most of us would like to see, at all times, a political condition where

"none was for a party;"
and "all were for the State."

Could any form of government effect such a transformation in human nature, I am sure that most of us would welcome it with enthusiasm. I, for one, would certainly not wish to discourage the idealism which longs for cessation of all forms of strife, and the permanence of good-will and understanding as the basis of human relations. But those who think that a

union government will achieve these desirable ends are, I believe, grieviously mistaken.

Men will always differ in opinion, and it is right that they should do so. There is, however, no reason why differences of opinion should be accompanied by bitterness. Men can differ, and still work together in good-will, without surrendering the right to independent thought, speech and action.

The words "national government" are deliberately used to suggest a sort of patriotic idealism. The phrase itself has a patriotic ring, even if it does not ring true.

The True Meaning of National Government

But let us stop a moment to see what the words "national government" really mean. We must be careful not to be carried away by catch-words and slogans. They are often dangerous and frequently deceptive. Let us look beneath the label to see what is underneath. Let us see if the goods, when we inspect them, are in accordance with the advertisement. Let us look particularly to see whether the Leader of the Opposition, in his present appeal, is not misusing both the word "national" and the word "government".

A national government, in the correct sense of the term, is the government which carries on the business of the nation. It represents the nation in accordance with parliamentary procedure and practice. Under the British system, it must be a representative and responsible government. It means a government which represents the majority in Parliament. It does not mean, as I said recently in the House of Commons, a government which is responsible to the official Opposition, or to any other minority group. It means a government which is responsible to the people. Representation of the people and responsibility to the people are the pillars of our parliamentary system. Since everyone cannot rule at one and the same time, the right to rule is given to those who command the confidence of the largest number. Government by majority rule is, under our system, the only true national government. Equally, it is the only true democratic government.

Union Government—What it Means

The only government that can be called truly national is a government which reflects a practical unanimity of sentiment and belief held in common by a majority of the people's representatives. In Canada, such a government should also represent, in fair proportion, every section of the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific. A truly national government cannot be founded upon an unnatural attempt to harmonize conflicting views and opinions. A combination created as a result of bargaining between conflicting parties and groups is not a national government. I might add that a political leader who cannot command support in all parts of the country will have little chance of forming a government strong enough to be a unifying force in time of war.

When the Leader of the Opposition talks of national government what he really means is "union" government. I can quite understand why Dr. Manion doesn't like that name. He would, however, have treated you more fairly if he had used it. Probably he doesn't like the name because it summons up from the past memories of many things we would like to forget. What, however, Dr. Manion is avowedly advocating is a government composed of men of different political parties, and, therefore, of conflicting political opinions.

Place of Political Parties in Government

There is, of course, nothing to prevent political parties maintaining their identity and still working together for a common object. Dr. Manion's party did that at the special war session of Parliament last September. That is a matter of attitude to meet compelling circumstances in special cases. It is an attitude which was clearly defined by Sir Wilfrid Laurier during the last war and maintained by him throughout. Speaking for the Liberal Opposition, in Parliament in 1915, Sir Wilfrid used these words:

> "We are prepared to give to the government, to those who for the moment have the confidence of the Canadian people under our constitutional system, the support to which they are entitled for the attainment of the great end which we all have in mind."

Canada, like other democratic countries, has relied on government by political parties. It is a great mistake to speak of political parties as though they were a menace to the country. Parties are not ends in themselves. They are only means to an end. Through them, men and women who share similar views on great public questions are able to make those views prevail. Party government enables those who are willing to blend their views and opinions, so to combine forces as to advance policies founded on common views and principles. Political parties are not water-tight compartments. They are not secret societies or exclusive clubs. They do not bar men and women from membership because of race, class, or creed. Anyone is free to belong to whatever party he pleases. If he ceases, for the time being, to give his support to a party to which he normally belongs, it may be, and usually is, because he is not satisfied with its present policy, or with its leader; or, because, he believes that in the existing situation he would advance the country's interest by placing his support elsewhere. If he chooses to to continue to support a party or a leader who no longer represents his views, that is his misfortune, if not his fault. If his party is not the majority party, his views will or should be advanced by the minority leader who speaks for him.

Mackenzie King Government a True National Government.

The present government of Canada is, in the truest sense, a national government. It had in the late Parliament the support of a majority of the representatives of the people. That majority happened to be the largest majority which any government in Canada has ever had. Dr. Manion has told you that "every government starts to die soon after it is elected". That may have been his experience in office. I am happy to say it has not been mine. The majority with which we began was not only maintained but increased as the sessions passed by.

Union Government Leads to Dictatorship.

A union government is almost certain to mean one of two things: a weak government, or a dictatorial government. It might conceivably be both, because the terms are not necessarily contradictory. Weak, because it leads to endless compromises, and the stifling of views. Differences which now divide parties in Parliament would be transferred from Parliament to the Cabinet. What should be a clash of public principles might well become a clash of personal interests. Effective government would be crippled by compromise, or paralysed by inaction.

On the other hand, such a government might easily follow the European pattern. There the merging of parties into one, the suppression of minorities, and the silencing of opposition have soon resulted in the abolition of representative institutions. That is the soil in which dictatorships grow and flourish.

Union Government a Pretext for Other Ends.

Union government may also be a mere subterfuge to bring together, under the guise of a combination of parties, men of divergent views whose main purpose is to take some course of action which they would not be prepared to champion openly.

The main argument since the outbreak of war for a "national" or union government originated in the desire to postpone an election, and to extend the life of Parliament. Such a course would have turned Parliament and the government into a virtual dictatorship. It would have been a denial of the undoubted right of a free people to choose their parliament within the constitutional period fixed for the express purpose of maintaining representative government. That pretext for union government was ended when Parliament was dissolved.

Leader of Opposition in a Quandry.

For your guidance, and for the guidance of the Leader of the Opposition, let me come now to one or two very

practical matters, of which full account will have to be taken should the present government be defeated and Dr. Manion called upon to form his "union" government. To whom will he turn? At present, no one knows. His invitations to men of other parties thus far seem as a great secret as the acceptances.

In an attempt to find out if he himself really knows, I am going to ask him a few questions on your behalf. Who are the men of brains, inside or outside his own party, who will be asked to join him? All, obviously, cannot be members of his own party, because it would not require a union government to enlist his own supporters.

He has asked you to defeat the present government. Such a defeat would be a condemnation of our conduct of the war, and an expression of lack of confidence in our ability to administer the national affairs of Canada. Yet Dr. Manion has said that his government will include men of both the old parties. Does he propose to include in his government members of a government whose administration has been condemned and who have lost the confidence of the people? Dr. Manion cannot have it both ways. It is, in any case, hard to believe that Dr. Manion can expect to attract to his government any of the men whom today he so violently and recklessly condemns.

Who are to Compose Union Government?

Where then does Dr. Manion propose to find members of the Liberal party to include in his "union" government? I think you should ask him to tell you what Liberals he has in mind. Has he any hope of getting the consent of outstanding members of the party to join him? What will be the extent of the following which they will be able to bring to the support of the new ministry? Never forget that the value of a leader in any government depends not only on his own qualities, but also upon the strength and character of the following he is able to command. I should also like to ask him what kind of "union" government it would be if no Liberals were included.

A union government is necessarily in the nature of a political bargain. Most bargains require at least two parties to make them. Dr. Manion's union government would probably require at least three. Does Dr. Manion wish to take Mr. Woodsworth into his government? Will Mr. Woodsworth come if he is called? I doubt very much if the leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation will be prepared to sacrifice his principles upon the altar of Conservative necessity. Would Mr. Woodsworth's C.C.F. supporters follow their leader into such an unaccustomed fold? Will Mr. Blackmore join him and take Social Credit with him? Will Mr. Herridge's New Democracy be born in time? Does Dr. Manion want him if it is? If elected, will Mr. Herridge join Dr. Manion if he does? Who knows what members the present groups will have in the next Parliament? We have had a long succession of third parties in Canada. Sooner or later, one after another, they have vanished. In the last election, Dr. Manion's present first lieutenant, Mr. Stevens, was the leader of such a party. He ended up as the Casabianca on the burning deck of the Reconstruction Party.

Dr. Manion says he <u>may</u> take a woman into his Cabinet. If their support for union government is to be gained by this means, the women of Canada will, I imagine, wish to have a more definite proposal than this. From now on, they will be anxiously watching the lists of his candidates to see whether he will make his choice from his own party, or from some other party or group. Will his Minister of Youth appear in the list of his candidates on nomination day?

How Will Union Government Ministers Find Seats in Parliament?

There is another very practical consideration. It would be well for you, the electors, and for Dr. Manion himself not to lose sight of it. If the ministers of the new union government are not to be found amongst the candidates to be nominated on nomination day, or, what is much more important, elected on election day, where and how is he going to get them elected to Parliament?

I have had some experience in forming ministries. I can tell Dr. Manion he would be wise to get his best brains into the House in a general election, and not to wait until the election is over to identify them and to discover constituencies willing to return them. His followers, who may be called upon to surrender their seats, may not share his high opinion of the mentality of their successors. Moreover, if the Cabinet is to be representative, ministers will also need to be selected from all parts of the country. Only a government that commands the support of all sections can expect to obtain such representations.

But perhaps Dr. Manion has not abandoned the hope of an alliance between the two old parties, which would leave what he calls "the extremists" to form the opposition. This was the only kind of union government which he could see on July 26th, 1939, and you remember how roundly he condemned it.

No Possibility of a Conservative Government.

It is just possible Dr. Manion plans to include all parties in his combination, thereby extinguishing opposition altogether. If he does, he has turned another political somersault, for, as late as November 2nd, 1939, not four months ago, he used these words:

> "Considering everything, the course followed by the government in keeping full control of our war programme is probably the best for Canada as, under our parliamentary system, an alert and constructively critical Opposition is second only in importance to the government itself."

With Dr. Manion's view, as expressed at that time, I am in the most complete agreement. I have not changed my views. I can only assume that Dr. Manion has changed his views because he sees no possibility whatever of the election of a Conservative government.

Opposition an Essential Part of Parliamentary System.

Let it never be forgotten that the existence of an official Opposition gives our system of government two great ad-

vantages. Without an Opposition a much needed safeguard against hasty and ill-advised action on the part of the administration would be lacking. Even the best of governments will make mistakes. In time of war, avoidable mistakes may be much more costly than in time of peace. Responsible criticism helps to ensure good administration.

If there is no effective Opposition, the people are left without a known alternative to the administration, once a government loses the confidence of parliament or the country. This is the second advantage of an opposition properly performing its constitutional duty. Those who desire to defeat a government should know who its successors will be and what their policies are. In the fact that, under the British system of parliamentary government, there is a responsible opposition, ready to assume the burden of office whenever an existing administration loses the confidence of the country, lies the secret of the peaceful political evolution of the British Commonwealth. It is our strongest protection against violent and revolutionary change.

That is one of the reasons why Parliament itself by statute has made the Leader of the Opposition a salaried officer. His position in Parliament, in many respects, is second only to that of the Prime Minister. It is his duty to contribute to the collective thinking and to the parliamentary discussions which help to shape the policies on which government and laws are founded. A great modern writer has said: "It is not always realized how much of the essence of democracy is contained in the insistence on a tolerated and official opposition." Under this system even political opponents serve a common purpose. It is because your representatives pool their experience, air their differences, and even their discontents, that progress becomes possible. Any other system is a denial of democracy. It becomes either out and out autocracy, or dictatorship under some other disguise.

Liberals Will Constitute Opposition if Present Government Not Returned.

In order that there may be no misunderstanding about the position of the members of the present government, I

should like to make that position very clearly known. In saying what I do, I speak with the authority and support of every member of the Cabinet. If, after an appeal has been made to the country on our war effort and our policies, we are not returned to power, those of us who are elected, together with our following, will not betray our parliamentary duty, but will constitute His Majesty's Loyal Opposition. I make that simple, straightforward statement, so that there will be no mistake in the minds either of the people, or of Dr. Manion concerning our position; and no recriminations later on because anyone was left in doubt.

Responsibility for Government One Thing—Monopoly of Government Another.

Under our parliamentary system, the party with a majority in the House of Commons is charged with responsibility for government. From that it cannot escape, even if it would. But responsibility for government does not mean a monopoly of government. Responsibility for policy does not, for a moment, imply the desire or the power to restrict administration, and the business of carrying out the work of government to members of the majority party. I myself, as I think you know, have always looked upon public office as a high trust and a great duty. I have never sanctioned the dismissal of any public servant merely because of his political affiliations. Nor have I made party affiliation the criterion of appointments to the public service. I have been careful to recognize, at all times, the difference between the direction of policy, and the administrative work of government.

No Patronage in Canada's War Effort.

With respect to its war effort, the present government has had no desire to exercise, and has not exercised, so-called patronage. When we have named military leaders, we have looked for soldiers and sailors, and not politicians or partisans. We have asked how they can serve Canada, now and in the future, not what political party they have served in the past. With respect to all military appointments, commissions and

promotions, you have been told by the highest military authority that political or private patronage does not exist, that it has been stamped out by the Minister of National Defence, and that merit is the sole criterion for selection and promotion.

What is true of the fighting forces is true also of the other branches of our war activity. We have selected the ablest men available. Politics and partisanship have brought no preferment. As you all know, many of the most important positions are held by well-known Conservatives. Some by members of other parties and some by men who profess allegiance to no particular party. We shall continue to bring to the service of Canada the best men we can get. It doesn't require a union government to join together intelligence and patriotism.

Services of Non-partisan Character to be Utilized in Advisory Capacity.

With the war and its problems growing in intensity and magnitude, I shall seek, if we are returned to power, to bring to the aid of the Ministry, in an advisory capacity, a still larger number of men of outstanding ability and experience whose services in one way or another might be made available to the State, and add strength to the administration of our policies. How best their services might be consolidated and used, whether in immediate association with the war cabinet, or with a member of the Cabinet, intimately associated with its war activities, is something that I would like to consider with my colleagues before the next Parliament reassembles. All important administrative developments must be worked out by a ministry in the light of its responsibility for government as it is actually carried on. In this election, I do not intend, any more than I have done in previous elections, to make promise after promise for the sake of gaining political support. I prefer not to count my chickens until they are hatched, and I do not expect them to be hatched by promises.

Dr. Manion Begins at Wrong Time and Wrong End.

It must already be apparent to the Leader of the Opposition, but I should like to make it equally clear to you, that if Dr. Manion really hopes to form and lead a union government, he is beginning at the wrong time and at the wrong end. The time to form a union government is before, not after, a general election.

That, you will recall, was what was done in 1917. The union government of Sir Robert Borden was not formed after a general election. It was formed first. The elections followed immediately afterwards. Throughout the campaign, its leaders were known; its ministers were known; its policies were known. Its candidates in the constituencies were known. They were union government candidates, definitely pledged to support, not some government to be formed after the elections were over, but the union government headed by Sir Robert Borden. The government had not been formed to implement some policy vaguely described as the winning of the war. Sir Wilfrid Laurier and those who shared his opinions were every bit as anxious to win the war as Sir Robert and his followers. They differed on a specific policy. That policy was conscription. The union government was formed to obtain the support of the country for that policy.

Electors Being Led up a Blind Alley.

In the elections of 1917, the leaders of opposed parties who joined together to form the union government stood side by side on political platforms throughout the campaign. Their policy was openly supported and openly attacked. The electorate was not asked to engage in a game of blind man's buff, in which the parties constituting the union government, their leaders, their policies, and even their candidates, were all unknown. Believe it or not, that is exactly the situation as we have it today. You are actually being invited by Dr. Manion to go, from now on till March 26th, up a blind alley, which he says leads to national government, and on that day,

in some booth at the end of the dark road, to mark and deposit your ballot for a government that is not yet in being, and may never come into existence.

An Unquestioned Mandate Essential to Canada's War Effort.

Regardless of all else, I am sure you will not wish, either on the days immediately following the election, or so long as the war continues, to have the government of this country busy with bickerings and bargainings between opposing groups when its whole effort should be devoted to the prosecution of the war.

I want to say to you, my fellow-countrymen, very earnestly, that the times through which we are passing are such that no government, except it be a government enjoying the most complete confidence of the people of Canada, can hope to meet the grave needs of the present, and the still graver needs of the future.

This war demands Canada's utmost effort. Such an effort can be made only by a government which draws its strength from every section of the country and has been given an unquestioned mandate by the people. Can you name any political group or combination of men, other than the present government, which is likely to enjoy your confidence, or has the remotest chance of being representative of Canadian opinion as a whole? This is the vital question which you, the electors must continue to ask yourselves between now and the 26th of March. If, in the interval, you have failed to take all these matters into account, it will be too late to retrace your steps once that day has passed.

New Dangers and Terrors Threaten World.

Ladies and gentlemen, since Canada answered the call of freedom, new dangers and terrors have come to threaten the allied powers and ourselves. Do not forget that Asia as

well as Europe is aflame. Finland today fights gallantly against the aggression of brutal force. Who will say what nation is safe from attack as the fateful months roll on? It may even be that before the forces of evil are vanquished, the whole world will be engulfed in the angry seas of battle.

Let us not imagine that our land will inevitably escape the wrath that darkens land and sea, or that our shores will necessarily be spared as the conflict grows and spreads. He would be a foolish man who refused to face the possibilities and realities of a shattered world.

We face a future unknown and unpredictable. We cannot tell what calamities may strike us before the present year is ended, or what perils may be upon us in 1941 or 1942. Failure to view the situation as a whole, and to take account of all conceivable possibilities, might be fraught with the gravest dangers. There must be no surrender to the insistent clamour of those who refuse to look beyond the problems of the moment.

A Strong and Experienced Government— Canada's Greatest Need.

The great co-operative war effort which this government has planned is gaining every day in momentum. Our hope lies in the gathering of our strength to meet the gathering of the storm.

No one can doubt the courage, the will, the endurance of the people of Canada. But the possession of these qualities is not alone sufficient to ensure victory. They must be marshalled and guided by a government that is strong, steady, vigorous, patient, provident and experienced.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

Parliament and the People

UNITY AND FREEDOM

A Radio Address by
Right Honourable
W. L. MACKENZIE KING
Ottawa, 7th February, 1940

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Parliament and the People

UNITY AND FREEDOM

A radio address delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King from Ottawa, 7th February, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—

When Parliament concluded its Special War Session in September last, the Canadian people knew that Canada was united. What was of equal importance, there was left on the minds of the peoples of Europe the clear impression of a country at one in its determination to put forth a supreme national effort towards the winning of the war.

The reality of Canadian unity, in carrying on the war, was splendidly confirmed and reinforced just six weeks later. On October 25th, the people of the province of Quebec, with a voice which carried across the Atlantic, gave their answer to a challenge which had thrown suspicion on their loyalty. Her people could not have proclaimed more conclusively, at any time, or in any way, their unity with the rest of Canada in support of the war effort of the federal ministry.

I shall always regard this two-fold demonstration of Canadian unity, this evidence of the common determination of all Canadians to share in the struggle and the sacrifice, as the greatest of the contributions that, in the early stages of the conflict, Canada could possibly have made towards the winning of the war. As we preserve our national unity, so shall we increase our national strength.

How Canadian Unity Might Have Been Destroyed.

It will add to our understanding of what is essential to the prosecution of Canada's war effort if we recognize, at once, that this demonstration of unity, in Parliament, on the part of the people's representatives, and, in the province of Quebec, by the people themselves, was not born of the moment, and did not arise wholly of itself. It was the result, in no uncertain measure, of the known policies of the present administration, policies which, over many years, in matters of war and peace, have been clearly shown to be in accord with the will of the Canadian people.

That unity did not come from committing Canada to war before Parliament had made its decision. It was not brought about by agreeing to send expeditionary forces overseas, before Parliament had decided that Canada should participate in war, and had appropriated moneys for its prosecution. It was not brought about by the government seeking from Parliament, in time of peace, the appropriation of huge sums of money for military expenditures in preparation for Canada's participation in a European war. Our unity was not maintained by committing Canada to fight in Europe, before, or at the time of the Munich conferences, or even after Czechoslovakia was invaded, when, as we now know, the British government itself was unwilling to take that step. It was not achieved by declaring that, without consulting either the Parliament or the people of Canada, the government would commit this country to fight at any time, at any place, in any cause, if Britain went to war. Least of all was it brought about by pledges to extend the life of Parliament in a time of war without any reference to the people, or to form a so-called "national" government that might enforce conscription

or disfranchise many classes of Canadian citizens. The memories of those experiences in the last war are still bitter in the minds of the Canadian people.

How Canadian Unity Was Achieved.

Unity was made possible by none of these things. On the other hand, it was made possible, and it was achieved by the assurances given the people of Canada, year in and year out, that if my colleagues and I could prevent it, none of these things would happen. We were determined that Parliament, or the people themselves, would decide whether Canada should participate in war. That assurance I gave the Canadian people repeatedly. I kept that promise. And I held this country to that course, steadfastly, patiently, and honourably, in spite of criticism, in spite of abuse, and in spite of aggressive demands that I should break so solemn a trust.

I knew as you must know, that, without disastrous results, we could not have entered the war, except as a united nation. I know, and you know that we cannot continue at war, at least with the strength we all desire, except as a united nation. I believe that every fair-minded citizen will agree that the policies which have united Canada are the policies which will keep our country united. Extreme measures used by men of extreme views—whatever means and methods may be taken to enforce them—will only serve to divide and destroy what is most essential in the prosecution of the war—the support, by the people at large, of Canada's war effort.

Necessary Freedom of Action Carefully Safeguarded.

In September last, in asserting in Parliament, on your behalf, the constitutional right of the people to select their representatives, I gave to members of Parliament, an assurance that a general election would not be held before Parliament had again been summoned. I undertook that the members would be called together not later than the month of January. I made clear, however, that it might be necessary to have Parliament summoned at an earlier date. I had in mind, when I spoke, as it is always necessary for one charged with the responsibilities of government to have in mind, that it is impossible, when events move swiftly, to foresee what may happen in an interval of time. I knew that the measures necessary to maintain national unity, and to promote Canada's war effort, could only be determined in the light of subsequent events. It was obviously essential that I should not so bind the administration's freedom of action in a time of war, as to prevent the government from taking, at the moment when the necessity arose, whatever action might become imperative. The undertaking I then gave was limited to having no election before Parliament was again summoned; and to have Parliament called in January, if it did not become imperative to have it summoned earlier. What I said specifically was: "At that time, we will be in a position to consider what steps may be most necessary with regard to developments that may ensue meanwhile". What did take place in the interval bears out, I think, the wisdom of this precaution.

I may say that in naming January as the month within which Parliament would be called, and before which time no general election would, in the ordinary course of events, be brought on, I had in mind the obligation which clearly rested

on my colleagues and myself of organizing Canada's war effort in the most effective manner, and with the least possible delay. I had in mind the presentation to Parliament, when it met, of the record of what had been accomplished. I would have preferred, and would have mentioned an earlier date than January, had I believed that Canada's war effort could have been properly organized and sufficiently advanced in a shorter period of time.

Organization of Canada's War Effort.

Since the special session of Parliament, my colleagues and I, as you all know, have devoted ourselves patiently, energetically, and unitedly to transforming the wishes of Parliament and the people into action. You know something of what within five months' time has been accomplished. The government's record will be fully presented to you in the course of the present campaign, and criticisms of that record met without fear.

It is true that from time to time, already, there have been criticisms. It would be a miracle if the transformation of a peaceful country into a nation at war were not marked by some shortcomings, by some unpreparedness, by some shortage of supplies. But those are minor matters and shrink into insignificance when placed in their appropriate perspective beside the true magnitude of our war effort.

Criticism, where it has been constructive, has been met by appropriate measures. But other criticisms have developed in recent days, not constructive, but destructive; not designed to further Canada's war effort, but to advance personal ambitions; to spread disunion, and to undermine confidence in an administration whose conduct of the war up to the beginning of the present year received general commendation.

Resolution of Ontario Legislature Beginning of a Political Campaign.

The nature of the political campaign it was intended to wage became very clear once the Ontario Legislature was called into session. I need not repeat how the opportunity was seized by the leaders in that Assembly to play a part in Ontario at the beginning of the New Year not unlike that which had been played by the leader of the government of another province during the old year. The utterances of the leaders themselves might well have been ignored, and, so far as I am concerned, they would have been ignored, if a formal resolution of the Ontario Legislature condemning the war effort of the government of Canada, had not been passed and become a part of the records of that Assembly.

Whatever might have been thought of tactics of the kind by those of us in Canada who have become all too familiar with them, the government could not be indifferent to the manner in which, as a consequence, Canada's war effort might come to be viewed in other lands. But for the undertaking not to seek a dissolution of Parliament before Members were once again called together, these events would have led me to ask His Excellency for an immediate dissolution, without awaiting the assembling of Members. In the circumstances, I took the earliest opportunity possible to acquaint Parliament with the decision to hold an immediate election. The government's intention was announced in the Speech from the Throne. At the earliest opportunity, I made on the floor of Parliament itself a statement of the reasons which made an immediate dissolution not only desirable but imperative.

Parliament Supreme Over Government But Not Over People.

I have been told that, in that procedure, I was not paying the respect due to Parliament; that, in season and out of season, I had stressed the supremacy of Parliament, and was now deserting the convictions and doctrines which I firmly held. It is perfectly true that I have never failed to stress the supremacy of Parliament. But it has been the supremacy of Parliament over the government that I have sought to preserve, not the supremacy of Parliament over the people. The Parliament just dissolved was elected in 1935; five sessions had already been held. The fact that anyone could assume that, in the circumstances mentioned, the supremacy of Parliament might mean depriving the people of their right to an early general election, shows how far some men have drifted in their thinking from any true conception of popular government, and how close they have come to sharing the mentality of dictators.

I had hoped there might have been an opportunity to present to Parliament, in its opening days, an account of the government's conduct of the war. It was obvious, however, to any unprejudiced observer that all that had been gained by the maintenance of parliamentary and national unity was, in the new session, about to be endangered by a bitter political controversy in Parliament. That controversy, once it had begun, would not, because of the time we had at our disposal, have been carried to any conclusion on the floor of the House of Commons. It could not have been ended before there was reason to expect a spring offensive in Europe. It would have received a disproportionate attention in the lands of our allies, and in the capital of our foes. It would, inevitably, have been followed by a dissolution under conditions

that would not have been understood abroad. It would have had no finality, for it would have been followed by another campaign.

People in all lands understand that in a general election exaggerated statements will be made, and extreme political attitudes taken. Such allowances for the bitterness of party strife would, however, not have been made in the case of similar statements made on the floor of Parliament.

Canada's War Effort the First Consideration.

No government, charged with the duty of carrying on Canada's war effort, and, at the same time, the regular business of Parliament could, in addition, be expected to face two political campaigns—one carried on in Parliament itself before dissolution, another in the country after dissolution —and thereby almost certainly postpone the decision of the electors until the allied cause had reached a new and terrible emergency.

The responsibility for recommending the dissolution was mine. I took that responsibility in pursuance of my conception of my duty. I did so because I believed it to be right, and in the interest of this country. Above all else, I acted as I did in order that the unity of Parliament might be preserved in the eyes of the world.

I knew that a general election had to come—so did our political opponents. I believed that it ought, if possible, to be over before the spring offensive. I believed that it ought to be brought on before roads were broken up and became impassable. I believed that it ought to come before our men in England went to France. I believed it ought to come before our Second Division left this country. If Parliament

had been permitted to carry on to the end of March or April, and had, thereby, rendered inevitable a general election at a time when our men were facing all the horrors of concentrated warfare, I would have been told, and rightly so, that I was not fit to be the leader of the government, for allowing matters to drift in that way.

Immediate Election Rendered Imperative.

The decision to dissolve was not the result of impulse. It was the inevitable result of the outbreak of a political and partisan struggle, combined with the factors of time to which I have referred. If there had been any hope of a brief session, calmly devoted to the discussion of national affairs, such a session would have been held. That hope disappeared with the resolution of the Ontario Legislature, which marked, and was intended as, the beginning of a political campaign. A general election this year being necessary under our constitution, I am sure you will agree that no time better suited to the needs of Canada and the allied powers could have been selected than the present. Once the stress of events had forced the decision, the straight-forward thing was to announce it at once, and to proceed with the election at once.

I am perfectly certain that from one end of Canada to the other there is thankfulness in the hearts of all that the country will not need to wait a day longer than is necessary for a new Parliament, in order that those who are charged with the responsibility of carrying on the great task of Canada's government in war may be fortified with a direct and unquestioned mandate from the people.

The Preservation of National Unity.

The first duty of any government charged with responsibility in this country is, has been, and will be to maintain national unity. That task, above all others, I have made the supreme endeavour of my public life.

Canada is a nation strong in the equal partnership of two great races. Through generations, men and women of many lands have come to share that partnership. No Prime Minister would be true, either to himself, or to the people to whom he is responsible, were he not to lend every effort of mind and of heart to the maintenance of national unity. Especially is this true at a time in the world's history when, over many years, we have been witnessing civil strife, and war between nations, in well nigh every quarter of the globe except our own. The preservation of national unity has been made increasingly difficult in our country as, from time to time, demands have been made upon my colleagues and myself for unconditional declarations of participation, by Canada, in European conflicts, before the actual time, occasion, or nature of the conflicts themselves were known. This impatient and extreme course of procedure served only to bring into being contending forces in every part of Canada: one determined that Canada should participate in any and every war in which Britain might be engaged, and, the other, equally determined that there should be no Canadian participation in any European wars.

Once again, I ask you to consider where Canada would have been at the outbreak of the present war in Europe, if I, or any of my colleagues, had identified himself with either of these extreme attitudes; or if, through unwise and unnecessary declarations in advance of an actual and known condition, we had helped to precipitate an open conflict of opposed opinions?

Efforts to Maintain Peace in Europe.

I have long held the belief that conditions in Europe could not continue to go, as during the last four years they had been going, from bad to worse, without the moment coming when Europe itself would burst into flames and freedom everywhere be menaced. Holding that belief, I have done all that was within my power, and have sought to have done all that was within the power of this country, to avert such a catastrophe by fostering, everywhere and always, policies of international understanding, friendship, and good-will. At the same time, I have had continually to face the prospect of the failure to maintain peace. I have also had to consider the possible coming of the day when Britain and France might be drawn into a great conflict for the preservation of their freedom and, indeed, of their very existence. I have had, all the while, to ask myself how best our country could be kept united, and its policies so shaped that, if the moment ever came for Canada to declare what part she was prepared to take in a world struggle to thwart aggression and to preserve freedom, she could speak with the single voice of a united people.

Efforts to Preserve Unity in Canada.

I think I know something of the love of liberty which resides in the breast of every Canadian. I think I know something, too, of what men and women, of every part of Canada, of every class, and race, and creed, feel they owe to the manner in which their liberties have been secured under British institutions in our free association as a free nation in the British Commonwealth. I have, therefore, never doubted the singleness of mind and purpose with which we would all

be prepared to play our part in any struggle which threatened our freedom. My task was to see that no false step, no extreme policies or measures, no hasty action should be allowed to destroy, in advance, either the clearness of vision of our people, or its power for action. I was determined that, if the moment for decision ever came, no cleavages of opinion, in Parliament or in the country, should frustrate Canada's power to put forth her utmost effort.

The only absolute proof of any course of action is to be found in its results. You will recall my repeated assurances that Canada would participate in war only after a decision by Parliament or the people; also, my refusal last year to allow a general election to be brought on in July or August, though strongly pressed by the Leader of the Opposition, and many of my own following, to dissolve Parliament at that time. You will also recall how speedily Parliament was summoned into special session at the moment of the crisis. You know the unanimity which marked the proceedings of Parliament and its momentous decision. You know what effect all those things have had upon the continued unity of this nation in a time of war. Knowing all these things as you do, I ask you, my fellow countrymen, has the course which I have pursued over the years I have been in office, as the leader of the government of this country, not been the right, and, indeed, the only wise and proper one? Quite apart from myself, if you will permit me to say so, you will do well, I believe, to judge of the future in the light of the past.

The People's Right to Decide Upon Leaders and Policies.

As to what leader or policies are hereafter to govern the conduct of the war, it is of course for you to say. It is your future, not that of any leader or of any government, that is at

stake. No Parliament, least of all a Parliament that had run its course, and was elected without any reference to war and its appalling consequences, could have determined whom you wished to guide the destinies of this country.

My leadership today is being called in question by some who desire to see the government of this country in other hands. It is urged that other and more extreme policies should be substituted for those which my colleagues and I believe to be the only ones that, in these very critical times, can keep Canada united, and enable this country to put forth the utmost of her strength, and the maximum of her national effort in the winning of the war. Happily, at this moment, all political parties in our country claim to be of one mind in a determination to have Canada do all in her power to help win the war. I, at least, am prepared to say that such differences of opinion as do exist are for the most part either on subjects apart altogether from the war, or arise from differences of temperament, differences of method, and I think I might add, differences of experience.

How Best to Give Effect to Will of People—(a) in Canada's War Effort.

What, then, are the issues in this election? It seems to me that there are two real issues. Behind all the clashes of political conflict, the first issue concerns the maintenance of national unity. On that first issue depends the second issue, which is the whole policy of the government in the prosecution of the war. Both issues rise superior to personalities.

The people of Canada are being asked to decide through what government, and as a result of what policies the will of the people of Canada is likely to be carried out most com-

pletely and effectively in the prosecuton of the war effort. That war effort, as I have said, has been developed upon foundations carefully prepared. It has been furthered by steady, persistent and patient labour. We have had the experience of the last war to guide us. With that experience illuminating the course which we have had to follow, we have used every effort to avoid the errors of haste and confusion, and the needless sacrifice of blood and treasure that is their inevitable result. In a struggle that is certain to be long and exhausting, our contribution will be effective to the extent that it is carefully planned in close co-operation with that of our allies.

Not only must we plan carefully, patiently and wisely for a long war, but we must never lose sight of the fact that we must, at once, prepare, as well, for the aftermath of the war.

How Best to Give Effect to Will of People—(b) in Relation to Peace and Post-war Problems.

Every thoughtful Canadian has before him, as an incentive to highest endeavour, the vision of a new and juster world in which humble men and women may be allowed to live in freedom in the land of their fathers.

The men whom you choose to entrust with the responsibility of government must be ready not only to face unflinchingly the dire necessities of war; they must also be prepared with a sense of national unity, and the idealism of international good-will, to face the problems of peace.

We often hear of the ideals of racial tolerance and good neighbourhood on which our own nationhood is founded.

We cannot hear of them too often. No one surely will deny that a Canada in which East and West, French and English, Catholic and Protestant, Capital and Labour, contribute to real national unity can bring more precious gifts to the building of the new world than a Canada torn asunder by sectional, racial, religious or social conflicts.

People Themselves to Decide Canada's Future and Their Own Fate.

The decision is yours. It is not your representatives in Parliament who are now being asked to decide on the present and future of this country at a time of war. It is you, yourselves, who are not only the masters of Parliament, but, as never before, the masters of your own fate.

I say to you that never have the Canadian people been called upon to make so serious a decision. On that decision will depend not only our contribution to the war, but the maintenance of our own integrity and unity as a nation in a shattered world, to which a united Canada may well bring a new hope to mankind.

I would earnestly suggest that before arriving at your decision you ask yourselves these questions:

Should not this great task be entrusted to men who, tried in the school of experience, familiar with the problems to be faced, and advocates of policies widely supported, have throughout been united by a community of views?

Or should the conduct of your government in these critical days be handed over to men, most of whom are without experience in government, and who are bound together by no common principles or agreed policies?

When a vague suggestion is made of a "national" government of all the talents, you would do well to ask and to insist upon knowing who the men will be, and what talents they possess.

Is it not further essential that you should know whether they represent, in fair proportion, the two great races of this Dominion? It is my firm conviction, on which I have acted throughout my political life, that our national unity can only be maintained by a government in which there is always an intimate and generous association between French and English. My own relations, over so many years, with that most loyal and truest of colleagues, the Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe, have themselves reflected that equal and cordial partnership between the original founders of this nation.

A United War Effort of a United Canada.

A united war effort of a united Canada represents, I believe, the heartfelt desire of the Canadian people. If you will ask yourselves the questions I have suggested, ponder them in your hearts, and answer them as Canadians, I have no doubt of what your decision will be.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

War Record of the Mackenzie King Administration

A Radio Address by

Right Honourable

W. L. MACKENZIE KING

Ottawa, 21st February, 1940

CANADA AND THE WAR

War Record of the Mackenzie King Administration

The second of a series of radio addresses delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King from Ottawa: 21st February, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Since my broadcast was delivered, the Leader of the Opposition has also spoken to you over the radio. In his broadcast, on Friday evening last, Dr. Manion gave it as his opinion that the present administration no longer merited your confidence. He centred his attack on the government's war effort. These are the words he used:

> **"Canada confronts a grave crisis. The King Government is responsible for our unpreparedness, and our weak war effort. Therefore, it is the duty of all those who love this Canada of ours to work together to defeat that government."**

There is no mistaking the meaning of that language. Dr. Manion wishes the present government to be defeated. He has stated the issue as he sees it. It is the government's war record. I am quite prepared to accept his challenge. He has named the issue. I now propose to meet it.

Canada's Contribution Made Possible Through Foresight

In what I am about to say, I shall emphasize, and I hope that you will remember, the following important facts. My

colleagues and I took every care to see that war, if it came, should find Canada as well prepared as a peace-loving country could be. When war was near, we took every possible step to place our defence forces in a state of preparation for active service. When war appeared inevitable, Parliament was instantly summoned. Canada forthwith, by the decision of her Parliament, took her place at the side of the Allies.

In anticipation of Parliament's decision, we had already begun direct and daily consultation with Britain. We have since continued such consultation for the purpose of working out and perfecting plans for vigorous, prompt and effective co-operation. We had established the security of this country in its own defences. We were, therefore, able at once to make valuable contributions to the cause of the Allies. We were able to mobilize farm and factory, manpower and money, on the side of Britain and France. Our foresight made possible the steady growth of our national endeavour. It ensured from that day, and from this day, onward, a maximum of effort, with a minimum of waste.

Needs of Allied Powers Basis of Canada's War Effort

I cannot reveal the details of the plans of the Allies. You will understand why. I would like to tell you what they are, but I have no intention of telling the enemy. I can only assure you of the most complete and continuous co-operation between our Allies and ourselves.

In the last war, Canada's main contribution was the despatch of infantry to France. That was what the Allied powers wanted Canada to do then. Our whole military effort

was concentrated upon that contribution, and the courageous achievements of our men filled Canada with pride, Britain and France with inspiration, and the enemy with confusion. But, military historians and present-day experts agree that there was, in the strategy of the last war, a woeful waste of treasure and of life.

In 1914, we had no Air Force of our own, although on the honour roll of the Royal Air Force are imperishably enshrined the names of thousands of young Canadians. Our naval service in 1914 was exceedingly small. It had, in fact, no separate existence in time of war. Such is not the case today. The Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Air Force are today separate, distinct, and well organized services. They are vital elements in the defence of Canada. They are important links in the unbroken chain of allied strength.

The Land—The Sea—The Air—Industrial Activity

Already we have organized and despatched an expeditionary force. Three contingents have safely crossed the Atlantic. Our men have been subjected to the strictest standards of health and training. The First Division is now completing its training in England, the Second is well advanced in training in Canada. When the day comes for our soldiers to face the enemy, they will be found, in physique and morale, the equal of their fathers and predecessors who made Canada a nation on the fields of Flanders. They will be better equipped than their comrades were in the last war.

But, as you know, the main theatre of war thus far has not been on land; it has been on the sea, and in the air. In

those elements, the strength, the skill, and I may say, the brutality of the enemy have combined in a vain effort to strike terror into the hearts of the British and French peoples. The strategy of yesterday is not the strategy of today. It may be that the strategy of today will not be the strategy of tomorrow. Time will tell that story. Thus far, while we have been told that the presence of Canadian land forces will be no less heartily welcomed, we have been definitely asked to direct our effort especially towards the development of our naval and air services, and to industrial activity. I think you will agree that the course of the war, up to the present, has shown with what foresight the Allied plans have been laid.

Position Wholly Different from that of 1914

I need hardly remind you how the conditions of the present war differ from those that prevailed in 1914. Methods of warfare are new, weapons are new, and, abroad, the strategic picture is now entirely different. Today Germany fights on only one front. This time Russia is not our ally, Italy is not our ally, Japan is not our ally. In the early years of the last war, we relied on British ships alone to protect our eastern shores and the waters of the Gulf. Diplomacy had made our western ocean, in very truth, Pacific.

Our own position, as a country, has also changed. Today Canada stands, before the world, as a nation. We have the privileges of nationhood. We have also its responsibilities. The first of these is responsibility for our own national security. The primary duty of each member of the British Commonwealth is to provide for its own defence. That is the basis of our free association, and of all Empire co-operation. It has been so recognized at every Imperial Conference since 1923.

The threats to Canadian security are far greater today than they were in 1914. To the East, on the Atlantic, we face warfare. To the West, on the Pacific, we face doubt and uncertainty. We must keep constantly in mind the possibility of attacks from the sea, on either coast; and in the air, from many points of the compass. Whatever contribution we can or could make outside of Canada would be seriously weakened, and might easily be destroyed, if we had neglected our own defences. Never forget that fact.

The Charge of Unpreparedness

The Leader of the Opposition charges the government with "unpreparedness". Unpreparedness for what? Does he mean unpreparedness for national defence, or does he mean unpreparedness by Canada, in peace time, for active participation in war in Europe? If he means unpreparedness for the defence of Canada, his charges are untrue. If he means unpreparedness in peace time for active participation, by Canada, in a European war, in his anxiety to condemn the government, he forgets the facts and condemns himself. In peace time, he never advocated preparedness for a war in Europe. The government never advocated preparedness for a war in Europe. As a matter of fact, there was general agreement, both in this country and in Great Britain, that it would be extremely unlikely that Canadian expeditionary forces would again take part in a European war.

Today, Dr. Manion quite fails to distinguish between preparedness, in peace time, for national defence, and preparedness, in peace time, to send forces overseas. He knew the difference, however, when Parliament was in regular session in March, 1939. He knew the difference from March, 1939, to September, 1939, when Parliament met in war session.

He knew the difference until an expeditionary force was already on its way overseas. He kept silent in peace time because he knew, as everyone listening to me knows, that neither Parliament nor the people would have supported expenditures, in peace time, to prepare for active participation by Canada in a European war.

It is perfectly true that we did not, in times of peace, budget for times of war. If we had, our measures would not have received the support of Parliament. By preparedness in peace time, the present government always meant, and always said it meant, preparedness to meet the possibility of attacks upon Canada in the event of war. The government repeatedly told Parliament that our peace time military expenditures were exclusively for the defence of Canada.

Outstanding Features of Government's War Record

I propose now, as simply as I can, to tell you the main facts concerning the government's record in war.

Parliament was summoned on the 1st day of September, 1939. Britain declared war on September the third. I announced on the 1st of September that if Britain did declare war, the government would recommend to Parliament that Canada should stand at her side. We never doubted that Parliament would accept our policy. We, therefore, as I have already mentioned, entered into immediate consultation with the British government, in order to arrive without delay at a basis of co-operative action. We quickly reached an understanding about the things that had to be done at once. These I outlined to Parliament on September 8th.

Earliest Measures of Co-operation—at Sea, on Land, and in the Air

The British government told us that we could render the greatest help by assisting in the naval and air defence of Newfoundland, Labrador, the French Islands in the Gulf, and the British and French West Indies. We provided that assistance at once. The British government also urged upon us the importance of increasing air training, and naval and air facilities, and of sending trained airmen and mechanics overseas as soon as possible. We lost no time in doing as we were asked.

Meanwhile, we continued daily consultation with the British authorities. By September 19th, we had heard more of their plans, and were in a position to announce a more extended programme. We learned that technical men, doctors and engineers were needed for the land forces. In the light of this information we decided to concentrate on recruiting men of the types which were urgently and especially needed. We had already begun to organize and train an army division which was to be ready to proceed overseas as soon as it was required. On that day, the government decided to organize a second division. In order that we might devote our energy and strength to fill the needs of the allied forces, in the manner in which we had been asked, further general recruiting was postponed for the time being.

The Canadian Navy was already watching over our own coastal waters, Newfoundland and the West Indies. It was taking its share of convoy duty, of mine-sweeping, and of anti-submarine defence. We began immediately to construct anti-submarine and mine-sweeping craft. We also authorized a plan of intensified air training in Canada to provide a progressively increasing number of pilots and airmen. These

things were planned and done, within three weeks of the outbreak of war, after consultation with, and in co-operation with, the British authorities. Is this, I ask, unpreparedness? I leave the answer to you.

The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan

Within a month of the outbreak of war, the swift domination of Poland had demonstrated the decisive importance of superior air power. The significance of the conquest, and the means by which it was accomplished, were not without their immediate effect. If the Germans believed that the war was to be won with air power, the Allies were determined, not only that theirs would be the superiority in air power, but that the enemy should know this as soon and as clearly as possible. Out of this determination, there emerged the epoch-making proposal for a gigantic plan for joint air training. On September 26th, it was presented by the British government to the other governments of the British Commonwealth. The vastness of its scope and power immediately fired the imagination of all. We in Canada, some months prior to the outbreak of war, had made an agreement with Britain for the advanced training of a definite number of British pilots in Royal Canadian Air Force establishments. That fact and the geographic advantages of our country, made Canada the logical centre for this great enterprise.

Agreement Concluded in Minimum of Time

Our acceptance of the proposal in principle was prompt and decisive. The acceptance by Australia and New Zealand was equally so. By October 10th, I was able to announce that Missions were to be sent to Ottawa from the United

Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, to work out all the complicated technical and financial details of the training plan. The British, Australian and New Zealand Missions arrived in due course. By November 27th, a basis of agreement had been reached. The approval of the governments of the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand had still to be obtained. On December 17th, I gave to you over the radio an outline of the plan, which, on that day, had been accepted by all four governments. I suggest to you that, having regard to the elements of time and space, the signing of that agreement is a tribute to the vigour and efficiency of our action.

Air Training Plan May Prove Decisive Factor in Winning of War

In this truly tremendous project, Canada has assumed the major share. What this Air Training Plan will probably mean to the allied cause, you have already been told. When, on October 10th, I announced the proposal, I said that the government of the United Kingdom had indicated its opinion that, with the facilities which Canada possessed, this co-operative effort might prove to be of the most essential and decisive character. Shortly after the agreement was signed, the British government again advised us that in its opinion the Air Training Scheme would do more to assist in ultimate victory than any other form of military aid which Canada could give. At the same time, the British government told us that it would welcome no less heartily the presence of Canadian land forces in the theatre of war at the earliest possible moment. You know how soon this wish was gratified, and how quickly the British people were given an opportunity to welcome our troops. On the very day I was announcing

to you the signing of the Air Training Agreement, the First Contingent of the First Division of the Canadian Active Service Force was landing in the United Kingdom.

Development of Plan Proceeding Rapidly

We did not wait for the signing of the Agreement to get on with the job of carrying out the programme finally agreed upon. Before the Agreement was signed, the ground had been prepared, and much had already been accomplished. Every-day since, the work has been proceeding with vigour and speed. Some forty complete airports were available as a result of civil developments, and forty new airports are being developed from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The delivery of planes from manufacturers in Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States is actively proceeding. Deliveries of advanced training aircraft being supplied by the British Air Ministry have begun and are continuing. Orders have been placed for hundreds of other planes of Canadian and American manufacture.

Between the outbreak of war and the end of the year, contracts for the Royal Canadian Air Force, to the value of over seven and a half million dollars had been let for works and buildings most of which will be used for air training. The recruitment of personnel to man the schools is well advanced, and the training of instructors is actively in progress. By spring the training establishments will be ready to receive pupils.

An Army Division Already Overseas— Another Shortly to Cross

I have already referred to the landing in the United Kingdom, on December 17th, of the First Contingent of the First

Division of the Canadian Active ServiceForce. This contingent was accompanied by its Commanding Officer, Major General A. G. L. McNaughton, who had been appointed to that command on October 6th. The Second Contingent landed on the last two days of the old year. With the recent landing of the Third Contingent, Canada now has a complete division and additional auxiliary units, engaged in advanced training in England. All three contingents made the crossing safely and exactly according to a schedule worked out months in advance. All left Canada fully clothed and fully equipped.

Meanwhile the training of the Second Division is proceeding rapidly, and the decision has been reached to despatch it overseas at an appropriate time.

Army Cooperation Air Squadrons Also Proceeding Overseas

An Army Co-operation Air Squadron has also completed its training in Canada. It will very soon be joining the First Division overseas. A second similar Air Squadron to co-operate with the Second Division is in training.

The Navy Performing Silent and Effective Service

The navy has been well called the silent service. No detailed account can be given of its activities. I may mention, however, that we have added to it steadily both in men and ships. Since the beginning of the year, orders have been placed for the largest naval ship-building programme ever undertaken in Canada. The part the navy has played in the vital task of convoying shipping in the sea lanes of the North

Atlantic, the life line of Britain and France, has received the highest praise of the allied powers.

Today, there are over 70,000 men under arms in the Canadian Active Service Force, over 9,000 in the Royal Canadian Air Force, and over 6,000 in the Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve. These numbers will be increased by tens of thousands of young Canadians, as the Air Training Plan develops, and men continue to be recruited for the other services. On the sea, on land, and in the air, Canada's achievements in this war may well be a source of national pride.

The Home Front—The Furnishing of Supplies

I would like now to tell you in a few words something of what has been done on the home front. We call it the home front because in this part of national service are enlisted every miner, every farmer, every fisherman, every lumberman, indeed every worker in Canada.

I need not tell you that the furnishing of supplies of all kinds is of vital importance to the success of the British and the Allied powers. Our work on the home front is designed to fit into a common plan. In this too, our Allies have told us what they require. In this too, we have done everything within our power to meet their needs. This work is just as much part of the allied plan and just as important as our contribution of men to the armed services.

We hear so much about the vastness of our territory and the extent of our natural resources that sometimes we ourselves are apt to overlook them. Today, that very vastness and those very resources are a lasting reservoir of strength to the allied cause; for Canada stands to Europe as the

nearest, the surest and the safest source of those materials and supplies without which no great nation could wage a successful war.

But our vastness and our wealth of raw materials would be of no avail unless we were able to produce, and to transport. At this crisis in our history, we are fortunate in the development of production and transportation as two arms of national service.

Railways—Airways—National Broadcasting: Essential Factors in War Economy

We do not always remember that the federation of Canada as one nation stretching from sea to sea was made possible by the railways. While we are joined in sentiment by bonds of the heart, we are welded in material things by bonds of steel. The railways are on the front line of our national defence. The present government has resolutely refused to cut down the railway facilities of this country. Today they are at their very height of operating efficiency. Every dollar we have spent on the maintenance of the railways may now be viewed as a dollar spent on defence and preparedness. We are more than ready to meet the demands which have over-taxed the transportation systems of other countries.

What is true of our railways is true also of our progress in civil aviation. No money could have been more wisely spent on national preparedness than the investment in the Trans-Canada Air Lines. I might remind you, in passing, that this vast national service was begun and developed entirely by the present administration.

During the last three years, there has also been built, with the active approval and under the guidance of the present administration, a chain of high-powered broadcasting stations.

Again, what is true of our railways is true also of our harbours. At Halifax and St. John, for example, since Canada entered the war, traffic has more than doubled. There has been no congestion and no delay. This has been accomplished under the direction of a Transport Controller, of whose excellent work like that of our other war administrators, very little has been heard or said.

While these things are sometimes taken for granted, I suggest to you that they, also, are essential elements of a well-directed and well-prepared national economy, geared for war.

Industry Transformed to Serve Wartime Needs

Industry, of course, could not be transformed as readily as our transport facilities were. We had built up no huge armament industry in peace time. I hope with all my heart, and I know that you hope also that such an industrial enterprise will never need to form a permanent addition to the economy of Canada. Nevertheless, preparations had been made for the production of munitions in case the dire need for them ever arose. Long before the outbreak of war, the government had caused a complete industrial survey of Canada to be made.

The government also, in June last, sponsored at their request, a visit to the United Kingdom of a delegation organized by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. Its object was to study the production of arms and munitions in Great Britain, and to assist in the speedy adaptation of Canadian industry to the needs of warfare, if ever it came. The

delegation was headed by Major-General McNaughton. Through the office of Canada's High Commissioner in London, every facility was accorded the delegation while it was in Britain. The assistance afforded to the governments of Great Britain and Canada and to Canadian industry itself, as a result of that visit, was of supreme value.

Enormous Quantities of War Supplies

You all know of the establishment of the War Supply Board, under the control of experienced and public-spirited men. They have had two tasks. Their first duty has been to mobilize our industrial resources. Their second has been to place orders and to let contracts. Particulars of these contracts, amounting, in all, to over $110,000,000, have been published from day to day. In awarding these contracts the members of the Board have been instructed by the government to guard against both patronage and profiteering. Its members, chosen without regard to party, have, I believe, been guided by three principles: honesty, efficiency, and economy. The government is determined that in this war the public trust will not be surrendered to private greed.

There was, at the outset, some impatience because orders were not placed more speedily. The impatience, while perhaps natural, was ill-founded. Orders could hardly have been placed by Canada before Parliament had made the necessary appropriations, or authorized the expenditure. They could not have been placed on behalf of the United Kingdom until the British government itself was prepared to place them. To meet their own immediate requirements, the allied powers had on hand large reserves of supplies of all kinds. We, like them, needed time to determine precisely what our own forces were to be, and what they would require. Moreover, it was

necessary for all nations involved in the war to await developments, and to know what form the war would take. In our preparation, we all had to keep in mind many phases and stages of the conflict, the last no less then the first.

Agriculture Adapted to War Needs— the Farmer's Interest Safeguarded

While the War Supply Board has been bringing our industrial resources into preparation and action, two other branches of government have been concerned with matters which intimately affect the welfare of each one of you. The Agricultural Supplies Committee has been working steadily, with two objects in view. It has been trying, with success, to adapt our farming methods to the needs of war. It has been planning to prevent disaster to agriculture in the period after the war. The Canadian farmer made a tremendous contribution to the winning of the last war. He is helping to win this war. We do not propose, if we can avoid it, that he should lose the fruit of his labours, or find himself, in peace time, once again the victim of a depression which he did nothing to create.

The Consumers' Interest Watched— Prices Controlled

There is another matter which affects the well-being of each one of you. Most of all, it concerns the lives of those whose main problem is meeting the cost of the necessities which keep body and soul together. In order to prevent, as far as is humanly possible, the placing of additional burdens upon the workers of this land, the government, as early as September 3rd, set up the Wartime Prices and Trade Board.

That Board, as you are aware, has done its work well. I regret I have not time tonight to describe what it has accomplished. I may tell you, however, that we have given its members very wide powers. I promise you, that as long as vigour and vigilance, and the punishment of the guilty can prevent such a calamity, there will be no undue rise in the cost of the necessities of life.

This, Ladies and Gentlemen, has been the record of the war effort of the present administration at this time of crisis in the world's affairs. What I have told you relates almost exclusively to the period which has elapsed since the beginning of war—a period of less than half a year.

National Unity and War Effort Inseparable

In my first broadcast, I told you how the present government had brought to the side of Britain and France the united war effort of a united Canada. I told you what had to be done, and what had not to be done, to achieve that end. I told you of the responsible trust placed upon my colleagues and myself to preserve calm and patience during the long and difficult months that preceded the tragedy of war. In this broadcast, I have told you something of the energy and vigour with which, since we entered the war, the present Administration has prosecuted Canada's war effort. National unity was maintained prior to, and at the moment of, the declaration of war. The war effort was made possible by the unity thus achieved. Never forget that the two are inseparable.

This is the record which the Leader of the Opposition says constitutes the issue in the present election. He appeals to you to defeat the government because of the inefficiency of its war effort. I maintain that, if ever a government was

entitled to the continued confidence of the people because of the manner in which, at a time of war, it had administered a great national trust, the present government merits that confidence. At all events, it is for you to judge. It is your interests and your future that today are being weighed in the political balance.

The People to Decide

My colleagues and I are quite prepared to be judged on our record by the people of this country. Happily, it is to your judgment that we make our appeal. This election will determine your representation in the Parliament of Canada for the next five years. It affords you a full and free opportunity to decide what is best for yourselves.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

Canada's War Effort—How Best Promoted

"NATIONAL" VERSUS "UNION" GOVERNMENT

A Radio Address by
Right Honourable
W. L. MACKENZIE KING
Ottawa, 23rd February, 1940

Canada's War Effort—How Best Promoted

"NATIONAL" VERSUS "UNION" GOVERNMENT

The third of a series of radio addresses delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King from Ottawa; 23rd February, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In his opening broadcast on February the 16th, the Leader of the Opposition set before you two objectives. The first was to defeat the present government because of its war record. The second was to allow him to form, in its stead, what he calls, a "national" government. On Wednesday evening, I met his challenge with respect to our war record. I propose, tonight, to meet his challenge with respect to his so-called "national" government.

In his broadcast, Dr. Manion stated it as his fixed conviction that "only through national government could we do that service to our country, to our Empire, and to civilization, which is demanded of us, now that we are in this war beside Britain and France."

This, fortunately for you, but unfortunately for the Leader of the Opposition, is not the only occasion on which Dr. Manion has expressed his views upon national government.

Leader of Opposition Holds Opposite Views.

As recently as July the 26th, less than six weeks before the outbreak of war, he expressed convictions no less definite, even if opposite. I will read you a report of what he said.

"National Conservative Leader, Robert J. Manion today refused to recognize "national government" as a cure for Canada's present-day ills, arguing that such a set-up would inevitably lead to a Socialist regime dictated by a combination of the C.C.F., Social Credit and "all other Cave of Adullam parties."

"Every Government," said he, "starts to die soon after it is elected. A National Government would be the same in this respect as any other. Therefore after a period of time the Opposition would come into power.

"But the Opposition to a National Government, presumably made up of Liberals and Conservatives, would be the Social Credit, C.C.F., and other Socialist groups that cared to join with them. It would be these parties that would take over the reins of power when the National Government had outlived its usefulness."

What I have just read, you will find in the Toronto Globe and Mail of July the 27th.

Merits of Union Government More Apparent Than Real.

I would gladly let the matter rest where Dr. Manion left it on July 26th, if I did not know that the idea of a government where all party differences are submerged in a time of stress undoubtedly makes a strong appeal. Unfortunately, its attractiveness is more apparent than real.

Most of us would like to see, at all times, a political condition where

"none was for a party;"
and "all were for the State."

Could any form of government effect such a transformation in human nature, I am sure that most of us would welcome it with enthusiasm. I, for one, would certainly not wish to discourage the idealism which longs for cessation of all forms of strife, and the permanence of good-will and understanding as the basis of human relations. But those who think that a union government will achieve these desirable ends are, I believe, grieviously mistaken.

Men will always differ in opinion, and it is right that they should do so. There is, however, no reason why differences of opinion should be accompanied by bitterness. Men can differ, and still work together in good-will, without surrendering the right to independent thought, speech and action.

The words "national government" are deliberately used to suggest a sort of patriotic idealism. The phrase itself has a patriotic ring, even if it does not ring true.

The True Meaning of National Government

But let us stop a moment to see what the words "national government" really mean. We must be careful not to be carried away by catch-words and slogans. They are often dangerous and frequently deceptive. Let us look beneath the label to see what is underneath. Let us see if the goods, when we inspect them, are in accordance with the advertisement. Let us look particularly to see whether the Leader of the Opposition, in his present appeal, is not misusing both the word "national" and the word "government".

A national government, in the correct sense of the term, is the government which carries on the business of the nation. It represents the nation in accordance with parliamentary procedure and practice. Under the British system, it must be a representative and responsible government. It means a government which represents the majority in Parliament. It does not mean, as I said recently in the House of Commons, a government which is responsible to the official Opposition, or to any other minority group. It means a government which is responsible to the people. Representation of the people and responsibility to the people are the pillars of our parliamentary system. Since everyone cannot rule at one and the same time, the right to rule is given to those who command the confidence of the largest number. Government by majority rule is, under our system, the only true national government. Equally, it is the only true democratic government.

Union Government—What it Means

The only government that can be called truly national is a government which reflects a practical unanimity of sentiment and belief held in common by a majority of the people's representatives. In Canada, such a government should also represent, in fair proportion, every section of the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific. A truly national government cannot be founded upon an unnatural attempt to harmonize conflicting views and opinions. A combination created as a result of bargaining between conflicting parties and groups is not a national government. I might add that a political leader who cannot command support in all parts of the country will have little chance of forming a government strong enough to be a unifying force in time of war.

When the Leader of the Opposition talks of national government what he really means is "union" government.

I can quite understand why Dr. Manion doesn't like that name. He would, however, have treated you more fairly if he had used it. Probably he doesn't like the name because it summons up from the past memories of many things we would like to forget. What, however, Dr. Manion is avowedly advocating is a government composed of men of different political parties, and, therefore, of conflicting political opinions.

Place of Political Parties in Government

There is, of course, nothing to prevent political parties maintaining their identity and still working together for a common object. Dr. Manion's party did that at the special war session of Parliament last September. That is a matter of attitude to meet compelling circumstances in special cases. It is an attitude which was clearly defined by Sir Wilfrid Laurier during the last war and maintained by him throughout. Speaking for the Liberal Opposition, in Parliament in 1915, Sir Wilfrid used these words:

> "We are prepared to give to the government, to those who for the moment have the confidence of the Canadian people under our constitutional system, the support to which they are entitled for the attainment of the great end which we all have in mind."

Canada, like other democratic countries, has relied on government by political parties. It is a great mistake to speak of political parties as though they were a menace to the country. Parties are not ends in themselves. They are only means to an end. Through them, men and women who share similar views on great public questions are able to make those views prevail. Party government enables those who are willing to blend their views and opinions, so to combine forces as to advance policies founded on common

views and principles. Political parties are not water-tight compartments. They are not secret societies or exclusive clubs. They do not bar men and women from membership because of race, class, or creed. Anyone is free to belong to whatever party he pleases. If he ceases, for the time being, to give his support to a party to which he normally belongs, it may be, and usually is, because he is not satisfied with its present policy, or with its leader; or, because, he believes that in the existing situation he would advance the country's interest by placing his support elsewhere. If he chooses to to continue to support a party or a leader who no longer represents his views, that is his misfortune, if not his fault. If his party is not the majority party, his views will or should be advanced by the minority leader who speaks for him.

Mackenzie King Government a True National Government.

The present government of Canada is, in the truest sense, a national government. It had in the late Parliament the support of a majority of the representatives of the people. That majority happened to be the largest majority which any government in Canada has ever had. Dr. Manion has told you that "every government starts to die soon after it is elected". That may have been his experience in office. I am happy to say it has not been mine. The majority with which we began was not only maintained but increased as the sessions passed by.

Union Government Leads to Dictatorship.

A union government is almost certain to mean one of two things: a weak government, or a dictatorial government. It might conceivably be both, because the terms are not

necessarily contradictory. Weak, because it leads to endless compromises, and the stifling of views. Differences which now divide parties in Parliament would be transferred from Parliament to the Cabinet. What should be a clash of public principles might well become a clash of personal interests. Effective government would be crippled by compromise, or paralysed by inaction.

On the other hand, such a government might easily follow the European pattern. There the merging of parties into one, the suppression of minorities, and the silencing of opposition have soon resulted in the abolition of representative institutions. That is the soil in which dictatorships grow and flourish.

Union Government a Pretext for Other Ends.

Union government may also be a mere subterfuge to bring together, under the guise of a combination of parties, men of divergent views whose main purpose is to take some course of action which they would not be prepared to champion openly.

The main argument since the outbreak of war for a "national" or union government originated in the desire to postpone an election, and to extend the life of Parliament. Such a course would have turned Parliament and the government into a virtual dictatorship. It would have been a denial of the undoubted right of a free people to choose their parliament within the constitutional period fixed for the express purpose of maintaining representative government. That pretext for union government was ended when Parliament was dissolved.

Leader of Opposition in a Quandry.

For your guidance, and for the guidance of the Leader of the Opposition, let me come now to one or two very practical matters, of which full account will have to be taken should the present government be defeated and Dr. Manion called upon to form his "union" government. To whom will he turn? At present, no one knows. His invitations to men of other parties thus far seem as a great secret as the acceptances.

In an attempt to find out if he himself really knows, I am going to ask him a few questions on your behalf. Who are the men of brains, inside or outside his own party, who will be asked to join him? All, obviously, cannot be members of his own party, because it would not require a union government to enlist his own supporters.

He has asked you to defeat the present government. Such a defeat would be a condemnation of our conduct of the war, and an expression of lack of confidence in our ability to administer the national affairs of Canada. Yet Dr. Manion has said that his government will include men of both the old parties. Does he propose to include in his government members of a government whose administration has been condemned and who have lost the confidence of the people? Dr. Manion cannot have it both ways. It is, in any case, hard to believe that Dr. Manion can expect to attract to his government any of the men whom today he so violently and recklessly condemns.

Who are to Compose Union Government?

Where then does Dr. Manion propose to find members of the Liberal party to include in his "union" government? I think you should ask him to tell you what Liberals he has

in mind. Has he any hope of getting the consent of outstanding members of the party to join him? What will be the extent of the following which they will be able to bring to the support of the new ministry? Never forget that the value of a leader in any government depends not only on his own qualities, but also upon the strength and character of the following he is able to command. I should also like to ask him what kind of "union" government it would be if no Liberals were included.

A union government is necessarily in the nature of a political bargain. Most bargains require at least two parties to make them. Dr. Manion's union government would probably require at least three. Does Dr. Manion wish to take Mr. Woodsworth into his government? Will Mr. Woodsworth come if he is called? I doubt very much if the leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation will be prepared to sacrifice his principles upon the altar of Conservative necessity. Would Mr. Woodsworth's C.C.F. supporters follow their leader into such an unaccustomed fold? Will Mr. Blackmore join him and take Social Credit with him? Will Mr. Herridge's New Democracy be born in time? Does Dr. Manion want him if it is? If elected, will Mr. Herridge join Dr. Manion if he does? Who knows what members the present groups will have in the next Parliament? We have had a long succession of third parties in Canada. Sooner or later, one after another, they have vanished. In the last election, Dr. Manion's present first lieutenant, Mr. Stevens, was the leader of such a party. He ended up as the Casabianca on the burning deck of the Reconstruction Party.

Dr. Manion says he may take a woman into his Cabinet. If their support for union government is to be gained by this means, the women of Canada will, I imagine, wish to have a more definite proposal than this. From now on, they will be

anxiously watching the lists of his candidates to see whether he will make his choice from his own party, or from some other party or group. Will his Minister of Youth appear in the list of his candidates on nomination day?

How Will Union Government Ministers Find Seats in Parliament?

There is another very practical consideration. It would be well for you, the electors, and for Dr. Manion himself not to lose sight of it. If the ministers of the new union government are not to be found amongst the candidates to be nominated on nomination day, or, what is much more important, elected on election day, where and how is he going to get them elected to Parliament?

I have had some experience in forming ministries. I can tell Dr. Manion he would be wise to get his best brains into the House in a general election, and not to wait until the election is over to identify them and to discover constituencies willing to return them. His followers, who may be called upon to surrender their seats, may not share his high opinion of the mentality of their successors. Moreover, if the Cabinet is to be representative, ministers will also need to be selected from all parts of the country. Only a government that commands the support of all sections can expect to obtain such representations.

But perhaps Dr. Manion has not abandoned the hope of an alliance between the two old parties, which would leave what he calls "the extremists" to form the opposition. This was the only kind of union government which he could see on July 26th, 1939, and you remember how roundly he condemned it.

No Possibility of a Conservative Government.

It is just possible Dr. Manion plans to include all parties in his combination, thereby extinguishing opposition altogether. If he does, he has turned another political somersault, for, as late as November 2nd, 1939, not four months ago, he used these words:

> "Considering everything, the course followed by the government in keeping full control of our war programme is probably the best for Canada as, under our parliamentary system, an alert and constructively critical Opposition is second only in importance to the government itself."

With Dr. Manion's view, as expressed at that time, I am in the most complete agreement. I have not changed my views. I can only assume that Dr. Manion has changed his views because he sees no possibility whatever of the election of a Conservative government.

Opposition an Essential Part of Parliamentary System.

Let it never be forgotten that the existence of an official Opposition gives our system of government two great advantages. Without an Opposition a much needed safeguard against hasty and ill-advised action on the part of the administration would be lacking. Even the best of governments will make mistakes. In time of war, avoidable mistakes may be much more costly than in time of peace. Responsible criticism helps to ensure good administration.

If there is no effective Opposition, the people are left without a known alternative to the administration, once a government loses the confidence of parliament or the country. This is the second advantage of an opposition properly per-

forming its constitutional duty. Those who desire to defeat a government should know who its successors will be and what their policies are. In the fact that, under the British system of parliamentary government, there is a responsible opposition, ready to assume the burden of office whenever an existing administration loses the confidence of the country, lies the secret of the peaceful political evolution of the British Commonwealth. It is our strongest protection against violent and revolutionary change.

That is one of the reasons why Parliament itself by statute has made the Leader of the Opposition a salaried officer. His position in Parliament, in many respects, is second only to that of the Prime Minister. It is his duty to contribute to the collective thinking and to the parliamentary discussions which help to shape the policies on which government and laws are founded. A great modern writer has said: "It is not always realized how much of the essence of democracy is contained in the insistence on a tolerated and official opposition." Under this system even political opponents serve a common purpose. It is because your representatives pool their experience, air their differences, and even their discontents, that progress becomes possible. Any other system is a denial of democracy. It becomes either out and out autocracy, or dictatorship under some other disguise.

Liberals Will Constitute Opposition if Present Government Not Returned.

In order that there may be no misunderstanding about the position of the members of the present government, I should like to make that position very clearly known. In saying what I do, I speak with the authority and support of every member of the Cabinet. If, after an appeal has been

made to the country on our war effort and our policies, we are not returned to power, those of us who are elected, together with our following, will not betray our parliamentary duty, but will constitute His Majesty's Loyal Opposition. I make that simple, straightforward statement, so that there will be no mistake in the minds either of the people, or of Dr. Manion concerning our position; and no recriminations later on because anyone was left in doubt.

Responsibility for Government One Thing—Monopoly of Government Another.

Under our parliamentary system, the party with a majority in the House of Commons is charged with responsibility for government. From that it cannot escape, even if it would. But responsibility for government does not mean a monopoly of government. Responsibility for policy does not, for a moment, imply the desire or the power to restrict administration, and the business of carrying out the work of government to members of the majority party. I myself, as I think you know, have always looked upon public office as a high trust and a great duty. I have never sanctioned the dismissal of any public servant merely because of his political affiliations. Nor have I made party affiliation the criterion of appointments to the public service. I have been careful to recognize, at all times, the difference between the direction of policy, and the administrative work of government.

No Patronage in Canada's War Effort.

With respect to its war effort, the present government has had no desire to exercise, and has not exercised, so-called patronage. When we have named military leaders, we have looked for soldiers and sailors, and not politicians or partisans.

We have asked how they can serve Canada, now and in the future, not what political party they have served in the past. With respect to all military appointments, commissions and promotions, you have been told by the highest military authority that political or private patronage does not exist, that it has been stamped out by the Minister of National Defence, and that merit is the sole criterion for selection and promotion.

What is true of the fighting forces is true also of the other branches of our war activity. We have selected the ablest men available. Politics and partisanship have brought no preferment. As you all know, many of the most important positions are held by well-known Conservatives. Some by members of other parties and some by men who profess allegiance to no particular party. We shall continue to bring to the service of Canada the best men we can get. It doesn't require a union government to join together intelligence and patriotism.

Services of Non-partisan Character to be Utilized in Advisory Capacity.

With the war and its problems growing in intensity and magnitude, I shall seek, if we are returned to power, to bring to the aid of the Ministry, in an advisory capacity, a still larger number of men of outstanding ability and experience whose services in one way or another might be made available to the State, and add strength to the administration of our policies. How best their services might be consolidated and used, whether in immediate association with the war cabinet, or with a member of the Cabinet, intimately associated with its war activities, is something that I would like to consider with my colleagues before the next Parliament reassembles.

All important administrative developments must be worked out by a ministry in the light of its responsibility for government as it is actually carried on. In this election, I do not intend, any more than I have done in previous elections, to make promise after promise for the sake of gaining political support. I prefer not to count my chickens until they are hatched, and I do not expect them to be hatched by promises.

Dr. Manion Begins at Wrong Time and Wrong End.

It must already be apparent to the Leader of the Opposition, but I should like to make it equally clear to you, that if Dr. Manion really hopes to form and lead a union government, he is beginning at the wrong time and at the wrong end. The time to form a union government is before, not after, a general election.

That, you will recall, was what was done in 1917. The union government of Sir Robert Borden was not formed after a general election. It was formed first. The elections followed immediately afterwards. Throughout the campaign, its leaders were known; its ministers were known; its policies were known. Its candidates in the constituencies were known. They were union government candidates, definitely pledged to support, not some government to be formed after the elections were over, but the union government headed by Sir Robert Borden. The government had not been formed to implement some policy vaguely described as the winning of the war. Sir Wilfrid Laurier and those who shared his opinions were every bit as anxious to win the war as Sir Robert and his followers. They differed on a specific policy. That policy was conscription. The union government was formed to obtain the support of the country for that policy.

Electors Being Led up a Blind Alley.

In the elections of 1917, the leaders of opposed parties who joined together to form the union government stood side by side on political platforms throughout the campaign. Their policy was openly supported and openly attacked. The electorate was not asked to engage in a game of blind man's buff, in which the parties constituting the union government, their leaders, their policies, and even their candidates, were all unknown. Believe it or not, that is exactly the situation as we have it today. You are actually being invited by Dr. Manion to go, from now on till March 26th, up a blind alley, which he says leads to national government, and on that day, in some booth at the end of the dark road, to mark and deposit your ballot for a government that is not yet in being, and may never come into existence.

An Unquestioned Mandate Essential to Canada's War Effort.

Regardless of all else, I am sure you will not wish, either on the days immediately following the election, or so long as the war continues, to have the government of this country busy with bickerings and bargainings between opposing groups when its whole effort should be devoted to the prosecution of the war.

I want to say to you, my fellow-countrymen, very earnestly, that the times through which we are passing are such that no government, except it be a government enjoying the most complete confidence of the people of Canada, can hope to meet the grave needs of the present, and the still graver needs of the future.

This war demands Canada's utmost effort. Such an effort can be made only by a government which draws its strength from every section of the country and has been given an unquestioned mandate by the people. Can you name any political group or combination of men, other than the present government, which is likely to enjoy your confidence, or has the remotest chance of being representative of Canadian opinion as a whole? This is the vital question which you, the electors must continue to ask yourselves between now and the 26th of March. If, in the interval, you have failed to take all these matters into account, it will be too late to retrace your steps once that day has passed.

New Dangers and Terrors Threaten World.

Ladies and gentlemen, since Canada answered the call of freedom, new dangers and terrors have come to threaten the allied powers and ourselves. Do not forget that Asia as well as Europe is aflame. Finland today fights gallantly against the aggression of brutal force. Who will say what nation is safe from attack as the fateful months roll on? It may even be that before the forces of evil are vanquished, the whole world will be engulfed in the angry seas of battle.

Let us not imagine that our land will inevitably escape the wrath that darkens land and sea, or that our shores will necessarily be spared as the conflict grows and spreads. He would be a foolish man who refused to face the possibilities and realities of a shattered world.

We face a future unknown and unpredictable. We cannot tell what calamities may strike us before the present year is ended, or what perils may be upon us in 1941 or 1942. Failure to view the situation as a whole, and to take account

of all conceivable possibilities, might be fraught with the gravest dangers. There must be no surrender to the insistent clamour of those who refuse to look beyond the problems of the moment.

A Strong and Experienced Government— Canada's Greatest Need.

The great co-operative war effort which this government has planned is gaining every day in momentum. Our hope lies in the gathering of our strength to meet the gathering of the storm.

No one can doubt the courage, the will, the endurance of the people of Canada. But the possession of these qualities is not alone sufficient to ensure victory. They must be marshalled and guided by a government that is strong, steady, vigorous, patient, provident and experienced.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

The Training of British Pilots and the Joint Air Training Plan

MACKENZIE KING REPLIES TO DR. MANION

A Radio Address by
Right Honourable
W. L. MACKENZIE KING
Ottawa, 8th March, 1940

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The Training of British Pilots and the Joint Air Training Plan

MACKENZIE KING REPLIES TO DR. MANION

A radio address delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King from Ottawa, 8th March, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

As you are aware, the joint air training plan now being developed has made Canada, for the purpose of final victory in the present war, a pivotal centre of the British Commonwealth. The facts pertaining to this great enterprize are of record and beyond question. Nevertheless, in an attempt to discredit the government, the Leader of the Opposition and his associates keep on misstating the facts concerning the training of British pilots in Canada and Canada's vital contribution to the Plan itself. Misrepresentation of the kind cannot assist the prosecution of Canada's war effort. It may do an infinite amount of harm to the Allied cause.

False Representations Respecting Training of British Pilots in Canada

Speaking in the House of Commons on January the 25th of this very year, Dr. Manion used the following words: "The

fact is that by July 1, 1938—personally, I think it goes back to 1937—the British had been over here pleading with the Prime Minister to give them the right as one of the partners in the Empire to establish air training schools in Canada to train British pilots." As recently as last night, this statement was repeated by Dr. Manion in a nation-wide broadcast. Since it was originally made, it has been re-asserted and re-echoed by his candidates and supporters throughout the Dominion.

Speaking as Prime Minister of Canada, I wish to say at once that the statement is wholly incorrect. Once again, I ask Dr. Manion to specify who the British were who came to plead with me, when they came over here, and exactly what was the nature of their pleading. No British came to Canada pleading with the Prime Minister in 1937, in 1938, or in any other year. In the year 1937, I had no conversation with anyone on the possibility of establishing air training schools in Canada to train British pilots. In 1938, I had no conversation with anyone, on any phase of the subject, until one particular matter was brought up for consideration in May of that year by the then High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, Sir Francis Floud.

A True Statement of the Matter

I challenge Dr. Manion and all his associates, known and anonymous, to identify anyone, other than Sir Francis Floud, who, prior to July 1st, 1938, was authorized by the British Government to discuss with me any matter pertaining to the training of British pilots in Canada. Sir Francis Floud had not come to Ottawa for any such purpose. He had been in Ottawa for four years as High Commissioner of the United Kingdom. When Sir Francis came to confer with me, he

said that it was only within the preceding 24 hours that he had received a communication from his government in reference to the matter of which he wished to speak. I did not gather from anything said that there was so much as a suggestion of any plan for the general training of British pilots in Canada. Partnership in the Empire was never mentioned. The British Government, as I understood it, wished to explore the possibility of sending to Canada, for further training in Canada, some British air pilots who had already received training in the United Kingdom. The kind of training mentioned was advanced training in long distance flying and gunnery practice. Canada had been thought of for this class of training because of two very obvious advantages. We possessed large, safe, open spaces not to be found in Great Britain. We were much closer to the British Isles than any other British Dominion. No definite proposal or request was made by Sir Francis Floud. The British government wished to find out, by way of preliminary exploration whether there would be any objection to such training in Canada, in establishments to be owned, maintained, and controlled by the government of the United Kingdom.

Question One Not of Facilities but of Administration

I pointed out to the British High Commissioner that, apart from possible controversy which might arise, for the government of the United Kingdom to own, maintain, control and direct any air training establishments in Canada, would involve important questions of jurisdiction and administration. I explained that our position as a free nation in the British Commonwealth demanded that all military establishments in

Canada should be under the control of the Canadian Government. With that stand, I believe all true Canadians will agree.

To the idea of facilities being provided in Canada for the advanced training of British air pilots, I took no exception whatever. On the contrary, with the approval of my colleagues in the Cabinet, I offered, on behalf of the Canadian government, to have such facilities provided at once under the control of the Canadian Department of National Defence. All this was fully explained by myself in the House of Commons on July 1st, 1938, almost immediately after the conversations themselves had taken place. The facts are on record. They are true, uncontradicted, and uncontradictable. No person in this Dominion, has any excuse whatsoever for misrepresenting them. The records of the British Parliament, no less than our own, confirm the truth of the statements I am making.

Canada's Offer Cordially Welcomed by the British Government

Our offer was cordially welcomed by the British government. On July 7th, 1938, in the British House of Commons, Mr. Attlee, the Leader of the Opposition, asked Sir Kingsley Wood, the Secretary of State for Air, whether his attention had been drawn to the statement of the Prime Minister of Canada that the Dominion government were prepared, in connection with their own establishments, to help in affording facilities for the training of pilots for the Royal Air Force, and whether he had any statement to make.

To this question Sir Kingsley Wood replied as follows: "Yes, Sir, an offer to this effect has been communicated to

His Majesty's government in the United Kingdom by the Canadian Prime Minister through the United Kingdom High Commissioner. A reply has been sent expressing warm appreciation of the offer, and arrangements are being made in accordance with a suggestion of the Canadian Prime Minister for an officer to be sent immediately to Canada to explore, in co-operation with the Canadian government, the possibility of working out such a scheme for training facilities in Canada."

Dr. Manion has always found it convenient to ignore this official and appreciative acknowledgment by the British government.

Agreement Respecting Joint Training Between the Governments of the United Kingdom and Canada

An expert from the British Air Ministry came to Canada almost immediately thereafter. He was cordially welcomed. There was the closest co-operation between him and our own officials. On the basis of a joint survey, an agreement was reached between the two governments. It covered a period of three years. Under the agreement, we undertook to expand our own services and provide facilities necessary for the joint advanced training of British and Canadian pilots.

The British undertook to send to Canada fifty Royal Air Force pilots a year. The number of fifty, was fixed not by us, but by the British government. That number represented as many pilots as the British government, at that time, was prepared to send to Canada for training. For the express purpose of providing the necessary facilities and expansion of our own services, we asked and received from Parliament a

special appropriation of six million dollars. This was over and above the greatly increased amounts for the Air Force for which provision was being made in the general estimates.

Dr. Manion Confuses Two Wholly Different Matters

All these facts are on the records of Parliament. They were given in reply to questions raised by Dr. Manion himself. Notwithstanding his prior knowledge of these matters, Dr. Manion, speaking in the House of Commons on the 25th of January of this year, said: "All we were going to permit the British to send across were fifty a year....Yet Sir Kingsley Wood, the head of the air defence force in Britain, made the statement in October—I believe it was on October 9th, because I have been studying this matter, and getting thoroughly shocked as I studied it—that what the British had hoped was that there would be 25,000 pilots trained a year. And we are going to train fifty."

Dr. Manion went on to say—"Let us see what would have happened if the right honourable gentleman (that is myself) had said "yes" to them at that time; as I say he should have done. They would have come over here and established their air training schools. They would have brought over their British young men to train at the rate of 25,000 a year. If that figure is an exaggeration, it is Sir Kingsley Wood's exaggeration, not mine."

Dr. Manion, in support of his allegation, if not as evidence of his study, was referring to a statement by Sir Kingsley Wood which was made more than a month after the outbreak of war. In this statement, Sir Kingsley Wood was announcing, in the British House of Commons, the proposal

for the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. It was made, in fact, on October the 10th, the day on which I made an identical announcement in Canada. Sir Kingsley Wood's statement contained no figures and had no reference whatever to anything considered prior to the war. In his anxiety to condemn the present government, Dr. Manion overlooked the dates, he misinterpreted the situation, failed to realize to what scheme Sir Kingsley Wood was referring, and misapplied the British minister's speech.

Dr. Manion's Study Not Sufficiently Close

The figures Dr. Manion quoted, as being Sir Kingsley Wood's, were not used by Sir Kingsley Wood at all. Quite evidently, Dr. Manion had confused Sir Kingsley Wood's speech with a speculative statement that accompanied the press report. The Canadian Press despatch from London, reporting Sir Kingsley Wood's statement, added the following paragraph:

> "The scheme will mean that many thousands of pilots and airmen will be trained in Canada, but no accurate estimate of the total could be obtained. It was thought likely the number would exceed 25,000 annually."

Apparently, Dr. Manion's close study, which gave him such a shock, was not close enough to enable him to distinguish between the Minister's speech and the reporter's guess.

Does Dr. Manion really believe that Sir Kingsley Wood, or the British government, had ever, at any time, any idea of establishing air training schools in Canada, in peace time, to train 25,000 British pilots a year? This figure will, I believe, be found to represent more than ten times the number of pilots trained in the United Kingdom in peacetime in any

year prior to the war. Moreover, Dr. Manion's statement implies that the British government intended to abandon all the air training in the United Kingdom, and transfer the whole of it to Canada. Does he believe any such scheme would have met with approval either in the United Kingdom or in Canada?

Complete Misrepresentation Respecting Establishment of Aircraft Industry

This is the mythical scheme which was never advanced and could never have been advanced by any man in his senses. Nevertheless, Dr. Manion, in his speech in Parliament on January the 25th, went on to say, and continues today to say, that this scheme would have secured for Canada a great aircraft industry. This industry, he and others are now saying, has been lost to Canada and is being developed instead in the United States and in Great Britain.

Just listen to this. I quote Dr. Manion's exact words: "The Prime Minister had this proposal put up to him by the British to come to their aid in their distress. He refused and the British started then to do what he refused to do. They built up manufacturing plants for the manufacture of planes in their own country, manufacturing plants which they came over here to establish in Canada. I learned, when I was in England not long ago, that on one occasion they came over here with one hundred million dollars worth of orders for Canadian plants, but they received from the Prime Minister of Canada such a cold reception to this request that they refused to give any contracts at that time."

The statement that, as a result of the alleged refusal of training facilities, the British did not set up manufacturing

plants which they intended to establish in Canada, is not only a further misrepresentation of facts, it is an insult to the British government. The British government made no attempt to bribe Canada with orders for aeroplanes.

No Attempt at Bribery by the British Government

Dr. Manion says that he learned, not long ago, that "they"—whoever "they" may be—came over to Canada with one hundred million dollars worth of orders for Canadian plants, which were not placed because the same mysterious "they" received from the Prime Minister of Canada such a cold reception to this request. Where Dr. Manion received this information, I, of course, do not know. But I submit that before he bases an election appeal upon it, and asks your support in virtue of it, he should tell you who gave it to him. He certainly did not receive if from the British government, because they also have regard for the facts. He might tell us who is supposed to have come with the orders. He might inform the electors of Canada who was authorized to buy the consent of the Canadian government to an offer which was never made, with contracts which were never let, and never proposed. As the head of the Canadian government, I would like to know these things, and would like also, as always, to share my knowledge with you.

Visit of British Aircraft Missions

Two British aircraft missions visited Ottawa during 1938. The first of these was known as the Weir Mission. Its visit to Canada was brief and incidental. Its main purpose was to

visit the United States. While it was a Mission which came to confer with manufacturers, our government gave it all possible assistance and, on June 21st, 1938, we were officially thanked by the British Government for our help.

The second aircraft Mission was sent specifically to Canada. In announcing its purpose on July 13th, Sir Kingsley Wood stated, in the British House of Commons, that it was visiting our country to negotiate with the Canadian aircraft industry for the manufacture of bomber aircraft in Canada. The Mission was headed by Sir Hardman Lever. It was here from July 28th to September 7th, 1938. Its visit was successful and resulted in the organization of a representative co-operative group of Canadian aircraft manufacturers for the manufacture of bomber planes. Initial orders were immediately placed. Canada's aircraft industry has since made marked progress. Only yesterday, Sir Kingsley Wood told the British House of Commons that the first military aircraft manufactured in Canada for the British government had already been flown. He added that large additional orders had recently been placed in Canada.

British Commonwealth Air Training Plan Assisted and Accelerated by Canada's Action in 1938 and 1939

Ladies and Gentlemen: Dr. Manion and his associates are now saying that the great British Commonwealth Air Training Plan would have been further advanced, and would have cost Canada less, had the Canadian Government not refused to accept the proposals which Dr. Manion continues to allege were made by the British Government. I have proved to you that no such proposals were made. Apart from this, however,

the Commonwealth Plan could not possibly have been evolved in peace time. It could not have been developed sooner. No earlier discussion or decision could have affected our military and financial position under the agreement as it was finally signed.

As I mentioned in a previous broadcast, the Commonwealth Plan was not projected until about a month after the outbreak of war. It was put forward by the British War Cabinet after the swift domination of Poland by Germany had demonstrated the decisive importance of superior air power. The fact, however, is that Canada's action in 1938 and 1939, the surveys which were then made, and the questions of jurisdiction which were then determined, settled the principle upon which any plan of joint training would be organized and controlled.

By our action at that time, the development of the present Plan was materially assisted and accelerated. The evidence of our sincerity and competence was so complete that, when the Plan was proposed by the British War Cabinet, the governments of the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand had no hesitation in selecting Canada as the site and centre, for the whole Commonwealth, of this great joint training enterprise. As I said at the beginning of my remarks, it has made Canada, in the present war, a pivotal centre for the purpose of final victory.

A fair and impartial judgment

On December 17th, in a public interview given on the eve of his departure from Canada, Lord Riverdale, the head of the British Air Mission, said: "We have had wonderful co-operation from your government and from your Air Force

officers. This agreement is a wonderful achievement, and all the parties are completely satisfied with it." Speaking in his native city of Sheffield, upon his return to the United Kingdom, Lord Riverdale again referred to what had been accomplished at Ottawa. He described the work of the several Missions "as the biggest thing ever done in the Empire". At this moment of political controversy, Lord Riverdale's appreciation may not be without its value in assisting you to form a fair and impartial judgment.

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D 53809

PRIME MINISTER

POLITICAL BROADCAST NO. 1

Wednesday, February 7, 1940

"PARLIAMENT AND THE PEOPLE"

18.III.40

D 53810

THE CAMPAIGN AND THE WAR

Get back to consciousness of war. (first broadcast)

Regret limited public appearances - duty - radio.

Refutation of charges.

Dissolution.

Dr. Manion's promises -

if defeated.

Getting away from main issue.

Why refraining myself -

M. P's will do duty by constituency.

Consequences of Union Government -

a class war.

Remember on March 26th - Future not Past.

(admitting all charged against us)

(1) Choosing Parliament for next five years.

(2) Choosing those best able to carry on war effort (at home).

(3) The peace that is to follow - Those who are to deal with.

(4) Immediate effect of results of elections on war effort:

Change of government - formation of ministry.

What kind can be formed - difficult at any time.

Ministers tobe found outside party in different parts of country.

To get elected - what following.

Ministers get acquainted with Departments.

Ministers get acquainted with war effort to date

time at which this taking place.

(5) Effect on Allies and Germany of result of elections:

impression if Government defeated -

" " " wins.

Significance re democracy.

End with solemn duty -

vote will help to win or lose thewwar

by strengthening or weakening Canada's war effort - at home

in eyes of enemy.

Note effect of Quebec victory

when Government's war policy challenged.

(6) Who can bring all parties together in the House of Commons.

Nature of my own campaign, heal wounds, etc.

Refrained from resentment - to avoid them.

Plea for strong Government - (reason given for elections)

Mandate.

February 3, 1940 D 53813

Second Revise by W.L.M.K.

Broadcast No. 1.

When Parliament p~~rorogued~~ concluded in September, ~~at the end of the~~ its Special War Session, there was left on the minds of the people of Canada, and, what was of equal importance, on the minds of the people of Europe, the impression of a country united in its determination to put forth a supreme national effort towards the winning of the war.

By her very unity, Canada gave the greatest possible immediate support to the allied cause. This nation, remote from the actual conflict, had responded through its Parliament, with a single voice, to the cause of freedom.

The impression of Canadian unity in carrying on the war was greatly strengthened just six weeks later when the people of the province of Quebec, with a voice which carried across the Atlantic, gave their answer to a challenge to the unity of Canada and the authority of the Canadian government. Quebec showed, on October the 25th, that its people shared the views expressed ~~and the decisions~~ in the policies ~~taken~~ supported by its representatives in the federal ministry in embarking upon Canada's war effort.

Nothing that was done - nothing that could have been done - by Canada during 1939 could have equalled in its depressing effect upon the spirit of the enemy, or its encouraging effect upon the spirit of the allies, this expressi n of the unity which lay behind Canada's participation in the war, and of the confidence in the administration which was charged with the responsibility of giving effect to the war effort.

Is there a man or woman in the English-speaking provinces of Canada listening to my voice, to whom the result of the Quebec election did not bring a new sense of pride in our common citizenship? Was there a man or woman in England or in France or in Poland who did not see in the unity of this country which that vote confirmed, an added strength to the allied cause? Does anyone doubt what use the propagandists of Nazi Germany would have made of Canada's disunion if disunion had manifested itself in the Parliament of Canada, or in the voice of the people in the province of Quebec?

I shall always regard this two-fold demonstration of Canadian unity, this evidence of the common determination of all Canadians to share in the struggle

D 53815

and the sacrifice, as the greatest of ~~the~~ the contributions that, in the early stages of the conflict, Canada could possibly have made towards the winning of the war. As we preserve our national unity, so shall we increase our national strength.

It will help in the effectiveness of Canada's war effort if we recognize at once that this demonstration of unity, in Parliament on the part of the people's representatives, and in the province of Quebec, by the people themselves, was not born of the moment did not come of itself, but that it was due in no uncertain measure to the known policies of the present administration, Policies which have clearly been shown to be in accord with the will of the Canadian people.

Insert here page 6 + 6(a) as marked

The first duty of any government charged with responsibility in this country is, has been, and will be, to maintain national unity. That task, above all others, I have made the supreme endeavour of my public life.

Canada is a nation strong in the equal partnership of two great races, and, for men and women of many other races has been through generations ~~other races~~, the land of their adoption. No Prime Minister would be true either to himself or to the people to whom he was responsible were he not to lend every

D 53816

effort of mind and of heart to the maintenance of national unity. Especially is this true at a time when, over many years, we have been witnessing social upheavals, civil strife, and wars, in well nigh every quarter of the globe saving our own. The preservation of national unity was made increasingly difficult as demands have been made for declarations of participation, by Canada, in European conflicts before the actual occasion or nature of the conflicts themselves were known. This course threatened to give rise to contending forces within the confines of Canada itself; one determined that Canada should participate in any and every war in which Britain might be engaged and, the other, that in European wars there should be no participation whatever.

Continues with 4a (page 4 - 1st revise) on.

D 53317

effort of mind and of heart to the maintenance of national unity. Especially is this true at a time when, over many years, we have been witnessing social upheavals, civil strife, and war between nations, in well night every quarter of the globe saving our onr own. The preservation of national unity has been made increasingly difficult in our country as, from time to time, demands have been made upon myself and my colleagues for declarations of participation, by Canada, in European conflicts before the actual time, occasion or nature of the conflicts themselves were known. This impatient and extreme course of procedure served only to give rise to contending forces within the confines of Canada itself: one determined that Canada would participate in any and every war in which British might be engaged, and, the other, that in European wars, whether Britain were engaged or not, there should be no participation whatever.

I wonder where Canada would have been at the outbreak of war in Europe, if I and my colleagues had identified ourselves with either of these extreme attitudes, or if, through unwise and unnecessary declarations in advance of an actual and known condition, we had helped

D 53818

to percipitate such a conflict of opinion? Of one thing I am certain: we would not have had the all but unanimous voice with which Canada's parliament gave its decision to stand at the side of Britain and France in their resistance of Nazi aggression and violence; nor the all but unanimous endorsation, six weeks later, of the people in the province of Quebec of that decision. We would, instead, have had immediate bitter political controversy alike in parliament and in the country.

I have long held the belief that conditions in Europe could not continue to go, as during the last four years they had been going, from bad to worse, without the moment coming when Europe itself would burst into flames and freedom everywhere be menaced. Holding that belief, I have done all that was within my power, and within the power of this country, to avert such a catastrophe by seeking to foster in each and every direction, policies of international understanding friendship and good-will. At the same time, I have had continually to ask myself, should similar efforts on the part of other men and other nations fail, and Britain and France, in the preservation of their free institutions and their very existence, be drawn, as seemed inevitable, into the

D 53819

conflict, how, meanwhile, could our own country be kept united and policies ~~me~~ so shaped that, ~~whatever~~ if the moment ever came for Canada to declare what part she was prepared to take, in a world struggle to thwart aggression and to preserve ~~the~~ freedom, her voice might be that of a united country, and of a single people.

I think I know something of the love of liberty which resides in the breasts of ~~the~~ my fellow-Canadians. I think I know something of what men and women of every part of Canada, of every class and race and creed, feel they owe to the manner in which their liberties have been secured under British institutions, and of the attempts to which the freedom of Canada herself is maintained by her free association as a nation, with the other nations of the British Commonwealth. I have therefore never doubted the singleness of mind and purpose with which we would all be prepared to play our part in a struggle which threatened the freedom of every democratic country, of every nation small or large, ~~land~~ and the foundations of civilization itself. My task was to see that no false step, no extreme policies or measures, no percipitate action should be allowed to destroy in advance either the clearness of vision, or the power for concerted action, of our people, so that, when the moment for their decision came, its significance would

D 53820

not be lost through cleavages of opinion, or the country's determination to put forth its utmost effort frustrated by conflicting forces.

The only incontrovertable proof of any course of action is to be found in its results. In the light of events known to all, the ~~determination to have~~ repeatedly asserted policy of having Parliament or the people decide as to Canada's participation in war, the manner of the summoning of the special session of parliament at the moment of the crisis, the unanimity which marked the proceedings of Parliament and its momentous decision, the effect of all this upon our war effort, and the continued unity of this nation in a time of war - I ask my fellow countrymen, is the course which I have pursued over the years I have been in office, as the leader of the government of this country, not the right, and indeed, the only wise and proper one?

If you will permit me to say so, you will do well, I believe, to judge somewhat of the future in the light of the past. Having regard to some of the attacks that have been and are now being made upon the present Administration, and more particularly upon myself, may I ask you again to consider what made possible the unity of our country as expressed in its parliament, and by the people of its oldest province at the outbreak and during

the first few months of war?] That unity did not come insert earlier

from committing Canada to war before Parliament had made its decision. It was not brought about by agreeing to send expeditionary forces overseas before Parliament had decided that Canada should enter the war and had appropriated moneys for that purpose. It was not brought about by large military expenditures and the production of munitions in Canada on a vast scale before Parliament or the people had so decided. These are the methods of a dictatorship which secretly prepared for war, and not of a democracy that openly works for peace. They may be the faults of democracy but they are faults that add honour and idealism to its cause. That unity was not maintained by Canada agreeing, before Munich, to fight in Europe, or after Czechoslovakia was invaded, when the British government itself was unwilling to take that step. It was not brought about by an advance declaration by the government of Canada without consulting either the Parliament or the people of Canada that Canada would fight at any time, at any place, on any pretext so long as Britain went to war.

It was not brought about by any pledges, should Canada's Parliament decide to participate in war, to enforce conscription, or to form a national government or

to disfranchise any classes of Canadian citizens, with the memories of those experiences in the last war still bitter in the minds of the Canadian people.

As to what leader or policies are to govern the future conduct of the war, so far as Canada is concerned, it is of course for you to say. It is your future, not that of any leader, or of any government, that is at stake. No parliament, least of all a parliament that has run its course, and was elected without any reference to war and its appalling consequences, can determine ~~determine~~ that, or has any right by extending its term or by any other ~~precedent~~ procedure to determine. It is you, the people of Canada, whose lives, whose homes, whose ~~entire~~ future is at stake ~~who~~ above have the right and the power to say to whose guidance you wish to entrust all these in a time of war which may run into several years.

My leadership today is being called in question by some who desire to occupy the position I now hold, a position which, in the office of Prime Minister, I have held in all for a period of over twelve years, and in the leadership of my party for over twenty years. They are asking that other and more extreme policies be substituted

for those which I and my colleagues believe to be the only ones that, in these very critical times, can keep Canada united, and enable this country to put forth the utmost of her strength, and the maximum of her national effort in the winning of the war. Happily all political parties in our country are at this moment very much of one mind in their determination to have Canada do all in her power to help win the war. Such differences as do exist, are differences, for the most part, on subjects apart altogether from the war or are to be easily accounted for by differences of temperament, difference of methods and, I think I might add, differences of experience.

Broadcast No. 1

Copy for E.H. D 53824

February 4, 1940
Revise by J.W.P. of P.M's second revise.

Parliament and the People.

When Parliament in September concluded its Special War Session, there was left on the minds of the people of Canada, and, what was of equal importance, on the minds of the people of Europe, the impression of a country united in its determination to put forth a supreme national effort towards the winning of the war.

By her very unity, Canada gave the greatest possible immediate support to the allied cause. This nation, remote from the actual conflict, had responded through its Parliament, with a single voice, to the ~~cause~~ call of freedom.

The impression of Canadian unity in carrying on the war was greatly strengthened just six weeks later when the people of the province of Quebec, with a voice which carried across the Atlantic, gave their answer to a challenge to the unity of Canada and the authority of the Canadian government. Quebec showed, on October the 25th, that its people shared the views expressed and the policies supported by its representatives in the federal ministry in embarking upon Canada's war effort.

Nothing that was donee- nothing that could have been done - by Canada during 1939 could have equalled in

D 53825

its depressing effect upon the spirit of the enemy, or its encouraging effect upon the spirit of the allies, this expression of the unity which lay behind Canada's participation in the war, and of confidence in the administration which was charged with the responsibility of giving effect to the war effort.

Is there a man or woman in the English-speaking provinces of Canada listening to my voice, to whom the result of the Quebec election did not bring a new sense of pride in our common citizenship? Was there a man or woman in England or in France who did not see in the unity of this country which that vote confirmed, an added strength to the allied cause? Does anyone doubt what use the propagandists of Nazi Germany would have made of Canada's disunion if disunion had manifested itself in the Parliament of Canada, or in the voice of the people in the province of Quebec?

I shall always regard this two-fold demonstration of Canadian unity, this evidence of the common determination of all Canadians to share in the struggle and the sacrifice, as the greatest of the contributions that, in the early stages of the conflict, Canada could possibly have made towards the winning of the war. As we preserve

D 53826

our national unity, so shall we increase our national strength.

It will add to our appreciation of the significance of Canada's war effort if we recognize at once that this demonstration of unity, in Parliament on the part of the people's representatives, and in the Province of Quebec, by the people themselves, was not born of the moment, and did not arise of itself. It was the result in large measure, of the known policies of the present administration, policies which have been clearly shown to be in accord with the will of the Canadian people.

Having regard to some of the attacks that have been and are now being made upon the present Administration, and more particularly upon myself, may I ask you again to consider what made possible the unity of our country as expressed in its parliament, and by the people of its oldest province at the outbreak and during the first few months of war? That unity did not come from committing Canada to war before Parliament had made its decision. It was not brought about by agreeing to send expeditionary forces overseas before Parliament had decided that Canada should enter the war and had appropriated moneys for its

D 53827

prosecution. It was not brought about by large military expenditures and the production of munitions in Canada on a vast scale before Parliament or the people had decided. on their necessity. These are the methods of a dictatorship which secretly prepared for war, and not those of a democracy openly working for peace. If this is a fault of democracy, it is a fault that adds honour and idealism to its cause. That unity was not maintained by committing Canada to fight in Europe, before Munich, or after Czechoslovakia was invaded, when the British government itself was unwilling to take that step. Unity was not achieved by an advance declaration by the government, without sonsulting either the Parliament or the people of Canada, that Canada would fight at any time, at any place, on any pretext, so long as Britain went to war.

It was not brought about by any pledges, should Canada's Parliament decide to participate in war, to enforce conscription, or to form a national government or to disfranchise any classes of Canadian citizens, with the memories of those experiences in the last war still bitter in the minds of whole sections of the Canadian people.

D 53828

Unity was made possible by none of these things. It was brought about by giving the Canadian people assurance, year in and year out, that its Parliament or they themselves would make the decision of war or peace. I gave the Canadian people that assurance repeatedly. I kept that promise and held this country to that course steadfastly, patiently, and honourably, in spite of criticism, in spite of abuse, and in spite of aggressive demands that I should break that solemn trust. I knew, as you know, that without disastrous results, we could not have entered the war except as a united nation. I know and you know that we cannot continue at war, at least effectively, except as a united nation. I believe that every fair-minded citizen will agree that the policies which have united Canada are the policies that will keep it united; that extreme measures resorted to by men of extreme views - whatever means and methods might be taken to attempt to enforce them - would only serve to divide and destroy what, of all things, is most essential in the prosecution of the war namely, the support by the people at large of Canada's war effort.

The first duty of any government charged with responsibility in this country is, has been, and will be,

to maintain national unity. That task, above all others, I have made the supreme endeavour of my public life.

Canada is a nation strong in the equal partnership of two great races, and, for men and women of many other races has been through generations the land of their adoption. No Prime Minister would be true either to himself or to the people to whom he is responsible were he not to lend every effort of mind and of heart to the maintenance of national unity. Especially is this true at a time in the world's history when, over many years, we have been witnessing social upheavals, civil strife, and war between nations in well nigh every quarter of the globe except our own. The preservation of national unity has been made increasingly difficult in our country as, from time to time, demands have been made upon myself and my colleagues for unconditional declarations of participation, by Canada, in European conflicts before the actual time, occasion or nature of the conflicts themselves were known. This impatient and extreme course of procedure served only to give rise to contending forces within the confines of Canada itself: one determined that Canada would participate in any and every war in which Britain might be engaged, and, the other equally determined that, whether Britain were

D 53830

engaged or not, there should be no Canadian participation whatever in European wars.

I wonder where Canada would have been at the outbreak of war in Europe, if I and my colleagues had identified ourselves with either of these extreme attitudes, or if, through unwise and unnecessary declarations in advance of an actual and known condition, we had helped to precipitate such a conflict of opinion? Of one thing I am certain: we would not have had the all but unanimous voice with which Canada's Parliament gave its decision to stand at the side of Britain and France in their resistance of Nazi aggression and violence; nor the all but unanimous endorsation, six weeks later, of the people in the province of Quebec of that decision. We would, instead, have had immediate bitter political controversy alike in Parliament and in the country.

I have long held the belief that conditions in Europe could not continue to go, as during the last four years they had been going, from bad to worse, without the moment coming when Europe itself would burst into flames and freedom everywhere be menaced. Holding that belief, I have done all that was within my power, and within the power of this country, to avert such a catastrophe by

seeking to foster in each and every direction policies of international friendship and good-will. At the same time, I have had continually to face the prospect of these and similar efforts on the part of other men and other nations failing, and of Britain and France, in the preservation of their free institutions and their very existence being drawn into a great conflict. I have had to ask myself how, meanwhile, could our own country be kept united and policies/be so shaped that, when or if the moment ever came for Canada to declare what part she was prepared to take in a world struggle to thwart aggression and to preserve ~~the~~ freedom, she would speak with a single voice for a united people.

I think I know something of the love of liberty which resides in the breasts of the Canadian people. I think I know something too of what men and women of every part of Canada, of every class and race and creed, feel they owe to the manner in which their liberties have been secured under British institutions, and the freedom of Canada herself maintained by her free association as a nation, with other nations of the British Commonwealth. I have therefore never doubted the singleness of mind and purpose with which we would all be prepared to play our part in a struggle which threatened the freedom of every

land and the foundations of civilization itself. My task was to see that no false steps, no extreme policies or measures, no hasty action should be allowed to destroy in advance either the clearness of vision, or the power for action, of our people. I was determined that, when the moment for decision came, its significance would not be lost through cleavages of opinion, or the country's determination to put forth its utmost effort frustrated by conflicting forces.

The only incontrovertible proof of any course of action is to be found in its results. In the light of events known to all, the repeatedly asserted policy of having Parliament or the people decide as to Canada's participation in war, the manner of the summoning of the special session of Parliament at the moment of the crisis, the unanimity which marked the proceedings of Parliament and its momentous decision, the effect of all this upon our war effort, and the continued unity of this nation in a time of war, I ask my fellow countrymen, has the course which I have pursued over the years I have been in office, as the leader of the government of this country, not been the right and indeed, the only wise and proper one? If you will permit me to

D 53833

say so, you will do well, I believe, to judge somewhat of the future in the light of the past.

As to what leader or policies are to govern the future conduct of the war, so far as Canada is concerned, it is of course for you to say. It is your future, not that of any leader or of any government that is at stake. No Parliament, least of all a Parliament that has run its course, and was elected without any reference to war and its appalling consequences, can determine that. No Parliamenthas any right by extending its term or by any other procedure to attempt it. It is you, the people of Canada, whose lives, whose homes, whose entire future is at stake, who alone have the right and the power to say to whose guidance you wish to entrust all these during a war which may run into several years.

My leadership today is being called into question by some who desire to occupy the position I now hold, a position which, as Prime Minister, I have held for a period of over twelve years, and, as leader of my party, for over twenty years. It is urged that other and more extreme policies be substituted for those which I and my colleagues believe to be the only ones that, in these very critical times, can keep Canada united, and enable this country to put

D 53834

forth the utmost of her strength, and the maximum of her national effort in the winning of the war. Happily all politi cal parties in our country are, at this moment, very much of one mind in their determination to have Canada do all in her power to help win the war. Such differences as do exist are differences, for the most part, either on subjects apart altogether from the war or are the result of differences of temperament, differences of methods and, I think I might add, differences of experience.

Since Parliament met in September, the present government, as you all know, had dedicated itself patiently, energetically, and unitedly to transform the wishes of Parliament and the people into action. However much Canada's war effort has failed to satisfy some gentlemen in Toronto, it has failed still more completely to satisfy the leaders of Nazi Germany. During the weeks that have followed the declaration of war, most of the men of all parties, with a few noisy exceptions, have suggested no reason why the the government should doubt the solidarity of the public approval of Canada's war effort.

You know something of what, within five month's time, has been accomplished. You know how Canadian defences have been strengthened, consolidated, and unified. The government has been in constant touch with the British

government, so that those measures adopted for collaboration with the allied forces, both on the sea and across the sea, in Europe, will contribute in the most effective way to the common caise.

For Canada, the present war has presnted problems which did not exist in 1914. Today, we have far greater responsibilities for our own local defence, particularly coastal defence. In the actual defence of Canada, the air force is no less important than the naval service.

Canadian effort in the last war was centred on an expeditionary force; we had no Canadian air forcd, although Canadians had a distinguished place in the Royal Flying Corps; our naval service was very small. In the present conflict, we have not only an expeditionary force of which the first division is already in England; you have heard the stirring echo of their magnificent welcome; and some of them have talked to you on the radio in the broadcasts from Aldershot. A second division is receiving training in Canada, and will proceed overseas in due course. In this war, however, our naval and air forces are no less important to the common cause than our land forces. As you all know, the hazards of war thus far have been mainly on the sea and in the air.

D 53836

Our naval service and our air force have already received the highest commendation of our Allies for the part they are taking in co-operation with the British and French navies in the defence of Newfoundland and the West Indies, and in the all-important task of convoying the shipping in the North Atlantic, which is the life line of Britain and France.

The country has been fully informed of the details of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. In this gigantic venture Canada has assumed the major share. Its vital place in the allied plans to meet a long war has, more than once, been indicated by the Prime Minister and other members of the British government. Of the progress made in carrying out the plan, my colleagues and I will have more to say as the campaign proceeds. You are also aware that an air squadron is in training, to proceed overseas to co-operate at the front with the First Canadian Division.

Through the War Supply Board, the Agricultural Supplies Committee and other agencies, the industrial and agricultural resources of the country are being steadily mobilized to produce the tremendous quantities of foodstuffs

D 53837

required for the successful prosecution of a war in which economic strength will be at least as important as military strength. Consumers are being protected against profiteering and scarcity by the Wartime Prices and Trade Board. Our financial resources are being conserved and the closest financial collaboration with our Allies maintained through the Bank of Canada and the Foreign Exchange Control Board. The overwhelming success of the recent War Loan is a tribute both to the financial strength of Canada and to the determination of our people.

The government and the people alike have a right to be proud of such a record of achievement. What has been accomplished has been done by quiet, persistent and ceaseless activity. It has, of course, not been done by the government alone, although my colleagues and I feel that we are not undeserving of due credit for the direction we have given to our war effort. The main credit, however, belongs to the people themselves who, through their unity of spirit, have made possible such splendid achievement in so many fields.

The unity of spirit and of purpose has now been threatened by men who, to serve personal or partisan ends, are ready to sow the seeds of dissension .....

February 5th - 2.30 p.m.

3rd revise by W.L.M.K.
Broadcast No. 1 - The Prime Minister,

sent to Mr. Pickersgill and Mr. Brockington.

D 53838

Third Revise by W.L.M.K.,
February 5, 1940.

D 53839

Broadcast No. 1 - The Prime Minister.

CANADA AND THE WAR.

Parliament and the People.

Unity and Freedom.

When Parliament concluded its Special War Session in September last, there was left on the minds of the Canadian people the impression of a united Canada. What was of equal importance, there was left on the minds of the peoples of Europe the impression of a country united in its determination to put forth a supreme national effort towards the winning of the war.

By her unity, Canada gave the greatest possible immediate support to the allied cause. This nation, remote from the actual conflict, had responded, through its Parliament, with a single voice to the call of freedom.

The impression of Canadian unity, in carrying on the war, was splendidly confirmed and reinforced just six weeks later. On October the 25th the people of the province of Quebec, with a voice which carried across the Atlantic, gave their answer to a challenge ~~to the unity of Canada, and to the authority of the Canadian~~

~~government. Quebec, in no uncertain terms, answered~~ this challenge which ~~through~~ threw suspicion on the loyalty of her people, ~~she~~ could not have proclaimed more effectively, at any time or in any way, ~~her wholehearted~~ their support of the war effort of the federal ministry.

on the unity of Canada, and the authority of the Canadian government.

New people

Nothing that was done - nothing that could have been done - by Canada during 1939 could have begun to equal these expressions of the unity which lay behind Canada's participation in the war, ~~and of confidence in the administration charged with the responsibility of Canada's war effort.~~ In their depressing effect upon the spirit of the enemy, and their encouraging effect upon the spirit of the allies, nothing, since the war commenced, has had a more telling effect.

Is there a man or woman in the English-speaking provinces of Canada listening to my voice to whom the result of the Quebec election did not bring a new sense of pride in our common citizenship? Was there a man or woman in England or in France who did not see in the unity of this country, which that vote confirmed, an added strength to the allied cause?

D 53841

Does anyone doubt what use the propagandists of Nazi Germany would have made of Canada's disunion if disunion had manifested itself in the Parliament of Canada, or in the voice of the people in the province of Quebec.

I shall always regard this two-fold demonstration of Canadian unity, this evidence of the common determination of all Canadians to share in the struggle and the sacrifice, as the greatest of the contributions that, in the early stages of the conflict, Canada could possibly have made towards the winning of the war. As we preserve our national unity, so shall we increase our national strength.

It will add to our appreciation of what is essential to the prosecution of Canada's war effort if we recognize at once that this demonstration of unity, in Parliament, on the part of the people's representatives, and, in the Province of Quebec, by the people themselves, was not born of the moment, did not arise wholly of itself. It was the result in no uncertain measure, of the known policies of the present administration, policies which, over many years, in matters pertaining to war and peace, have been clearly shown to be in accord with the will of the Canadian people.

Having regard to some of the attacks that have been and are now being made upon the present Administration, and more particularly upon myself, I ask you very earnestly ~~to~~ to ask yourselves consider what made possible the unity of our country as expressed ~~in~~ by its parliament, and by the ~~people of its~~ oldest province of Canada! at the outbreak and during the first few months of war, That unity did not come from committing Canada to war before Parliament had made its decision. It was not brought about by agreeing to send expeditionary forces overseas before Parliament had decided that Canada should participate in war, and had appropriated moneys for the purpose ~~of prosecution~~. It was not brought about by the government asking Parliament, in advance of war, to appropriate huge sums of money for the production of vast quantities of munitions, and for other military expenditures in preparation for Canada's participation in a European war. ~~on a grand scale.~~ Our unity was not maintained by committing Canada to fight in Europe, before or at the time of the conference Munich, or even after Czechoslovakia was invaded, at a time, as we now know, when the British government itself was unwilling to take that step. It was not achieved by ~~an advance~~ a declaration by the government, that without consulting either the Parliament or the people of Canada,

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~~Canada~~ this Country would fight at any time, at any place, on any pretext, so long as Britain went to war. Least of all was it brought about by any pledges, ~~once Canada's Parliament had decided to participate in war~~ in a time of war to extend the life of Parliament, without any reference to the people, or, without such reference, to form a national government, ~~to~~ than might enforce conscription or to disfranchise many classes of Canadian citizens, more particularly when the memories of those experiences in the last war ~~are~~ were still bitter in the minds of the Canadian people.

Unity was made possible by none of these things. On the other hand, it was made possible, and it was achieved by the assurances given the Canadian people, year in and year out, that if I and my colleagues could prevent it none of these things would happen, and that ~~without their knowledge or consent, and~~ their Parliament, or they themselves, would make the decision with respect to Canada's participation in war. That assurance I gave the Canadian people repeatedly. I kept that promise. And I have held this country to that course, steadfastly, patiently, and honourably, in spite of criticism, in spite of abuse, and in spite of aggressive demands that I should break so solemn a trust. I know, as you must know, that, without disastrous results, we

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could not have entered the war except as a united nation. I know and you know that we cannot continue at war, at least effectively, except as a united nation. I believe that every fair-minded citizen will agree that the policies which have united Canada are the policies that will keep our country united; ~~that~~ Extreme measures resorted to by men of extreme views - whatever means and methods ~~might~~ may be taken to attempt to enforce them - ~~would~~ will only serve to divide and destroy what, above all things, is most essential in the prosecution of the war, namely, the support by the people at large of Canada's war effort.

It was, with a full consciousness of all that was implied in the keeping of this trust that when Parliament met in Special War Session, ~~and~~ my colleagues and I asked Parliament to appropriate the moneys necessary for the carrying on of the war, and to support other measures ~~that~~ which we deemed essential to that end; ~~that~~ I reminded the people's representatives in Parliament of the pledges I had previously given, and informed them of the intention of my colleagues and myself to see that they were honored in a time of war as they had been in times of peace. ~~have Canada's war effort based upon them.~~ I said that I was not in favour of

February 6th - 3:00 p.m.

4th revise by W.L.M.K.
Broadcast No. 1 - The
Prime Minister,

sent to Mr. Pickersgill,
Mr. Brockington, and trans-
lator.

D 53845

D 53846

Up to the end of last year most public men had submerged political partizanship in the needs of the nation, but as the prospects of a general election drew near, the temptation to win the election rather than to win the war became too great for some of our opponents.

The nature of the political campaign which our opponents, and I may say the opponents of Canadian unity, intended to wage became very clear once the Ontario Legislature was called into session. I need not rehearse how advantage was taken by the leaders in that Assembly to play a part in Ontario at the beginning of the New Year not dissimilar to that which had been played by the leader of the government of another province as the Administration sought to get Canada's war effort under way. The utterances of the leaders themselves might well have been ignored, and so far as I am concerned they would have been ignored had it not been for the effect which their words and their methods had upon some of their followers, and had the formal resolution of the Ontario Legislature condemning the war effort of the gove nment of Canada not been passed and become a part of the records of that Assembly.

Whatever might have been thought of tactics of the kind by those in Canada who have become all too familiar with them, the government could not be indifferent to the manner in which the carrying on of Canada's war effort might be viewed in other lands, could not be indifferent to a challenge of the kind and hope to be able to command throughout the country the support necessary to united effort in a time of war. But for the undertaking I had given not to seek a dissolution of Parliament before Members were once again called together, I would, without waiting the assembling of Parliament, have asked His Excellency for an immediate dissolution. As Parliament had already been summoned, and was to assemble within a week's time, I took the earliest opportunity possible to acquaint Parliament with the decision for an immediate election, which, on these as well as on other grounds, we had concluded was obviously necessary. I had the announcement of the government's intention given its place in the Speech from the Throne and at the earliest opportunity I made on the floor of Parliament itself a statement of the reasons which made an immediate dissolution not only desirable but imperative.

I have been told that in those proceedings I was not paying the respect which was due to Parliament, that in season and out of season I had laid emphasis upon the supremacy of Parliament and was now going contrary to convictions and doctrines I firmly held. It is perfectly true that I have never failed to stress the supremacy of Parliament, but it has been the supremacy of Parliament over the executive that I have sought to preserve, not the supremacy of Parliament over the people. The fact that anyone could assume that the supremacy of Parliament might mean depriving the people of any pretext of an immediate general election, after five sessions of a parliament elected in 1935, and before entering in 1940 upon a sixth session, shows how far some people have drifted in their thinking from any true conception of popular government, and how close they have come to sharing the mentality of dictators.

No one could have wished more strongly than myself that there might have been, as I had hoped there would be, an opportunity to present to Parliament, in its opening days, an account of the government's conduct of the war in the months which had elapsed since the special session. It was obvious to any unprejudiced ovserver that all that had been gained by themmaintenance

of parliamentary and national unity was, in the new session, about to be endangered by a bitter political controversy in Parliament. That controversy, once it had begun would not, because of the time we had at our disposal, have been carried to any conclusion on the floor of the House of Commons. It could not have been ended before the spring offensive in Europe. It would have received a disproportionate attention in the lands of our allies and in the capital of our foes. It would, inevitably, have been followed by a dissolution under conditions that would not have been understood abroad. It would have had no finality. It would have created false impressions in Europe as to the real determination in all parts of Canada to advance the war effort of this country, - this country which will be playing its part before many weeks have passed, on the battle front would have been wasting its time and its energies in the sham fights of unnecessary political warfare.

People in all lands understand that on the political platform exaggerated statements will be made and extreme attitudes taken. Such allowances for the bitterness of party strife would not have been made in the case of statements made on the floor of the House

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of Commons, especially when democratic institutions in many lands are continually subjected to test and attack.

No government could, while charged with the duty of carrying on Canada's war effort, in addition to the regular business of Parliament at a time of war, be expected to face, in addition, two po itical campaigns - one carried on before dissolution, another after dissolution - and thereby, apart from all else, postpone the decision of the electors until after the allied cause had reached a new and terrible emergency.

The responsibility for recommending the dissolution was mine. I took it in pursuance of my conception of my duty. I did it because I believed it to be right and in the interests of this country. I did it, above all else, that in the eyes of the world, no risks might be run to the unity of Parliament.

I knew that a general election had to come - so did our political opponents. I believed that it ought to come before the spring offensive. I believed that it ought to come before roads were broken up and become impassable. I believed that it ought to come before our men in England went to France. I believed it ought to come before our Second Division

D 53851

left this Dominion. If Parliament had begun debate and carried on to the end of March or April, so as to have rendered inevitable a general election at a time when our men were facing all the horrors of a concentrated warfare, while their relatives were preparing to vote in Canada, I would have been told that I was not fit to be the leader of a party or a country for allowing matters to drift in that way. The decision to dissolve was not the result of impulse. It was the inevitable result of the outbreak of a political and partisan struggle combined with the factors of time to which I have referred. If there had been any hope of a brief session, calmly devoted to the discussion of national affairs, such a session would have been held. An election being necessary under our constitution, I am sure you will agree that no time better suited to the needs of Canada and her allies could have been selected than the present.

Once the stress of events had forced the government to take the decision, the straight-forward thing was to announce it at once, and to proceed with it at once. Who is there in Canada today who would not be immensely relieved if the day of polling were tomorrow instead of the 26th of March? Had it been possible

D 53852

sooner to bring to completion features of Canada's war effort with which you are wholly familiar, Parliament might have been summoned at an earlier date.

I am perfectly certain that from one end of this country to the other there is thankfulness in the breasts of all that it will not be necessary to wait a day longer for a new parliament and that those who are charged with the great responsibility of carrying on thea great task of Canada's government may be fortified with a great and unquestioned mandate from the people.

February 2, 1940

Copies sent to

Mr. Brockington and

Mr. Pickersgill -

12 noon.

D 53853

(February 1, 1940)

D 53854

MACKENZIE KING TO THE CANADIAN PEOPLE

1940

A series of Nation-wide broadcasts, to be entitled, if desired:

"UNITY AND FREEDOM"

Broadcast No.1.

"PARLIAMENT AND THE PEOPLE"

Suggested beginning

When Parliament prorogued on September 13th, 1939, there was left on the minds of the people of Canada, and, what was equally important, on the minds of the peoples of Europe, the impression of a Canada united in a determined effort to win the war. No possible service that Canada could have rendered the allied forces at that time, or since, could have equalled the impression - which was a true one - given by her Parliament of a united Canada.

That impression of Canadian unity, in the determination to win the war, was confirmed and re-inforced when, 42 days later, the people of the Province of Quebec gave, in no uncertain terms, their answer to a challenge which threw suspicion on the loyalty of their people and upon the action of their ministers and representatives in the federal Parliament in their prosecution of Canada's war effort.

Nothing that was done, or could have been done, in all Canada during the year 1939, either by the millions of dollars voted by the federal Government, and the combined effort of all her provinces to promote Canada's war effort, by the sending of troops overseas, by the augmenting of her naval, air and land forces, to any proportions, could have equalled, in its effect upon the enemy, as in its corresponding effect for good upon the allies, this expression by the Canadian Parliament of the unity which lay behind Canada's participation in the European war, and the confidence in the Administration charged with the responsibility of giving effect to those policies. That, up to January 1st, 1940, I regard as the greatest of all possible contributions by Canada towards the winning of the war.

I had hoped that whatever differences might be expressed in a political campaign which, of necessity, would come within the present year, that at least when Parliament assembled the attitude of the parties toward each other would be such as to leave no doubt in the minds of anyone with respect to Canadian unity in its war effort.

+ insert page 4 ab *

There was nothing to challenge this impression, which was a true one, until the Premier of the Province of Quebec raised an issue with respect to the war policies of the federal government - an issue which was calculated to raise a doubt in the minds of the Canadian people and the peoples of Europe concerning the unity of all the provinces of Canada and the effectiveness of the government's war effort,- by a government whose devotion to the service of the State in time of war could not be questioned, and whose every act was governed by what would most effectively help to win the war, a course of procedure which threatened to undermine its efforts and to destroy, in the eyes of the enemy, the united support they would receive from the people of Canada.

There was but one course open, and that was to challenge immediately misrepresentations of the kind and allow the people of the province of Quebec to speak for themselves.

There were those, at the time, who deplored political controversy on the hustings. They felt that political controversy could only help to cast doubt, particularly in the eyes of the enemy, upon the genuineness and effectiveness of Canada's war effort. They did not see

because they were not prepared to trust the people, how completely the voice of the people themselves would prove an answer to tactics of the kind, but also to strengthen the impression of Canadian unity.

Next to the all but unanimous decision of the Canadian Parliament to participate in the war at the side of Britain, the all but unanimous voice of the people of Quebec in the issue raised in that province a little over three months ago, served to give to the allied forces in Europe something greater than anything else it would have been possible to give or have done more to confound the enemy, in the assurance it gave of Canadian unity in its war effort.

Insert from page 2 *

(Follow this on by saying:)

A similar result

The present appeal to the people of Canada as a whole has been rendered by circumstances very similar and will bring, I believe, as its result, like assurances to the allied forces overseas of the unity which, throughout this Dominion, lies back of Canada's war effort as expressed in the policies and efforts of the present Administration.

February 3, 1940

Copies sent to

Mr. Brockington and

Mr. Pickersgill -

53858

February 3, 1940

First Revise by W.L.M.K.

(see second revise for pages 1-2-3

Broadcast No. 1.

When, in September last, Parliament concluded its special war session, there was left on the minds of the people of Canada, and, what was of equal importance, on the minds of the people of Europe, the impression of a Canada united in its determination to put forth a supreme national effort towards the winning of the war.

Canada, by her very unity, gave the greatest possible immediate support to the allied cause. This nation, remote from the actuaà conflict, had respondedd through its Parliament, with a single voice, to the cause of freedom.

The impression of Canadian unity in carrying on the war was greatly strengthened just six weeks later when the people of the province of Quebec, with a voice which carried across the Atlantic gave their answer to a challenge to the unity of Canada and the authority of the Canadian government. Quebec showed, on October the 25th, that its people shared to the full the views expressed and the actions taken by their representatives in the federal ministry in embarking upon Canadàda war effort.

Nothing that was done - nothing that could have been done by Canada during 1939 - could have equalled in its depressing effect upon the spirit of the enemy, or its encouraging effect upon the spirit of the allies, this expression of the unity which lay behind Canada's participation in the war, and of the confidence in the administration which was charged with the responsibility of giving effect to the war effort.

I shall always regard this demonstration of unity, this common determination of all Canadians to share in the struggle and the sacrifice, as the greatest of all possible contributions by Canada towards the winning of the war. As we preserve our national unity, so shall we increase our national strength.

It will help in the effective contribution of Canada's war effort if we recognize at once that this demonstration of unity, alike on the part of the people through their representatives in Parliament, and in the province of Quebec, of the people themselves, did not come of itself, but that it was due in no small measure to the known policies of the present administration in its endeavour to carry on government in a manner which it believed would most accord with the will of the Canadian people.

The first duty of any government charged with responsibility in this country is, has been, and will be, to maintain national unity. That task, above all others, I have made the supreme endeavour of my public life.

Canada is a nation strong in the equal partnership of two great races, and a hospitable refuge for men and women of many other lands. No Prime Minister would be true either to himself or to the people to whom he was responsible unless he had bent every effort of mind and of heart to the maintenance of national unity. More especially is this true when, over many years, we have been witnessing social upheavals, civil strife, and wars, in well nigh every quarter of the globe. More especially did this obligation of preserving national unity become imperative as it became apparent that the possibility of Canada being drawn into European conflicts before the actual occasion or nature of the conflict itself was known and threatened to give rise to contending forces within the confines of Canada itself: one determined that Canada should participate in any and every war in which Britain might be engaged and, the other, that in European wars there should be no participation whatever.

4 becomes D 4 a 53861
because of 2nd revise

Having constantly before my mind the possibility, nay, the probability, I might even say the certainty, that conditions in Europe could not continue to go, as they had been going, from bad to worse in the last four years; that the moment would come when freedom everywhere would be menaced and Europe itself burst into flames, I had continually to ask myself how should Britain and France, in the preservation of their free institutions, be drawn, as seemed inevitable, into such a conflict; how, meanwhile, our own country could be kept united and policies so shaped meanwhile that, when the moment came for Canada to declare what part she was prepared to take, in a great struggle to thwart aggression and to preserve the freedom, her voice would be that of a united country and of a single people.

I think I know something of the love of liberty which resides in the breasts of the Canadian people, and of what men and women of every part of Canada, of every race and creed, feel they owe to the manner in which their freedom has been secured in Canada under British institutions and through their free association as a nation, with other nations of the British Commonwealth, not to be certain of the singleness of mind and purpose with which they would

be prepared to play their part in a struggle which threatened the freedom of every land and the foundations of civilization itself. My task was to see that no false step, no extreme policies or measures, no precipitate action should be allowed to destroy in advance either the clearness of vision or the power for action of our people so that, when the moment for their decision came, whatever that decision might be, it should not be marked by any cleavage by the people of this Dominion.

At the moment of decision, those efforts, I am proud today to be able to say, were crowned by the unanimity of the Parliament of Canada, a unanimity which reflected in the clearest possible way so that all the world, allies and enemies, might see the complete unity of our people.

Let me again, having regard to some of the attacks that have been and are now being made upon the Administration, and more particularly upon myself, ask: how was that unity made possible. It did not come from committing Canada to war because Parliament had made its decision. It was not brought about by agreeing to send expeditionary forces overseas before Parliament had decided that Canada should enter the war and had appropriated moneys for that purpose.

D53863

It was not brought about by large military expenditures and the production of munitions in Canada on a vast scale before Parliament or the people had so decided. These are the methods of a dictatorship which secretly prepares for war, and not for a democracy that openly works for peace. They may be the faults of democracy but they are faults that add honour and idealism to its cause.

How unity was not maintained by Canada agreeing before Munich to fight in Europe, after Czechoslovakia was invaded, when the British government itself was unwilling to take that step.

It was not brought about by an advance declaration by the government of Canada without consulting either the Parliament or the people of Canada that Canada would fight at any time, at any place, so long as Britain went to war.

It was not brought about by any pledges or attempts, should Canada's Parliament decide to participate in war, to enforce conscription or to form a national government, or to disfranchise any class of Canadian citizens, with the memories of those experiences in the last war still bitter in the minds of the Canadian people.

D 53864

Unity was made possible by none of these things. It was brought about by giving the Canadian people assurance, year in and year out, that its Parliament or they themselves would make the decision of war or peace. I gave the Canadian people that assurance repeatedly. I kept that promise and held this country to that course steadfastly, patiently, and honourably, in spite of criticism, in spite of abuse, and in spite of aggressive demands that I should break that solemn trust. I knew, as you know, that without disastrous results, we could not have entered the war except as a united nation. I know and you know that we cannot continue at war, at least effectively, except as a united nation. I believe that every fair-minded citizen will agree that the policies which have united Canada are the policies that will keep it united; that extreme measures resorted to by men of extreme views - whatever means and methods might be taken to attempt to enforce them - would only serve to divide and destroy what, of all things, is most essential in the prosecution of ~~Canada's war effort,~~ the war namely, the support by the people at large of Canada's war effort.

D53865

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Since Parliament met in September, the present government, as you all know, has dedicated itself patiently, energetically, and unitedly to transform the wishes of Parliament and the people into action. However much Canada's war effort has failed to satisfy some gentlemen in Toronto, it has failed still more to satisfy the leaders of Nazi Germany ~~still more~~. During the weeks that have followed the declaration of war, most of the men of all parties, with a few noisy exceptions, have offered no reason why the government should doubt the solidarity of public opinion which approved the unity of Canada's war effort.

You know something of what within four months' time has been accomplished. You know how Canadian defences have been strengthened, consolidated, and unified. You know of the divisions already recruited and sent overseas. Some of the troops have talked to you on the radio; you have seen their gallant pictures on the paper; you have heard the stirring echo of their magnificent welcome in Great Britain;

D 53866

4th Revise by W.L.M.K.

February 5, 1940

Broadcast No. 1 - The Prime Minister.

CANADA AND THE WAR.

Parliament and the People.

Unity and Freedom.

When Parliament concluded its Special War Session in September last, the Canadian people knew that Canada was united. What was of equal importance, there was left on the minds of the peoples of Europe the clear impression of a country at one in its determination to put forth a supreme national effort towards the winning of the war.

By her unity, Canada gave the greatest possible immediate support to the allied cause. This nation, although remote from the actual conflict, had responded, through its parliament, with a single voice to the call of freedom.

The reality of Canadian unity, in carrying on the war, was splendidly confirmed and reinforced just six weeks later. On October the 25th, the people of the province of Quebec, with a voice which carried across the Atlantic, gave their answer to a challenge which had

thrown suspicion on their loyalty. Her people could not have proclaimed more conclusively, at any time, or in any way, their unity with the rest of Canada in support of the war effort of the federal ministry.

Nothing that was done - nothing that could have been done - by Canada during 1939 could have begun to equal these expressions of the unity which lay behind Canada's participation in the war. Nothing could have more depressed the spirit of the enemy; nothing could have brought more encouragement to the spirit of the allies.

Is there a man or woman in the English-speaking provinces of Canada listening to my voice to whom the result of the Quebec election did not bring a new sense of pride in our common citizenship? Was there a man or woman in England, or in France, who did not see in the unity of this country, which that vote confirmed, an added strength to the allied cause? Does anyone doubt what use the propagandists of Nazi Germany would have made of Canada's disunion, if disunion had shown itself in the Parliament of Canada or in the final vote of the people in the province of Quebec.

I shall always regard this two-fold demonstration of Canadian unity, this evidence of the common determination of all Canadians to share in the struggle and the sacrifice, as the greatest of the contributions that, in the early stages of the conflict, Canada could possibly have made towards the winning of the war. As we preserve our national unity, so shall we increase our national strength.

It will add to our understanding of what is essential to the prosecution of Canada's war effort if we recognize at once that this demonstration of unity, in Parliament, on the part of the people's representatives, and, in the province of Quebec, by the people themselves, was not born of the moment, and did not arise wholly of itself. It was the result, in no uncertain measure, of the known policies of the present administration, policies which, over many years, in matters of war and peace, have been clearly shown to be in accord with the will of the Canadian people.

When you consider some of the attacks that have been, and are now being made upon the present Administration, and more particularly upon myself, I ask you very earnestly to ask yourselves this question. What,

D 53869

at the outbreak, and during the first few months of war, made possible the unity of our country as expressed by its Parliament, and by the people of its oldest province? That unity did not come from committing Canada to war before Parliament had made its decision. It was not brought about by agreeing to send expeditionary forces overseas, before Parliament had decided that Canada should participate in war, and had appropriated moneys for its prosecution. It was not brought about by the government seeking from Parliament, in time of peace, the appropriation of huge sums of money for military expenditures in preparation for Canada's participation in a European war. Our unity was not maintained by committing Canada to fight in Europe, before or at the time of the Munich conferences, or even after Czechoslovakia was invaded, when, as we now know, the British government itself was unwilling to take that step. It was not achieved by declaring that, without consulting either the Parliament or the people of Canada, the government would commit this country to fight at any time, at any place, in any cause, if Britain went to war. Least of all was it brought about by pledges to extend the life of Parliament in a time of war without any reference to the people, or to form a so-called

D 53870

"national" government that might enforce conscription or disfranchise many classes of Canadian citizens. The memories of those experiences in the last war are still bitter in the minds of the Canadian people.

Unity was made possible by none of these things. On the other hand, it was made possible, and it was achieved by the assurances given the Canadian people, year in and year out, that if my colleagues and I could prevent it, none of these things would happen We were determined that Parliament, or the people themselves, would decide whether Canada should participate in war. That assurance I gave the Canadian people repeatedly. I kept that promise. And I have held this country to that course, steadfastly, patiently, and honourably, in spite of criticism, in spite of abuse, and in spite of aggressive demands that I should break so solemn a trust.

I knew as you must know, that, without disastrous results, we could not have entered the war, except as a united nation. I know, and you know that we cannot continue at war, at least with the strength we all desire, except as a united nation. I believe that every fair-minded citizen will agree that the policies which <u>have</u> united Canada are the policies

D 53871

which will <u>keep</u> our country united. Extreme measures used by men of extreme views - whatever means and methods may be taken to enforce them - will only serve to divide and destroy what is most essential in the prosecution of the war - the support, by the people at large, of Canada's war effort.

When my colleagues and I asked Parliament, in Special War Session, to appropriate the moneys necessary for the carrying on of the war, and to support the other measures which we deemed essential to that end, Parliament itself was fully conscious of all that was implied in the keeping of this trust. I reminded the people's representatives of the pledges I had previously given, and informed them of the intention of my colleagues and myself to see that the promises were kept in time of war as they had been in times of peace. I said that I was not in favour of Parliament extending its own term, without any reference to the people. I was particularly opposed to such a step in a parliament which had nearly run its course, and whose members had been elected without any reference to the possibility of serving as representatives of the people in time of war. Let it never be forgotten that the present war, in the

D 53872

opinion of those best able to judge, may continue over several years. A parliament indefinitely extended might easily become a dictatorship.

I made perfectly clear that I did not intend at a time when we were at war, to defend the rights of free and democratic peoples, to deprive you, the people of Canada, of a right upon which all free and democratic government is founded, that right which your fathers won is guaranteed to you by the constitution of our country. Yours is the unquestionable, and, by me, unquestioned right to say, at stated intervals, who you wish your representatives to be, and by whom you wish to have the government of this country administered.

In asserting this right in Parliament, on your behalf, I gave to members of Parliament an assurance that a general election would not be held before Parliament had again been summoned. I undertook that the members would be called together not later than the month of January. I made clear, however, that it might be necessary to have Parliament summoned at an earlier date. I had in mind, when I spoke, as it is always necessary for one charged with the responsibilities of

D 53873

government to have in mind, that it is impossible, when events move swiftly, to foresee what may happen in an interval of time. I knew that the measures necessary to maintain national unity, and to promote Canada's war effort, could only be determined in the light of subsequent events. It was obviously essential that I should not so bind the Administration's freedom of action in a time of war, as to prevent the government from taking, at the moment when the necessity arose, whatever action might become imperative. The undertaking I then gave was limited to having no election before Parliament was again summoned; and to have Parliament called in January, if it did not become imperative to have it summoned earlier. What I said specifically was: "At that time, we will be in a position to consider what steps may be most necessary with regard to developments that may ensue meanwhile". What did take place in the interval bears out, I think, the wisdom of this pronouncement.

I may say that in naming January as the month within which Parliament would be called, and before which time no general election would, in the ordinary course of events, be brought on, I had in

D 53874

mind the obligation which clearly rested on my colleagues and myself of organizing Canada's war effort in the most effective manner, and with the least possible delay. I had in mind the presentation to Parliament, when it met, of the record of what had been accomplished. I would have preferred, and would have mentioned an earlier date than January, had I believed that Canada's war effort could have been properly organized and sufficiently advanced in a shorter period of time.

Since the special session of Parliament, my colleagues and I, as you all know, have devoted ourselves patiently, energetically, and unitedly to transforming the wishes of Parliament and of the people into action. You know something of what, within five months time, has been accomplished. You know how Canadian defences have been strengthened, consolidated, and unified. The government has been in constant touch with the British government. The measures adopted, after consultation, are those which will contribute most to co-operation with the allied forces and to the strength of the common cause.

D 53875

For our country, the present war has presented problems which did not exist in 1914. Today, we have far greater responsibilities for our own local defence, particularly coastal defence. For the actual security of Canada, the air force is no less important than the naval service.

Canadian effort in the last war was centred on an expeditionary force; we had no Canadian air force, although Canadians had a distinguished place in the Royal Flying Corps; our naval service was very small. In the present conflict, we have an expeditionary force of which the first division is already in England. A second division is receiving training in Canada, and will proceed overseas in due course. In this war, however, our naval and air forces are no less important than our land forces. As you all know, the hazards of war thus far have been mainly on the sea and in the air.

Our naval service and our air force have already received the highest commendation of the allied powers for the part they are taking in co-operation with the British and French navies in the defence of Newfoundland and the West Indies, and in the all-important task of convoying the shipping in the North Atlantic, which is the life line of Britain and France.

D 53876

The country has been fully informed of the details of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. In this gigantic venture, Canada has assumed the major share. Its vital place in the allied plans to meet a long war has, more than once, been indicated by the Prime Minister and other members of the British government. Of the progress made in carrying out the plan, my colleagues and I will have more to say as the campaign proceeds. You are also aware that an air squadron is in training, to proceed overseas, to co-operate at the front with the First Canadian Division.

The industrial, agricultural and financial resources of the country are being steadily mobilized to produce the tremendous quantities of war materials and foodstuffs required for the successful prosecution of a war in which economic strength will be at least as important as military strength. Prompt and vigorous measures have been taken to protect consumers against the kind of profiteering and scarcity which brought such distress to housewives and wage earners during the last war. The overwhelming success of the recent War Loan is a tribute both to the financial strength of Canada, and to the determination of our people.

D 53877

The government and the people alike have a right to be proud of such a record of achievement. The foundations of the future development of Canada's war effort have been firmly and soundly laid. These things have not been done in a spectacular or a dramatic way. Nothing has been wasted in parades and shows. No self-appointed, so-called dynamic personalities have been rushing from one end of Canada to the other, and riding rough-shod over the feelings and traditions of our people. Our government believes that work should be persistent, intense, calm and continuous. That is the real way -- the Canadian way. It has been praised by the allied powers; it has impressed the enemy; it has shown to the world that Canada's war effort is backed by a united people.

It is true that there have been criticisms. It would be a miracle if the transformation of a peaceful country into a nation at war were not marked by some shortcomings, by some unpreparedness, by some shortage of supplies. But these are minor matters and shrink into insignificance when placed in their appropriate perspective beside the true magnitude of our war effort. Criticism,

D 53878

where it has been constructive, has been met by appropriate measures. But other criticisms have developed in recent days, not constructive, but destructive, not designed to further Canada's war effort, but to advance personal ambitions, to spread disunion, and to undermine confidence in the present administration, whose conduct of the war up to the beginning of the present year received universal commendation.

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I have been told that in season and out of season I have laid emphasis upon the supremacy of parliament. That is perfectly true. But it has been the supremacy of parliament over the executive, not the supremacy of parliament over the people that I have sought to preserve. The fact that any one could assume that the supremacy of parliament might mean depriving the people, on any pretext, of a general election, after five sessions of a parliament elected in 1935, and before entering, in 1940, upon a sixth session, shows how far some people have drifted in their thinking from any live conception of popular government and how near they have come to sharing the mentality of dictators.

D 53880

The first duty of any government charged with responsibility in this country is, has been, and will be to maintain national unity. That task, above all others, I have made the supreme endeavour of my public life.

Canada is a nation strong in the equal partnership of two great races. Through generations, men and women of many lands have come to share that partnership. No Prime Minister would be true, either to himself or to the people to whom he is responsible, were he not to lend every effort of mind and of heart to the maintenance of national unity. Especially is this true at a time in the world's history when, over many years, we have been witnessing civil strife, and war between nations, in well nigh every quarter of the globe except our own. The preservation of national unity has been made increasingly difficult in our country as, from time to time, demands have been made upon my colleagues and myself for unconditional declarations of participation, by Canada, in European conflicts, before the actual time, occasion, or nature of the conflicts themselves were known. This impatient and extreme course of procedure served only to bring into being contending forces within the confines of Canada itself:

D 53881

one determined that Canada should participate in any and every war in which Britain might be engaged, and, the other, equally determined that there should be no Canadian participation in any European wars.

Once again, I ask you to consider where Canada would have been at the outbreak (the present) of war in Europe, if I, or any of my colleagues, had identified himself with either of these extreme attitudes; or if, through unwise and unnecessary declarations in advance of an actual and known condition, we had helped to precipitate an open conflict of opposed opinions? One thing, I know, we certainly would not have had the all but unanimous voice with which Canada's Parliament made known its decision to stand at the side of Britain and France in resisting Nazi aggression and violence. Nor would we have had, six weeks later, the all but unanimous approval of that decision by the people of the province of Quebec. We would, instead, have had immediate bitter political controversy alike in Parliament and in the country.

I have long held the belief that conditions in Europe could not continue to go, as during the last four years they had been going, from bad to worse, without the moment coming when Europe itself would burst into flames

and freedom everywhere be menaced. Holding that belief, I have done all that was within my power, and have sought to have done all that was within the power of this country, to avert such a catastrophe by fostering, everywhere and always policies of international understanding, friendship, and good-will. At the same time, During the past four years, I have had continually to face the prospect of the failure to maintain peace. I have also had to consider the possible coming of the day when Britain and France might be drawn into a great conflict for the preservation of their freedom and, indeed, of their very existence. I have had, all the while, to ask myself how best our country could be kept united, and its policies so shaped that, if the moment every came for Canada to declare what part she was prepared to take in a world struggle to thwart aggression and to preserve freedom, she could speak with the single voice of a united people.

I think I know something of the love of liberty which resides in the breast of every Canadian. I think I know something, too, of what men and women, of every part of Canada, of every class, and race and creed, feel they owe to the manner in which their liberties have been secured under British institutions in our free association as a free nation in the British Commonwealth.

I have therefore never doubted the singleness of mind and purpose with which we would all be prepared to play our part in ~~a~~ any struggle which threatened our freedom, ~~and the foundations of civilization itself.~~ My task was to see that no false steps, no extreme policies or measures, no hasty action should be allowed to destroy, in advance, either the clearness of vision of our people, or its power for action. I was determined that, ~~when~~ if the moment for decision ever came, no cleavages of opinion, in parliament or in the country, should frustrate Canada's ~~determination~~ power to put forth her utmost effort.

The only absolute proof of any course of action is to be found in its results. You will recall my repeated assurances that Canada would participate in war only after a decision by parliament or the people, ~~and~~ also my refusal to allow a general election to be brought on in July or August, though strongly pressed by the Leader of the Opposition, and many of my own following, to dissolve parliament at that time. You will also recall how speedily parliament was summoned into special session at the moment of the crisis. You know the unanimity which marked the proceedings of parliament and its momentous decision.

You know what effect all those things had upon the

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the continued unity of this nation in a time of war. Knowing all these things as you do, I ask you, my fellow countrymen, has the course which I have pursued over the years I have been in office, as the leader of the government of this country, not been the right, and, indeed, the only wise and proper one? If you will permit me to say so, you will do well, I believe, to judge the future in the light of the past.

As to what leader or policies are hereafter to govern the conduct of the war, it is of course for you to say. It is your future, not that of any leader or of any government that is at stake. No parliament, least of all a parliament that had run its course, and was elected without any reference to war and its appalling consequences, could have determined that.

My leadership today is being called in question by some who desire to see the government of this country in other hands. It is urged that other and more extreme policies should be substituted for those which my colleagues and I believe to be the only ones that, in these very critical times can keep Canada united, and enable this country to put forth the utmost of her strength, and the maximum of her national effort in the

D 53885

winning of the war. Happily, at this moment, all political parties in our country claim to be of one mind in a determination to have Canada do all in her power to help win the war. I, at least, am prepared to say that such differences of opinion as do exist are for the most part either on subjects apart altogether from the war, or arise from differences of temperament, differences of methods, and I think I might add, differences of experience.

What, then, are the issues in this election? It seems to me that there are two real issues. Behind all the clashes of political conflict, the first issue concerns the maintenance of national unity. On that first issue depends the second issue, which is the whole policy of the government in the prosecution of the war. Both issues rise superior to personalities.

The people of Canada are being asked to decide through what government, and as a result of what policies the will of the people of Canada is likely to be carried out most completely and effectively in the prosecution of the war effort. That war effort, as I have said, has been developed upon foundations carefully prepared. It has been furthered by steady, persistent and patient

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labour. We have had the experience of the last war to guide us. With that experience illuminating the course which we have had to follow, we have used every effort to avoid the errors of haste and confusion, and the needless sacrifice of blood and treasure that is their inevitable result. In a struggle that now is almost certain to be long and exhausting, our contribution will be effective to the extent that it is carefully planned in close co-operation with that of our allies.

Modern warfare is no longer a swift adventure. It demands long sacrifice and steady determination from each and every one of us. Above all, it requires cool judgment, a steadfast effort, and a balanced and co-ordinated strategy. The most competent military authorities have advised us to prepare for a war which will last three years. You will remember that in 1914, when many people hopefully talked of an early end to hostilities, the calm voice of Lord Kitchener correctly prophesied the extent and the intensity of the fight in which we were all engaged. No one, of course, can really say today whether the war will last for three years, or for even longer. We do know that we must prepare for a long and terrible struggle, in which the

D 53887

power to endure to the end may well be decisive. In any event, we can say this with confidence, that the only way to ensure a short war is courageously to prepare for a long war.

Not only must we plan carefully, patiently and wisely for a long war, but we must never lose sight of the fact that we must, at once, prepare, as well, for the aftermath of the war.

Every thoughtful Canadian has before him, as an incentive to highest endeavour, the vision of a new and juster world in which humble men and women may be allowed to live in freedom in the land of their fathers.

The men whom you choose to entrust with the responsibility of government must be ready not only to face unflinchingly the dire necessities of war; they must also be prepared with a sense of national unity, and the idealism of international good-will, to face the problems of peace.

We often hear of the ideals of racial tolerance and good neighbourhood on which our own nationhood is founded. We cannot hear of them too often. No one surely will deny that a Canada in which East and West,

D 53388

French and English,
Catholic and Protestant, Capital and Labour, contribute to real national unity can bring more precious gifts to the building of the new world than a Canada torn asunder by sectional, racial, religious or social conflicts.

The decision is yours. It is not your representatives in parliament who are now being asked to decide on the present and future of this country at a time of war. It is you, yourselves, who are not only the masters of parliament, but, as never before, the masters of your own fate.

I say to you that never have the Canadian people been called upon to make so serious a decision. On that decision will depend not only our contribution to the war, but the maintenance of our own integrity and unity as a nation in a shattered world, to which a united Canada may well bring a new hope to mankind.

I would earnestly suggest that before arriving at your decision you ask yourself these questions:

Should this great task be entrusted to men who, tried in the school of experience, familiar with the problems to be faced, and advocates of policies widely supported, have throughout been united by a community of views?

D 53389

Or should the conduct of your government in these critical days be handed over to men ~~- be they~~ the extremists of ~~existing~~ the so-called old parties, or the preachers of new and untried doctrines, or the advance agents of some unborn new democracy, ~~-~~ most of whom are without experience in government , who are bound together by no common principles or agreed policies, but ~~only by a willingness~~ to subject the destiny of Canada to ~~a~~ reckless experiment? I say this of those who are,

When a vague suggestion is made of a "national" government of all the talents, you would do well to ask and to insist upon knowing who the men will be, and what talents they possess?

Is it not further essential that you should know whether they represent, in fair proportion, the two great races of this dominion? It is my firm conviction. on which I have acted throughout my political life, that our national unity can only be maintained by a government in which there is always an intimate and generous association between French and English. My own relations, over so many years, with that most loyal and truest colleague; the Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe, have themselves reflected that equal and cordial partnership between the original founders of this nation.

D 53890

A united war effort of a united Canada represents, I believe, the heartfelt desire of the Canadian people. If you will ask yourself the questions I have suggested, ponder them in your hearts, and answer them as Canadians, I have no doubt of what your decision will be.

where it has been constructive, has been met by appropriate measures. But other criticisms have developed in recent days, not constructive, but destructive, not designed to further Canada's war effort, but to advance personal ambitions, to spread disunion, and to undermine confidence in the present administration, whose conduct of the war up to the beginning of the present year received universal commendation.

Up to the end of last year most public men had submerged political partizanship in the needs of the nation, but as the prospects of a general election drew near, the temptation to win the election rather than to win the war became too great for some of our opponents.

The nature of the political campaign which our opponents, and I may say the opponents of Canadian unity, intended to wage became very clear once the Ontario Legislature was called into session. I need not ~~rehearse~~ repeat how ~~advantage~~ the opportunity ~~was taken~~ seized by the leaders in that Assembly to play a part in Ontario at the beginning of the New Year not ~~dissimilar to~~ unlike that which had been played by the leader of the government of another province ~~as the Administration sought to get Canada's war effort under way~~ during the Old Year. The utterances of the leaders themselves might well have been ignored, and so far as I am concerned, they would have been ignored ~~had it~~ if not been ~~for the effect which their words and their methods had upon some of their followers, and had the~~ a formal resolution of the Ontario Legislature condemning the war effort of the government of Canada had not been passed and become a part of the records of that Assembly.

Whatever might have been thought of tactics of the kind by those in Canada who have become all too familiar with them, the government could not be indifferent to the manner in which ~~the carrying on of~~ Canada's war effort might be viewed in other lands ~~could not be indifferent to a challenge of the kind and hope to be able to command throughout the country the support necessary to united effort in a time of war.~~ But for the undertaking ~~I had given~~ not to seek a dissolution of Parliament before Members were once again called together, ~~I would, without waiting the assembling of Parliament,~~ have asked His Excellency for an immediate dissolution. ~~As Parliament had already been summoned, and was to assemble within a week's time,~~ I took the earliest opportunity possible to acquaint Parliament with the decision ~~for~~ an immediate election, ~~which, on these as well as on other grounds, we had concluded was obviously necessary. I had the announcement of the~~ government's intention ~~given its place~~ in the Speech from the Throne, ~~and~~ at the earliest opportunity I made on the floor of Parliament itself a statement of the reasons which made an immediate dissolution not only desirable but imperative.

I have been told that in ~~those~~ that proceedings I was not paying the respect ~~which~~ was due to Parliament; that, in season and out of season, I had ~~laid emphasis~~ ~~upon~~ the supremacy of Parliament and was now ~~going contrary to~~ deserting convictions and doctrines which I firmly held. It is perfectly true that I have never failed to stress the supremacy of Parliament, but it has been the supremacy of Parliament over the ~~executive~~ government that I have sought to preserve, not the supremacy of Parliament over the people. The fact that anyone could assume that the supremacy of Parliament might mean depriving the people ~~of any~~ of their right ~~pretext of an immediate~~ early general election, ~~after five sessions of a~~ this Parliament elected in 1935, ~~and before~~ entering in 1940 upon ~~a sixth session~~ had already been held, shows how far some ~~people~~ persons have drifted in their thinking from any true conception of popular government, and how close they have come to sharing the mentality of dictators.

~~No one could have wished more strongly than myself that there might have been,~~ as I had hoped there would be, an opportunity to present to Parliament, in its opening days, an account of the government's conduct of the war ~~in the months which had elapsed since the special session.~~ It was obvious to any unprejudiced observer that all that had been gained by the maintenance

of parliamentary and national unity was, in the new session, about to be endangered by a bitter political controversy in Parliament. That controversy, once it had begun would not, because of the time we had at our disposal, have been carried to any conclusion on the floor of the House of Commons. It could not have been ended before there was reason to expect a spring offensive in Europe. It would have received a disproportionate attention in the lands of our allies, and in the capital of our foes. It would, inevitably, have been followed by a dissolution under conditions that would not have been understood abroad. It would have had no finality. For it would have been followed by another campaign ~~created false impressions in Europe as to the real~~ determination in all parts of Canada to advance the war effort of this country, - this country which will be playing its part before many weeks have passed, on the battle front would have been wasting its time and its energies in the sham fights of unnecessary political ~~warfare.~~

People in all lands understand that ~~on the political platform~~ in a general election exaggerated statements will be made and extreme attitudes taken. Such allowances for the bitterness of party strife would not have been made in the case of similar statements ~~made~~ made on the floor of ~~the House~~ Parliament

D 53896

~~of Commons~~, especially when democratic institutions in many lands are continually subjected to test and attack.

No government ~~could, while~~ charged with the duty of carrying on Canada's war effort, ~~in addition to~~ the regular business of Parliament ~~time of war,~~ be expected to face ~~in addition,~~ two po itical campaigns - one carried on before dissolution, another after dissolution - ~~and thereby, apart from all else,~~ postpone the decision of the electors until ~~after~~ the allied cause had reached a new and terrible emergency.

The responsibility for recommending the dissolution was mine. I took ~~it~~ in pursuance of my conception of my duty. I did ~~it~~ because I believed it to be right, and in the interests of this country. ~~I did it, above all else, that~~ in the eyes of the world ~~no risks might be run to the unity or Parliament.~~

I knew that a general election had to come - so did our political opponents. I believed that it ought ~~to come~~ before the spring offensive. I believed that it ought to ~~come~~ before roads were broken up and became impassable. I believed that it ought to come before our men in England went to France. I believed it ought to come before our Second Division

left this ~~Dominion~~ country. If Parliament had ~~begun debate~~ thereby been permitted to carried on to the end of March or April, ~~so as to have rendered~~ and had rendered inevitable a general election at a time when our men were facing all the horrors of concentrated warfare, ~~while their relatives were preparing to vote in Canada,~~ and rightly so, I would have been told that I was not fit to be the leader of ~~a party or a country~~ the Government for allowing matters to drift in that way. The decision to dissolve was not the result of impulse. It was the inevitable result of the outbreak of a political and partizan struggle combined with the factors of time to which I have referred. If there had been any hope of a brief session, calmly devoted to the discussion of national affairs, such a session would have been held. A general election being necessary under our constitution, I am sure you will agree that no time better suited to the needs of Canada and her allies could have been selected than the present.

Once the stress of events had forced ~~the government to take~~ the decision, the straight-forward thing was to announce it at once, and to proceed with the election at once. ~~Who is there in Canada today~~ who would not be ~~immensely relieved~~ if the day of polling were tomorrow instead of the 26th of ~~March~~? ~~Had it been possible~~

sooner to bring to completion features of Canada's war effort with which you are wholly familiar, Parliament might have been summoned at an earlier date.

I am perfectly certain that from one end of ~~this country~~ Canada to the other there is thankfulness in the ~~hearts~~ hearts of all, that ~~it will not be necessary to wait a day longer~~ for a new parliament ~~and that~~ in order that those who are charged with the ~~great~~ responsibility of carrying on the great task of Canada's government may be fortified with a ~~great~~ direct and unquestioned mandate from the people.

Not only must we plan carefully, patiently and wisely for a long war, but we must never lose sight of the fact that we must also prepare as well for the aftermath of the war.

Every thoughtful Canadian has before him, as a vision to encourage us to highest endeavour, the vision of a new and juster world in which humble men and women may be allowed to live in freedom in the land of their fathers.

The men whom you choose to entrust with the responsibility of government must be ready not only to face unflinchingly the dire necessities of war; they must also be prepared with a sense of national unity, and the idealism of international good-will, to face the problems of peace.

We often hear of the ideals of racial tolerance and good neighbourhood on which our own nationhood is founded. We cannot hear of them too often. No one surely will deny that a Canada in which French and English, Catholic and Protestant, East and West, capital and labour, contribute to real national unity can bring more precious gifts to the building of the new world than a Canada torn asunder by racial, religious or social misunderstandings and differences.

The decision is yours. It is not parliament that is now being asked to decide on the future of this country or a new order. It is you, yourselves who are the masters of parliament, but as never before, the masters of your own fate.

D 53900

I ~~suggest~~ to you that never ~~before has~~ the Canadian people been called upon to make ~~a more~~ serious decision. On that decision will depend not only our contribution to ~~the common cause~~, but the maintenance of our own integrity and unity as a nation in a shattered world, ~~where~~ Canada may well bring a new hope to mankind.

I ~~respectfully~~ suggest that before arriving at ~~their~~ decision you ask yourself these questions:

~~Do you believe that~~ this great task ~~should~~ be entrusted to men who, tried in the school of experience, familiar with the problems to be faced, and ~~professing~~ policies widely supported, have throughout been united by a community of views?

Or ~~do you believe that~~ the conduct of your government in these critical days ~~should~~ be handed over to men, most of whom are without experience, who are bound together by no common principles or agreed policies, but only by a willingness to subject the destiny of Canada to a reckless experiment?

When a vague suggestion is made of a "national" government of all the talents, ~~have you not the right to~~ ask who the men will be, and what talents they possess?

Is it not further essential that you should know whether they represent, in fair proportion, ~~both~~ the three great races of this dominion? ~~For~~ It is my firm conviction, on which I have acted throughout my political life, that our national unity can only be maintained by a government in which there is always an intimate and generous association between French and English. My own relations, over so many years, with ~~my~~ colleagues, ~~Mr.~~ Lapointe, have themselves reflected that equal and cordial partnership between the original founders of this nation.

If you will ask yourselves those questions, ponder them in your hearts, and answer them as Canadians, honestly and fairly, I have no doubt of the result of this appeal for your continued support ~~of the ideals of~~ a united Canada ~~which this government~~ will continue to uphold.

to maintain national unity. That task, above all others, I have made the supreme endeavour of my public life.

Canada is a nation strong in the equal partnership of two great races, and, for men and women of many other races, has been through generations their adoption. No Prime Minister would be true either to himself or to the people to whom he is responsible were he not to lend every effort of mind and of heart to the maintenance of national unity. Especially is this true at a time in the world's history when, over many years, we have been witnessing civil strife, and war between nations, in well nigh every quarter of the globe except our own. The preservation of national unity has been made increasingly difficult in our country as, from time to time, demands have been made upon myself and my colleagues for unconditional declarations of participation, by Canada, in European conflicts, before the actual time, occasion, or nature of the conflicts themselves were known. This impatient and extreme course of procedure served only to forces within the confines of Canada itself. I was determined that Canada would participate in any and every war in which Britain might be engaged, and, the other equally determined that

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53903

engaged or not, there should be no Canadian participation whatever in any European wars.

But again, I ask you to consider where Canada would have been at the outbreak of war in Europe, if I, and my colleagues, had identified ourselves with either of these extreme attitudes; or if, through unwise and unnecessary declarations in advance of an actual and known condition, we had helped to precipitate such a conflict of opinion? Of one thing I am certain: we would not have had the all but unanimous voice with which Canada's Parliament gave its decision to stand at the side of Britain and France in their resistance of Nazi aggression and violence; nor the all but unanimous endorsement, six weeks later, of the people of the province of Quebec of that decision. We would, instead, have had immediate bitter political controversy alike in Parliament and in the country.

I have long held the belief that conditions in Europe could not continue to go, as during the last four years they had been going, from bad to worse, without the moment coming when Europe itself would burst into flames and freedom everywhere be menaced. Holding that belief, I have done all that was within my power, and within the power of this country, to avert such a catastrophe by

D 53904

seeking to foster in every way and always understanding, policies of international friendship and good-will. At the same time, I have had during the last four years, had continually to face the prospect of war, and to maintain peace, these and similar efforts on the part of other men and other nations failing, I was also had to consider the horrible consequences of the day and of Britain and France, for the preservation of their freedom and their very existence being drawn into a great conflict. I have had to ask myself how, meanwhile, could our own country be kept united, and its policies so shaped that, when or if the moment ever came for Canada to declare what part she was prepared to take in a world struggle to thwart aggression and to preserve her freedom, she would speak with a single voice as a united people.

I think I know something of the love of liberty which resides in the breast of the Canadian people. I think I know something, too, of what men and women of every part of Canada, of every class and race and creed, feel they owe to the manner in which their liberties have been secured under British institutions, and the freedom of Canada herself maintained by her free association as a free nation, with other nations of the British Commonwealth. I have therefore never doubted the singleness of mind and purpose with which we would all be prepared to play our part in a struggle which threatened the freedom of every

land and the foundations of civilization itself. My task was to see that no false steps, no extreme policies or measures, no hasty action should be allowed to destroy in advance either the clearness of vision or the power for action of our people. I was determined that, when the moment for decision came, its significance would not be lost through cleavages of opinion, or the countries determination to put forth its utmost effort frustrated by conflicting forces.

The only incontrovertible proof of any course of action is to be found in its results. In the light of events known to all, the repeatedly asserted policy of having Parliament or the people decide as to Canada's participation in war, the manner of the summoning of the special session of Parliament at the moment of the crisis, the unanimity which marked the proceedings of Parliament and its momentous decision, the effect of all this upon our war effort, and the continued unity of this nation in a time of war - I ask my fellow countrymen, has the course which I have pursued over the years I have been in office, as the leader of the government of this country, not been the right, and indeed, the only wise and proper one? If you will permit me to

D 53906

say so, you will do well, I believe, to judge ~~somewhat~~ the future in the light of the past.

As to what leader or policies are hereafter to govern the ~~future~~ conduct of the war, ~~so far as Canada is concerned~~, it is of course for you to say. It is your future, not that of any leader or of any government that is at stake. No Parliament, least of all a Parliament that has run its course, and was elected without any reference to war and its appalling consequences, could have determine that. ~~No Parliament has any right by extending its term, or by any other procedure to attempt it.~~ It is you, the people of Canada, whose lives, whose homes, whose entire future is at stake, who alone have the right and the power to say to whose guidance you wish to entrust ~~all these during a war~~ for such a term which may run into several years.

My leadership today is being called in question by some who desire to occupy ~~the position I now hold, a position which, as Prime Minister, I have held for a period of over twelve years, and, as leader of my party, for over twenty years.~~ It is urged that other and more extreme policies be substituted for those which my colleagues and I believe to be the only ones that, in these very critical times, can keep Canada united, and enable this country to put

D 53907

forth the utmost of her strength, and the maximum of her national effort in the winning of the war. Happily, all political parties in our country ~~are~~ claim at this moment, to be ~~very much~~ of ~~the~~ one mind in ~~their~~ a determination to have Canada do all in her power to help win the war. I at least am prepared to say that such ~~differences~~ as do exist are ~~differences,~~ differences of opinion for the most part, either on subjects apart altogether from the war, or ~~are the result of~~ arise from differences of temperament, differences of methods and, I think I might add, differences of experience. ~~(or know [illegible]~~ [illegible]

Draft Conclusion.

.....Such differences as do exist are those for the most part either on subjects apart altogether from the war or differences of temperament, differences of method, and, I think I might add, differences of experience.

What are the issues in this election? It seems to me that there are two real issues. Behind all the clashes of political conflict, the first issue concerns the maintenance of national unity. On that first issue depends the second issue, which is the whole policy of the government in the prosecution of the war. Both issues rise superior to personalities.

The people of Canada are being asked to decide through what government and as a result of what policies the will of the people of Canada is most likely to be carried out most completely and effectively in the prosecution of the war effort. That war effort, as I have said, has been developed upon foundations carefully prepared. It has been furthered by steady, persistent and patient labour. We have had the experience of the last war to guide us. With that experience illuminating the course which we have had to follow, we have used every effort to avoid the errors of haste and confusion

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and the needless sacrifice of blood and treasure that is their inevitable result. In a struggle that now is almost certain to be long and exhausting, our contribution will be effective to the extent that it is carefully planned in close co-operation with that of our allies.

Modern warfare is no longer a swift adventure. It demands long sacrifice and steady determination from each and every one of us. Above all, it requires cool judgment, steadfast effort and a balanced and co-ordinated strategy. The most competent military authorities have advised us to prepare for a war which will last three years. ~~Many of~~ You will remember that in 1914, when many people hopefully talked of an early end to hostilities, the calm voice of Lord Kitchener correctly prophesied the extent and the intensity of the fight in which we were all engaged. No one, of course, can really say to-day whether the war will last for three years or for even longer. We do know that we must prepare for a long and terrible struggle, in which the power to endure to the end may well be decisive. In any event, we can say this with confidence, that the only way to ensure a short war is courageously to prepare for a long war.

E.H. File

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4th Revise by W.L.M.K.

February 5, 1940

Broadcast No. 1 - The Prime Minister.

CANADA AND THE WAR.

Parliament and the People.

Unity and Freedom.

When Parliament concluded its Special War Session in September last, the Canadian people knew that Canada was united. What was of equal importance, there was left on the minds of the peoples of Europe the clear impression of a country at one in its determination to put forth a supreme national effort towards the winning of the war.

By her unity, Canada gave the greatest possible immediate support to the allied cause. This nation, although remote from the actual conflict, had responded, through its Parliament, with a single voice to the call of freedom.

The reality of Canadian unity, in carrying on the war, was splendidly confirmed and reinforced just six weeks later. On October the 25th, the people of the province of Quebec, with a voice which carried across the Atlantic, gave their answer to a challenge which had

thrown suspicion on their loyalty. Her people could not have proclaimed more conclusively, at any time, or in any way, their unity with the rest of Canada in support of the war effort of the federal ministry.

Nothing that was done - nothing that could have been done - by Canada during 1939 could have begun to equal these expressions of the unity which lay behind Canada's participation in the war. Nothing could have more depressed the spirit of the enemy; nothing could have brought more encouragement to the spirit of the allies.

Is there a man or woman in the English-speaking provinces of Canada listening to my voice to whom the result of the Quebec election did not bring a new sense of pride in our common citizenship? Was there a man or woman in England, or in France, who did not see in the unity of this country, which that vote confirmed, an added strength to the allied cause? Does anyone doubt what use the propagandists of Nazi Germany would have made of Canada's disunion, if disunion had shown itself in the Parliament of Canada, or in the final vote of the people in the province of Quebec.

I shall always regard this two-fold demonstration of Canadian unity, this evidence of the common determination of all Canadians to share in the struggle and the sacrifice, as the greatest of the contributions that, in the early stages of the conflict, Canada could possibly have made towards the winning of the war. As we preserve our national unity, so shall we increase our national strength.

It will add to our understanding of what is essential to the prosecution of Canada's war effort if we recognize, at once, that this demonstration of unity, in Parliament, on the part of the people's representatives, and, in the province of Quebec, by the people themselves, was not born of the moment, and did not arise wholly of itself. It was the result, in no uncertain measure, of the known policies of the present administration, policies which, over many years, in matters of war and peace, have been clearly shown to be in accord with the will of the Canadian people.

When you consider some of the attacks that have been, and are now being made upon the present Administration, and more particularly upon myself, I ask you very earnestly to ask yourselves this question:- What,

at the outbreak, and during the first few months of war, made possible the unity of our country, as expressed by its Parliament, and by the people of its oldest province? That unity did not come from committing Canada to war before Parliament had made its decision. It was not brought about by agreeing to send expeditionary forces overseas, before Parliament had decided that Canada should participate in war, and had appropriated moneys for its prosecution. It was not brought about by the government seeking from Parliament, in time of peace, the appropriation of huge sums of money for military expenditures in preparation for Canada's participation in a European war. Our unity was not maintained by committing Canada to fight in Europe, before, or at the time of the Munich conferences, or even after Czechoslovakia was invaded, when, as we now know, the British government itself was unwilling to take that step. It was not achieved by declaring that, without consulting either the Parliament or the people of Canada, the government would commit this country to fight at any time, at any place, in any cause, if Britain went to war. Least of all was it brought about by pledges to extend the life of Parliament in a time of war without any reference to the people, or to form a so-called

"national" government that might enforce conscription or disfranchise many classes of Canadian citizens. The memories of those experiences in the last war are still bitter in the minds of the Canadian people.

Unity was made possible by none of these things. On the other hand, it was made possible, and it was achieved by the assurances given the people of Canada, year in and year out, that if my colleagues and I could prevent it, none of these things would happen. We were determined that Parliament, or the people themselves, would decide whether Canada should participate in war. That assurance I gave the Canadian people repeatedly. I kept that promise. And I have held this country to that course, steadfastly, patiently, and honourably, in spite of criticism, in spite of abuse, and in spite of aggressive demands that I should break so solemn a trust.

I knew as you must know, that, without disastrous results, we could not have entered the war, except as a united nation. I know, and you know that we cannot continue at war, at least with the strength we all desire, except as a united nation. I believe that every fair-minded citizen will agree that the policies which have united Canada are the policies

which will keep our country united. Extreme measures used by men of extreme views - whatever means and methods may be taken to enforce them - will only serve to divide and destroy what is most essential in the prosecution of the war - the support, by the people at large, of Canada's war effort.

When my colleagues and I asked Parliament, in Special War Session, to appropriate the moneys necessary for the carrying on of the war, and to support the other measures which we deemed essential to that end, Parliament itself was fully conscious of all that was implied in the keeping of this trust. I reminded the people's representatives of the pledges I had previously given, and informed them of the intention of my colleagues and myself to see that ~~the~~ promises were kept in time of war as they had been in times of peace. I said that I was not in favour of Parliament extending its own term, ~~without any reference to the people~~. I was particularly opposed to such a step in a parliament which had nearly run its course, and whose members had been elected without any reference to the possibility of serving as representatives of the people in time of war. Let it never be forgotten that the present war, in the

opinion of those best able to judge, may continue over several years. A parliament indefinitely extended might easily become a dictatorship.

I made perfectly clear that I did not intend, at a time when we were at war to defend the rights of free and democratic peoples, to deprive you, the people of Canada, of a right upon which all free and democratic government is founded. That right which your fathers won is guaranteed to you by the constitution of our country. Yours is the unquestionable, and, by me, unquestioned right to say, at stated intervals, who you wish your representatives to be, and by whom you wish to have the government of this country administered.

In asserting ~~this right~~ in Parliament, on your behalf, I gave to members of Parliament an assurance that a general election would not be held before Parliament had again been summoned. I undertook that the members would be called together not later than the month of January. I made clear, however, that it might be necessary to have Parliament summoned at an earlier date. I had in mind, when I spoke, as it is always necessary for one charged with the responsibilities of

government to have in mind, that it is impossible, when events move swiftly, to foresee what may happen in an interval of time. I knew that the measures necessary to maintain national unity, and to promote Canada's war effort, could only be determined in the light of subsequent events. It was obviously essential that I should not so bind the Administration's freedom of action in a time of war, as to prevent the government from taking, at the moment when the necessity arose, whatever action might become imperative. The undertaking I then gave was limited to having no election before Parliament was again summoned; and to have Parliament called in January, if it did not become imperative to have it summoned earlier. What I said specifically was: "At that time, we will be in a position to consider what steps may be most necessary with regard to developments that may ensue meanwhile". What did take place in the interval bears out, I think, the wisdom of this ~~pronouncement~~ precaution.

I may say that in naming January as the month within which Parliament would be called, and before which time no general election would, in the ordinary course of events, be brought on, I had in

mind the obligation which clearly rested on my colleagues and myself of organizing Canada's war effort in the most effective manner, and with the least possible delay. I had in mind the presentation to Parliament, when it met, of the record of what had been accomplished. I would have preferred, and would have mentioned an earlier date than January, had I believed that Canada's war effort could have been properly organized and sufficiently advanced in a shorter period of time.

Since the special session of Parliament, my colleagues and I, as you all know, have devoted ourselves patiently, energetically, and unitedly to transforming the wishes of Parliament and of the people into action. You know something of what, within five months time, has been accomplished. You know how Canadian defences have been strengthened, consolidated, and unified. The government has been in constant touch with the British government. The measures adopted, after consultation, are those which will contribute most to co-operation with the allied forces and to the strength of the common cause.

The government's record must be fully presented to you in the course of this present campaign. Of that record and criticisms, I have no fear.

For our country, the present war has presented problems which did not exist in 1914. Today, we have far greater responsibilities for our own local defence, particularly coastal defence. For the actual security of Canada, the air force is no less important than the naval service.

Canadian effort in the last war was centred on an expeditionary force; we had no Canadian air force, although Canadians had a distinguished place in the Royal Flying Corps; our naval service was very small. In the present conflict, we have an expeditionary force of which the first division is already in England. A second division is receiving training in Canada, and will proceed overseas in due course. In this war, however, our naval and air forces are no less important than our land forces. As you all know, the hazards of war thus far have been mainly on the sea and in the air.

Our naval service and our air force have already received the highest commendation of the allied powers for the part they are taking in co-operation with the British and French navies in the defence of Newfoundland and the West Indies, and in the all-important task of convoying the shipping in the North Atlantic, which is the life line of Britain and France.

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The country has been fully informed of the details of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. In this gigantic venture, Canada has assumed the major share. Its vital place in the allied plans to meet a long war has, more than once, been indicated by the Prime Minister and other members of the British government. Of the progress made in carrying out the plan, my colleagues and I will have more to say as the campaign proceeds. You are also aware that an air squadron is in training, to proceed overseas, to co-operate at the front with the First Canadian Division.

The industrial, agricultural and financial resources of the country are being steadily mobilized to produce the tremendous quantities of war materials and foodstuffs required for the successful prosecution of a war in which economic strength will be at least as important as military strength. Prompt and vigorous measures have been taken to protect consumers against the kind of profiteering and scarcity which brought such distress to housewives and wage-earners during the last war. The overwhelming success of the recent War Loan is a tribute both to the financial strength of Canada, and to the determination of our people.

The government and the people alike have a right to be proud of such a record of achievement. The foundations of the future development of Canada's war effort have been firmly and soundly laid. These things have not been done in a spectacular or a dramatic way. Nothing has been wasted in parades and shows. No self-appointed, so-called dynamic personalities have been rushing from one end of Canada to the other, and riding rough-shod over the feelings and traditions of our people. Our government believes that work should be persistent, intense, calm and continuous. That is the real way -- the Canadian way. It has been praised by the allied powers; it has impressed the enemy; it has shown to the world that Canada's war effort is backed by a united people.

It is true that from time to time already there have been criticisms. It would be a miracle if the transformation of a peaceful country into a nation at war were not marked by some shortcomings, by some unpreparedness, by some shortage of supplies. But those are minor matters and shrink into insignificance when placed in their appropriate perspective beside the true magnitude of our war effort. Criticism,

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where it has been constructive, has been met by appropriate measures. But other criticisms have developed in recent days, not constructive, but destructive; not designed to further Canada's war effort, but to advance personal ambitions; to spread disunion, and to undermine confidence in an administration, whose conduct of the war up to the beginning of the present year received universal commendation.

The nature of the political campaign which our opponents, and I may say, the opponents of Canadian unity, intended to wage became very clear once the Ontario Legislature was called into session. I need not repeat how the opportunity was seized by the leaders in that Assembly to play a part in Ontario at the beginning of the New Year not unlike that which had been played by the leader of the government of another province during the old year. The utterances of the leaders themselves might well have been ignored, and, so far as I am concerned, they would have been ignored, if a formal resolution of the Ontario Legislature condemning the war effort of the government of Canada had not been passed and become a part of the records of that Assembly.

Whatever might have been thought of tactics of the kind by those in Canada who have become all too familiar with them, the government could not be indifferent to the manner in which, as a consequence, Canada's war effort might come to be viewed in other lands. But for the undertaking not to seek a dissolution of Parliament before Members were once again called together, these events would have led me to ask His Excellency for an immediate dissolution, without awaiting the assembling of Members. In the circumstances, I took the earliest opportunity possible to acquaint Parliament with the decision to hold an immediate election. The government's intention was announced in the Speech from the Throne. At the earliest opportunity, I made on the floor of Parliament itself a statement of the reasons which made an immediate dissolution not only desirable but imperative.

I have been told that in that procedure, I was not paying the respect due to Parliament; that, in season and out of season, I had stressed the supremacy of Parliament, and was now deserting the convictions and doctrines which I firmly held. It is perfectly true that I have never failed to stress the supremacy of Parliament. But it has been the supremacy of Parliament

over the government that I have sought to preserve, not the supremacy of Parliament over the people. Parliament was elected in 1935; five sessions had already been held. The fact that anyone could assume that the supremacy of Parliament might mean depriving the people of their right to an early general election, shows how far some men have drifted in their thinking from any true conception of popular government, and how close they have come to sharing the mentality of dictators.

I had hoped there might have been an opportunity to present to Parliament, in its opening days, an account of the government's conduct of the war. It was obvious, however, to any unprejudiced observer that all that had been gained by the maintenance of parliamentary and national unity was, in the new session, about to be endangered by a bitter political controversy in Parliament. That controversy, once it had begun would not, because of the time we had at our disposal, have been carried to any conclusion on the floor of the House of Commons. It could not have been ended before there was reason to expect a spring offensive in Europe. It would have received a disproportionate attention in the lands of our allies, and in the capital of our foes. It would, inevitably,

have been followed by a dissolution under conditions that would not have been understood abroad. It would have had no finality, for it would have been followed by another campaign.

People in all lands understand that in a general election exaggerated statements will be made, and extreme political attitudes taken. Such allowances for the bitterness of party strife would however not have been made in the case of similar statements made on the floor of Parliament.

No government, charged with the duty of carrying on Canada's war effort, and the regular business of Parliament could, in addition, be expected to face two political campaigns - one carried on before dissolution, another after dissolution - and thereby almost certainly postpone the decision of the electors until the allied cause had reached a new and terrible emergency.

The responsibility for recommending the dissolution was mine. I took that responsibility in pursuance of my conception of my duty. I did so because I believed it to be right, and in the interests of this country. Above all else, I acted as I did in order that the unity of Parliament might be preserved in the eyes of the world.

I knew that a general election had to come - so did our political opponents. I believed that it ought, if possible, to be over before the spring offensive. I believed that it ought to be brought on before roads were broken up and became impassable. I believed that it ought to come before our men in England went to France. I believed it ought to come before our Second Division left this country. If Parliament had been permitted to carry on to the end of March or April, and had, thereby, rendered inevitable a general election at a time when our men were facing all the horrors of concentrated warfare, I would have been told, and rightly so, that I was not fit to be the leader of the government, for allowing matters to drift in that way.

The decision to dissolve was not the result of impulse. It was the inevitable result of the outbreak of a political and partisan struggle, combined with the factors of time to which I have referred. If there had been any hope of a brief session, calmly devoted to the discussion of national affairs, such a session would have been held. A general election this year being necessary under our constitution, I am sure you will agree that no time better suited to the needs of Canada and her allies could have been selected than the

present. Once the stress of events had forced the decision, the straight-forward thing was to announce it at once, and to proceed with the election at once.

I am perfectly certain that from one end of Canada to the other there is thankfulness in the hearts of all that the country will not need to wait a day longer than is necessary for a new parliament, in order that those who are charged with the responsibility of carrying on the great task of Canada's government may be fortified with a direct and unquestioned mandate from the people.

(A)

The first duty of any government charged with responsibility in this country is, has been, and will be to maintain national unity. That task, above all others, I have made the supreme endeavour of my public life.

Canada is a nation strong in the equal partnership of two great races. Through generations, men and women of many lands have come to share that partnership. No Prime Minister would be true either to himself or to the people to whom he is responsible, were he not to lend every effort of mind and of heart to the maintenance of national unity. Especially is this true at a time in the world's history when, over many years, we have been witnessing civil strife, and war between nations, in well nigh every quarter of the globe except our own. The preservation of national unity has been made increasingly difficult in our country as, from time to time, demands have been made upon my colleagues and myself for unconditional declarations of participation, by Canada, in European conflicts, before the actual time, occasion, or nature of the conflicts themselves were known. This impatient and extreme course of procedure served only to bring into being contending forces within the confines of Canada itself:

one determined that Canada should participate in any and every war in which Britain might be engaged, and, the other, equally determined that there should be no Canadian participation in any European wars.

Once again, I ask you to consider where Canada would have been at the outbreak of the present war in Europe, if I, or any of my colleagues, had identified himself with either of these extreme attitudes; or if, through unwise and unnecessary declarations in advance of an actual and known condition, we had helped to precipitate an open conflict of opposed opinions? One thing, I know, we certainly would not have had the all but unanimous voice with which Canada's Parliament made known its decision to stand at the side of Britain and France in resisting Nazi aggression and violence. Nor would we have had, six weeks later, the all but unanimous approval of that decision by the people of the province of Quebec. We would, instead, have had immediate bitter political controversy alike in Parliament and in the country.

I have long held the belief that conditions in Europe could not continue to go, as during the last four years they had been going, from bad to worse, without the moment coming when Europe itself would burst into flames

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and freedom everywhere be menaced. Holding that belief, I have done all that was within my power, and have sought to have done all that was within the power of this country, to avert such a catastrophe by fostering, everywhere and always, policies of international understanding, friendship, and good-will. At the same time, ~~During the past four years~~, I have had continually to face the prospect of the failure to maintain peace. I have also had to consider the possible coming of the day when Britain and France might be drawn into a great conflict for the preservation of their freedom and, indeed, of their very existence. I have had, all the while, to ask myself how best our country could be kept united, and its policies so shaped that, if the moment every came for Canada to declare what part she was prepared to take in a world struggle to thwart aggression and to preserve freedom, she could speak with the single voice of a united people.

I think I know something of the love of liberty which resides in the breast of every Canadian. I think I know something, too, of what men and women, of every part of Canada, of every class, and race and creed, feel they owe to the manner in which their liberties have been secured under British institutions in our free association as a free nation in the British Commonwealth.

(D)

I have therefore never doubted the singleness of mind and purpose with which we would all be prepared to play our part in ~~a~~ any struggle which threatened our freedom ~~and the foundations of civilization itself~~. My task was to see that no false steps, no extreme policies or measures, no hasty action should be allowed to destroy, in advance, either the clearness of vision of our people, or its power for action. I was determined that, ~~when~~ if the moment for decision ever came, no cleavages of opinion, in parliament or in the country, should frustrate Canada's ~~determination~~ power to put forth her utmost effort.

The only absolute proof of any course of action is to be found in its results. You will recall my repeated assurances that Canada would participate in war only after a decision by parliament or the people, ~~and~~ also my refusal to allow a general election to be brought on in July or August, though strongly pressed by the Leader of the Opposition, and many of my own following, to dissolve parliament at that time. You will also recall how speedily parliament was summoned into special session at the moment of the crisis. You know the unanimity which marked the proceedings of parliament and its momentous decision. You know what effect all those things had upon the

the continued unity of this nation in a time of war. Knowing all these things as you do, I ask you, my fellow countrymen, has the course which I have pursued over the years I have been in office, as the leader of the government of this country, not been the right, and, indeed, the only wise and proper one? If you will permit me to say so, you will do well, I believe, to judge the future in the light of the past.

As to what leader or policies are hereafter to govern the conduct of the war, it is of course for you to say. It is your future, not that of any leader or of any government that is at stake. No parliament, least of all a parliament that had run its course, and was elected without any reference to war and its appalling consequences, could have determined that.

My leadership today is being called in question by some who desire to see the government of this country in other hands. It is urged that other and more extreme policies should be substituted for those which my colleagues and I believe to be the only ones that, in these very critical times can keep Canada united, and enable this country to put forth the utmost of her strength, and the maximum of her national effort in the

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winning of the war. Happily, at this moment, all political parties in our country claim to be of one mind in a determination to have Canada do all in her power to help win the war. I, at least, am prepared to say that such differences of opinion as do exist are for the most part either on subjects apart altogether from the war, or arise from differences of temperament, differences of methods, and I think I might add, differences of experience.

What, then, are the issues in this election? It seems to me that there are two real issues. Behind all the clashes of political conflict, the first issue concerns the maintenance of national unity. On that first issue depends the second issue, which is the whole policy of the government in the prosecution of the war. Both issues rise superior to personalities.

The people of Canada are being asked to decide through what government, and as a result of what policies the will of the people of Canada is likely to be carried out most eompletely and effectively in the prosecution of the war effort. That war effort, as I have said, has been developed upon foundations carefully prepared. It has been furthered by steady, persistent and patient

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labour. We have had the experience of the last war to guide us. With that experience illuminating the course which we have had to follow, we have used every effort to avoid the errors of haste and confusion, and the needless sacrifice of blood and treasure that is their inevitable result. In a struggle that now is almost certain to be long and exhausting, our contribution will be effective to the extent that it is carefully planned in close co-operation with that of our allies.

Modern warfare is no longer a swift adventure. It demands long sacrifice and steady determination from each and every one of us. Above all, it requires cool judgment, a steadfast effort, and a balanced and co-ordinated strategy. The most competent military authorities have advised us to prepare for a war which will last three years. You will remember that in 1914, when many people hopefully talked of an early end to hostilities, the calm voice of Lord Kitchener correctly prophesied the extent and the intensity of the fight in which we were all engaged. No one, of course, can really say today whether the war will last for three years, or for even longer. We do know that we must prepare for a long and terrible struggle, in which the

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power to endure to the end may well be decisive. In any event, we can say this with confidence, that the only way to ensure a short war is courageously to prepare for a long war.

Not only must we plan carefully, patiently and wisely for a long war, but we must never lose sight of the fact that we must at once prepare as well for the aftermath of the war.

Every thoughtful Canadian has before him, as an incentive to highest endeavour, the vision of a new and juster world in which humble men and women may be allowed to live in freedom in the land of their fathers.

The men whom you choose to entrust with the responsibility of government must be ready not only to face unflinchingly the dire necessities of war; they must also be prepared with a sense of national unity, and the idealism of international good-will, to face the problems of peace.

We often hear of the ideals of racial tolerance and good neighbourhood on which our own nationhood is founded. We cannot hear of them too often. No one surely will deny that a Canada in which East and West,

French and English,
Catholic and Protestant, Capital and Labour, contribute to real national unity can bring more precious gifts to the building of the new world than a Canada torn asunder by sectional, racial, religious or social conflicts.

The decision is yours. It is not your representatives in parliament who are now being asked to decide on the present and future of this country at a time of war. It is you, yourselves, who are not only the masters of parliament, but, as never before, the masters of your own fate.

I say to you that never have the Canadian people been called upon to make so serious a decision. On that decision will depend not only our contribution to the war, but the maintenance of our own integrity and unity as a nation in a shattered world, to which a united Canada may well bring a new hope to mankind.

I would earnestly suggest that before arriving at your decision you ask yourself these questions:

Should this great task be entrusted to men who, tried in the school of experience, familiar with the problems to be faced, and advocates of policies widely supported, have throughout been united by a community of views?

Or should the conduct of your government in these critical days be handed over to men ~~- be they~~ the ~~extremists~~ of ~~existing~~ parties, or the preachers of new and untried doctrines, or the advance agents of ~~some unborn new democracy~~ - most of whom are without experience in government, and who are bound together by no common principles or agreed policies, ~~but only by a willingness~~ to subject the destiny of Canada to a reckless experiment?

When a vague suggestion is made of a "national" government of all the talents, you would do well to ask and to insist upon knowing who the men will be, and what talents they possess?

Is it not further essential that you should know whether they represent, in fair proportion, the two great races of this dominion? It is my firm conviction. on which I have acted throughout my political life, that our national unity can only be maintained by a government in which there is always an intimate and generous association between French and English. My own relations, over so many years, with that most loyal and truest colleague, the Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe, have themselves reflected that equal and cordial partnership between the original founders of this nation.

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A united war effort of a united Canada represents, I believe, the heartfelt desire of the Canadian people. If you will ask yourself the questions I have suggested, ponder them in your hearts, and answer them as Canadians, I have no doubt of what your decision will be.

Broadcast No. 1 - The Prime Minister.

Final Revise by W.L.M.K.
February 6, 1940.

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PARLIAMENT AND THE PEOPLE

When Parliament concluded its Special War Session in September last, the Canadian people knew that Canada was united. What was of equal importance, there was left on the minds of the people of Europe the clear impression of a country at one in its determination to put forth a supreme national effort towards the winning of the war.

By her unity, Canada gave the greatest possible immediate support to the allied cause. This nation, although remote from the actual conflict, had responded, through its Parliament, with a single voice to the call of freedom.

The reality of Canadian unity, in carrying on the war, was splendidly confirmed and reinforced just six weeks later. On October the 25th, the people of the province of Quebec, with a voice which carried across the Atlantic, gave their answer to a challenge which had thrown suspicion on their loyalty. Her people could not have proclaimed more conclusively, at any time, or in any way, their unity with the rest of Canada in support of the war effort of the federal ministry.

Nothing that was done -

Nothing that was done - nothing that could have been done - by Canada during 1939 could have begun to equal these expressions of the unity which lay behind Canada's participation in the war. Nothing could have more depressed the spirit of the enemy; nothing could have brought more encouragement to the spirit of the allies.

Is there a man or woman in the English-speaking provinces of Canada listening to my voice to whom the result of the Quebec election did not bring a new sense of pride in our common citizenship? Was there a man or woman in England, or in France, who did not see in the unity of this country, which that vote confirmed, an added strength to the allied cause? Does anyone doubt what use the propagandists of Nazi Germany would have made of Canada's disunion, if disunion had shown itself in the Parliament of Canada, or in the final vote of the people in the province of Quebec.

I shall always regard this two-fold demonstration of Canadian unity, this evidence of the common determination of all Canadians to share in the struggle and the sacrifice, as the greatest of the contributions that, in the early stages of the conflict, Canada could possibly have made towards the winning of the war. As we preserve our national unity, so shall we increase our national strength.

It will add

It will add to our understanding of what is essential to the prosecution of Canada's war effort if we recognize, at once, that this demonstration of unity, in Parliament, on the part of the people's representatives, and, in the province of Quebec, by the people themselves, was not born of the moment, and did not arise wholly of itself. It was the result, in no uncertain measure, of the known policies of the present administration, policies which, over many years, in matters of war and peace, have been clearly shown to be in accord with the will of the Canadian people.

When you consider some of the attacks that have been, and are now being made upon the present administration, and more particularly upon myself, I ask you very earnestly to ask yourselves this question: What, at the outbreak, and during the first few months of war, made possible the unity of our country, as expressed by its Parliament, and by the people of its oldest province?

That unity did not come from committing Canada to war before Parliament had made its decision. It was not brought about by agreeing to send expeditionary forces overseas, before Parliament had decided that Canada should participate in war, and had appropriated moneys for its prosecution. It was not brought about

It was not brought about by the government seeking from Parliament, in time of peace, the appropriation of huge sums of money for military expenditures in preparation for Canada's participation in a European war. Our unity was not maintained by committing Canada to fight in Europe, before, or at the time of the Munich conferences, or even after Czechoslovakia was invaded, when, as we now know, the British government itself was unwilling to take that step. It was not achieved by declaring that, without consulting either the Parliament or the people of Canada, the government would commit this country to fight at any time, at any place, in any cause, if Britain went to war. Least of all was it brought about by pledges to extend the life of Parliament in a time of war without any reference to the people, or to form a so-called "national" government that might enforce conscription or disfranchise many classes of Canadian citizens. The memories of those experiences in the last war are still bitter in the minds of the Canadian people.

Unity was made possible by none of these things. On the other hand, it was made possible, and it was achieved by the assurances given the people of Canada, year in and year out, that if my colleagues and I could prevent it, none of these things would happen. We were determined

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We were determined that Parliament, or the people themselves, would decide whether Canada should participate in war. That assurance I gave the Canadian people repeatedly. I kept that promise. And I held this country to that course, steadfastly, patiently, and honourably, in spite of criticism, in spite of abuse, and in spite of aggressive demands that I should break so solemn a trust.

I knew, as you must know, that, without disastrous results, we could not have entered the war, except as a united nation. I know, and you know, that we cannot continue at war, at least with the strength we all desire, except as a united nation. I believe that every fair-minded citizen will agree that the policies which have united Canada are the policies which will keep our country united. Extreme measures used by men of extreme views - whatever means and methods may be taken to enforce them - will only serve to divide and destroy what is most essential in the prosecution of the war - the support, by the people at large, of Canada's war effort.

When my colleagues and I asked parliament, in Special War Session, to appropriate the moneys necessary for the carrying on of the war, and to support the other measures which we deemed essential to that end, Parliament itself was fully conscious of all that was implied in the keeping of this trust. I reminded the people's

I reminded the people's representatives of the pledges I had previously given, and informed them of the intention of my colleagues and myself to see that promises were kept in time of war as they had been in times of peace. I said that I was not in favour of parliament extending its own term. I was particularly opposed to such a step in a parliament which had nearly run its course, and whose members had been elected without any reference to the possibility of serving as representatives of the people in time of war. Let it never be forgotten that the present war, in the opinion of those best able to judge, may continue over several years. A parliament indefinitely extended might easily become a dictatorship.

In asserting in Parliament, on your behalf, the constitutional right of the people to select their representatives, I gave to members of Parliament an assurance that a general election would not be held before Parliament had again been summoned. I undertood that the members would be called together not later than the month of January. I made clear, however, that it might be necessary to have Parliament summoned at an earlier date.

I had in mind,

I had in mind, when I spoke, as it is always necessary for one charged with the responsibilities of government to have in mind, that it is impossible, when events move swiftly, to foresee what may happen in an interval of time. I knew that the measures necessary to maintain national unity, and to promote Canada's war effort, could only be determined in the light of subsequent events. It was obviously essential that I should not so bind the administration's freedom of action in a time of war, as to prevent the government from taking, at the moment when the necessity arose, whatever action might become imperative. The undertaking I then gave was limited to having no election before Parliament was again summoned; and to have Parliament called in January, if it did not become imperative to have it summoned earlier. What I said specifically was: "At that time, we will be in a position to consider what steps may be most necessary with regard to developments that may ensue meanwhile." What did take place in the interval bears out, I think, the wisdom of this precaution.

I may say that in naming

I may say that in naming January as the month within which Parliament would be called, and before which time no general election would, in the ordinary course of events, be brought on, I had in mind the obligation which clearly rested on my colleagues and myself of organizing Canada's war effort in the most effective manner, and with the least possible delay. I had in mind the presentation to Parliament, when it met, of the record of what had been accomplished. I would have preferred, and would have mentioned an earlier date than January, had I believed that Canada's war effort could have been properly organized and sufficiently advanced in a shorter period of time.

Since the special session of Parliament, my colleagues and I, as you all know, have devoted ourselves patiently, energetically, and unitedly to transforming the wishes of Parliament and of the people into action. You know something of what, within five months' time, has been accomplished. The government's record will be fully presented to you in the course of the present campaign, and criticisms of that record met without fear.

It is true

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It is true that from time to time already there have been criticisms. It would be a miracle if the transformation of a peaceful country into a nation at war were not marked by some shortcomings, by some unpreparedness, by some shortage of supplies. But those are minor matters and shrink into insignificance when placed in their appropriate perspective beside the true magnitude of our war effort.

Criticism, where it has been constructive, has been met by appropriate measures. But other criticisms have developed in recent days, not constructive, but destructive; not designed to further Canada's war effort, but to advance personal ambitions; to spread disunion, and to undermine confidence in an administration, whose conduct of the war up to the beginning of the present year received ~~universal~~ widespread general commendation.

The nature of the political campaign ~~which~~ is now our opponents, and, I may say, the opponents of Canadian unity, intended to wage became very clear once the Ontario Legislature was called into session. I need not repeat how the opportunity was seized by the leaders in that Assembly to play a part in Ontario, at the beginning of the New Year, not unlike that which had been played by the leader of the government of another province during the old year.

<u>The utterances of the leaders</u>

The utterances of the leaders themselves might well have been ignored, and, so far as I am concerned, they would have been ignored, if a formal resolution of the Ontario Legislature condeming the war effort of the government of Canada had not been passed, and become a part of the records of that Assembly.

Whatever might have been thought of tactics of the kind by those in Canada who have become all too familiar with them, the government could not be indifferent to the manner in which, as a consequence, Canada's war effort might come to be viewed in other lands. But for the undertaking not to seek a dissolution of Parliament before members were once again called together, these events would have led me to ask His Excellency for an immediate dissolution, without awaiting the assembling of members. In the circumstances, I took the earliest opportunity possible to acquaint Parliament with the decision to hold an immediate election. The government's intention was announced in the Speech from the Throne. At the earliest opportunity, I made on the floor of Parliament itself a statement of the reasons which made an immediate dissolution not only desirable but imperative.

I have been told that, in that procedure, I was not paying the respect due to Parliament; that, in season and out of season, I had stressed the supremacy of Parliament, and was now deserting the convictions and doctrines which I firmly held. It is perfectly true that I have never failed to stress the supremacy of Parliament. But it has been the supremacy of Parliament over the government that I have sought to preserve, not the supremacy of Parliament over the people. Parliament was elected in 1935; five sessions had already been held. The fact that anyone could assume that the supremacy of Parliament might mean depriving the people of their right to an early general election, shows how far some men have drifted in their thinking from any true conception of popular government, and how close they have come to sharing the mentality of dictators.

I had hoped there might have been an opportunity to present to Parliament, in its opening days, an account of the government's conduct of war.

It was obvious, however,

It was obvious, however, to any unprejudiced observer, that all that had been gained by the maintenance of parliamentary and national unity was, in the new session, about to be endangered by a bitter political controversy in Parliament. That controversy, once it had begun, would not, because of the time we had at our disposal, have been carried to any conclusion on the floor of the House of Commons. It could not have been ended before there was reason to expect a spring offensive in Europe. It would have received a disproportionate attention in the lands of our allies, and in the capital of our foes. It would, inevitably, have been followed by a dissolution under conditions that would not have been understood abroad. It would have had no finality, for it would have been followed by another campaign.

People in all lands understand that in a general election exaggerated statements will be made, and extreme political attitudes taken. Such allowances for the bitterness of party strife would, however, not have been made in the case of similar statements made on the floor of Parliament.

No government,

No government, charged with the duty of carrying on Canada's war effort, and the regular business of Parliament, could, in addition, be expected to face two political campaigns - one carried on before dissolution, another after dissolution - and thereby almost certainly postpone the decision of the electors until the allied cause had reached a new and terrible emergency.

The responsibility for recommending the dissolution was mine. I took that responsibility in pursuance of my conception of my duty. I did so because I believed it to be right, and in the interests of this country. Above all else, I acted as I did, in order that the unity of Parliament might be preserved in the eyes of the world.

I knew that a general election had to come - so did our political opponents. I believed that it ought, if possible, to be over before the spring offensive. I believed that it ought to be brought on before roads were broken up and became impassable. I believed that it ought to come before our men in England went to France.

I believed it ought to come before our second division left this country. If Parliament had been permitted to carry on to the end of March or April, and had, thereby, rendered inevitable a general election at a time when our men were facing all the horrors of concentrated warfare, I would have been told, and rightly so, that I was not fit to be the leader of the government, for allowing matters to drift in that way.

The decision to dissolve was not the result of impulse. It was the inevitable result of the outbreak of a political and partisan struggle, combined with the factors of time to which I have referred. If there had been any hope of a brief session, calmly devoted to the discussion of national affairs, such a session would have been held. A general election this year being necessary under our constitution, I am sure you will agree that no time, better suited to the needs of Canada and her allies, could have been selected than the present. Once the stress of events had forced the decision, the straightforward thing was to announce it at once, and to proceed with the election at once.

I am perfectly certain

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I am perfectly certain that from one end of Canada to the other there is thankfulness in the hearts of all that the country will not need to wait a day longer than is necessary for a new parliament, in order that those who are charged with the responsibility of carrying on the great task of Canada's government in war may be fortified with a direct and unquestioned mandate from the people.

The first duty of any government charged with responsibility in this country is, has been, and will be to maintain national unity. That task, above all others, I have made the supreme endeavour of my public life.

Canada is a nation strong in the equal partnership of two great races. Through generations, men and women of many lands have come to share that partnership. No Prime Minister would be true, either to himself or to the people to whom he is responsible, were he not to lend every effort of mind and of heart to the maintenance of national unity. Especially is this true at a time in the world's history when, over many years, we have been witnessing civil strife, and war between nations, in well nigh every quarter of the globe except our own.

The preservation of national unity has been made increasingly difficult in our country as, from time to time, demands have been made upon my colleagues and myself for unconditional declarations of participation, by Canada, in European conflicts, before the actual time, occasion, or nature of the conflicts themselves were known. This impatient and extreme course of procedure served only to bring into being contending forces ~~within the confines~~ in every part of Canada, ~~itself~~: one determined that Canada should participate in any and every war in which Britain might be engaged, and, the other, equally determined that there should be no Canadian participation in any European wars.

Once again, I ask you to consider where Canada would have been at the outbreak of the present war in Europe, if I, or any of my colleagues, had identified himself with either of these extreme attitudes; or if, through unwise and unnecessary declarations in advance of an actual and known condition, we had helped to precipitate an open conflict of opposed opinions?

<u>One thing, I know</u>,

One thing, I know, we certainly would not have had the all but unanimous voice with which Canada's Parliament made known its decision to stand at the side of Britain and France in resisting Nazi aggression and violence. Nor would we have had, six weeks later, the all but unanimous approval of that decision by the people of the province of Quebec. We would, instead, have had immediate bitter political controversy alike in Parliament and in the country.

I have long held the belief that conditions in Europe could not continue to go, as during the last four years they had been going, from bad to worse, without the moment coming when Europe itself would burst into flames and freedom everywhere be menaced. Holding that belief, I have done all that was within my power, and have sought to have done all that was within the power of this country, to avert such a catastrophe by fostering, everywhere and always, policies of international understanding, friendship, and good-will. At the same time, I have had continually to face the prospect of the failure to maintain peace.

I have also had to consider

I have also had to consider the possible coming of the day when Britain and France might be drawn into a great conflict for the preservation of their freedom and, indeed, of their very existence. I have had, all the while, to ask myself how best our country could be kept united, and its policies so shaped that, if the moment ever came for Canada to declare what part she was prepared to take in a world struggle to thwart aggression and to preserve freedom, she could speak with the single voice of a united people.

I think I know something of the love of liberty which resides in the breast of every Canadian. I think I know something, too, of what men and women, of every part of Canada, of every class, and race and creed, feel they owe to the manner in which their liberties have been secured under British institutions in our free association as a free nation in the British Commonwealth. I have, therefore, never doubted the singleness of mind and purpose with which we would all be prepared to play our part in any struggle which threatened our freedom.

My task was to see that no false step, no extreme policies or measures, no hasty action should be allowed to destroy, in advance, either the clearness of vision of our people, or its power for action. I was determined that, if the moment for decision ever came, no cleavages of opinion, in parliament or in the country, should frustrate Canada's power to put forth her utmost effort.

The only absolute proof of any course of action is to be found in its results. You will recall my repeated assurances that Canada would participate in war only after a decision by parliament or the people; also, my refusal to allow a general election to be brought on in July or August, though strongly pressed by the Leader of the Opposition, and many of my own following, to dissolve parliament at that time. You will also recall how speedily parliament was summoned into special session at the moment of the crisis. You know the unanimity which marked the proceedings of parliament and its momentous decision. You know what effect all those things had upon the continued unity of this nation in a time of war.

Knowing all these things

Knowing all these things as you do, I ask you, my fellow countrymen, has the course which I have pursued over the years I have been in office, as the leader of the government of this country, not been the right, and, indeed, the only wise and proper one? If you will permit me to say so, you will do well, I believe, to judge the future in the light of the past.

As to what leader or policies are hereafter to govern the conduct of the war, it is of course for you to say. It is your future, not that of any leader or of any government, that is at stake. No Parliament, least of all a Parliament that had run its course, and was elected without any reference to war and its appalling consequences, could have determined that.

My leadership today is being called in question by some who desire to see the government of this country in other hands. It is urged that other and more extreme policies should be substituted for those which my colleagues and I believe to be the only ones that, in these very critical times can keep Canada united, and enable this country to put forth the utmost of her strength, and the maximum of her national effort in the winning of the war.

Happily, at this moment,

Happily, at this moment, all political parties in our country claim to be of one mind in a determination to have Canada do all in her power to help win the war. I, at least, am prepared to say that such differences of opinion as do exist are, for the most part, either on subjects apart altogether from the war, or arise from differences of temperament, differences of method, and I think I might add, differences of experience.

What, then, are the issues in this election? It seems to me that there are two real issues. Behind all the clashes of political conflict, the first issue concerns the maintenance of national unity. On that first issue depends the second issue, which is the whole policy of the government in the prosecution of the war. Both issues rise superior to personalities.

The people of Canada are being asked to decide through what government, and as a result of what policies the will of the people of Canada is likely to be carried out most completely and effectively in the prosecution of the war effort. That war effort, as I have said, has been developed upon foundations carefully prepared.

It has been furthered

It has been furthered by steady, persistent and patient labour. We have had the experience of the last war to guide us. With that experience illuminating the course which we have had to follow, we have used every effort to avoid the errors of haste and confusion, and the needless sacrifice of blood and treasure that is their inevitable result. In a struggle that now is almost certain to be long and exhausting, our contribution will be effective to the extent that it is carefully planned in close co-operation with that of our allies.

Not only must we plan carefully, patiently and wisely for a long war, but we must never lose sight of the fact that we must, at once, prepare, as well, for the aftermath of the war.

Every thoughtful Canadian has before him, as an incentive to highest endeavour, the vision of a new and juster world in which humble men and women may be allowed to live in freedom in the land of their fathers.

The men whom you choose to entrust with the responsibility of government must be ready not only to face unflinchingly the dire necessities of war; they must also be prepared with a sense of national unity, and the idealism of international good-will, to face the problems of peace.

We often hear

We often hear of the ideals of racial tolerance and good neighbourhood on which our own nationhood is founded. We cannot hear of them too often. No one surely will deny that a Canada in which East and West, French and English, Catholic and Protestant, Capital and Labour, contribute to real national unity can bring more precious gifts to the building of the new world than a Canada torn asunder by sectional, racial, religious or social conflicts.

The decision is yours. It is not your representatives in Parliament who are now being asked to decide on the present and future of this country at a time of war. It is you, yourselves, who are not only the masters of Parliament, but, as never before, the masters of your own fate.

I say to you that never have the Canadian people been called upon to make so serious a decision. On that decision will depend not only our contribution to the war, but the maintenance of our own integrity and unity as a nation in a shattered world, to which a united Canada may well bring a new hope to mankind.

I would earnestly suggest

I would earnestly suggest that before arriving at your decision you ask yourself these questions:

Should not this great task be entrusted to men who, tried in the school of experience, familiar with the problems to be faced, and advocates of policies widely supported, have throughout been united by a community of views?

Or should the conduct of your government in these critical days be handed over to men most of whom are without experience in government, and who are bound together by no common principles or agreed policies?

When a vague suggestion is made of a "national" government of all the talents, you would do well to ask, and to insist upon knowing, who the men will be, and what talents they possess?

Is it not further essential that you should know whether they represent, in fair proportion, the two great races of this Dominion? It is my firm conviction, on which I have acted throughout my political life, that our national unity can only be maintained by a government in which there is always an intimate and generous association between French and English.

My own relations,

My own relations, over so many years, with that most loyal and truest of colleagues, the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe, have themselves reflected that equal and cordial partnership between the original founders of this nation.

A united war effort of a united Canada represents, I believe, the heartfelt desire of the Canadian people. If you will ask yourself the questions I have suggested, ponder them in your hearts, and answer them as Canadians, I have no doubt of what your decision will be.

Final Revise by W.L.M.K.
February 7, 1940. D53964

Broadcast No. 1 - The Prime Minister.

Canada and the War

PARLIAMENT AND THE PEOPLE

London Conference Unity and Freedom

When Parliament concluded its Special War Session in September last, the Canadian people knew that Canada was united. What was of equal importance, there was left on the minds of the peoples of Europe the clear impression of a country at one in its determination to put forth a supreme national effort towards the winning of the war.

The reality of Canadian unity, in carrying on the war, was splendidly confirmed and reinforced just six weeks later. On October the 25th, the people of the province of Quebec, with a voice which carried across the Atlantic, gave their answer to a challenge which had thrown suspicion on their loyalty. Her people could not have proclaimed more conclusively, at any time, or in any way, their unity with the rest of Canada in support of the war effort of the federal ministry.

I shall always regard this two-fold demonstration of Canadian unity, this evidence of the common determination of all Canadians to share in the struggle and the sacrifice, - as the greatest of the contributions that, in the early

stages of the conflict,

stages of the conflict, Canada could possibly have made towards the winning of the war. As we preserve our national unity, so shall we increase our national strength. It will add to our understanding of what is essential to the prosecution of Canada's war effort if we recognize, at once, that this demonstration of unity, in Parliament, on the part of the people's representatives, and, in the province of Quebec, by the people themselves, was not born of the moment, and did not arise wholly of itself. It was the result, in no uncertain measure, of the known policies of the present administration, policies which, over many years, in matters of war and peace, have been clearly shown to be in accord with the will of the Canadian people.

That unity did not come from committing Canada to war before Parliament had made its decision. It was not brought about by agreeing to send expeditionary forces overseas, before Parliament had decided that Canada should participate in war, and had appropriated moneys for its prosecution. It was not brought about by the government seeking from Parliament, in time of peace, the appropriation of huge sums of money for military expenditures in preparation for Canada's participation in a European war. Our unity was not maintained by committing Canada to fight in Europe, before, or at the time of the Munich conferences,

or at the time of the Munich conferences, or even after Czechoslovakia was invaded, when, as we now know, the British government itself was unwilling to take that step. It was not achieved by declaring that, without consulting either the Parliament or the people of Canada, the government would commit this country to fight at any time, at any place, in any cause, if Britain went to war. Least of all was it brought about by pledges to extend the life of Parliament in a time of war without any reference to the people, or to form a so-called "national" government that might enforce conscription or disfranchise many classes of Canadian citizens. The memories of those experiences in the last war are still bitter in the minds of the Canadian people.

(2) Unity was made possible by none of these things. On the other hand, it was made possible, and it was achieved by the assurance given the people of Canada, year in and year out, that if my colleagues and I could prevent it, none of these things would happen. We were determined that Parliament, or the people themselves, would decide whether Canada should participate in war. That assurance I gave the Canadian people repeatedly. I kept that promise. And I held this country to that course, steadfastly, patiently,

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and honourably, in spite of criticism, in spite of abuse, and in spite of aggressive demands that I should break so solemn a trust.

I knew, as you must know, that, without disastrous results, we could not have entered the war, except as a united nation. I know, and you know, that we cannot continue at war, at least with the strength we all desire, except as a united nation. I believe that every fair-minded citizen will agree that the policies which have united Canada are the policies which will keep our country united. Extreme measures used by men of extreme views - whatever means and methods may be taken to enforce them - will only serve to divide and destroy what is most essential in the prosecution of the war - the support, by the people at large, of Canada's war effort.

(3) In asserting in Parliament, on your behalf, the constitutional right of the people to select their representatives, I gave to members of Parliament an assurance that a general election would not be held before Parliament had again been summoned. I undertook that the members would be called together not later than the month of January. I made clear, however, that it might be necessary to have Parliament summoned at an earlier date. I had in mind, when I spoke, as it is always necessary for one charged with the responsibilities of government to have in mind, that it is

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(5) The nature of the political campaign it was intended to wage became very clear once the Ontario Legislature was called into session. I need not repeat how the opportunity was seized by the leaders in that Assembly, to play a part in Ontario, at the beginning of the New Year, not unlike that which had been played by the leader of the government of another province, during the old year. The utterances of the leaders themselves might well have been ignored, and, so far as I am concerned, they would have been ignored, if a formal resolution of the Ontario Legislature, condemning the war effort of the government of Canada, had not been passed, and become a part of the records of that Assembly.

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this true at a time in the world's history when, over many years, we have been witnessing civil strife, and war between nations, in well nigh every quarter of the globe except our own. The preservation of national unity has been made increasingly difficult in our country as, from time to time, demands have been made upon my colleagues and myself for unconditional declarations of participation, by Canada, in European conflicts, before the actual time, occasion, or nature of the conflicts themselves were known. This impatient and extreme course of procedure served only to bring into being contending forces in every part of Canada: one determined that Canada should participate in any and every war in which Britain might be engaged, and, the other, equally determined that there should be no Canadian participation in any European wars.

Once again, I ask you to consider where Canada would have been at the outbreak of the present war in Europe, if I, or any of my colleagues, had identified himself with either of these extreme attitudes; or if, through unwise and unnecessary declarations, in advance of an actual and known condition, we had helped to precipitate an open conflict of opposed opinions?

I have long held the belief

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I have long held the belief that conditions in Europe could not continue to go, as during the last four years they had been going, from bad to worse, without the moment coming when Europe itself would burst into flames, and freedom everywhere be menaced. Holding that belief, I have done all that was within my power, and have sought to have done all that was within the power of this country, to avert such a catastrophe by fostering, everywhere and always, policies of international understanding, friendship, and good-will. At the same time, I have had continually to face the prospect of the failure to maintain peace. I have also had to consider the possible coming of the day when Britain and France might be drawn into a great conflict for the preservation of their freedom and, indeed, of their very existence. I have had, all the while, to ask myself how best our country could be kept united, and its policies so shaped that, if the moment ever came for Canada to declare what part she was prepared to take in a world struggle to thwart aggression and to preserve freedom, she could speak with the single voice of a united people.

(10)

I think I know something of the love of

liberty which resides

liberty which resides in the breast of every Canadian. I think I know something, too, of what men and women, of every part of Canada, of every class, and race and creed, feel they owe to the manner in which their liberties have been secured under British institutions, in our free association, as a free nation, in the British Commonwealth. I have, therefore, never doubted the singleness of mind and purpose with which we would all be prepared to play our part, in any struggle which threatened our freedom. My task was to see that no false step, no extreme policies or measures, no hasty action should be allowed to destroy, in advance, either the clearness of vision of our people, or its power for action. I was determined that, if the moment for decision ever came, no cleavages of opinion, in parliament or in the country, should frustrate Canada's power to put forth her utmost effort.

The only absolute proof of any course of action is to be found in its results. You will recall my repeated assurances that Canada would participate in war only after a decision by parliament or the people; also, my refusal to allow a general election to be brought on in July or August, though strongly

pressed by the Leader of the Opposition

pressed by the Leader of the Opposition, and many of my own following, to dissolve parliament at that time. You will also recall how speedily parliament was summoned into special session at the moment of the crisis. You know the unanimity which marked the proceedings of parliament, and its momentous decision. You know what effect all those things have had upon the continued unity of this nation in a time of war. Knowing all these things, as you do, I ask you, my fellow countrymen, has the course which I have pursued over the years I have been in office, as the leader of the government of this country, not been the right, and, indeed, the only wise and proper one? Quite apart from myself, if you will permit me to say so, you will do well, I believe, to judge the future in the light of the past.

(11) As to what leader or policies are hereafter to govern the conduct of the war, it is of course for you to say. It is your future, not that of any leader or of any government, that is at stake. No parliament, least of all a parliament that had run its course, and was elected without any reference to war and its appalling consequences, could have determined that. Whom you wished to guide the destinies of this country,

My leadership today

My leadership today is being called in question by some who desire to see the government of this country in other hands. It is urged that other, and more extreme policies, should be substituted for those which my colleagues and I believe to be the only ones that, in these very critical times, can keep Canada united, and enable this country to put forth the utmost of her strength, and the maximum of her national effort in the winning of the war. Happily, at this moment, all political parties in our country claim to be of one mind in a determination to have Canada do all in her power, to help win the war. I, at least, am prepared to say that such differences of opinion as do exist, are, for the most part, either on subjects apart altogether from the war, or arise from differences of temperament, differences of methods, and I think I might add, differences of experience.

(12) ——>

What, then, are the issues in this election? It seems to me that there are two real issues. Behind all the clashes of political conflict, the first issue concerns the maintenance of national unity. On that first issue depends the second issue, which is the whole policy of the government in the prosecution of the war. Both issues rise superior to personalities.

The people of Canada

The people of Canada are being asked to decide through what government, and as a result of what policies the will of the people of Canada is likely to be carried out most completely and effectively in the prosecution of the war effort. That war effort, as I have said, has been developed upon foundations carefully prepared. It has been furthered by steady, persistent and patient labour. We have had the experience of the last war to guide us. With that experience illuminating the course which we have had to follow, we have used every effort to avoid the errors of haste and confusion, and the needless sacrifice of blood and treasure that is their inevitable result. In a struggle that ~~now~~ is ~~almost~~ certain to be long and exhausting, our contribution will be effective to the extent that it is carefully planned in close co-operation with that of our allies.

Not only must we plan carefully, patiently and wisely for a long war, but we must never lose sight of the fact that we must, at once, prepare, as well, for the aftermath of the war.

(13) Every thoughtful Canadian has before him, as an incentive to highest endeavour, the vision of a new

and juster world

and juster world in which humble men and women may be allowed to live in freedom in the land of their fathers.

The men whom you choose to entrust with the responsibility of government must be ready not only to face unflinchingly the dire necessities of war; they must also be prepared with a sense of national unity, and the idealism of international good-will, to face the problems of peace.

We often hear of the ideals of racial tolerance and good neighbourhood on which our own nationhood is founded. We cannot hear of them too often. No one surely will deny that a Canada in which East and West, French and English, Catholic and Protestant, Capital and Labour, contribute to real national unity can bring more precious gifts to the building of the new world than a Canada torn asunder by sectional, racial, religious or social conflicts.

(14) The decision is yours. It is not your representatives in Parliament who are now being asked to decide on the present and future of this country at a time of war. It is you, yourselves, who are not only the masters of Parliament, but, as never before, the masters of your own fate.

I say to you

I say to you, that never have the Canadian people been called upon to make so serious a decision. On that decision will depend, not only our contribution to the war, but the maintenance of our own integrity and unity as a nation in a shattered world, to which a united Canada may well bring a new hope to mankind.

I would earnestly suggest that before arriving at your decision you ask yourself these questions:

Should not this great task be entrusted to men who, tried in the school of experience, familiar with the problems to be faced, and advocates of policies widely supported, have throughout been united by a community of views?

Or, should the conduct of your government in these critical days be handed over to men, most of whom are without experience in government, and who are bound together by no common principles or agreed policies?

When a vague suggestion is made of a "national" government of all the talents, you would do well to ask, and to insist upon knowing, who the men will be, and what talents they possess?

Is it not further essential that you should know whether they represent, in fair proportion, the

<u>two great races of this Dominion?</u>

two great races of this Dominion? It is my firm conviction, on which I have acted throughout my political life, that our national unity can only be maintained by a government in which there is always an intimate and generous association between French and English. My own relations, over so many years, with that most loyal and truest of colleagues, the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe, have themselves reflected that equal and cordial partnership between the original founders of this nation.

(15) A united war effort of a united Canada represents, I believe, the heartfelt desire of the Canadian people. If you will ask yourself the questions I have suggested, ponder them in your hearts, and answer them as Canadians, I have no doubt of what your decision will be.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

Parliament and the People

UNITY AND FREEDOM

A Radio Address by
Right Honourable
W. L. MACKENZIE KING
Ottawa, 7th February, 1940

Parliament and the People

UNITY AND FREEDOM

A radio address delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King from Ottawa, 7th February, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—

When Parliament concluded its Special War Session in September last, the Canadian people knew that Canada was united. What was of equal importance, there was left on the minds of the peoples of Europe the clear impression of a country at one in its determination to put forth a supreme national effort towards the winning of the war.

The reality of Canadian unity, in carrying on the war, was splendidly confirmed and reinforced just six weeks later. On October 25th, the people of the province of Quebec, with a voice which carried across the Atlantic, gave their answer to a challenge which had thrown suspicion on their loyalty. Her people could not have proclaimed more conclusively, at any time, or in any way, their unity with the rest of Canada in support of the war effort of the federal ministry.

I shall always regard this two-fold demonstration of Canadian unity, this evidence of the common determination of all Canadians to share in the struggle and the sacrifice, as the greatest of the contributions that, in the early stages of the conflict, Canada could possibly have made towards the winning of the war. As we preserve our national unity, so shall we increase our national strength.

How Canadian Unity Might Have Been Destroyed.

It will add to our understanding of what is essential to the prosecution of Canada's war effort if we recognize, at once, that this demonstration of unity, in Parliament, on the part of the people's representatives, and, in the province of Quebec, by the people themselves, was not born of the moment, and did not arise wholly of itself. It was the result, in no uncertain measure, of the known policies of the present administration, policies which, over many years, in matters of war and peace, have been clearly shown to be in accord with the will of the Canadian people.

That unity did not come from committing Canada to war before Parliament had made its decision. It was not brought about by agreeing to send expeditionary forces overseas, before Parliament had decided that Canada should participate in war, and had appropriated moneys for its prosecution. It was not brought about by the government seeking from Parliament, in time of peace, the appropriation of huge sums of money for military expenditures in preparation for Canada's participation in a European war. Our unity was not maintained by committing Canada to fight in Europe, before, or at the time of the Munich conferences, or even after Czechoslovakia was invaded, when, as we now know, the British government itself was unwilling to take that step. It was not achieved by declaring that, without consulting either the Parliament or the people of Canada, the government would commit this country to fight at any time, at any place, in any cause, if Britain went to war. Least of all was it brought about by pledges to extend the life of Parliament in a time of war without any reference to the people, or to form a so-called "national" government that might enforce conscription

or disfranchise many classes of Canadian citizens. The memories of those experiences in the last war are still bitter in the minds of the Canadian people.

How Canadian Unity Was Achieved.

Unity was made possible by none of these things. On the other hand, it was made possible, and it was achieved by the assurances given the people of Canada, year in and year out, that if my colleagues and I could prevent it, none of these things would happen. We were determined that Parliament, or the people themselves, would decide whether Canada should participate in war. That assurance I gave the Canadian people repeatedly. I kept that promise. And I held this country to that course, steadfastly, patiently, and honourably, in spite of criticism, in spite of abuse, and in spite of aggressive demands that I should break so solemn a trust.

I knew as you must know, that, without disastrous results, we could not have entered the war, except as a united nation. I know, and you know that we cannot continue at war, at least with the strength we all desire, except as a united nation. I believe that every fair-minded citizen will agree that the policies which have united Canada are the policies which will keep our country united. Extreme measures used by men of extreme views—whatever means and methods may be taken to enforce them—will only serve to divide and destroy what is most essential in the prosecution of the war—the support, by the people at large, of Canada's war effort.

Necessary Freedom of Action Carefully Safeguarded.

In September last, in asserting in Parliament, on your behalf, the constitutional right of the people to select their representatives, I gave to members of Parliament, an assurance that a general election would not be held before Parliament had again been summoned. I undertook that the members would be called together not later than the month of January. I made clear, however, that it might be necessary to have Parliament summoned at an earlier date. I had in mind, when I spoke, as it is always necessary for one charged with the responsibilities of government to have in mind, that it is impossible, when events move swiftly, to foresee what may happen in an interval of time. I knew that the measures necessary to maintain national unity, and to promote Canada's war effort, could only be determined in the light of subsequent events. It was obviously essential that I should not so bind the administration's freedom of action in a time of war, as to prevent the government from taking, at the moment when the necessity arose, whatever action might become imperative. The undertaking I then gave was limited to having no election before Parliament was again summoned; and to have Parliament called in January, if it did not become imperative to have it summoned earlier. What I said specifically was: "At that time, we will be in a position to consider what steps may be most necessary with regard to developments that may ensue meanwhile". What did take place in the interval bears out, I think, the wisdom of this precaution.

I may say that in naming January as the month within which Parliament would be called, and before which time no general election would, in the ordinary course of events, be brought on, I had in mind the obligation which clearly rested

on my colleagues and myself of organizing Canada's war effort in the most effective manner, and with the least possible delay. I had in mind the presentation to Parliament, when it met, of the record of what had been accomplished. I would have preferred, and would have mentioned an earlier date than January, had I believed that Canada's war effort could have been properly organized and sufficiently advanced in a shorter period of time.

Organization of Canada's War Effort.

Since the special session of Parliament, my colleagues and I, as you all know, have devoted ourselves patiently, energetically, and unitedly to transforming the wishes of Parliament and the people into action. You know something of what within five months' time has been accomplished. The government's record will be fully presented to you in the course of the present campaign, and criticisms of that record met without fear.

It is true that from time to time, already, there have been criticisms. It would be a miracle if the transformation of a peaceful country into a nation at war were not marked by some shortcomings, by some unpreparedness, by some shortage of supplies. But those are minor matters and shrink into insignificance when placed in their appropriate perspective beside the true magnitude of our war effort.

Criticism, where it has been constructive, has been met by appropriate measures. But other criticisms have developed in recent days, not constructive, but destructive; not designed to further Canada's war effort, but to advance personal ambitions; to spread disunion, and to undermine confidence in an administration whose conduct of the war up to the beginning of the present year received general commendation.

Resolution of Ontario Legislature Beginning of a Political Campaign.

The nature of the political campaign it was intended to wage became very clear once the Ontario Legislature was called into session. I need not repeat how the opportunity was seized by the leaders in that Assembly to play a part in Ontario at the beginning of the New Year not unlike that which had been played by the leader of the government of another province during the old year. The utterances of the leaders themselves might well have been ignored, and, so far as I am concerned, they would have been ignored, if a formal resolution of the Ontario Legislature condemning the war effort of the government of Canada, had not been passed and become a part of the records of that Assembly.

Whatever might have been thought of tactics of the kind by those of us in Canada who have become all too familiar with them, the government could not be indifferent to the manner in which, as a consequence, Canada's war effort might come to be viewed in other lands. But for the undertaking not to seek a dissolution of Parliament before Members were once again called together, these events would have led me to ask His Excellency for an immediate dissolution, without awaiting the assembling of Members. In the circumstances, I took the earliest opportunity possible to acquaint Parliament with the decision to hold an immediate election. The government's intention was announced in the Speech from the Throne. At the earliest opportunity, I made on the floor of Parliament itself a statement of the reasons which made an immediate dissolution not only desirable but imperative.

Parliament Supreme Over Government But Not Over People.

I have been told that, in that procedure, I was not paying the respect due to Parliament; that, in season and out of season, I had stressed the supremacy of Parliament, and was now deserting the convictions and doctrines which I firmly held. It is perfectly true that I have never failed to stress the supremacy of Parliament. But it has been the supremacy of Parliament over the government that I have sought to preserve, not the supremacy of Parliament over the people. The Parliament just dissolved was elected in 1935; five sessions had already been held. The fact that anyone could assume that, in the circumstances mentioned, the supremacy of Parliament might mean depriving the people of their right to an early general election, shows how far some men have drifted in their thinking from any true conception of popular government, and how close they have come to sharing the mentality of dictators.

I had hoped there might have been an opportunity to present to Parliament, in its opening days, an account of the government's conduct of the war. It was obvious, however, to any unprejudiced observer that all that had been gained by the maintenance of parliamentary and national unity was, in the new session, about to be endangered by a bitter political controversy in Parliament. That controversy, once it had begun, would not, because of the time we had at our disposal, have been carried to any conclusion on the floor of the House of Commons. It could not have been ended before there was reason to expect a spring offensive in Europe. It would have received a disproportionate attention in the lands of our allies, and in the capital of our foes. It would, inevitably, have been followed by a dissolution under conditions

that would not have been understood abroad. It would have had no finality, for it would have been followed by another campaign.

People in all lands understand that in a general election exaggerated statements will be made, and extreme political attitudes taken. Such allowances for the bitterness of party strife would, however, not have been made in the case of similar statements made on the floor of Parliament.

Canada's War Effort the First Consideration.

No government, charged with the duty of carrying on Canada's war effort, and, at the same time, the regular business of Parliament could, in addition, be expected to face two political campaigns—one carried on in Parliament itself before dissolution, another in the country after dissolution —and thereby almost certainly postpone the decision of the electors until the allied cause had reached a new and terrible emergency.

The responsibility for recommending the dissolution was mine. I took that responsibility in pursuance of my conception of my duty. I did so because I believed it to be right, and in the interest of this country. Above all else, I acted as I did in order that the unity of Parliament might be preserved in the eyes of the world.

I knew that a general election had to come—so did our political opponents. I believed that it ought, if possible, to be over before the spring offensive. I believed that it ought to be brought on before roads were broken up and became impassable. I believed that it ought to come before our men in England went to France. I believed it ought to come before our Second Division left this country. If Parliament

had been permitted to carry on to the end of March or April, and had, thereby, rendered inevitable a general election at a time when our men were facing all the horrors of concentrated warfare, I would have been told, and rightly so, that I was not fit to be the leader of the government, for allowing matters to drift in that way.

Immediate Election Rendered Imperative.

The decision to dissolve was not the result of impulse. It was the inevitable result of the outbreak of a political and partisan struggle, combined with the factors of time to which I have referred. If there had been any hope of a brief session, calmly devoted to the discussion of national affairs, such a session would have been held. That hope disappeared with the resolution of the Ontario Legislature, which marked, and was intended as, the beginning of a political campaign. A general election this year being necessary under our constitution, I am sure you will agree that no time better suited to the needs of Canada and the allied powers could have been selected than the present. Once the stress of events had forced the decision, the straight-forward thing was to announce it at once, and to proceed with the election at once.

I am perfectly certain that from one end of Canada to the other there is thankfulness in the hearts of all that the country will not need to wait a day longer than is necessary for a new Parliament, in order that those who are charged with the responsibility of carrying on the great task of Canada's government in war may be fortified with a direct and unquestioned mandate from the people.

The Preservation of National Unity.

The first duty of any government charged with responsibility in this country is, has been, and will be to maintain national unity. That task, above all others, I have made the supreme endeavour of my public life.

Canada is a nation strong in the equal partnership of two great races. Through generations, men and women of many lands have come to share that partnership. No Prime Minister would be true, either to himself, or to the people to whom he is responsible, were he not to lend every effort of mind and of heart to the maintenance of national unity. Especially is this true at a time in the world's history when, over many years, we have been witnessing civil strife, and war between nations, in well nigh every quarter of the globe except our own. The preservation of national unity has been made increasingly difficult in our country as, from time to time, demands have been made upon my colleagues and myself for unconditional declarations of participation, by Canada, in European conflicts, before the actual time, occasion, or nature of the conflicts themselves were known. This impatient and extreme course of procedure served only to bring into being contending forces in every part of Canada: one determined that Canada should participate in any and every war in which Britain might be engaged, and, the other, equally determined that there should be no Canadian participation in any European wars.

Once again, I ask you to consider where Canada would have been at the outbreak of the present war in Europe, if I, or any of my colleagues, had identified himself with either of these extreme attitudes; or if, through unwise and unnecessary declarations in advance of an actual and known condition, we had helped to precipitate an open conflict of opposed opinions?

Efforts to Maintain Peace in Europe.

I have long held the belief that conditions in Europe could not continue to go, as during the last four years they had been going, from bad to worse, without the moment coming when Europe itself would burst into flames and freedom everywhere be menaced. Holding that belief, I have done all that was within my power, and have sought to have done all that was within the power of this country, to avert such a catastrophe by fostering, everywhere and always, policies of international understanding, friendship, and good-will. At the same time, I have had continually to face the prospect of the failure to maintain peace. I have also had to consider the possible coming of the day when Britain and France might be drawn into a great conflict for the preservation of their freedom and, indeed, of their very existence. I have had, all the while, to ask myself how best our country could be kept united, and its policies so shaped that, if the moment ever came for Canada to declare what part she was prepared to take in a world struggle to thwart aggression and to preserve freedom, she could speak with the single voice of a united people.

Efforts to Preserve Unity in Canada.

I think I know something of the love of liberty which resides in the breast of every Canadian. I think I know something, too, of what men and women, of every part of Canada, of every class, and race, and creed, feel they owe to the manner in which their liberties have been secured under British institutions in our free association as a free nation in the British Commonwealth. I have, therefore, never doubted the singleness of mind and purpose with which we would all

be prepared to play our part in any struggle which threatened our freedom. My task was to see that no false step, no extreme policies or measures, no hasty action should be allowed to destroy, in advance, either the clearness of vision of our people, or its power for action. I was determined that, if the moment for decision ever came, no cleavages of opinion, in Parliament or in the country, should frustrate Canada's power to put forth her utmost effort.

The only absolute proof of any course of action is to be found in its results. You will recall my repeated assurances that Canada would participate in war only after a decision by Parliament or the people; also, my refusal last year to allow a general election to be brought on in July or August, though strongly pressed by the Leader of the Opposition, and many of my own following, to dissolve Parliament at that time. You will also recall how speedily Parliament was summoned into special session at the moment of the crisis. You know the unanimity which marked the proceedings of Parliament and its momentous decision. You know what effect all those things have had upon the continued unity of this nation in a time of war. Knowing all these things as you do, I ask you, my fellow countrymen, has the course which I have pursued over the years I have been in office, as the leader of the government of this country, not been the right, and, indeed, the only wise and proper one? Quite apart from myself, if you will permit me to say so, you will do well, I believe, to judge of the future in the light of the past.

The People's Right to Decide Upon Leaders and Policies.

As to what leader or policies are hereafter to govern the conduct of the war, it is of course for you to say. It is your future, not that of any leader or of any government, that is at

stake. No Parliament, least of all a Parliament that had run its course, and was elected without any reference to war and its appalling consequences, could have determined whom you wished to guide the destinies of this country.

My leadership today is being called in question by some who desire to see the government of this country in other hands. It is urged that other and more extreme policies should be substituted for those which my colleagues and I believe to be the only ones that, in these very critical times, can keep Canada united, and enable this country to put forth the utmost of her strength, and the maximum of her national effort in the winning of the war. Happily, at this moment, all political parties in our country claim to be of one mind in a determination to have Canada do all in her power to help win the war. I, at least, am prepared to say that such differences of opinion as do exist are for the most part either on subjects apart altogether from the war, or arise from differences of temperament, differences of method, and I think I might add, differences of experience.

How Best to Give Effect to Will of People—(a) in Canada's War Effort.

What, then, are the issues in this election? It seems to me that there are two real issues. Behind all the clashes of political conflict, the first issue concerns the maintenance of national unity. On that first issue depends the second issue, which is the whole policy of the government in the prosecution of the war. Both issues rise superior to personalities.

The people of Canada are being asked to decide through what government, and as a result of what policies the will of the people of Canada is likely to be carried out most com-

pletely and effectively in the prosecuton of the war effort. That war effort, as I have said, has been developed upon foundations carefully prepared. It has been furthered by steady, persistent and patient labour. We have had the experience of the last war to guide us. With that experience illuminating the course which we have had to follow, we have used every effort to avoid the errors of haste and confusion, and the needless sacrifice of blood and treasure that is their inevitable result. In a struggle that is certain to be long and exhausting, our contribution will be effective to the extent that it is carefully planned in close co-operation with that of our allies.

Not only must we plan carefully, patiently and wisely for a long war, but we must never lose sight of the fact that we must, at once, prepare, as well, for the aftermath of the war.

How Best to Give Effect to Will of People—(b) in Relation to Peace and Post-war Problems.

Every thoughtful Canadian has before him, as an incentive to highest endeavour, the vision of a new and juster world in which humble men and women may be allowed to live in freedom in the land of their fathers.

The men whom you choose to entrust with the responsibility of government must be ready not only to face unflinchingly the dire necessities of war; they must also be prepared with a sense of national unity, and the idealism of international good-will, to face the problems of peace.

We often hear of the ideals of racial tolerance and good neighbourhood on which our own nationhood is founded.

We cannot hear of them too often. No one surely will deny that a Canada in which East and West, French and English, Catholic and Protestant, Capital and Labour, contribute to real national unity can bring more precious gifts to the building of the new world than a Canada torn asunder by sectional, racial, religious or social conflicts.

People Themselves to Decide Canada's Future and Their Own Fate.

The decision is yours. It is not your representatives in Parliament who are now being asked to decide on the present and future of this country at a time of war. It is you, yourselves, who are not only the masters of Parliament, but, as never before, the masters of your own fate.

I say to you that never have the Canadian people been called upon to make so serious a decision. On that decision will depend not only our contribution to the war, but the maintenance of our own integrity and unity as a nation in a shattered world, to which a united Canada may well bring a new hope to mankind.

I would earnestly suggest that before arriving at your decision you ask yourselves these questions:

Should not this great task be entrusted to men who, tried in the school of experience, familiar with the problems to be faced, and advocates of policies widely supported, have throughout been united by a community of views?

Or should the conduct of your government in these critical days be handed over to men, most of whom are without experience in government, and who are bound together by no common principles or agreed policies?

When a vague suggestion is made of a "national" government of all the talents, you would do well to ask and to insist upon knowing who the men will be, and what talents they possess.

Is it not further essential that you should know whether they represent, in fair proportion, the two great races of this Dominion? It is my firm conviction, on which I have acted throughout my political life, that our national unity can only be maintained by a government in which there is always an intimate and generous association between French and English. My own relations, over so many years, with that most loyal and truest of colleagues, the Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe, have themselves reflected that equal and cordial partnership between the original founders of this nation.

A United War Effort of a United Canada.

A united war effort of a united Canada represents, I believe, the heartfelt desire of the Canadian people. If you will ask yourselves the questions I have suggested, ponder them in your hearts, and answer them as Canadians, I have no doubt of what your decision will be.

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PRIME MINISTER

POLITICAL BROADCAST No. 2

Wednesday, February 21, 1940

Broadcast No. 2 February 21, 1940

D53987

CANADA AND THE WAR

War Record of the Mackenzie King Administration

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Since my last broadcast was delivered, the Leader of the Opposition has spoken to you over the radio. In his broadcast, on Friday evening, the Honourable Dr. Manion gave it as his opinion that the present administration no longer merited your confidence. He centred his attack on the government's war effort. These are the words he used:

> "Canada confronts a grave crisis. The King government is responsible for our unpreparedness, and our weak war effort. Therefore, it is the duty of all those who love this Canada of ours to work together to defeat that government."

There is no mistaking the meaning of that language. Dr. Manion wishes the present government to be defeated. He has stated the issue as he sees it. It is the government's war record. I am quite prepared to accept his challenge. He has named the issue. I now propose to meet it.

In what I am about to say, I shall emphasize, and I hope that you will remember, the following important facts. My colleagues and I took every care to see that war, if it came, should find Canada as well prepared as a peace-loving country could be.

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loving country could be. When war was near, we took every possible step to place our defence forces in a state of preparation for active service. When war appeared inevitable, Parliament was instantly summoned. Canada forthwith, by the decision of her Parliament, took her place at the side of the Allies.

In anticipation of Parliament's decision, we had already begun direct and daily consultation with Britain. We have since continued such consultation for the purpose of working out and perfecting plans for vigorous, prompt and effective co-operation. We had established the security of this country in its own defences. We were, therefore, able at once to make valuable contributions to the cause of the Allies. We were able to mobilize farm and factory, man-power and money, on the side of Britain and France. Our foresight made possible the steady growth of our national endeavour. It ensured from that day, and from this day, onward, a maximum of effort, with a minimum of waste.

I cannot reveal the details of the plans of the Allies. You will understand why. I would like to tell you what they are, but I have no intention of telling the enemy. I can only assure you of the most complete and continuous co-operation between our Allies and ourselves.

In the last war,

D 53989

In the last war, Canada's main contribution was the despatch of infantry to France. That was what the Allied powers wanted Canada to do then. Our whole military effort was concentrated upon that contribution, and the courageous achievements of our men filled Canada with pride, Britain and France with inspiration, and the enemy with confusion. But, military historians and present-day experts agree that there was, in the strategy of the last war, a woeful waste of treasure and of life.

In 1914, we had no Air Force of our own, although on the honour roll of the Royal Air Force are imperishably enshrined the names of thousands of young Canadians. Our naval service in 1914 was exceedingly small. It had, in fact, no separate existence in time of war. Such is not the case today. The Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Air Force are today separate, distinct and well organized services. They are vital elements in the defence of Canada. They are important links in the unbroken chain of allied strength.

Already we have organized and despatched an expeditionary force. ~~Three contingents have safely crossed the Atlantic.~~ Our men have been subjected to the strictest standards of health and training. The First Division is now completing its training in England; the Second is well

advanced in training in Canada.

D 53390

advanced in training in Canada. When the day comes for our soldiers to face the enemy, they will be found, in physique and morale, the equal of their fathers and predecessors who made Canada a nation on the fields of Flanders. They will be better equipped than their comrades were in the last war.

But, as you know, the main theatre of war thus far has not been on land; it has been on the sea, and in the air. In those brutal elements, the strength, the skill, and I may say, the brutality of the enemy have combined in a vain effort to strike terror into the hearts of the British and French peoples. The strategy of yesterday is not the strategy of today. It may be that the strategy of today will not be the strategy of tomorrow. Time will tell that story. Thus far, while we have been told that the presence of Canadian land forces will be no less heartily welcomed, we have been definitely asked to direct our effort especially towards the development of our naval and air services, and to industrial activity. I think you will agree that the course of the war, up to the present, has shown with what foresight the allied plans have been laid.

I need hardly remind you how the conditions of the present war differ from those that prevailed in 1914. Methods of warfare are new, weapons are new, and abroad, the strategic picture is now entirely different. Today,

Germany fights on only one front.

Germany fights on only one front. This time Russia is not our ally. Italy is not our ally. Japan is not our ally. In the early years of the last war, we relied on British ships alone to protect our eastern shores and the waters of the Gulf. Diplomacy had made our western ocean, in very truth, Pacific.

Our own position, as a country, has also changed. Today, Canada stands before the world as a nation. We have the privileges of nationhood. We have also its responsibilities. The first of these is responsibility for our own national security. The primary duty of each member of the British Commonwealth is to provide for its own defence. That is the basis of our free association, and of all Empire co-operation. It has been so recognized at every Imperial Conference since 1923.

The threats to Canadian security are far greater today than they were in 1914. To the East, on the Atlantic, we face warfare. To the West, on the Pacific, we face doubt and uncertainty. We must keep constantly in mind the possibility of attacks from the sea, on either coast; and, in the air, from many points of the compass. Whatever contribution we can or could make outside of Canada would be seriously weakened, and might easily be destroyed, if we had neglected our own defences. Never forget that fact.

The Leader of the Opposition

D 53992

The Leader of the Opposition charges the government with "unpreparedness". Unpreparedness for what? Does he mean unpreparedness for national defence, or does he mean unpreparedness by Canada, in peace time, for active participation in war in Europe? If he means unpreparedness for the defence of Canada, his charges are untrue. If he means unpreparedness in peace time for active participation, by Canada, in a European war, in his anxiety to condemn the government, he forgets the facts, and condemns himself. In peace time, he never advocated preparedness for a war in Europe. The government never advocated preparedness for a war in Europe. As a matter of fact, there was general agreement, both in this country and in Great Britain, that it would be extremely unlikely that Canadian expeditionary forces would again take part in a European war.

Today, Dr. Manion quite fails to distinguish between preparedness, in peace time, for national defence, and preparedness, in peace time, to send forces overseas. He knew the difference, however, when Parliament was in regular session in March, 1939. He knew the difference from March, 1939, to September, 1939, when Parliament met in war session. He knew the difference until an expeditionary force was already on its way overseas. He kept silent in

peace time because he knew,

peace time because he knew, as everyone listening to me knows, that neither Parliament nor the people would have supported expenditures, in peace time, to prepare for active participation by Canada in a European war.

It is perfectly true that we did not in times of peace, budget for times of war. If we had, our measures would not have received the support of Parliament. By preparedness in peace time, the present government always meant, and always said it meant, preparedness to meet the possibility of attacks upon Canada in the event of war. The government repeatedly told Parliament that our peace time military expenditures were exclusively for the defence of Canada.

I propose now, as simply as I can, to tell you the main facts concerning the government's record in war.

Parliament was summoned on the first day of September, 1939. Britain declared war on September the third. I announced on the first of September that if Britain did declare war, the government would recommend to Parliament that Canada should stand at her side. We never doubted that Parliament would accept our policy. We, therefore, as I have already mentioned, entered into immediate consultation

<u>with the British government</u>,

with the British government, in order to arrive without delay at a basis of co-operative action. We quickly reached an understanding about the things that had to be done at once. These I outlined to Parliament on September the 6th.

The British government told us that we could render the greatest help by assisting in the naval and air defence of Newfoundland, Labrador, the French Islands in the Gulf, and the British and French West Indies. We provided that assistance at once. The British government also urged upon us the importance of increasing air training and naval and air facilities, and of sending trained air men and mechanics overseas as soon as possible. We lost no time in doing as we were asked.

Meanwhile, we continued daily consultation with the British authorities. By September the 19th, we had heard more of their plans, and were in a position to announce a more extended programme. We learned that technical men, doctors and engineers were needed for the land forces. In the light of this information, we decided to concentrate on recruiting men of the types which were urgently and especially needed. We had already begun to organize and train an army division which was to be ready to proceed overseas as soon as it was required.

D 53995

it was required. On that day the government decided to organize a second division. In order that we might devote our energy and strength to fill the needs of the allied forces, in the manner in which we had been asked, further ~~general~~ recruiting was postponed for the time being.

The Canadian Navy was already watching over our own coastal waters, Newfoundland and the West Indies. It was taking its share of convoy duty, of mine-sweeping, and of anti-submarine defence. We began immediately to construct anti-submarine and mine-sweeping craft. We also authorised a plan of intensified air training in Canada to provide a progressively increasing number of pilots and airmen. These things were planned and done, within three weeks of the outbreak of war, after consultation with, and in co-operation with, the British authorities. Is this, I ask, unpreparedness? I leave the answer to you.

Within a month of the outbreak of war, the swift domination of Poland had demonstrated the decisive importance of superior air power. The significance of the conquest, and the means by which it was accomplished, were not without their immediate effect. If the Germans believed that the war was to be won with air power, the allies were determined, not only that theirs would be the superiority in air power,

but that the enemy should know

but that the enemy should know this as soon and as clearly as possible. Out of this determination, there emerged the epoch-making proposal for a gigantic plan for joint air training. On September the 26th it was presented by the British government to the other governments of the British Commonwealth.[13] The vastness of its scope and power immediately fired the imagination of all. We in Canada, some months prior to the outbreak of war, had made an agreement with Britain for the advanced training of a definite number of British pilots in Royal Canadian Air Force establishments. That fact, and the geographic advantages of our country, made Canada the logical centre for this great enterprise.

Our acceptance of the proposal in principle was prompt and decisive. The acceptance by Australia and New Zealand was equally so. By October the 10th, I was able to announce that Missions were to be sent to Ottawa from the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, to work out all the complicated technical and financial details of the training plan. The British, Australian and New Zealand Missions arrived in due course. By November the 27th a basis of agreement had been reached. ~~The approval of the governments of the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand had still to be obtained.~~[14] On December the 17th, I gave to you over the radio an outline of the plan,

an outline of the plan, which on that day had been accepted by all four governments. I suggest to you that, having regard to the elements of time and space, the signing of that agreement is a tribute to the vigour and efficiency of our action.

In this truly tremendous project, Canada has assumed the major share. What this Air Training Plan will probably mean to the allied cause, you have already been told. When, on October the 10th, I announced the proposal, I said that the government of the United Kingdom had indicated its opinion that, with the facilities which Canada possessed, this co-operative effort might prove to be of the most essential and decisive character. Shortly after the agreement was signed, the British government again advised us that in its opinion the Air Training scheme would do more to assist in ultimate victory than any other form of military aid which Canada could give. At the same time, the British government told us that it would welcome no less heartily the presence of Canadian land forces in the theatre of war at the earliest possible moment. You know how soon this wish was gratified, and how quickly the British people were given an opportunity to welcome our troops. On the very day I was announcing to you the signing of the Air Training Agreement, the first contingent of the First Division of the Canadian

Active Service Force was landing in the United Kingdom.

We did not wait for the signing of the Agreement to get on with the job of carrying out the programme finally agreed upon. Before the agreement was signed, the ground had been prepared, and much had already been accomplished. Every day since, the work has been proceeding with vigour and speed. 16

Some forty completed airports were available as the result of civil developments, and forty new airports are being developed from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The delivery of planes from manufacturers in Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States is actively proceeding. Deliveries of advanced training aircraft, being supplied by the British Air Ministry, have begun and are continuing. Orders have been placed for hundreds of other planes, of Canadian and American manufacture.

Between the outbreak of war and the end of the year, contracts for the Royal Canadian Air Force to the value of over seven and a half million dollars had been let for works and buildings, most of which will be used for air training. The recruitment of personnel to man the schools is well advanced, and the training of instructors is actively in progress. By spring the training establishments will be ready to receive pupils. 17

I have already referred

D 53999

I have already referred to the landing in the United Kingdom, on December 17th, of the first contingent of the First Division of the Canadian Active Service Force. This contingent was accompanied by its Commanding Officer: Major ~~General~~ A.G.L. McNaughton, who had been appointed to that command on October 6th. The second contingent landed on the last two days of the old year. With the recent landing of the third contingent, Canada now has a complete division, and additional auxiliary units, engaged in advanced training in England. All three contingents made the crossing safely and exactly according to a schedule worked out months in advance. All left Canada fully clothed and fully equipped.

Meanwhile, the training of the Second Division is proceeding rapidly, and the decision has been reached to despatch it overseas at an appropriate time.

18

An Army Co-operation Air Squadron has also completed its training in Canada. It will very soon be joining the First Division overseas. A second similar Air Squadron to co-operate with the Second Division is in training.

The navy has been well called the silent service. No detailed account can be given of its activities. I may mention, however, that we have added to it steadily both in men and ships. Since the beginning of the year, orders have

<u>been placed for the largest naval</u>

D 54000

been placed for the largest naval ship-building programme ever undertaken in Canada. The part the navy has played in the vital task of convoying shipping in the sea lanes of the North Atlantic, the life-line of Britain and France, has received the highest praise of the allied powers.

Today, there are over 70,000 men under arms in the Canadian Active Service Force; over 9,000 in the Royal Canadian Air Force and over 6,000 in the Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve. These numbers will be increased by tens of thousands of young Canadians as the Air Training Plan develops, and men continue to be recruited for the other services. On the sea, on land, and in the air, Canada's achievements in this war may well be a source of national pride.

I should like now to tell you in a few words something of what has been done on the home front. We call it the home front because in this part of national service are enlisted every miner, every farmer, every fisherman, every lumberman, indeed, every worker in Canada.

I need not tell you that the furnishing of supplies of all kinds is of vital importance to the success of the British and Allied powers. Our work on the home front is designed to fit into a common plan. In this too, our Allies have told us what they require. In this too, we have done

<u>everything within our power</u>

everything within our power to meet their needs. This work is just as much part of the allied plan, and just as important as our contribution of men to the armed services.

We hear so much about the vastness of our territory and the extent of our natural resources that sometimes we ourselves are apt to overlook them. Today, that very vastness and those very resources are a lasting reservoir of strength to the allied cause; for Canada stands to Europe as the nearest, the surest and the safest source of those materials and supplies without which no great nation could wage a successful war.

But our vastness and our wealth of raw materials would be of no avail unless we were able to produce, and to transport. At this crisis in our history, we are fortunate in the development of production and transportation as two arms of national service.

We do not always remember that the federation of Canada as one nation stretching from sea to sea was made possible by the railways. While we are joined in sentiment by bonds of the heart, we are welded in material things by bonds of steel. The railways are on the front line of our home defence. The present government has resolutely refused to cut down the railway facilities of this country. Today, they are at their very height of operating efficiency. Every dollar

we have spent on the maintenance

we have spent on the maintenance of the railways may now be viewed as a dollar spent on defence and preparedness. We are more than ready to meet the demands which have overtaxed the transportation systems of other countries.

What is true of our railways is true also of our progress in civil aviation. No money could have been more wisely spent on national preparedness than the investment in the Trans-Canada Air Lines. I might remind you in passing that this vast national service was begun and developed entirely by the present administration.

During the last three years, there has also been built, with the active approval and under the guidance of the present administration, a chain of high-powered broadcasting stations.

Again, what is true of our railways is true also of our harbours. At Halifax and Saint John, for example, since Canada entered the war, traffic has more than doubled. There has been no congestion and no delay. This has been accomplished under the direction of a Transport Controller, of whose excellent work, like that of our other war administrators, very little has been heard or said.

While these things are sometimes taken for granted, I suggest to you that they, also, are essential elements of

a well-directed and well-prepared

D 54003

a well-directed and well-prepared national economy, geared for war.

Industry, of course, could not be transformed as readily as our transport facilities were. We had built up no huge armament industry in peace time. I hope with all my heart, and I know that you hope also, that such an industrial enterprise will never need to form a permanent addition to the economy of Canada. Nevertheless, preparations had been made for the production of munitions in case the dire need for them ever arose. Long before the outbreak of war, the government had caused a complete industrial survey of Canada to be made.

The government also, in June last, sponsored at their request, a visit to the United Kingdom of a delegation organized by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. Its object was to study the production of arms and munitions in Great Britain, and to assist in the speedy adaptation of Canadian industry to the needs of warfare, if ever it came. The delegation was headed by Major-General McNaughton. Through the office of Canada's High Commissioner in London, every facility was accorded the delegation while it was in Britain. The assistance afforded to the governments of Great Britain and Canada, and to Canadian industry itself, as a result of that visit, was of supreme value.

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D 54003

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You all know

REPEAT
REPETITION

You all know of the establishment of the War Supply Board, under the control of experienced and public-spirited men. They have had two tasks. Their first duty has been to mobilize our industrial resources. Their second has been to place orders and to let contracts. Particulars of these contracts amounting in all to over $110,000,000. have been published from day to day. In awarding these contracts, the members of the Board have been instructed by the government to guard against both patronage and profiteering. Its members, chosen without regard to party, have, I believe, been guided solely by three principles: honesty, efficiency, and economy. The government is determined that in this war the public trust will not be surrendered to private greed.

25

There was, at the outset, some impatience because orders were not placed more speedily. The impatience, while perhaps natural, was ill-founded. Orders could hardly have been placed by Canada before Parliament had made the necessary appropriations, or authorized the expenditure. They could not have been placed on behalf of the United Kingdom until the British government itself was prepared to place them. To meet their own immediate requirements, the allied powers had on hand large reserves of supplies of all kinds. (~~We, like them, needed time to determine precisely~~ what our own forces

D 54005

what our own forces were to be, and what they would require. Moreover, it was necessary for all nations involved in the war to await developments, and to know what form the war would take. In our preparation, we all had to keep in mind many phases and stages of the conflict, the last no less than the first.

While the War Supply Board has been bringing our industrial resources into preparation and action, two other branches of government have been concerned with matters which intimately affect the welfare of each one of you. The Agricultural Supplies Committee has been working steadily, with two objects in view. It has been trying, with success, to adapt our farming methods to the needs of war. It has been planning to prevent disaster to agriculture in the period after the war. The Canadian farmer made a tremendous contribution to the winning of the last war. He is helping to win this war. We do not propose, if we can avoid it, that he should lose the fruit of his labours, or find himself in peace time once again the victim of a depression which he did nothing to create.

There is another matter which affects the well-being of each one of you. Most of all, it concerns the lives of those whose main problem is meeting the cost of the necessities which keep

D 54006

the necessities which keep body and soul together. In order to prevent, as far as is humanly possible, the placing of additional burdens upon the workers of this land, the government, as early as September the 3rd, set up the War-Time Prices and Trade Board. That Board, as you are aware, has done its work well. I regret I have not time tonight to describe what it has accomplished. I may tell you, however, that we have given its members very wide powers. I promise you that as long as vigour and vigilance, and the punishment of the guilty can prevent such a calamity, there will be no undue rise in the cost of the necessities of life.

This, ladies and gentlemen, has been the record of the war effort of the present Administration at this time of crisis in the world's affairs. What I have told you relates almost exclusively to the period which has elapsed since the beginning of the war - a period of less than half a year.

xB In my first broadcast, I told you how the present government had brought to the side of Britain and France the united war effort of a united Canada. I told you what had to be done and what had not to be done to achieve that end. I told you of the responsible trust placed upon my colleagues and myself to preserve calm and patience during the long and

D 54007

difficult months that preceded the tragedy of war. In this broadcast, I have told you something of the energy and vigour with which, since we entered the war, the present Administration has prosecuted Canada's war effort. National unity was maintained prior to and at the moment of the declaration of war. The war effort was made possible by the unity thus achieved. Never forget that the two are inseparable.

This is the record which the Leader of the Opposition says constitutes the issue in the present election. He appeals to you to defeat the government because of the inefficiency of its war effort. I maintain that if ever a government was entitled to the continued confidence of the people because of the manner in which, at a time of war, it had administered a great national trust, the present government merits that confidence. At all events, it is for you to judge. It is your interests and your future that today are being weighed in the political balance.

My colleagues and I are quite prepared to be judged on our record by the people of this country. Happily, it is to your judgment that we make our appeal. This election will determine ~~the~~ your representation in the Parliament of Canada for the next five years. It affords you a full and free opportunity to decide what is best for yourselves.

2nd Revise by W.L.M.K. Feb.17.

Broadcast No. 2

D 54008

Ladies and Gentlemen:

When last I spoke to you, I tried to tell you how the present government had brought to the assistance of Britain and France the united war effort of a united Canada. I spoke, as you remember, of the gradual development of those conditions in Europe which eventually plunged the defenders of freedom into a war against tyranny. I told you of the responsible trust placed upon my colleagues and myself to remain calm and patient during the long and difficult months that preceded the tragedy of war. Our duty was to establish a unity of opinion in Canada on the issues which we faced, and a unity of vigour and action in the manner in which to meet them. I told you what had to be done, and what had not to be done, to achieve these ends. I tried to picture for you the pride in British institutions that inspired the people of Canada as a free nation of the British Commonwealth. I suggested that our historic faith in liberty under the British Crown had united the youthful strength of a free people in the steady and persistent determination to fight and vanquish the forces of evil.

I promised you that the government's record would be fully presented to you and criticisms of that record met without fear.

Since my broadcast was delivered, the Leader of the Opposition has also spoken over the radio. On Friday evening, the Hon. Dr. Manion gave it as his opinion that the present administration no longer merited your confidence. His attack was centered on the government's war effort. These are the words he used:

> "Canada confronts a grave crisis. The King government is responsible for our unpreparedness, and our weak war effort. Therefore, it is the duty of all those who love this Canada of ours to work together to defeat that government."

There is no mistaking that language. Here then is the issue as Dr. Manion sees and states it. I am quite prepared to accept his challenge. He has named the issue. I now propose to meet it.

In what I am about to say, I shall emphasize, and I hope that you will remember, the following important facts. My colleagues and I took every care to see that war, if it came, should find Canada as well prepared as a peace-loving democracy could be.

D 54010

When war was near, we took every possible step to place our defence forces in a state of preparation for active service. When war appeared inevitable, Parliament was instantly summoned. Canada forthwith, by the decision of her Parliament, took her place at the side of the Allies. In anticipation of Parliament's decision, we had already begun direct and daily consultation with Britain. We have since continued such consultation for the purpose of working out and perfecting plans for vigorous, prompt and effective co-operation. We had established the security of this country in its own defences. We were, therefore, able to make immediate and valuable contributions to the cause of the Allies. We were able to mobilize farm and factory, man-power and money, on the side of Britain and France. Our foresight made possible the steady growth of our national endeavour. It ensured from that day, and from this day, onward, a maximum of effort, with a minimum of waste.

I cannot reveal the details of the plans of the allies. You will know why. I would like to tell you what they are, but I have no intention of telling the enemy. I can only assure you of the most

D 54011

complete and continuous co-operation between our Allies and ourselves.

In the last war, Canada's main contribution was the despatch of infantry to France. That was what the Allied powers wanted Canada to do then. Our whole military effort was concentrated upon that contribution, and the courageous achievements of our men filled Canada with pride, Britain and France with inspiration, and the enemy with confusion. But, military historians and present-day experts agree that there was, in the strategy of the last war, a woeful waste of treasure and of life.

In 1914, we had no Air Force of our own, although on the honour roll of the Royal Air Force are imperishably enshrined the names of thousands of young Canadians. Their epic bravery will continue to inspire "the brotherhood that binds the brave of all the earth". Our naval service in 1914 was exceedingly small. It had, in fact, no separate existence in time of war. That is not the case today. The Royal Canadian navy and the Royal Canadian air force are today vital elements in the defence of Canada. They also are important links in the unbroken chain of allied strength.

We have already organized an expeditionary force. Three contingents have safely crossed the Atlantic. Our men have been subjected to the strictest standards of health and training. In physique and morale, they are the equalof their fathers and predecessors who made Canada a nation on the fields of Flanders. The First Division is now completing its training in England, the Second is well advanced in training in Canada. When the day comes for our soldiers to face the enemy, they will be better equipped than their comrades were in the last war.

But, as you know, the main theatre of war thus far has not been on land; it has been on the sea, and in the air. In those elements, the strength, the skill, and I may say, the brutality of the enemy have combined in a vain effort to strike terror into the hearts of the British and French peoples. The strategy of yesterday is not the strategy of today. It may be that the strategy of today will not be the strategy of tomorrow. Time will tell that story. Up to the present, while we have been told that the presence of Canadian land forces will be no less heartily welcomed, we have been asked especially to direct our effort

D 54013

towards the development of our naval and air services, and to industrial activity.

I need hardly remind you how the conditions of the present war differ from those that prevailed in 1914. Methods of warfare are new, weapons are new, and abroad the strategic picture is now entirely different. Today Germany fights on only one front. This time Russia is not our ally, Italy is not our ally, Japan is not our ally. In the last war diplomacy had made our western ocean, in very truth, Pacific. Our own position has also changed. Today Canada stands, before the world, as a nation. We have the privileges of nation-hood. We have also its responsibilities. The first of these is responsibility for our own national security. The primary duty of each member of the British Common-wealth is to provide for its own defence. That is the basis of our free association. It has been so recognized at every Imperial Conference since 1923.

The threats to Canadian security are far greater today than they were in 1914. To the East, on the Atlantic, we face warfare. To the West, on the pacific, we face doubt and uncertainty.

We must keep constantly

in mind the possibility of attacks from the sea on either coast and in the air, from many points of the compass. Whatever contribution we can or could make outside of Canada would be seriously weakened and might easily be destroyed if we had neglected our own defences. Never forget that fact.

The Leader of the Opposition charges the government with "unpreparedness". Unpreparedness for what? Does he mean unpreparedness for national defence, or does he mean unpreparedness by Canada, in peace time, for active participation in war in Europe? If he means unpreparedness for the defence of Canada, his charges are untrue. If he means unpreparedness in peace time for active participation, by Canada, in a European war, in his anxiety to condemn the government, he forgets the facts and condemns himself. In peace time, he never advocated preparedness for a war in Europe. The government never advocated preparedness for a war in Europe. As a matter of fact, the government, Dr. Manion's predecessor, and many responsible statesmen in Great Britain all agreed that it would be extremely unlikely that Canadian expeditionary forces would again take take part in a European war.

D 54015

As late as January of last year, Dr. Manion's predecessor, speaking in the city of Calgary, was reported as saying that he did not believe that ever again a Canadian expeditionary force would leave the shores of Canada. Referring in the House of Commons to that speech, Dr. Manion himself, on March 30 used these words: "I have other reasons for thinking it is improvident that an expeditionary force on anything like the scale which existed in the last war would ever again be expected of Canada."

Today, Dr. Manion quite fails to distinguish between preparedness in peace time for national defence, and preparedness in peace time to send forces overseas. He knew the difference however in March last, he knew the difference from March to September, he knew the difference until an expeditionary force was already on its way overseas. He kept silent in peace time because he knew, as everyone listening to me knows, that neither the Parliament nor the people would have supported expenditures in peace time to prepare for active participation of Canada in a European war. It is perfectly true that

D 54016

we did not in times of peace budget for times of war.

By preparedness in peace time the present government has always meant and always said it meant preparedness to meet the possibility of attacks upon Canada in the event of war. The government repeatedly told Parliament that our peace time military expenditures were exclusively for the defence of Canada.

When the present government assumed office in 1935 we found our defences in a very weak state. For the fiscal year 1935-36, the Conservative government had appropriated seventeen million dollars for defences. In our first full fiscal year, 1936-37, we actually spent over twenty-six million dollars; in the following year thirty-two million dollars; in 1938-39 over thirty-four million dollars. For the current fiscal year, we appropriated at the regular session last year sixty-three million dollars. All this was done long before war was declared, and while the people of this country still clung to the hope for peace. During those years, no one in the House of Commons urged us to spend more. We were criticized, sometimes severely, for spending so much. All the monies so expended were used to build and strengthen the defences

D 54017

of Canada. Without those expenditures, we could not have laid the foundation of our own national security. Without them, we could not have planned our contribution to the Allied cause.

When the emergency arose the government did not shirk its responsibility. It recommended to Parliament a definite policy of complete participation in co-operation with our allies. The steady improvement of our defences from 1936 to 1939, on land, on sea and in the air, had prepared us to meet the crisis without delay and without confusion.

I propose now, as simply as I can, to tell you the main facts concerning the government's record in war.

Parliament was summoned on the 1st day of September, 1939. Britain declared war on September the third. I announced on the 1st of September that if Britain did declare war, the government would recommend to Parliament that Canada should stand at her side. We never doubted that Parliament would accept our policy. We, therefore, as I have already mentioned, entered into immediate consultation with

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the British government, in order to arrive without delay at a basis of co-operative action. We quickly reached an understanding about the things that had to be done at once. These I outlined to Parliament on September the 8th. The British government told us that we could render the greatest help by assisting in the naval and air defence of Newfoundland, Labrador, the French Islands in the Gulf, and the British and French West Indies. We provided that assistance at once. The British government also urged upon us the importance of increasing air training and naval and air facilities, and sending trained air men and mechanics overseas as soon as possible. We lost no time in doing as we were asked.

Meanwhile, we continued daily and hourly consultation with the British authorities. By September the 19th, we had heard more of their plans, and were in a position to announce a more extended programme. We learned that technical men, doctors and engineers were needed for the land forces. In the light of this information we decided to concentrate on recruiting men of the types which were

urgently and especially needed. We had already begun to organize and train an army division which was to be ready to proceed overseas as soon as it was required. That division began intensive training. A second division was organized. In order that we might devote our energy and strength to fill the needs of the allied forces, in the manner in which we had been asked, further general recruiting was postponed for the time being. The Canadian Navy was already watching over our own coastal waters, Newfoundland and the West Indies. It was taking its share of convoy duty, of mine-sweeping, and of anti-submarine defence. We began immediately to construct anti-submarine and mine-sweeping craft. On that very day, September the 19th, we authorized a plan of intensified air training in Canada to provide a progressively increasing number of pilots and air men. Those things were planned and done, within three weeks of the outbreak of war, after consultation with, and in co-operation with, the British authorities. Is this, I ask, unpreparedness? I leave the answer to you.

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Within a month of the outbreak of war, the swift domination of Poland had demonstrated the decisive importance of superior air power. Britain was quick to appreciate the significance of the conquest and the means by which it was accomplished. If the Germans believed that the war was to be won with air power, the Allies were determined that theirs would be the superiority in air power. As a result of this determination, there emerged the epoch-making proposal for a gigantic plan for joint air training. It was presented to the peoples of the British Commonwealth. The vastness of its scope and power immediately fired their imaginations. We had already an agreement for the advanced training of British pilots in Canada. That fact and our geographic advantages made Canada the logical centre for this stupendous enterprise. Our acceptance of the proposal in principle was prompt and decisive. It was necessary for the British government to obtain the acceptance also of Australia and New Zealand. By October the 10th, I was able to announce that Missions were to be sent

D 54021

to Ottawa from the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, to work out all the complicated technical and financial details of the training plan. The British Mission, the Australian Mission and the New Zealand Mission set out on their journeys. By November the 27th, we had reached a preliminary basis of agreement. Governments had to be consulted by their Missions. On December the 17th, I gave to you over the radio an outline of the plan, which had been accepted by all four governments. I suggest to you that, having regard to the elements of time and space, the signing of that agreement is a tribute to the vigour and efficiency of our action.

In this truly tremendous project, Canada has assumed the major share. What this Air Training Plan will probably mean to the allied cause, you have already been told. When I announced the proposal on October the 10th, I said that the government of the United Kingdom had indicated its opinion that, with the facilities which Canada possessed, this co-operative effort might prove to be of the most essential and decisive character. Shortly after the agreement was signed, the British government again advised us that

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in its opinion the Air Training Scheme would do more to assist in ultimate victory than any other form of military aid which Canada could give. At the same time, the British government told us that it would welcome no less heartily the presence of Canadian land forces in the theatre of war at the earliest possible moment. You know how soon their wish was gratified, and how quickly the British people were given an opportunity to welcome our troops. On the very day when I was announcing to you the signing of the Air Training Agreement, the First Contingent of the First Division of the Canadian Active Service Force was landing in the United Kingdom.

D 54023

4th Revise by W.L.M.K. - Feb. 19, 1940

Broadcast No. 2

Ladies and Gentlemen:

When last I spoke to you, I told you of how the present government had brought to the side of Britain and France the united war effort of a united Canada. I told you of the responsible trust placed upon my colleagues and myself to preserve calm and patience during the long and difficult months that preceded the tragedy of war. I told you what had to be done, and what had not to be done, to achieve these ends. I promised that, in a subsequent broadcast, I would give you an account of the government's war record.

Since my broadcast was delivered, the Leader of the Opposition has spoken to you over the radio. In his broadcast, on Friday evening ~~last~~, the Honourable Dr. Manion gave it as his opinion that the present administration no longer merited your confidence. He centred his attack on the government's war effort. These are the words he used:

"Canada confronts a grave crisis. The King government is responsible for our unpreparedness, and our weak war effort.

> Therefore, it is the duty of all those who love this Canada of ours to work together to defeat that government."

There is no mistaking the meaning of that language. Dr. Manion wishes the present government to be defeated. He has stated the issue as he sees it. It is the government's war record. I am quite prepared to accept his challenge. He has named the issue. I now propose to meet it.

In what I am about to say, I shall emphasize, and I hope that you will remember, the following important facts. My colleagues and I took every care to see that war, if it came, should find Canada as well prepared as a peace-loving country could be. When war was near, we took every possible step to place our defence forces in a state of preparation for active service. When war appeared inevitable, Parliament was instantly summoned. Canada forthwith, by the decision of her Parliament, took her place at the side of the Allies. In anticipation of Parliament's decision, we had already

D 54025

begun direct and daily consultation with Britain. We have since continued such consultation for the purpose of working out and perfecting plans for vigorous, prompt and effective co-operation. We had established the security of this country in its own defences. We were, therefore, able at once to make valuable contributions to the cause of the Allies. We were able to mobilize farm and factory, man-power and money, on the side of Britain and France. Our foresight made possible the steady growth of our national endeavour. It ensured from that day, and from this day, onward, a maximum of effort, with a minimum of waste.

I cannot reveal the details of the plans of the Allies. You will understand why. I would like to tell you what they are, but I have no intention of telling the enemy. I can only assure you of the most complete and continuous co-operation between our Allies and ourselves.

In the last war, Canada's main contribution was the despatch of infantry to France. That was what the Allied powers wanted Canada to do then. Our whole military effort was concentrated upon that contribution, and the courageous achievements of our men filled Canada with pride, Britain and France with inspiration, and the enemy with confusion. But, military historians and present-day experts agree that there was, in the strategy of the last war, a woeful waste of treasure and of life.

In 1914, we had no Air Force of our own, although on the honour roll of the Royal Air Force are imperishably enshrined the names of thousands of young Canadians. Our naval service in 1914 was exceedingly small. It had, in fact, no separate existence in time of war. Such is not the case today. The Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Air Force are today separate, distinct and well organized services. They are vital elements in the defence of Canada. They ~~also~~ are important links in the unbroken chain of allied strength.

(3) ~~We have the Sea — the air — industrial others~~

Already we have organized and despatched an expeditionary force. Three contingents have safely crossed the Atlantic. Our men have been subjected to the strictest standards of health and training. The First Division is now completing its training in England; the Second is well advanced in training in Canada. When the day comes for our soldiers to face the enemy, they will be found, in physique and morale, the equal of their fathers and predecessors who made Canada a nation on the fields of Flanders. They will be better equipped than their comrades were in the last war.

But, as you know, the main theatre of war thus far has not been on land; it has been on the sea, and in the air. In those elements, the strength, the skill, and I may say, the brutality of the enemy have combined in a vain effort to strike terror into the hearts of the British and French peoples. The strategy of yesterday is not the strategy of today. It may be that the strategy of today will not be the strategy of tomorrow. Time will tell that story. Thus far, while we have been told that the presence of Canadian land forces will be no less heartily welcomed,

we have been definitely asked to direct our effort especially towards the development of our naval and air services, and to industrial activity. I think you will agree that the course of the war, up to the present, has shown with what foresight the allied plans have been laid.

I need hardly remind you how the conditions of the present war differ from those that prevailed in 1914. Methods of warfare are new, weapons are new, and, abroad, the strategic picture is now entirely different. Today, Germany fights on only one front. This time Russia is not our ally, Italy is not our ally, Japan is not our ally. In the early years of the last war, we relied on British ships alone to protect our eastern shores and the waters of the Gulf. Diplomacy had made our western ocean, in very truth, Pacific. Our own position, as a country, has also changed. Today Canada stands, before the world, as a nation. We have the privileges of nationhood. We have also its responsibilities. The first of these is responsibility for our own national security. The primary duty of each member of the British Commonwealth is to provide for its own defence. That is the basis of our free association, and of all Empire co-operation.

It has been so recognized at every Imperial Conference since 1923.

The threats to Canadian security are far greater today than they were in 1914. To the East, on the Atlantic, we face warfare. To the West, on the Pacific, we face doubt and uncertainty. We must keep constantly in mind the possibility of attacks from the sea, on either coast; and, in the air, from many points of the compass. Whatever contribution we can or could make outside of Canada would be seriously weakened, and might easily be destroyed, if we had neglected our own defences. Never forget that fact.

(5-)

The Leader of the Opposition charges the government with "unpreparedness". Unpreparedness for what? Does he mean unpreparedness for national defence, or does he mean unpreparedness by Canada, in peace time, for active participation in war in Europe? If he means unpreparedness for the defence of Canada, his charges are untrue. If he means unpreparedness in peace time for active participation, by Canada, in a European war, in his anxiety to condemn the government, he forgets the facts, and condemns himself. In peace time, he never advocated preparedness for a war in Europe. The government never advocated preparedness for a war in Europe. As a

D 54030

matter of fact, there was general agreement, both in this country and in Great Britain, that it would be extremely unlikely that Canadian expeditionary forces would again take part in a European war.

Today, Dr. Manion quite fails to distinguish between preparedness, in peace time, for national defence, and preparedness, in peace time, to send forces overseas. He knew the difference, however, when Parliament was in regular session in March, 1939. He knew the difference from March, 1939, to September, 1939, when Parliament met in war session. He knew the difference until an expeditionary force was already on its way overseas. He kept silent in peace time because he knew, as everyone listening to me knows, that neither Parliament nor the people would have supported expenditures, in peace time, to prepare for active participation by Canada in a European war.

It is perfectly true that we did not in times of peace, budget for times of war. If we had, our measures would not have received the support of Parliament. By preparedness in peace time, the present government always meant, and always said it meant, preparedness to meet the possibility of attacks upon Canada in the event of war. The government repeatedly told Parliament that our peace time military expenditures were exclusively for the defence of Canada.

(6) I propose now, as simply as I can, to tell you the main facts concerning the government's record in war.

Parliament was summoned on the 1st day of September, 1939. Britain declared war on September the third. I announced on the 1st of September that if Britain did declare war, the government would recommend to Parliament that Canada should stand at her side. We never doubted that Parliament would accept our policy. We, therefore, as I have already mentioned, entered into immediate consultation with the British government, in order to arrive without delay at a basis of co-operative action. We quickly reached an understanding about the things that had to be done at once. These I outlined to Parliament on September the 8th.

(7) The British government told us that we could render the greatest help by assisting in the naval and air defence of Newfoundland, Labrador, the French Islands in the Gulf, and the British and French West Indies. We provided that assistance at once. The British government also urged upon us the importance of increasing air training and naval and air facilities, and of sending trained air men and mechanics overseas as soon as possible. We lost no time in doing as we were asked.

Meanwhile, we continued daily consultation with the British authorities. By September the 19th, we had heard more of their plans, and were in a position to

announce a more extended programme. We learned that technical men, doctors and engineers were needed for the land forces. In the light of this information, we decided to concentrate on recruiting men of the types which were urgently and especially needed. We had already begun to organize and train an army division which was to be ready to proceed overseas as soon as it was required. On that day the government decided to organize a second division. In order that we might devote our energey and strength to fill the needs of the allied forces, in the manner in which we had been asked, further general recruiting was postponed for the time being.

The Canadian Navy was already watching over our own coastal waters, Newfoundland and the West Indies. It was taking its share of convoy duty, of mine-sweeping, and of anti-submarine defence. We began immediately to construct anti-submarine and mine-sweeping craft. We also authorized a plan of intensified air training in Canada to provide a progressively increasing number of pilots and airmen. These things were planned and done, within three weeks of the outbreak of war, after consultation with, and in co-operation with, the British authorities. Is this, I ask, unpreparedness? I leave the answer to you.

(8) The British Commonwealth air Training Plan

Within a month of the outbreak of war, the swift domination of Poland had demonstrated the decisive importance of superior air power. The significance of the conquest, and the means by which it was accomplished, were not without their immediate effect. If the Germans believed that the war was to be won with air power, the Allies were determined, not only that theirs would be the superiority in air power, but that the enemy should know this as soon and as clearly as possible. Out of this determination, there emerged the epoch-making proposal for a gigantic plan for joint air training. On September 26th, It was presented by the British government to the other Commonwealth ~~peoples~~ of the British Commonwealth. The vastness of its scope and power immediately fired the imagination of all. We in Canada, some months prior to the outbreak of war had made an agreement with Britain for the advanced training of a definite number of British pilots in Royal Canadian Air Force establishments. That fact, and the geographic advantages of our country, made Canada the logical centre for this ~~stupendous~~ great enterprise. (9) Our acceptance of the proposal in principle was prompt and decisive. The acceptance by Australia

and New Zealand was equally so. By October the 10th, I was able to announce that Missions were to be sent to Ottawa from the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, to work out all the complicated technical and financial details of the training plan. The British, Australian and New Zealand missions arrived in due course. By November the 27th a ~~preliminary~~ basis of agreement had been reached. The approval of the ~~British~~, governments of the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand governments had still to be obtained. On December the 17th, I gave to you over the radio an outline of the plan, which on that day had been accepted by all four governments. I suggest to you that, having regard to the elements of time and space, the signing of that agreement is a tribute to the vigour and efficiency of our action.

In this truly tremendous project, Canada has assumed the major share. What this Air Training Plan will probably mean to the allied cause, you have already been told. When, on October the 10th, I announced the proposal I said that the government of the United Kingdom had indicated its opinion that, with the facilities which Canada possessed, this co-operative effort might prove to be of the most essential and decisive character.

Shortly after the agreement was signed, the British government again advised us that in its opinion the Air Training ~~project~~ scheme would do more to assist in ultimate victory than any other form of military aid which Canada could give. At the same time, the British government told us that it would welcome no less heartily the presence of Canadian land forces in the theatre of war at the earliest possible moment. You know how soon this wish was gratified, and how quickly the British people were given an opportunity to welcome our troops. On the very day when I was announcing to you the signing of the Air Training Agreement, The First Contingent of the First Division of the Canadian Active Service Force was landing in the United Kingdom.

(12) ~~Plans were proceeding rapidly~~

We did not wait for the signing of the Agreement to get on with the job of carrying out the programme finally agreed upon. Before the agreement was signed, the ground had been prepared, and much had already been accomplished. Everyday since, the work has been proceeding with vigour and speed. ~~1,647 sites for aerodromes have been inspected, 85 aerodromes have been tentatively selected.~~ These sites are in addition to the 16 civil airports which can be used immediately.

In addition to the 16 civil air ports already available, aerodrome sites have been inspected, surveyed, and are being established from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The delivery of planes from manufacturers in Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States is actively proceeding. ~~The first~~ deliveries of ~~hundreds of~~ advanced training aircraft, being supplied by the British Air Ministry, ~~are~~ have begun and are continuing, ~~taking place~~. Orders have been placed for hundreds of other planes, of Canadian and American manufacture.

Between the outbreak of war and the end of the year, contracts for the Royal Canadian Air Force to the value of over seven and a half million dollars had been let for works and buildings, most of which will be used for air training. The recruitment of personnel to man the schools is well advanced, and the training of instructors is actively in progress. By spring the training establishments will be ready to receive pupils.

(12)

I have already referred to the landing in the United Kingdom, on December 17th, of the First Contingent of the First Division of the Canadian Active Service Force. This contingent was accompanied by its Commanding Officer: Major General A.G.L. McNaughton, who had been appointed to that command on October 6th. The Second Contingent landed on the last two days of the old year. With the recent

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landing of the Third Contingent, Canada now has a complete division, and additional auxiliary units, engaged in advanced training in England. All three contingents made the crossing safely and exactly according to a schedule worked out months in advance. All left Canada fully clothed and fully equipped.

Meanwhile the training of the Second Division is proceeding rapidly, and the decision has been reached to despatch it overseas at an appropriate time.

(13) An Army Co-operation Air Squadron has also completed its training in Canada. It will very soon be joining the First Division overseas. A second similar Air Squadron is in training to co-operate with the Second Division.

(14) The navy has been called the silent service. No detailed account can be given of its activities. I may mention, however, that we have added to it steadily both in men and ~~in naval craft~~ ships. Since the beginning of the year, ~~the War Supply Board has placed contracts~~ orders have been placed for the largest naval ship-building programme ever undertaken in Canada. The part the navy has played in the vital task of convoying shipping in the sea lanes of the North Atlantic, the life-line of Britain and France, has received the highest praise of the allied powers. ~~As of this date,~~ Today, there are over 70,000 men under arms in the Canadian Active Service

Force; over 9,000 in the Royal Canadian Air Force and over 6,000 in the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve. On the sea, on land, and in the air, Canada's achievements in this war may well be a source of national pride.

(15)

(17)

I would like ~~to speak to~~ you ~~now for~~ a few minutes on what has been done on ~~[redacted]~~ the home front. We call it the home front because in this part of ~~the [redacted] work~~ are enlisted every miner, every farmer, every fisherman, every lumberman, indeed, every worker in Canada.

I need not tell you that the furnishing of supplies of all kinds is of vital importance to the success of the British and Allied powers. In this too, ~~they~~ have told us what they require. In this too, we have done everything within our power to meet their needs. Our work on the home front is designed to fit into a common plan. This work is just as much part of the allied plan, and just as important as our contribution of men to the Services.

We hear so much about the vastness of our territory and the extent of our natural resources that sometimes we ourselves are apt to overlook them. Today,

D 54040

that very vastness and those very resources are a lasting reservoir of strength to the Allied cause; for Canada stands to Europe as the nearest, the surest and the safest source of those materials and supplies without which no great nation could wage a successful war.

But our vastness and our wealth of raw materials would be of no avail unless we were able to produce, and to transport. At this crisis in our history, we are fortunate in the development of production and transportation as two arms of national service.

(16)

We do not always remember that the federation of Canada as one nation stretching from sea to sea was made possible by the railways. While we are joined in sentiment by bonds of the heart, we are welded in material things by bonds of steel. The railways are on the front line of our home defence. The present government has resolutely refused to cut down the railway facilities of this country. Today they are at their very height of operating efficiency. Every dollar we have spent on the maintenance of the railways may now be viewed as a dollar spent on defence and preparedness. We are more than ready to meet the demands which have over-taxed the

D 54041

transportation systems of other countries.

What is true of our railways is true also of our progress in civil aviation. No money could have been more wisely spent on national preparedness than the investment in the Trans-Canada Air Lines. I might remind you in passing that this vast national service was begun and developed entirely by the present administration.

During the last three years, there has also been built, with the active approval and under the guidance of the present administration, a chain of high-powered broadcasting stations.

Again, what is true of our railways is true also of our harbours. At Halifax and Saint John, for example, since Canada entered the war, traffic has more than doubled. There has been no congestion and no delay. This has been accomplished under the direction of a Transport Controller, of whose excellent work, like that of other war administrators, very little has been hard or said.

While these things are sometimes taken for granted, I suggest to you that they also are essential elements of a well-directed and well-prepared national economy, geared for war.

(19)

Industry, of course, could not be transformed as readily as our transport facilities were. We had built up no huge armament industry in peace time. I hope with all my heart, and I know that you hope also, that such an industrial enterprise will never need to form a permanent addition to the economy of Canada. Nevertheless, preparations had been made for the production of munitions in case the dire need for them ever arose. Long before the outbreak of war, the government had caused a complete industrial survey of Canada to be made.

The government also, in June last, sponsored at their request, a visit to the United Kingdom of a delegation organized by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. Its object was to study the production of arms and munitions in Great Britain, and to assist in the speedy adaptation of Canadian industry to the needs of warfare, ~~when and if the needs arose~~. The delegation was headed by Major-General McNaughton, ~~who inspires and deserves the confidence of us all~~. Through the office of Canada's High Commissioner in London, every facility was accorded the delegation while it was in Britain. The assistance afforded to the governments of Great Britain and Canada, and to Canadian industry itself, as a result of that visit, was of supreme value.

You all know of the establishment of the War Supply Board, under the control of experienced and public-spirited men. They have had two tasks. Their first duty has been to mobilize our industrial resources. Their second has been to place orders and to let contracts. Particulars of these contracts have been published from day to day. In awarding these contracts the members of the Board have been guided by three principles: honesty, efficiency, and economy. The government is determined that in this war the public trust will not be surrendered to private greed.

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There was, at the outset, some impatience because orders were not placed more speedily. The impatience, while perhaps natural, was ill-founded. Orders could hardly have been placed by Canada before Parliament had made the necessary appropriations, or authorized the expenditure. They could not have been placed on behalf of the United Kingdom until the British government itself was prepared to place them. To meet their own immediate requirements, the allied powers had on hand large reserves of supplies of all kinds. We, like them, needed time to determine precisely what our own forces were to be, and what they would require. Moreover, it was necessary for all nations involved in the war to await developments, and to know what form the war would take. In our preparation, we all had to keep in mind many phases and stages of the conflict, the last no less than the first.

(18)

While the War Supply Board has been bringing our industrial resources into preparation and action, two other branches of government have been concerned with matters

D 54045

which intimately affect the welfare of each one of you. The Agricultural Supplies Committee has been working steadily, with two objects in view. It has been trying, with success, to adapt our farming methods to the needs of war. It has been planning to prevent disaster to agriculture in the period after the war. The Canadian farmer made a tremendous contribution to the winning of the last war. He is helping to win this war. We do not propose, if we can ~~help~~ avoid it, that he should lose the fruit of his labours, or find himself in peace times once again the victim of a depression which he did nothing to create.

~~In connection with this matter~~ Watched - prices controlled

There is another matter which affects the well-being of each one of you, ~~and~~ most of all, it concerns the lives of those whose main problem is meeting the ~~purchase~~ cost of the necessities which keep body and soul together. ~~I refer, of course, to the prices of the things which you need.~~ The government, as early as September the 3rd, set up the War-Time Prices and Trade Board by order to prevent, as far as is humanly possible, the placing of additional burdens upon the workers of this land.

We have given the members of that Board wide powers. They have worked successfully and well. I regret I have not time tonight even to mention what they have done. I promise you, however, that as long as vigour and vigilance, and the punishment of the guilty can prevent such a calamity, there will be no undue rise in the cost of the necessities of life.

Such, Ladies and Gentlemen, is the record of the war effort of the present administration at this time of crisis in the world's affairs. It is but a part of the record and relates almost exclusively to the period which has elapsed since the beginning of war - a period of less than half a year.

In my first broadcast, I told you of how the present government had brought to the side of Britain and France the united war-effort of a united Canada. I told you what had to be done and what had not to be done to achieve that end. I told you of the responsible trust placed upon my colleagues and myself to preserve calm and patience during the long and difficult months that preceded the tragedy of war. In broadcast, I have told you something of the energy and vigour with which prosecuted the two are inseparable. The national unity maintained prior to and at the moment of the declaration of war, and the war effort made possible by the unity thus achieved.

This is the record which the Leader of the Opposition says constitutes the issue in the present election. He appeals to you to defeat the government because of its war effort. I maintain that if ever a government was entitled to the continued confidence of the people because of the manner in

D54048

which, at a time of war, it had administered a great national trust, the present administration merits that confidence. At all events, it is for you to judge. It is your interests and your future that today are being weighed in the historical balance ~~of time~~.

The present administration is quite prepared to be judged by the people of this country on its record. Happily, it is to your judgment that we make our appeal. The present election gives you free and full opportunity to decide what representation in the Parliament of Canada for the next five years may be best for yourselves.

X 969.30

Broadcast No. 2 February 21, 1940

D 54049

CANADA AND THE WAR

War Record of the Mackenzie King Administration

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Since my last broadcast was delivered, the Leader of the Opposition has spoken to you over the radio. In his broadcast, on Friday evening, the Honourable Dr. Manion gave it as his opinion that the present administration no longer merited your confidence. He centred his attack on the government's war effort. These are the words he used:

> "Canada confronts a grave crisis. The King government is responsible for our unpreparedness, and our weak war effort. Therefore, it is the duty of all those who love this Canada of ours to work together to defeat that government."

There is no mistaking the meaning of that language. Dr. Manion wishes the present government to be defeated. He has stated the issue as he sees. It is the government's war record. I am quite prepared to accept his challenge. He has named the issue. I now propose to meet it.

In what I am about to say, I shall emphasize, and I hope that you will remember, the following important facts. My colleagues and I took every care to see that war, if it came, should find Canada as well prepared as a peace-loving country could be.

loving country could be. When war was near, we took every possible step to place our defence forces in a state of preparation for active service. When war appeared inevitable, Parliament was instantly summoned. Canada forthwith, by the decision of her Parliament, took her place at the side of the Allies.

In anticipation of Parliament's decision, we had already begun direct and daily consultation with Britain. We have since continued such consultation for the purpose of working out and perfecting plans for vigorous, prompt and effective co-operation. We had established the security of this country in its own defences. We were, therefore, able at once to make valuable contributions to the cause of the Allies. We were able to mobilize farm and factory, man-power and money, on the side of Britain and France. Our foresight made possible the steady growth of our national endeavour. It ensured from that day, and from this day, onward, a maximum of effort, with a minimum of waste.

I cannot reveal the details of the plans of the Allies. You will understand why. I would like to tell you what they are, but I have no intention of telling the enemy. I can only assure you of the most complete and continuous co-operation between our Allies and ourselves.

In the last war,

D 54051

In the last war, Canada's main contribution was the despatch of infantry to France. That was what the Allied powers wanted Canada to do then. Our whole military effort was concentrated upon that contribution, and the courageous achievements of our men filled Canada with pride, Britain and France with inspiration, and the enemy with confusion. But, military historians and present-day experts agree that there was, in the strategy of the last war, a woeful waste of treasure and of life.

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In 1914, we had no Air Force of our own, although on the honour roll of the Royal Air Force are imperishably enshrined the names of thousands of young Canadians. Our naval service in 1914 was exceedingly small. It had, in fact, no separate existence in time of war. Such is not the case today. The Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Air Force are today separate, distinct and well organized services. They are vital elements in the defence of Canada. They are important links in the unbroken chain of allied strength.

Already we have organized and despatched an expeditionary force. Three contingents have safely crossed the Atlantic. Our men have been subjected to the strictest standards of health and training. The First Division is now completing its training in England; the Second is well

advanced in training in Canada.

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advanced in training in Canada. When the day comes for our soldiers to face the enemy, they will be found, in physique and morale, the equal of their fathers and predecessors who made Canada a nation on the fields of Flanders. They will be better equipped than their comrades were in the last war.

But, as you know, the main theatre of war thus far has not been on land; it has been on the sea, and in the air. In those elements, the strength, the skill, and I may say, the brutality of the enemy have combined in a vain effort to strike terror into the hearts of the British and French peoples. The strategy of yesterday is not the strategy of today. It may be that the strategy of today will not be the strategy of tomorrow. Time will tell that story. Thus far, while we have been told that the presence of Canadian land forces will be no less heartily welcomed, we have been definitely asked to direct our effort especially towards the development of our naval and air services, and to industrial activity. I think you will agree that the course of the war, up to the present, has shown with what foresight the allied plans have been laid.

I need hardly remind you how the conditions of the present war differ from those that prevailed in 1914. Methods of warfare are new, weapons are new, and abroad, the strategic picture is now entirely different. Today,

Germany fights on only one front.

Germany fights on only one front. This time Russia is not our ally, Italy is not our ally, Japan is not our ally. In the early years of the last war, we relied on British ships alone to protect our eastern shores and the waters of the Gulf. Diplomacy had made our western ocean, in very truth, Pacific.

Our own position, as a country, has also changed. Today, Canada stands before the world as a nation. We have the privileges of nationhood. We have also its responsibilities. The first of these is responsibility for our own national security. The primary duty of each member of the British Commonwealth is to provide for its own defence. That is the basis of our free association, and of all Empire co-operation. It has been so recognized at every Imperial Conference since 1923.

The threats to Canadian security are far greater today than they were in 1914. To the East, on the Atlantic, we face warfare. To the West, on the Pacific, we face doubt and uncertainty. We must keep constantly in mind the possibility of attacks from the sea, on either coast; and, in the air, from many points of the compass. Whatever contribution we can or could make outside of Canada would be seriously weakened, and might easily be destroyed, if we had neglected our own defences. Never forget that fact.

The Leader of the Opposition

The Leader of the Opposition charges the government with "unpreparedness". Unpreparedness for what? Does he mean unpreparedness for national defence, or does he mean unpreparedness by Canada, in peace time, for active participation in war in Europe? If he means unpreparedness for the defence of Canada, his charges are untrue. If he means unpreparedness in peace time for active participation, by Canada, in a European war, in his anxiety to condemn the government, he forgets the facts, and condemns himself. In peace time, he never advocated preparedness for a war in Europe. The government never advocated preparedness for a war in Europe. As a matter of fact, there was general agreement, both in this country and in Great Britain, that it would be extremely unlikely that Canadian expeditionary forces would again take part in a European war.

Today, Dr. Manion quite fails to distinguish between preparedness, in peace time, for national defence, and preparedness, in peace time, to send forces overseas. He knew the difference, however, when Parliament was in regular session in March, 1939. He knew the difference from March, 1939, to September, 1939, when Parliament met in war session. He knew the difference until an expeditionary force was already on its way overseas. He kept silent in

peace time because he knew,

peace time, because he knew, as everyone listening to me knows, that neither Parliament nor the people, would have supported expenditures, in peace time, to prepare for active participation by Canada in a European war.

It is perfectly true that we did not, in times of peace, budget for times of war. If we had, our measures would not have received the support of Parliament. By preparedness in peace time, the present government always meant, and always said it meant, preparedness to meet the possibility of attacks upon Canada in the event of war. The government repeatedly told Parliament that our peace time military expenditures were exclusively for the defence of Canada.

I propose now, as simply as I can, to tell you the main facts concerning the government's record in war.

Parliament was summoned on the first day of September, 1939. Britain declared war on September the third. I announced on the first of September, that if Britain did declare war, the government would recommend to Parliament that Canada should stand at her side. We never doubted that Parliament would accept our policy. We, therefore, as I have already mentioned, entered into immediate consultation

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with the British government, in order to arrive without delay at a basis of co-operative action. We quickly reached an understanding about the things that had to be done at once. These I outlined to Parliament on September the 8th. 10

The British government told us that we could render the greatest help by assisting in the naval and air defence of Newfoundland, Labrador, the French Islands in the Gulf, and the British and French West Indies. We provided that assistance at once. The British government also urged upon us the importance of increasing air training and naval and air facilities, and of sending trained air men and mechanics overseas as soon as possible. We lost no time in doing as we were asked.

Meanwhile, we continued daily consultation with the British authorities. By September the 19th, we had heard more of their plans, and were in a position to announce a more extended programme. We learned that technical men, doctors and engineers were needed for the land forces. In the light of this information, we decided to concentrate on recruiting men of the types which were urgently and especially needed. We had already begun to organize and train an army division which was to be ready to proceed overseas as soon as 11

it was required.

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it was required. On that day the government decided to organize a second division. In order that we might devote our energy and strength to fill the needs of the allied forces, in the manner in which we had been asked, further general recruiting was postponed for the time being.

The Canadian Navy was already watching over our own coastal waters, Newfoundland and the West Indies. It was taking its share of convoy duty, of mine-sweeping, and of anti-submarine defence. We began immediately to construct anti-submarine and mine-sweeping craft. We also authorized a plan of intensified air training in Canada to provide a progressively increasing number of pilots and airmen. These things were planned and done, within three weeks of the outbreak of war, after consultation with, and in co-operation with, the British authorities. Is this, I ask, unpreparedness? I leave the answer to you. 12

Within a month of the outbreak of war, the swift domination of Poland had demonstrated the decisive importance of superior air power. The significance of the conquest, and the means by which it was accomplished, were not without their immediate effect. If the Germans believed that the war was to be won with air power, the allies were determined, not only that theirs would be the superiority in air power,

but that the enemy should know

but that the enemy should know this as soon and as clearly as possible. Out of this determination, there emerged the epoch-making proposal for a gigantic plan for joint air training. On September the 26th it was presented by the British government to the other governments of the British Commonwealth. The vastness of its scope and power immediately fired the imagination of all. We in Canada, some months prior to the outbreak of war, had made an agreement with Britain for the advanced training of a definite number of British pilots in Royal Canadian Air Force establishments. That fact, and the geographic advantages of our country, made Canada the logical centre for this great enterprise. 13

Our acceptance of the proposal in principle was prompt and decisive. The acceptance by Australia and New Zealand was equally so. By October the 10th, I was able to announce that Missions were to be sent to Ottawa from the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, to work out all the complicated technical and financial details of the training plan. The British, Australian and New Zealand Missions arrived in due course. By November the 27th a basis of agreement had been reached. ~~The approval of the governments of the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand had still to be obtained.~~ On December the 17th, I gave to you over the radio 14 push

an outline of the plan,

an outline of the plan, which on that day had been accepted by all four governments. I suggest to you that, having regard to the elements of time and space, the signing of that agreement is a tribute to the vigour and efficiency of our action.

In this truly tremendous project, Canada has assumed the major share. What this Air Training Plan will probably mean to the allied cause, you have already been told. When, on October the 10th, I announced the proposal, I said that the government of the United Kingdom had indicated its opinion that, with the facilities which Canada possessed, this co-operative effort might prove to be of the most essential and decisive character. Shortly after the agreement was signed, the British government again advised us that, in its opinion, the Air Training scheme would do more to assist in ultimate victory than any other form of military aid which Canada could give. At the same time, the British government told us that it would welcome no less heartily, the presence of Canadian land forces in the theatre of war at the earliest possible moment. You know how soon this wish was gratified, and how quickly the British people were given an opportunity to welcome our troops. On the very day I was announcing to you the signing of the Air Training Agreement, the first contingent of the First Division of the Canadian

Active Service Force was landing in the United Kingdom.

We did not wait for the signing of the Agreement to get on with the job of carrying out the programme finally agreed upon. Before the agreement was signed, the ground had been prepared, and much had already been accomplished. Every day since, the work has been proceeding with vigour and speed. 16

Some forty completed airports were available as the result of civil developments, and forty new airports are being developed from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The delivery of planes from manufacturers in Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States is actively proceeding. Deliveries of advanced training aircraft, being supplied by the British Air Ministry, have begun and are continuing. Orders have been placed for hundreds of other planes, of Canadian and American manufacture.

~~Between the outbreak of war, and the end of the year, contracts for the Royal Canadian Air Force to the value of over seven and a half million dollars had been let for works and buildings, most of which will be used for air training.~~ The recruitment of personnel to man the schools is well advanced, and the training of instructors is actively in progress. By spring the training establishments will be ready to receive pupils. 17

I have already referred

I have already referred to the landing in the United Kingdom, on December 17th, of the first contingent of the First Division of the Canadian Active Service Force. This contingent was accompanied by its Commanding Officer: Major General A.G.L. McNaughton, who had been appointed to that command on October 6th. The second contingent landed on the last two days of the old year. With the recent landing of the third contingent, Canada now has a complete division, and additional auxiliary units, engaged in advanced training in England. All three contingents made the crossing safely, and exactly according to a schedule worked out months in advance. All left Canada fully clothed, and fully equipped.

Meanwhile, the training of the Second Division is proceeding rapidly, and the decision has been reached to despatch it overseas at an appropriate time.

An Army Co-operation Air Squadron has also completed its training in Canada. It will very soon be joining the First Division overseas. A second similar Air Squadron to co-operate with the Second Division, is in training. 18

The navy has been well called the silent service. No detailed account can be given of its activities. I may mention, however, that we have added to it steadily, both in men and ships. Since the beginning of the year, orders have

been placed for the largest naval ship-building programme ever undertaken in Canada. The part the navy has played in the vital task of convoying shipping in the sea lanes of the North Atlantic, the life-line of Britain and France, has received the highest praise of the allied powers.

Today, there are over 70,000 men under arms in the Canadian Active Service Force; over 9,000 in the Royal Canadian Air Force, and over 6,000 in the Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve. These numbers will be increased by tens of thousands of young Canadians as the Air Training Plan develops, and men continue to be recruited for the other services. On the sea, on land, and in the air, Canada's achievements in this war may well be a source of national pride. 19

I would like now to tell you in a few words something of what has been done on the home front. We call it the home front because in this part of national service are enlisted every miner, every farmer, every fisherman, every lumberman, indeed, every worker in Canada.

I need not tell you that the furnishing of supplies of all kinds is of vital importance to the success of the British and Allied powers. Our work on the home front is designed to fit into a common plan. In this too, our Allies have told us what they require. In this too, we have done

everything within our power

everything within our power to meet their needs. This work is just as much part of the allied plan, and just as important as our contribution of men to the armed services. 20

~~We hear so much about the vastness of our territory, and the extent of our natural resources, that sometimes we ourselves are apt to overlook them. Today, that very vastness and those very resources are a lasting reservoir of strength to the allied cause; for~~ Canada stands to Europe as the nearest, the surest, and the safest source of those materials and supplies without which no great nation could wage a successful war.

But our vastness, and our wealth of raw materials would be of no avail unless we were able to produce, and to transport. At this crisis in our history, we are fortunate in the development of production and transportation as two arms of national service.

We do not always remember that the federation of Canada as one nation, stretching from sea to sea, was made possible by the railways. While we are joined in sentiment by bonds of the heart, we are welded in material things by bonds of steel. The railways are on the front line of our home defence. The present government has resolutely refused to cut down the railway facilities of this country. Today, they are at their very height of operating efficiency. Every dollar 21

we have spent on the maintenance

we have spent on the maintenance of the railways may now be viewed as a dollar spent on defence and preparedness. We are more than ready to meet the demands which have over-taxed the transportation systems of other countries.

What is true of our railways is true also of our progress in civil aviation. No money could have been more wisely spent on national preparedness, than the investment in the Trans-Canada Air Lines. I might remind you in passing, that this vast national service was begun and developed entirely by the present administration. 22

During the last three years, there has also been built, with the active approval and under the guidance of the present administration, a chain of high-powered broad-casting stations.

Again, what is true of our railways is true also of our harbours. At Halifax and Saint John, for example, since Canada entered the war, traffic has more than doubled. There has been no congestion and no delay. This has been accomplished under the direction of a Transport Controller, of whose excellent work, like that of our other war administrators, very little has been heard or said.

While these things are sometimes taken for granted, I suggest to you that they, also, are essential elements of

a well-directed and well-prepared

a well-directed, and well-prepared national economy, geared for war.

Industry, of course, could not be transformed as readily as our transport facilities were. We had built up no huge armament industry in peace time. I hope with all my heart, and I know that you hope also, that such an industrial enterprise will never need to form a permanent addition to the economy of Canada. Nevertheless, preparations had been made for the production of munitions, in case the dire need for them ever arose. Long before the outbreak of war, the government had caused a complete industrial survey of Canada to be made.

The government also, in June last, sponsored at their request, a visit to the United Kingdom of a delegation organized by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. Its object was to study the production of arms and munitions in Great Britain, and to assist in the speedy adaptation of Canadian industry to the needs of warfare, if ever it came. The delegation was headed by Major-General McNaughton.

~~Through the office of Canada's High Commissioner in London, every facility was accorded the delegation while it was in Britain. The assistance afforded to the governments of Great Britain and Canada, and to Canadian industry itself, as a result of that visit, was of supreme value.~~

You all know

You all know of the establishment of the War Supply Board, under the control of experienced and public-spirited men. They have had two tasks. Their first duty has been to mobilize our industrial resources. Their second has been to place orders, and to let contracts. Particulars of these contracts, amounting in all to over $110,000,000. have been published from day to day. In awarding these contracts, the members of the Board have been instructed by the government, to guard against both patronage and profiteering. Its members, chosen without regard to party, have, I believe, been guided solely by three principles: honesty, efficiency, and economy. The government is determined that in this war, the public trust will not be surrendered to private greed. 25

There was, at the outset, some impatience because orders were not placed more speedily. The impatience, while perhaps natural, was ill-founded. Orders could hardly have been placed by Canada, before Parliament had made the necessary appropriations, or authorized the expenditure. They could not have been placed on behalf of the United Kingdom, until the British government itself was prepared to place them. To meet their own immediate requirements, the allied powers had on hand, large reserves of supplies of all kinds. ~~We, like them, needed time to determine precisely~~ our ~~what our own forces~~ In our preparation

~~what our own forces were to be, and what they would require. Moreover, it was necessary for all nations involved in the war to await developments, and to know what form the war would take.~~ In our preparation, we all had to keep in mind many phases and stages of the conflict, the last no less than the first. 26

While the War Supply Board has been bringing our industrial resources into preparation and action, two other branches of government have been concerned with matters which intimately affect the welfare of each one of you. The Agricultural Supplies Committee has been working steadily, with two objects in view. It has been trying, with success, to adapt our farming methods to the needs of war. It has been planning to prevent disaster to agriculture in the period after the war. The Canadian farmer made a tremendous contribution to the winning of the last war. He is helping to win this war. We do not propose, if we can avoid it, that he should lose the fruit of his labours, or find himself in peace time once again the victim of a depression which he did nothing to create.

There is another matter which affects the well-being of each one of you. Most of all, it concerns the lives of those whose main problem is meeting the cost of 27

the necessities which keep

the necessities which keep body and soul together. In order to prevent, as far as is humanly possible, the placing of additional burdens upon the workers of this land, the government, as early as September the 3rd, set up the War-Time Prices and Trade Board. That Board, as you are aware, has done its work well. I regret I have not time tonight to describe what it has accomplished. I may tell you, however, that we have given its members very wide powers. I promise you that as long as vigour and vigilance, and the punishment of the guilty, can prevent such a calamity, there will be no undue rise in the cost of the necessities of life.

This, ladies and gentlemen, has been the record of the war effort, of the present Administration, at this time of crisis in the world's affairs. What I have told you relates, almost exclusively, to the period which has elapsed since the beginning of the war - a period of less than half a year.

In my first broadcast, I told you how the present government had brought to the side of Britain and France, the united war-effort of a united Canada. I told you what had to be done, and what had not to be done, to achieve that end. I told you of the responsible trust, placed upon my colleagues and myself, to preserve calm and patience, during the long and

difficult months that preceded

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difficult months that preceded the tragedy of war. In this broadcast, I have told you something of the energy and vigour with which, since we entered the war, the present Administration has prosecuted Canada's war effort. National unity was maintained prior to and at the moment of the declaration of war. The war effort was made possible by the unity thus achieved. Never forget that the two are inseparable. 29

This is the record which the Leader of the Opposition says constitutes the issue in the present election. He appeals to you to defeat the government because of the inefficiency of its war-effort. I maintain that if ever a government was entitled to the continued confidence of the people because of the manner in which, ~~at a time of war,~~ it had administered a great national trust, the present government merits that confidence. At all events, it is for you to judge. It is your interests and your future that today are being weighed in the political balance.

My colleagues and I are quite prepared to be judged on our record by the people of this country. Happily, it is to your judgment that we make our appeal. This election will determine ~~the~~ your representation in the Parliament of Canada for the next five years. It affords you a full and free opportunity to decide what is best for yourselves.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

War Record of the Mackenzie King Administration

A Radio Address by

Right Honourable

W. L. MACKENZIE KING

Ottawa, 21st February, 1940

CANADA AND THE WAR

War Record of the Mackenzie King Administration

The second of a series of radio addresses delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King from Ottawa: 21st February, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Since my broadcast was delivered, the Leader of the Opposition has also spoken to you over the radio. In his broadcast, on Friday evening last, Dr. Manion gave it as his opinion that the present administration no longer merited your confidence. He centred his attack on the government's war effort. These are the words he used:

> "Canada confronts a grave crisis. The King Government is responsible for our unpreparedness, and our weak war effort. Therefore, it is the duty of all those who love this Canada of ours to work together to defeat that government."

There is no mistaking the meaning of that language. Dr. Manion wishes the present government to be defeated. He has stated the issue as he sees it. It is the government's war record. I am quite prepared to accept his challenge. He has named the issue. I now propose to meet it.

Canada's Contribution Made Possible Through Foresight

In what I am about to say, I shall emphasize, and I hope that you will remember, the following important facts. My

colleagues and I took every care to see that war, if it came, should find Canada as well prepared as a peace-loving country could be. When war was near, we took every possible step to place our defence forces in a state of preparation for active service. When war appeared inevitable, Parliament was instantly summoned. Canada forthwith, by the decision of her Parliament, took her place at the side of the Allies.

In anticipation of Parliament's decision, we had already begun direct and daily consultation with Britain. We have since continued such consultation for the purpose of working out and perfecting plans for vigorous, prompt and effective co-operation. We had established the security of this country in its own defences. We were, therefore, able at once to make valuable contributions to the cause of the Allies. We were able to mobilize farm and factory, manpower and money, on the side of Britain and France. Our foresight made possible the steady growth of our national endeavour. It ensured from that day, and from this day, onward, a maximum of effort, with a minimum of waste.

Needs of Allied Powers Basis of Canada's War Effort

I cannot reveal the details of the plans of the Allies. You will understand why. I would like to tell you what they are, but I have no intention of telling the enemy. I can only assure you of the most complete and continuous co-operation between our Allies and ourselves.

In the last war, Canada's main contribution was the despatch of infantry to France. That was what the Allied powers wanted Canada to do then. Our whole military effort

was concentrated upon that contribution, and the courageous achievements of our men filled Canada with pride, Britain and France with inspiration, and the enemy with confusion. But, military historians and present-day experts agree that there was, in the strategy of the last war, a woeful waste of treasure and of life.

In 1914, we had no Air Force of our own, although on the honour roll of the Royal Air Force are imperishably enshrined the names of thousands of young Canadians. Our naval service in 1914 was exceedingly small. It had, in fact, no separate existence in time of war. Such is not the case today. The Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Air Force are today separate, distinct, and well organized services. They are vital elements in the defence of Canada. They are important links in the unbroken chain of allied strength.

The Land—The Sea—The Air—Industrial Activity

Already we have organized and despatched an expeditionary force. Three contingents have safely crossed the Atlantic. Our men have been subjected to the strictest standards of health and training. The First Division is now completing its training in England, the Second is well advanced in training in Canada. When the day comes for our soldiers to face the enemy, they will be found, in physique and morale, the equal of their fathers and predecessors who made Canada a nation on the fields of Flanders. They will be better equipped than their comrades were in the last war.

But, as you know, the main theatre of war thus far has not been on land; it has been on the sea, and in the air. In

those elements, the strength, the skill, and I may say, the brutality of the enemy have combined in a vain effort to strike terror into the hearts of the British and French peoples. The strategy of yesterday is not the strategy of today. It may be that the strategy of today will not be the strategy of tomorrow. Time will tell that story. Thus far, while we have been told that the presence of Canadian land forces will be no less heartily welcomed, we have been definitely asked to direct our effort especially towards the development of our naval and air services, and to industrial activity. I think you will agree that the course of the war, up to the present, has shown with what foresight the Allied plans have been laid.

Position Wholly Different from that of 1914

I need hardly remind you how the conditions of the present war differ from those that prevailed in 1914. Methods of warfare are new, weapons are new, and, abroad, the strategic picture is now entirely different. Today Germany fights on only one front. This time Russia is not our ally, Italy is not our ally, Japan is not our ally. In the early years of the last war, we relied on British ships alone to protect our eastern shores and the waters of the Gulf. Diplomacy had made our western ocean, in very truth, Pacific.

Our own position, as a country, has also changed. Today Canada stands, before the world, as a nation. We have the privileges of nationhood. We have also its responsibilities. The first of these is responsibility for our own national security. The primary duty of each member of the British Commonwealth is to provide for its own defence. That is the basis of our free association, and of all Empire co-operation. It has been so recognized at every Imperial Conference since 1923.

The threats to Canadian security are far greater today than they were in 1914. To the East, on the Atlantic, we face warfare. To the West, on the Pacific, we face doubt and uncertainty. We must keep constantly in mind the possibility of attacks from the sea, on either coast; and in the air, from many points of the compass. Whatever contribution we can or could make outside of Canada would be seriously weakened, and might easily be destroyed, if we had neglected our own defences. Never forget that fact.

The Charge of Unpreparedness

The Leader of the Opposition charges the government with "unpreparedness". Unpreparedness for what? Does he mean unpreparedness for national defence, or does he mean unpreparedness by Canada, in peace time, for active participation in war in Europe? If he means unpreparedness for the defence of Canada, his charges are untrue. If he means unpreparedness in peace time for active participation, by Canada, in a European war, in his anxiety to condemn the government, he forgets the facts and condemns himself. In peace time, he never advocated preparedness for a war in Europe. The government never advocated preparedness for a war in Europe. As a matter of fact, there was general agreement, both in this country and in Great Britain, that it would be extremely unlikely that Canadian expeditionary forces would again take part in a European war.

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He knew the difference until an expeditionary force was already on its way overseas. He kept silent in peace time because he knew, as everyone listening to me knows, that neither Parliament nor the people would have supported expenditures, in peace time, to prepare for active participation by Canada in a European war.

It is perfectly true that we did not, in times of peace, budget for times of war. If we had, our measures would not have received the support of Parliament. By preparedness in peace time, the present government always meant, and always said it meant, preparedness to meet the possibility of attacks upon Canada in the event of war. The government repeatedly told Parliament that our peace time military expenditures were exclusively for the defence of Canada.

Outstanding Features of Government's War Record

I propose now, as simply as I can, to tell you the main facts concerning the government's record in war.

Parliament was summoned on the 1st day of September, 1939. Britain declared war on September the third. I announced on the 1st of September that if Britain did declare war, the government would recommend to Parliament that Canada should stand at her side. We never doubted that Parliament would accept our policy. We, therefore, as I have already mentioned, entered into immediate consultation with the British government, in order to arrive without delay at a basis of co-operative action. We quickly reached an understanding about the things that had to be done at once. These I outlined to Parliament on September 8th.

Earliest Measures of Co-operation—at Sea, on Land, and in the Air

The British government told us that we could render the greatest help by assisting in the naval and air defence of Newfoundland, Labrador, the French Islands in the Gulf, and the British and French West Indies. We provided that assistance at once. The British government also urged upon us the importance of increasing air training, and naval and air facilities, and of sending trained airmen and mechanics overseas as soon as possible. We lost no time in doing as we were asked.

Meanwhile, we continued daily consultation with the British authorities. By September 19th, we had heard more of their plans, and were in a position to announce a more extended programme. We learned that technical men, doctors and engineers were needed for the land forces. In the light of this information we decided to concentrate on recruiting men of the types which were urgently and especially needed. We had already begun to organize and train an army division which was to be ready to proceed overseas as soon as it was required. On that day, the government decided to organize a second division. In order that we might devote our energy and strength to fill the needs of the allied forces, in the manner in which we had been asked, further general recruiting was postponed for the time being.

The Canadian Navy was already watching over our own coastal waters, Newfoundland and the West Indies. It was taking its share of convoy duty, of mine-sweeping, and of anti-submarine defence. We began immediately to construct anti-submarine and mine-sweeping craft. We also authorized a plan of intensified air training in Canada to provide a progressively increasing number of pilots and airmen. These

things were planned and done, within three weeks of the outbreak of war, after consultation with, and in co-operation with, the British authorities. Is this, I ask, unpreparedness? I leave the answer to you.

The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan

Within a month of the outbreak of war, the swift domination of Poland had demonstrated the decisive importance of superior air power. The significance of the conquest, and the means by which it was accomplished, were not without their immediate effect. If the Germans believed that the war was to be won with air power, the Allies were determined, not only that theirs would be the superiority in air power, but that the enemy should know this as soon and as clearly as possible. Out of this determination, there emerged the epoch-making proposal for a gigantic plan for joint air training. On September 26th, it was presented by the British government to the other governments of the British Commonwealth. The vastness of its scope and power immediately fired the imagination of all. We in Canada, some months prior to the outbreak of war, had made an agreement with Britain for the advanced training of a definite number of British pilots in Royal Canadian Air Force establishments. That fact and the geographic advantages of our country, made Canada the logical centre for this great enterprise.

Agreement Concluded in Minimum of Time

Our acceptance of the proposal in principle was prompt and decisive. The acceptance by Australia and New Zealand was equally so. By October 10th, I was able to announce that Missions were to be sent to Ottawa from the United

Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, to work out all the complicated technical and financial details of the training plan. The British, Australian and New Zealand Missions arrived in due course. By November 27th, a basis of agreement had been reached. The approval of the governments of the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand had still to be obtained. On December 17th, I gave to you over the radio an outline of the plan, which, on that day, had been accepted by all four governments. I suggest to you that, having regard to the elements of time and space, the signing of that agreement is a tribute to the vigour and efficiency of our action.

Air Training Plan May Prove Decisive Factor in Winning of War

In this truly tremendous project, Canada has assumed the major share. What this Air Training Plan will probably mean to the allied cause, you have already been told. When, on October 10th, I announced the proposal, I said that the government of the United Kingdom had indicated its opinion that, with the facilities which Canada possessed, this co-operative effort might prove to be of the most essential and decisive character. Shortly after the agreement was signed, the British government again advised us that in its opinion the Air Training Scheme would do more to assist in ultimate victory than any other form of military aid which Canada could give. At the same time, the British government told us that it would welcome no less heartily the presence of Canadian land forces in the theatre of war at the earliest possible moment. You know how soon this wish was gratified, and how quickly the British people were given an opportunity to welcome our troops. On the very day I was announcing

to you the signing of the Air Training Agreement, the First Contingent of the First Division of the Canadian Active Service Force was landing in the United Kingdom.

Development of Plan Proceeding Rapidly

We did not wait for the signing of the Agreement to get on with the job of carrying out the programme finally agreed upon. Before the Agreement was signed, the ground had been prepared, and much had already been accomplished. Everyday since, the work has been proceeding with vigour and speed. Some forty complete airports were available as a result of civil developments, and forty new airports are being developed from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The delivery of planes from manufacturers in Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States is actively proceeding. Deliveries of advanced training aircraft being supplied by the British Air Ministry have begun and are continuing. Orders have been placed for hundreds of other planes of Canadian and American manufacture.

Between the outbreak of war and the end of the year, contracts for the Royal Canadian Air Force, to the value of over seven and a half million dollars had been let for works and buildings most of which will be used for air training. The recruitment of personnel to man the schools is well advanced, and the training of instructors is actively in progress. By spring the training establishments will be ready to receive pupils.

An Army Division Already Overseas— Another Shortly to Cross

I have already referred to the landing in the United Kingdom, on December 17th, of the First Contingent of the First

Division of the Canadian Active ServiceForce. This contingent was accompanied by its Commanding Officer, Major General A. G. L. McNaughton, who had been appointed to that command on October 6th. The Second Contingent landed on the last two days of the old year. With the recent landing of the Third Contingent, Canada now has a complete division and additional auxiliary units, engaged in advanced training in England. All three contingents made the crossing safely and exactly according to a schedule worked out months in advance. All left Canada fully clothed and fully equipped.

Meanwhile the training of the Second Division is proceeding rapidly, and the decision has been reached to despatch it overseas at an appropriate time.

Army Cooperation Air Squadrons Also Proceeding Overseas

An Army Co-operation Air Squadron has also completed its training in Canada. It will very soon be joining the First Division overseas. A second similar Air Squadron to co-operate with the Second Division is in training.

The Navy Performing Silent and Effective Service

The navy has been well called the silent service. No detailed account can be given of its activities. I may mention, however, that we have added to it steadily both in men and ships. Since the beginning of the year, orders have been placed for the largest naval ship-building programme ever undertaken in Canada. The part the navy has played in the vital task of convoying shipping in the sea lanes of the North

Atlantic, the life line of Britain and France, has received the highest praise of the allied powers.

Today, there are over 70,000 men under arms in the Canadian Active Service Force, over 9,000 in the Royal Canadian Air Force, and over 6,000 in the Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve. These numbers will be increased by tens of thousands of young Canadians, as the Air Training Plan develops, and men continue to be recruited for the other services. On the sea, on land, and in the air, Canada's achievements in this war may well be a source of national pride.

The Home Front—The Furnishing of Supplies

I would like now to tell you in a few words something of what has been done on the home front. We call it the home front because in this part of national service are enlisted every miner, every farmer, every fisherman, every lumberman, indeed every worker in Canada.

I need not tell you that the furnishing of supplies of all kinds is of vital importance to the success of the British and the Allied powers. Our work on the home front is designed to fit into a common plan. In this too, our Allies have told us what they require. In this too, we have done everything within our power to meet their needs. This work is just as much part of the allied plan and just as important as our contribution of men to the armed services.

We hear so much about the vastness of our territory and the extent of our natural resources that sometimes we ourselves are apt to overlook them. Today, that very vastness and those very resources are a lasting reservoir of strength to the allied cause; for Canada stands to Europe as the

nearest, the surest and the safest source of those materials and supplies without which no great nation could wage a successful war.

But our vastness and our wealth of raw materials would be of no avail unless we were able to produce, and to transport. At this crisis in our history, we are fortunate in the development of production and transportation as two arms of national service.

Railways—Airways—National Broadcasting: Essential Factors in War Economy

We do not always remember that the federation of Canada as one nation stretching from sea to sea was made possible by the railways. While we are joined in sentiment by bonds of the heart, we are welded in material things by bonds of steel. The railways are on the front line of our national defence. The present government has resolutely refused to cut down the railway facilities of this country. Today they are at their very height of operating efficiency. Every dollar we have spent on the maintenance of the railways may now be viewed as a dollar spent on defence and preparedness. We are more than ready to meet the demands which have over-taxed the transportation systems of other countries.

What is true of our railways is true also of our progress in civil aviation. No money could have been more wisely spent on national preparedness than the investment in the Trans-Canada Air Lines. I might remind you, in passing, that this vast national service was begun and developed entirely by the present administration.

During the last three years, there has also been built, with the active approval and under the guidance of the present administration, a chain of high-powered broadcasting stations.

Again, what is true of our railways is true also of our harbours. At Halifax and St. John, for example, since Canada entered the war, traffic has more than doubled. There has been no congestion and no delay. This has been accomplished under the direction of a Transport Controller, of whose excellent work like that of our other war administrators, very little has been heard or said.

While these things are sometimes taken for granted, I suggest to you that they, also, are essential elements of a well-directed and well-prepared national economy, geared for war.

Industry Transformed to Serve Wartime Needs

Industry, of course, could not be transformed as readily as our transport facilities were. We had built up no huge armament industry in peace time. I hope with all my heart, and I know that you hope also that such an industrial enterprise will never need to form a permanent addition to the economy of Canada. Nevertheless, preparations had been made for the production of munitions in case the dire need for them ever arose. Long before the outbreak of war, the government had caused a complete industrial survey of Canada to be made.

The government also, in June last, sponsored at their request, a visit to the United Kingdom of a delegation organized by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. Its object was to study the production of arms and munitions in Great Britain, and to assist in the speedy adaptation of Canadian industry to the needs of warfare, if ever it came. The

delegation was headed by Major-General McNaughton. Through the office of Canada's High Commissioner in London, every facility was accorded the delegation while it was in Britain. The assistance afforded to the governments of Great Britain and Canada and to Canadian industry itself, as a result of that visit, was of supreme value.

Enormous Quantities of War Supplies

You all know of the establishment of the War Supply Board, under the control of experienced and public-spirited men. They have had two tasks. Their first duty has been to mobilize our industrial resources. Their second has been to place orders and to let contracts. Particulars of these contracts, amounting, in all, to over $110,000,000, have been published from day to day. In awarding these contracts the members of the Board have been instructed by the government to guard against both patronage and profiteering. Its members, chosen without regard to party, have, I believe, been guided by three principles: honesty, efficiency, and economy. The government is determined that in this war the public trust will not be surrendered to private greed.

There was, at the outset, some impatience because orders were not placed more speedily. The impatience, while perhaps natural, was ill-founded. Orders could hardly have been placed by Canada before Parliament had made the necessary appropriations, or authorized the expenditure. They could not have been placed on behalf of the United Kingdom until the British government itself was prepared to place them. To meet their own immediate requirements, the allied powers had on hand large reserves of supplies of all kinds. We, like them, needed time to determine precisely what our own forces were to be, and what they would require. Moreover, it was

necessary for all nations involved in the war to await developments, and to know what form the war would take. In our preparation, we all had to keep in mind many phases and stages of the conflict, the last no less then the first.

Agriculture Adapted to War Needs— the Farmer's Interest Safeguarded

While the War Supply Board has been bringing our industrial resources into preparation and action, two other branches of government have been concerned with matters which intimately affect the welfare of each one of you. The Agricultural Supplies Committee has been working steadily, with two objects in view. It has been trying, with success, to adapt our farming methods to the needs of war. It has been planning to prevent disaster to agriculture in the period after the war. The Canadian farmer made a tremendous contribution to the winning of the last war. He is helping to win this war. We do not propose, if we can avoid it, that he should lose the fruit of his labours, or find himself, in peace time, once again the victim of a depression which he did nothing to create.

The Consumers' Interest Watched— Prices Controlled

There is another matter which affects the well-being of each one of you. Most of all, it concerns the lives of those whose main problem is meeting the cost of the necessities which keep body and soul together. In order to prevent, as far as is humanly possible, the placing of additional burdens upon the workers of this land, the government, as early as September 3rd, set up the Wartime Prices and Trade Board.

That Board, as you are aware, has done its work well. I regret I have not time tonight to describe what it has accomplished. I may tell you, however, that we have given its members very wide powers. I promise you, that as long as vigour and vigilance, and the punishment of the guilty can prevent such a calamity, there will be no undue rise in the cost of the necessities of life.

This, Ladies and Gentlemen, has been the record of the war effort of the present administration at this time of crisis in the world's affairs. What I have told you relates almost exclusively to the period which has elapsed since the beginning of war—a period of less than half a year.

National Unity and War Effort Inseparable

In my first broadcast, I told you how the present government had brought to the side of Britain and France the united war effort of a united Canada. I told you what had to be done, and what had not to be done, to achieve that end. I told you of the responsible trust placed upon my colleagues and myself to preserve calm and patience during the long and difficult months that preceded the tragedy of war. In this broadcast, I have told you something of the energy and vigour with which, since we entered the war, the present Administration has prosecuted Canada's war effort. National unity was maintained prior to, and at the moment of, the declaration of war. The war effort was made possible by the unity thus achieved. Never forget that the two are inseparable.

This is the record which the Leader of the Opposition says constitutes the issue in the present election. He appeals to you to defeat the government because of the inefficiency of its war effort. I maintain that, if ever a government was

entitled to the continued confidence of the people because of the manner in which, at a time of war, it had administered a great national trust, the present government merits that confidence. At all events, it is for you to judge. It is your interests and your future that today are being weighed in the political balance.

The People to Decide

My colleagues and I are quite prepared to be judged on our record by the people of this country. Happily, it is to your judgment that we make our appeal. This election will determine your representation in the Parliament of Canada for the next five years. It affords you a full and free opportunity to decide what is best for yourselves.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa M. Citizen

Date February 22, 1940

Subject Prime Minister's 2nd broadcast

D 54071

Will Increase Armed Forces Of Canada By "Tens Of Thousands"

Prime Minister King Announces Plans for Expansion of Canada's War Effort. Already 85,000 Men in Army, Air Force And Navy Signed Up.

Replies To Criticism By Hon. Dr. Manion

Government Quite Ready To Be Judged On Its Record by the People In Coming Election.

Those under arms in the Canadian forces will be increased "by tens of thousands of young Canadians," Prime Minister Mackenzie King declared in a political broadcast last night.

The Prime Minister announced "decision has been reached" to despatch the Second Division of the active service force overseas "at an appropriate time."

85,000 Men in Services.

An army co-operation squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Force would soon join the First Division overseas, the Prime Minister said, "and a second similar air training squadron to co-operate with the Second Division is in training."

Increases in the men under arms would come through advancement of plans for the British Commonwealth air training plan through recruiting "for other services."

The Prime Minister said there were today 70,000 men under arms in the Active Service Force, 9,000 in the Air Force and 6,000 in the navy.

Prepared To Be Judged.

Mr. King gave a detailed account of the government's war efforts and told Canadian voters he and his colleagues were "quite prepared to be judged on our record" in the forthcoming Dominion election.

In an address over a national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation the Prime Minister declared Conservative Leader Manion had named the election issue when he called for defeat of the government, holding the King administration responsible for what he had termed "our unpreparedness and our weak war effort."

Wishes Defeat of Govt.

Mr. Mackenzie King said there was no mistaking Dr. Manion's language. "Dr. Manion wishes the government to be defeated. He has stated the issue as he sees it. It is the government's war record."

If Dr. Manion was charging the government had been caught unprepared for the defence of Canada his charge was "untrue," the Prime Minister said.

"If he means unpreparedness in peace time for active participation by Canada in a European war, in his anxiety to condemn the government, he forgets the facts and condemns himself. In peace time he never advocated preparedness for a war in Europe."

Dr. Manion had been silent on that question before the war and after, up to the time the Canadian expeditionary force was on its way overseas, the Prime Minister said.

"He knew, as everyone listening to me knows, that neither Parliament nor the people would have supported expenditures in peace time to prepare for active participation by Canada in a European war."

Immediate Co-operation.

As a result of the government's peace time defence preparations Canada had been able to give immediate co-operation to the British and French Allies when the war started, by defending their possessions on this side of the Atlantic.

Immediately the British government indicated the desirability of Canadian troops in Europe, the First Division, "fully clothed and fully equipped," was landed in the British Isles, the Prime Minister said.

An Air Force army co-operation squadron "will very soon be joining the First Division overseas." A Second Division and a second army co-operation squadron are now in training and will be sent when needed.

A huge air training system is being established in co-operation with the British, Australian and New Zealand governments and will see many thousands of pilots turned out of Canadian schools. It may well be a decisive factor in winning the war, said Mr. Mackenzie King.

On Home Front.

On the home front the economic effort ran smoothly and according to plan, Mr. Mackenzie King said. The present government had refused to cut down railway services and now is reaping the benefit. It had established a trans-Canada air service and a national harbor system, all of great value in wartime.

"Every dollar we have spent on maintenance of the railways may now be viewed as a dollar spent on defence and preparedness. We are more than ready to meet demands which have overtaxed the transportation systems of other countries."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 54072

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

The War Supply Board which has already given contracts of $110,000,000 worth of war materials, would operate so that there might be no patronage or profiteering, the Prime Minister said.

Through other government agencies efforts of the government now were being directed to methods to ensure that the farmer shall not "lose the fruit of his labors or find himself, in peace time, once again the victim of a depression which he did nothing to create."

To Consuming Public.

To the general consuming public the Prime Minister said:

"I promise you that so long as vigor and vigilance and punishment of the guilty can prevent such a calamity, there will be no undue rise in the necessities of life."

Unlike the situation in 1914, Canada entered the present conflict with small but definite establishments of the Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Air Force.

Received Highest Praise.

These forces had been able to take up at once the air and naval guard of salient points on the Atlantic and Pacific. The part played by the navy so far "has received the highest praise of the Allied powers," the Prime Minister said.

The Prime Minister declared that if any government ever earned the continued confidence of the people because of its administration of a great national trust in time of war, "the present government merits that confidence."

Partial Text

Mr. Mackenzie King said that Conservative Leader Manion, in his broadcast last Friday, had "stated the issue as he saw it," and that Dr. Manion's language was unmistakable. He had asked Canadian electors to defeat the government because "it is responsible for our unpreparedness and our weak war effort."

Accepts Challenge

The Prime Minister said he accepted the challenge of that issue and proposed to meet it. He continued:

"In what I am about to say, I shall emphasize, and I hope that you will remember, the following important facts. My colleagues and I took every care to see that war, if it came, should find Canada as well prepared as a peace-loving country could be.

"When war was near, we took every possible step to place our defence forces in a state of preparation for active service. When war appeared inevitable, Parliament was instantly summoned. Canada forthwith, by the decision of her Parliament, took her place at the side of the Allies.

Daily Consultation

"In anticipation of Parliament's decision, we had already begun direct and daily consultation with Britain. We have since continued such consultation for the purpose of working out and perfecting plans for vigorous, prompt and effective co-operation.

"We had established the security of this country in its own defences. We were, therefore, able at once to make valuable contributions to the cause of the Allies. We were able to mobilize farm and factory, man-power and money, on the side of Britain and France.

"Our foresight made possible the steady growth of our national endeavor. It ensured from that day, and from this day, onward, a maximum of effort, with a minimum of waste."

In the first Great War Canada's main contribution was despatch of infantry to France. That was what the Allied powers wanted Canada to do then, the Prime Minister said.

But military historians and present day experts "agree that there was in the strategy of the last war a woeful waste of treasure and of life." In 1914 Canada had neither navy nor air force. Today the Royal Canadian Navy and Royal Canadian Air Force were "important links in the unbroken chain of Allied strength."

Better Equipment

The First Canadian Division now in England and the second, well advanced in training in Canada, will, when they take their place in the front line, be better equipped than their comrades were in the first Great War, the Prime Minister said.

But the main theaters of war, thus far, are on the sea and in the air—not on land. The strategy of war has changed and may change again quickly.

"Thus far, while we have been told that the presence of Canadian land forces will be no less heartily welcomed, we have been definitely asked to direct our effort especially towards the development of our naval and air services, and to industrial activity.

"I think you will agree that the course of the war, up to the present has shown with what foresight the Allied plans have been laid.

Stands as Nation

"Our own position, as a country has also changed. Today Canada stands, before the world, as a nation. We have the privileges of nationhood. We have also its responsibilities. The first of these is responsibility for our own national security.

"The primary duty of each member of the British Commonwealth is to provide for its own defence. That is the basis of our free association, and of all Empire co-operation. It has been so recognized at every imperial conference since 1923.

Threat Far Greater

"The threats to Canadian security are far greater today than they were in 1914. To the east, on the Atlantic, we face warfare. To the west, on the Pacific, we face doubt and uncertainty. We must keep constantly in mind the possibility of attacks from the sea, on either coast; and in the air, from many points of the compass.

"Whatever contribution we can or could make outside of Canada would be seriously weakened, and might easily be destroyed, if we had neglected our own defences. Never forget that fact.

"The leader of the opposition charges the government with 'unpreparedness.' Unpreparedness for what? Does he mean unpreparedness for national defence, or does he mean unpreparedness by Canada, in peace time, for active participation in war in Europe? If he means unpreparedness for the defence of Canada, his charges are untrue.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 54023

Name of Publication.....

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Subject.....

"Condemns Himself"

"If he means unpreparedness in peace time for active participation, by Canada, in a European war, in his anxiety to condemn the government, he forgets the facts and condemns himself. In peace time, he never advocated preparedness for a war in Europe.

"The government never advocated preparedness for a war in Europe. As a matter of fact, there was general agreement, both in this country and in Great Britain, that it would be extremely unlikely that Canadian expeditionary forces would again take part in a European war.

"Today, Dr. Manion quite fails to distinguish between preparedness, in peace time, for national defence, and preparedness, in peace time, to send forces overseas. He knew the difference, however when Parliament was in regular session in March, 1939. He knew the difference from March 1939, to September, 1939, when Parliament met in war session. He knew the difference until an expeditionary force was already on its way overseas.

"He kept silent in peace time because he knew, as everyone listening to me knows, that neither Parliament nor the people would have supported expenditures, in peace time, to prepare for active participation by Canada in a European war.

Preparedness

"It is perfectly true that we did not, in times of peace, budget for times of war. If we had, our measures would not have received the support of Parliament. By preparedness in peace time, the present government always meant, and always said it meant, preparedness to meet the possibility of attacks upon Canada in the event of war. The government repeatedly told Parliament that our peace time military expenditures were exclusively for the defence of Canada."

Recalling that Canada, with the approval of Parliament, ranged herself at once on the side of Britain when the war started, the Prime Minister said the first assistance requested by the British was for the naval and air defence of Newfoundland, Labrador, the French islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the British and French West Indies.

This service was rendered at once. The British also urged the importance of increased air training, naval and air facilities, and the sending of trained air and mechanical units overseas as soon as possible.

On Sept. 19, after daily consultation with the British authorities, Canada was concentrating on enlistment of specially qualified men whose services were urgently needed, had organized a first division to go overseas when needed, and had decided on a second division.

Already Watching

"The Canadian navy was already watching over our own coastal waters, Newfoundland and the West Indies. It was taking its share of convoy duty, of minesweeping, and of anti-submarine defence. We began immediately to construct anti-submarine and mine-sweeping craft. We also authorized a plan of intensified air training in Canada to provide a progressively increasing number of pilots and airmen.

"These things were planned and done, within three weeks of the outbreak of war, after consultation with, and in co-operation with, the British authorities. Is this, I ask, unpreparedness? I leave the answer to you."

Air Training Scheme

Within a month after war started the plan for a huge air training scheme for Great Britain, New Zealand and Australia, to be established in Canada, was presented to the governments concerned and on Dec. 17 the plan had been worked out in detail and accepted by all.

Work on the air training plan started long before actual completion of the agreement and much had been accomplished in construction of facilities and organization, from coast to coast.

"The delivery of planes from manufacturers in Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States is actively proceeding. Deliveries of advanced training aircraft being supplied by the British air ministry have begun and are continuing. Orders have been placed for hundreds of other planes of Canadian and American manufacture.

Contracts Let.

"The recruitment of personnel to man the schools is well advanced, and the training of instructors is actively in progress. Some 40 completed airports were available as a result of civil developments and 40 new airports are being developed from the Atlantic to the Pacific."

The first contingent of the First Canadian Division arrived in the United Kingdom Dec. 17, the Prime Minister said and, with recent landing of a third contingent of the Active Service Force, Canada now has a "complete division and additional auxiliary units, engaged in advanced training in England." The men made the crossing "fully clothed and fully equipped" without mishap and without confusion.

"Meanwhile the training of the Second Division is proceeding rapidly, and the decision has been reached to despatch it overseas at an appropriate time.

"An army air force co-operation squadron has also completed its training in Canada. It will very soon be joining the First Division overseas. A second similar air squadron to co-operate with the Second Division is in training.

"The Silent Service."

"The navy has been well called the silent service. No detailed account can be given of its activities. I may mention, however, that we have added to it steadily both in men and ships. Since the beginning of the year, orders have been placed for the largest naval ship-building program ever undertaken in Canada.

"The part the navy has played in the vital task of convoying shipping in the sea lanes of the North Atlantic, the life line of Britain and France, has received

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D 54074

the highest praise of the Allied powers.

"Today, there are more than 70,000 men under arms in the Canadian Active Service Force, more than 9,000 in the Royal Canadian Air Force, and more than 6,000 in the Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve.

Will Be Increased.

"These numbers will be increased by tens of thousands of young Canadians, as the air training plan develops, and men continue to be recruited for the other services. On the sea, on land, and in the air, Canada's achievements in this war may well be a source of national pride."

In the vital task of furnishing supplies to the Allies Canada had been carefully mobilized economically, the Prime Minister said. The Allies had stated their wants and Canada had taken steps to fill them.

In this effort on the home front every Canadian worker was enlisted and this task "is just as much part of the Allied plan and just as important as our contribution of men to the armed services."

Canada's Railways.

The Prime Minister said Canada's railways were "on the front line of our national defence." His government had refused to cut down railway facilities and today "they are at their height of operating efficiency."

The same efficiency was to be found in civil aviation, including the Trans-Canada Air Lines developed by the present government, the National Harbors System and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's chain of high-powered stations.

Industrial potentialities of Canada had been surveyed long before war started with a view to preparing for speedy adaptation of Canadian plants to production of war necessities if the need arose.

The War Supply Board had placed orders for more than $110,000,000 worth of war supplies and construction. It was composed of men "chosen without regard to party" and instructed by the government to guard against both patronage and profiteering.

Speaking of the agricultural supplies committee designed to adapt farming methods to war needs and to plan against disaster to farmers in the after-war period, the Prime Minister said:

"The Canadian farmer made a tremendous contribution to the winning of the last war. He is helping to win this war. We do not propose, if we can avoid it, that he should lose the fruit of his labors, or find himself, in peacetime, once again the victim of a depression which he did nothing to create."

Necessities of Life.

Of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, appointed with wide powers of regulation and control over prices and distribution of necessities of life, the Prime Minister said:

"I promise you, that as long as vigor and vigilance, and the punishment of the guilty can prevent such a calamity, there will be no undue rise in the cost of the necessities of life."

The Prime Minister said, in conclusion: "This, ladies and gentlemen, has been the record of the war effort of the present administration at this time of crisis in the world's affairs. What I have told you relates exclusively to the period which has elapsed since the beginning of war—a period of less than half a year.

"In my first broadcast, I told you how the present government had brought to the side of Britain and France the united war effort of a united Canada. I told you what had to be done, and what had not to be done, to achieve that end. I told you of the responsible trust placed upon my colleagues and myself to preserve calm and patience during the long and difficult months that preceded the tragedy of war.

Energy and Vigor.

"In this broadcast, I have told you something of the energy and vigor with which, since we entered the war, the present administration has prosecuted Canada's war effort. National unity was maintanied prior to, and at the moment of, the declaration of war. The war effort was made possible by the unity thus achieved. Never forget that the two are inseparable.

"This is the record which the leader of the opposition says constitutes the issue in the present election. He appeals to you to defeat the government because of the inefficiency of its war effort.

"I maintain that, if ever a government was entitled to the continued confidence of the people because of the manner in which, at a time of war, it had administered a great national trust, the present government merits that confidence. At all events, it is for you to judge. It is your interests and your future that today are being weighed in the political balance.

"My colleagues and I are quite prepared to be judged on our record by the people of this country. Happily, it is to your judgment that we make our appeal. This election will determine the representation in the Parliament of Canada for the next five years. It affords you a full and free opportunity to decide what is best for yourselves."

D 54075

PRIME MINISTER

POLITICAL BROADCAST No. 3

Friday, February 23, 1940

1st draft W.L.M.K.
Feb. 22.

D 54076

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In my broadcast on Wednesday evening, I dealt with the government's war record. That record has been challenged by the Leader of the Opposition. He says it is <u>the issue</u> in the present elections. I have met and replied to him on that issue. As I have already said, my colleagues and I are quite prepared to be judged on our record. We are happy that it is to your judgment that it is necessary for all to appeal.

(With our record is bound

(In our records is contained the policies on which we propose to continue to prosecute the war. You know what those policies are. But do you know what are the war policies of the Leader of the Opposition, and the party which he leads? It is time I think that Dr. Manion should tell you what these policies are. He has not done so as yet. Is there a person within the sound of my voice who knows what they are. What is there of the policies we have laid down, have followed and propose to continue to follow, which he proposes to change? What new policies does he propose? What existing policies does he propose to delete? This you have a right to know and know at once. I challenge

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him to come out with his policies, and allow you to judge what we have already made known to you and what he proposes to have differently done. When he asks for your support, this you are entitled to know.

Instead of giving you a statement of Conservative policy, with respect to Canada's war effort, the Leader of the Opposition appears to be anxious in your eyes to get away from his party altogether. He says he does not propose to form a Conservative government at all. What he proposes is something quite different, it is not a government of one party, but a government of all the parties. He calls this a National Government - a fine catch phrase - what he ought to call it, to express exactly what he means and what, in fact, it would be if such a government were ever formed, is a "union" government. Those words, unhappily, have not lost all of their old associations - associations he wants you to forget. So he completely avoids their use and takes the term "National" which has a patriotic ring about it, and would have you believe that it is only in the form he suggests that a truly national government can be formed.

I propose to show you that the only government that can be called truly national is times of war, or in times of peace, is one which is representative, not of conflicting

D 54078

views and opinions, but of a common concensus of opinion held from one end of the country to another - a government that will serve to keep Canada united, not because it is composed of men supporting different policies, but of men supporting one policy - a government based not on a variety of differences of view, of attitude and of sentiments and beliefs, but on a common concensus of mind held by a majority of the people of this country from one end to the other. This is the only kind of government worthy of the name of National government.

Before, however, I proceed to give you my own views with respect to national government as I understand the true significance of that word, let me give you the views of the Leader of the Opposition himself respecting the "union" variety of national government, which he is today advocating. (Quotation ?)

Here I find myself at once upon the horns of a dilemma, or rather I should perhaps say that I find the Leader of the Opposition is on the horns of a dilemma, for I find that he holds views on the merits of union government, which are diametrically opposed to each other.

D 54079

In his opening broadcast on ..... the Leader of the Opposition sets forth two objectives as those to which he invited your support. The first was to defeat the present government because of its war record. The second was to allow him in its stead to form a "national" government. I met his challenge to our war record on Wednesday evening. I propose tonight to accept and to meet his challenge with respect to national government.

Let me quote his exact words:

"only through national govt. etc.."

This fortunately for you, but unfortunately for the Leader of the Opposition is not the only occasion on which Dr. Manion has expressed his views upon national government.

As recently as ..... I quote from The Globe and Mail of that date.... Dr. Manion said:

(Quotation)

The date of this statement is not without its significance, July 27.

Just see what this means: Five weeks before the war Dr. Manion was not prepared, because of its obvious limitations and defects, to trust the affairs of the country

D 54080

in a time of peace to a national government of the "union" variety. However that there are problems of vastly greater concern to be met, he is prepared to hand over the administration of Canada's affairs to a kind of government that no one has condemned more strongly than himself.

If it were not that there are many men and women who have not had even the limited experience in government which Dr. Manion has enjoyed, who are apt to feel that because of the name and what, to appearances, ti represents, I would gladly let the matter rest there. I feel, however, that the whole question is far too serious to permit it to be made a screen for such lack of policies and a mere catch phrase in a general election, that I propose to place clearly before you the shams and dangers ~~of~~ I see in such a proposal, that when on March the 26th you choose those who are at this time of war to represent your interests, and those of our country in Parliament, you may not do so blind-folded but with your eyes wide open to the possible consequences alike to the country and your own times and future.

Broadcast #no 3

C

~~14~~

D 54081

A Policy for Youth

The Leader of the Opposition has promised a ~~[illegible]~~ for Youth; the present government already has a policy for youth which, even in difficult times, has produced good results. The Minister of Labour announced a week ago, that in the nine months between April 1st and December 31st, 1939, 5414 young men and women who had been trained under the Dominion-Provincial Youth Training Programme, had been placed in employment. This was almost twice the number placed in the same period of the previous year. From its inception in 1937, over 150,000 unemployed young people benefitted from the programme, about 38,000 had completed courses designed to train them for wage-earning employment and more than a third of those so trained had secured employment. Naturally we all wish the record had been even better, but it is one of which no government need be ashamed.

The emphasis this year has been placed on training in aircraft mechanics and aircraft manufacturing, skilled trades for war production and physical training. The agricultural training is along lines suggested by the Agricultural Supplies Committee and the various departments of agriculture. The Youth Training Programme is a fine example of the results which can be achieved by generous co-operation between the Dominion and the provinces.

In addition to the Dominion-Provincial Youth Training classes, 4,652 young men last year took part in the National Forestry

D 54082

Programme. Of these young men 982 found employment and many others left the project to enlist.

The policy of the government is to continue to provide, in co-operation with the provinces, youth training adapted to changing needs. The training of our youth to become productive, self-supporting citizens will help us both to win the war and to face the aftermath with confidence.

EARNSCLIFFE
LINEN BOND
RAG CONTENT-CANADA

Broadcast No. 3 — 1st Revise February 22, 1940

D 54083

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In his opening broadcast on February the 16th, the Leader of the Opposition set ~~forth~~ two objectives. The first was to defeat the present government because of its war record. The second was to allow him to form, in its stead, what he calls, a "national" government. On Wednesday evening I met his challenge with respect to our war record. I propose, tonight, to meet his challenge with respect to his so-called "national" government.

In his broadcast, Dr. Manion stated it as his fixed conviction that "only through national government could we do that service to our country, to our Empire, and to civilization, which is demanded of us, now that we are in this war beside Britain and France."

This, fortunately for you, but unfortunately for the Leader of the Opposition, is not the only occasion on which Dr. Manion has expressed his views upon national government.

As recently as July the 26th, less than six weeks before the outbreak of war, ~~Dr. Manion~~ expressed convictions no less definite, even if opposite. I will read you a report of what he said.

"National Conservative Leader Robert J. Manion today refused to recognize "national government" as a cure for Canada's present-day ills, arguing that such a setup would inevitably lead to a Socialist regime dictated by a combination of the C.C.F., Social Credit and "all other Cave of Adullam parties."

"Every Government," said he, "starts to die soon after it is elected. A National Government would be the same in this respect as any other. Therefore after a period of time the Opposition would come into power.

"But the Opposition to a National Government, presumably made up of Liberals and Conservatives, would be the Social Credit, C.C.F., and other Socialist groups that cared to join with them. It would be these parties that would take over the reins of power when the National Government had outlived its usefulness."

What I have just read ~~appeared~~ I am well pleased in the Toronto Globe and Mail of July the 27th.

D 54085

I would gladly let the matter rest where Dr. Manion left it on July 26th, if I did not know that the idea of ~~sinking~~ all party differences in a time of stress undoubtedly makes a ~~strong~~ appeal. Most of us would like to see, at all times, a political condition where

"none was for party;

and all were for the State".

Could any form of government effect such a transformation in human nature ~~as to make that possible,~~ I ~~do not doubt~~ am sure that most of us would welcome it with enthusiasm. I, ~~certainly~~, for one, would certainly not wish to discourage the idealism which longs for cessation of all forms of strife, and the permanence of good-will and understanding as the basis for human relations. But those who think that a union government will achieve these desirable ends are, I believe, grievously mistaken.

Men will always differ in opinion, and it is right that they should do so. There is ~~, of course,~~ no reason why differences of opinion should be accompanied by bitterness. Men can differ, and still work together in good-will, without surrendering the right to independent thought, speech, and action.

D 54086

The ~~very~~ words "national government" are deliberately used to suggest ~~some~~ a sort of patriotic idealism. The phrase itself has a patriotic ring, even if it does not ring true. But let us stop a moment to see what the words "national government" really mean. We must be careful not to be carried away by catch-words and slogans. They are often dangerous and usually deceptive. Let us look beneath the label to see what is underneath. Let us see if the goods, when we inspect them, are in accordance with the advertisement. Let us look particularly to see whether the Leader of the Opposition, in his present appeal, is not misusing the word "national" and the word "government".

A ~~N~~national government, in the correct sense of ~~that~~ this term, ~~means~~ is the government which carries on the business of the nation. It represents the nation in accordance with parliamentary procedure and practice. It ~~means~~ implies, under the British system, a representative and responsible government. It means ~~a Parliament which is representative of the people, and~~ a government which represents the majority in Parliament. It means a government ~~and a parliament~~ which ~~are~~ is responsible to the people. Representation and responsibility are the pillars of our parliamentary system. Since everyone cannot rule

It does not mean, as I said recently, a government responsible to the Opposition, or to any other minority group.

at one and the same time, the right to rule is given to those who command the confidence of the largest number ~~of people~~. Government by majority rule is, under our system, the only true national government. Equally, it is the only true democratic government.

The only government that can be called truly national, ~~either in times of war or in times of peace,~~ is one which is representative, not of conflicting views and opinions, but of a ~~concensus of opinion held in common~~ by men and women from ~~one end of the country~~ to another. ~~In this country it means a~~ government ~~that will serve~~ to keep Canada united, ~~not because it is composed of men supporting different policies, but of men supporting one policy —~~ a government based on a variety of differences of view, of attitude, and of sentiments and beliefs, but on views held in common by a majority of the people of the country from one end to the other. This is the only kind of government worthy of the name of "national" government.

When the Leader of the Opposition talks of national government what he really means is "union" government. I can quite understand why Dr. Manion doesn't like that name. He would have treated you more fairly if he had used it. Probably he doesn't like the name because

D 54088

A genuine national government is a government supported by a freely elected majority in Parliament. It is not a combination created as a result of bargaining between conflicting parties and groups. ~~In Canada, a truly national government must also represent, in its fair proportion, every section of the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific.~~ A leader who cannot command support in all parts of the country will have little chance of forming a ~~strong~~ government and ~~still less of maintaining the national unity which is essential to the successful prosecution of~~

it summons up from the past memories of many things he would like to forget. ~~ghosts which he wishes were laid. The anonymous government which Dr. Manion seeks to form is, of course, a union government.~~ What ~~he wishes~~ Mr Lawson is asking is a government composed of men of different political parties and, therefore, of conflicting political opinions.

There is nothing to prevent parties working together for a common object, and still maintaining their identity. Dr. Manion's party did that at the special war session of Parliament last September. That is a matter of attitude to meet compelling circumstances in special cases. It is an attitude which was clearly defined by Sir Wilfrid Laurier during the last war. Speaking for the Liberal Opposition, in Parliament in 1915, Sir Wilfrid used these words:

> "We are prepared to give to the government, to those who for the moment have the confidence of the Canadian people under our constitutional system, the support to which they are entitled for the attainment of the great end which we all have in mind."

~~business.~~ If his party is not the majority party, his views will or should be advanced by the minority leader who speaks for ~~it~~.

The present government is, in the truest sense, a national government. It had ~~the support~~ in Parliament of a majority of the representatives of the people. That majority happened to be ~~in our case,~~ the largest majority which any government in Canada has ever had. The majority with which we began was not only maintained but increased as the sessions passed by.

The present government is a party government, but it is the government of a united party. It is composed of men of a single party who have been true to the ideals and principles they share in common. Government can only be carried on effectively by men who are able to work together, day after day, sharing each others views, and having complete confidence in each other.

A union government means one of two things: a weak government, or a dictatorial government. It might conceivably be both, because the terms are not necessarily contradictory. Weak, because it leads to endless compromises, and the stifling of views. Differences which now divide

~~the war.~~

Canada, like other democratic countries, has relied on government by parties. Parties are not ends in themselves. They are only means to an end. Through them, men and women who share similar views on great public questions are able to make those views prevail. Party government enables those willing to blend their views and opinions, to combine forces, to advance policies founded on common views and principles. Parties are not water-tight compartments. They are not secret societies or exclusive clubs. They do not bar men and women from membership because of race, ~~colour~~, or creed. Anyone is free to belong to whatever party he pleases. If he chooses to ~~belong to~~ a party that no longer represents his views, that is his ~~own~~

D 54092

parties in Parliament would be transferred from Parliament to the Cabinet. What should be a clash of public principles might well become a clash of personal interests. Effective government would be crippled by compromise, or paralysed by inaction. ~~Progress would become difficult, if not impossible.~~

On the other hand, ~~it~~ might easily follow the European pattern. There the suppression of minorities, and the silencing of opposition, ~~and the~~ merging of parties into one have soon resulted in the abolition of representative institutions. That is the soil in which dictatorships grow and flourish.

Union government may also be a mere subterfuge to bring together, under the guise of a combination of parties, men ~~of differing views who wish~~ to ~~effect~~ some course of action which they would not be prepared to champion openly.

The main argument ~~advanced until recently~~ for a "national" or union government ~~was~~ the desire to postpone an election, and to extend the life of Parliament. Such a course would have turned Parliament and the government into a virtual dictatorship. It would have been a denial of the

D 54093

undoubted right of a free people to choose their ~~government through the election of a free Parliament.~~ pretext for union government was ended when Parliament was dissolved.

What is needed in peace-time, and still more in war, is a government made strong by popular support and by the co-operation of men who feel and think alike on matters of principle. That is a national government in the true sense of the word, and that is the kind of government the present administration ~~has given.~~

I want to say to my fellow-countrymen, very earnestly, that the times through which we are passing are of such a nature that no government, except it be a government enjoying the most complete confidence of the people of Canada, can hope to meet the grave needs of the present, and the still graver needs of the future.

Is there any political ~~group~~ or combination ~~known or unknown,~~ which has the remotest chance of being ~~comparably~~ representative of Canadian opinion as a whole? This is the vital question which the electors must answer on March 26th. This war demands ~~our~~ utmost effort. Such an effort can be made only by a government which draws its strength from every section of the country and has been given a unquestioned mandate by the people.

Broadcast No. 3 1st Revise February 22, 1940

D 54094

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In his opening broadcast on February the 16th, the Leader of the Opposition set forth two objectives. The first was to defeat the present government because of its war record. The second was to allow him to form, in its stead what he calls, a "national" government. On Wednesday evening I met his challenge with respect to our war record. I propose tonight to meet his challenge with respect to his so-called "national" government.

In his broadcast Dr. Manion stated it as his fixed conviction that "only through national government could we do that service to our country, to our Empire, and to civilization, which is demanded of us, now that we are in this war beside Britain and France."

This, fortunately for you, but unfortunately for the Leader of the Opposition, is not the only occasion on which Dr. Manion has expressed his views upon national government.

As recently as July the 26th, less than six weeks before the outbreak of war, Dr. Manion expressed conviction no less definite, even if opposite. I will read you a report of what he said.

D 54095

National Conservative Leader Robert J. Manion today refused to recognize "national government" as a cure for Canada's present-day ills, arguing that such a setup would inevitably lead to a Socialist regime dictated by a combination of the C.C.F., Social Credit and "all other Cave of Adullam parties."

"Every Government," said he, "starts to die soon after it is elected. A National Government would be the same in this respect as any other. Therefore after a period of time the Opposition would come into power.

"But the Opposition to a National Government, presumably made up of Liberals and Conservatives, would be the Social Credit, C.C.F., and other Socialist groups that cared to join with them. It would be these parties that would take over the reins of power when the National Government had outlived its usefulness."

What I have just read appeared in the Globe and Mail of July the 27th.

D 54096

I would gladly let the matter rest where Dr. Manion left it on July 26th, if I did not know that the idea of sinking all party differences in a time of stress undoubtedly makes a strong appeal. Most of us would like to see, at all times, a political condition where

"none were for the party,
"and all were for the State".

Could any form of government effect such a transformation in human nature as to make that possible, I do not doubt that most of us would welcome it with enthusiasm. I, certainly, for one, would not wish to discourage the idealism which longs for cessation of all forms of strife, and the permanence of good-will and understanding as the basis for human relations. But those who think that a union government will achieve these desirable ends are, I believe, mistaken.

Men will always differ in opinion, and it is right that they should do so. There is, of course, no reason why difference of opinion should be accompanied by bitterness. Men can differ and still work together in good-will, without surrendering the right to independent thought, speech, and action.

D 54097

The very words "national government" are deliberately used to suggest some sort of patriotic idealism. The phrase itself has a patriotic ring.

But let us stop a moment to see what the words really mean. We must be careful not to be carried away by catch words and slogans. They are often dangerous and usually deceptive. Let us look beneath the label to see what is underneath. Let us see if the goods, when we inspect them, are in accordance with the advertisement. Let us look particularly to see whether the Leader of the Opposition, in his present appeal, is not misusing the word "national" and the word "government".

National government, in the correct sense of that term, means the government which carries on the business of the nation. It represents the nation in accordance with parliamentary procedure and practice. It means, under the British system, a representative and responsible government. It means a Parliament which is representative of the people, and a government which represents the majority in Parliament. It means a government and a parliament which are responsible to the people. Representation and responsibility are the pillars of our parliamentary system. Since everyone cannot rule

D 54098

at one and the same time, the right to rule is given to those who command the confidence of the largest number of people. Government by majority rule is, under our system, the only true national government. Equally, it is the only true democratic government.

The only government that can be called truly national, either in times of war or in times of peace, is one which is representative, not of conflicting views and opinions, but of a concensus of opinion held in common by men and women from one end of the country to another. In this country it means a government that will serve to keep Canada united, not because it is composed of men supporting different policies, but of men supporting one policy - a government based on a variety of differences of view, of attitude, and of sentiments and beliefs, but on views held in common by a majority of the people of the country from one end to the other. This is the only kind of government worthy of the name of "national" government.

When the Leader of the Opposition talks of national government what he really means is union government. I can quite understand why Dr. Manion doesn't like that name. He would have treated you more fairly if he had used it. Probably he doesn't like the name because

D 54099

it summons up from the past memories of many things he would like to forget, ghosts which he wishes were laid. The anonymous government which Dr. Manion seeks to form is, of course, a union government. What he wishes is a government composed of men of different political parties and, therefore, of conflicting political opinions.

There is nothing to prevent parties working together for a common object, and still maintaining their identity. Dr. Manion's party did that at the special war session of Parliament last September. That is a matter of attitude to meet compelling circumstances in special cases. It is an attitude which was clearly defined by Sir Wilfrid Laurier during the last war. Speaking for the Liberal Opposition, in Parliament in 1915, he used these words:

> "We are prepared to give to the government, to those who for the moment have the confidence of the Canadian people under our constitutional system, the support to which they are entitled for the attainment of the great end which we all have in mind."

3rd Ravina Feb. 23.

D 54100

those who are willing to blend their views and opinions, so to combine forces as to advance policies founded on common views and principles. Political parties are not water-tight compartments. They are not secret societies or exclusive clubs. They do not bar men and women from membership because of race, class, or creed. Anyone is free to belong to whatever party he pleases. If he ceases, for the time being, to give his support to a party to which he has, ~~all along belonged~~ normally belonged, it may be, and usually is, because he is not satisfied with ~~the party's~~ its present policy, or with its leader; or, because, he believes that in ~~the~~ existing situation ~~it~~ he would, ~~everything considered, be most in the~~ advance the country's interest, ~~to~~ by placing his support elsewhere. If he chooses to continue to support a party or a leader who no longer represents his views, that is his misfortune, if not his own fault. If his party is not the majority party, his views will or should be advanced by the minority leader who speaks for him.

The present government of Canada is, in the truest sense, a national government. It had in the late Parliament the support of a majority of the representatives of the people. That majority happened to be the largest majority which any government in Canada has ever had. Dr. Manion has told you

3rd Reina

D 54101

that "every government starts to die soon after it is elected". That may have been his ~~the Doctor's~~ experience. I am happy to say it has not been mine. The majority with which we began was not only maintained but increased as the sessions passed by.

A union government is almost certain to mean one of two things: a weak government, or a dictatorial government. It might conceivably be both, because the terms are not necessarily contradictory. Weak, because it leads to endless compromises, and the stifling of views.

D 54102

business. If his party is not the majority party, his views will or should be advanced by the minority leader who speaks for it.

The present government is, in the truest sense, a national government. It had the support in Parliament of a majority of the representatives of the people. That majority happened to be, in our case, the largest majority which any government in Canada has ever had. The majority with which we began was not only maintained but increased as the sessions passed by.

The present government is a party government, but it is the government of a united party. It is composed of men of a single party who have been true to the ideals and principles they share in common. Government can only be carried on effectively by men who are able to work together, day after day, sharing each others views, and having complete confidence in each other.

A union government means one of two things: a weak government, or a dictatorial government. It might conceivably be both, because the terms are not necessarily contradictory. Weak, because it leads to endless compromises, and the stifling of views. Differences which now divide

parties in Parliament would be transferred from Parliament to the Cabinet. What should be a clash of public principles might well become a clash of personal interests. Effective government would be crippled by compromise, or paralysed by inaction. Progress would become difficult, if not impossible.

On the other hand, it might easily follow the European pattern. There the suppression of minorities, the silencing of opposition, and the merging of parties into one have soon resulted in the abolition of representative institutions. That is the soil in which dictatorships grow and flourish.

Union government may also be a mere subterfuge to bring together, under the guise of a combination of parties, men of differing views who wish to effect some course of action which they would not be prepared to champion openly.

The main argument advanced until recently for a "national" or union government was the desire to postpone an election and to extend the life of Parliament. Such a course would have turned Parliament and the government into a virtual dictatorship. It would have been a denial of the

D 54104

undoubted right of a free people to choose their government through the election of a free Parliament. The pretext for union government was ended when Parliament was dissolved.

What is needed in peace-time, and still more in war, is a government made strong by popular support and by the co-operation of men who feel and think alike on matters of principle. That is a national government in the true sense of the word, and that is the kind of government the present administration has given.

I want to say to my fellow-countrymen, very earnestly, that the times through which we are passing are of such a nature that no government, except it be a government enjoying the most complete confidence of the people of Canada, can hope to meet the grave needs of the present, and the still graver needs of the future.

Is there any political group or combination, known or unknown, which has the remotest chance of being comparably representative of Canadian opinion as a whole? This is the vital question which the electors must answer on March 26th. This war demands our utmost effort. Such an effort can be made only by a government which draws its strength from every section of the country and has been given a unquestioned mandate by the people.

D 54105

Let me come now to a very practical question. The question that will arise should the present government be defeated and Dr. Manion called upon to form his "union" government. To whom will he turn? At present, no one knows. His invitations to men of other parties seem as great a secret, so far, as the acceptances.

In an attempt to find out what he does mean, in your name, I am going to ask him a few questions. Who are the men of brains who will be asked to join him? They are obviously not merely members of his own party, because a Union government would not be required to enlist them.

He has asked you to defeat the government. Such a defeat would be an expression of lack of confidence in our conduct of the war, and lack of confidence in our ability to administer the national affairs of Canada. Yet Dr. Manion has said his government will be composed in part, of men of both parties. Does he propose, therefore, to include in his government members of a government who have lost the confidence of the people, whose administration has been condemned and who have been declared unfit to carry on the administration. Dr. Manion cannot have it both ways.

It is in any case hard to believe that Dr. Manion expects to enlist in his government any of the men he is today so violently and recklessly condemning.

D54106

Where then does Dr. Manion propose to find members of the Liberal party to include in his "national" government? I think you should ask him to tell you what Liberals he has in mind, whether he has any hope of getting the consent of outstanding members of the party to join him, and what will be the extent of their following. Never forget that the value of a leader in any government depends not only on his own qualities but the extent and character of the following he is able to command. I should, also, like to ask him what kind of union government it would be, if no Liberals were included.

A union government is necessarily in the nature of a political bargain. Most bargains require at least two parties to make them. His union government would probably require at least three. Does Dr. Manion wish to take Mr. Woodsworth into his government? Will Mr. Woodsworth go if he is asked? If he does sacrifice his principles upon the altar of Conservative necessity, will Mr. Woodsworth's C.C.F. supporters follow their leader into the unaccustomed fold? Will Mr. Blackmore join him and take Social Credit with him? Will Mr. Herridge's New Democracy be born in time? Does Dr. Manion want him if it is? Will Mr. Herridge join Dr. Manion if he does? What kind of following will the present groups

D 54107

have in the next Parliament. We have had a long succession of third parties in Canada. One after another, they have vanished. In the last election, Dr. Manion's present first lieutenant, Mr. Stevens, was the leader of such a party. He ended up as the Casabianca on the burning deck of the Reconstruction Party.

I have already asked who are the "best brains" the Leader of the Opposition hopes to include in his government. Have they already been nominated? Will they be found amongst the Conservative candidates on Nomination Day? Dr. Manion says he may take a woman into his Cabinet? The women of Canada will, I imagine, wish to have a more definite proposal than this. They will be anxiously watching the lists of his candidates to see whether the one to be specially recognized is to be of his own party or whether she belongs to some other party or group. Will his Minister of Youth become a candidate on nomination day. ~~So-far,-all~~ is-so

Is his Union Government to be as anonymous as it is unanimous? Where would his ministers get elected? Let us return to the realities of the situation. Unless all the best brains are included among the candidates nominated two weeks from Monday, and elected on the 26th of March, the first difficulty he will have to surmount is the for finding

D 54108

seats for his ministers in the House of Commons.

I have had some experience in forming ministries. I can tell Dr. Manion he would be wise if he gets his best brains into the House in a general election, and does not wait until the election is over to find constituencies for them. His followers, who may be called upon to sacrifice their seats, may not share his high opinion of the mentality of their successors. Ministers will also need to be selected from all parts of the country, and only a government that commands the support of all sections can expect to obtain such representation.

The next question I should like to ask is whether you wish to have the government of this country busy with bickerings and bargainings between opposing groups when its whole effort should be devoted to the prosecution of the war?

Perhaps Dr. Manion now cherishes the hope of an alliance between the old parties, which would leave the extremists to form the opposition. This is the only possibility he saw on July 26th, 1939, and you remember how roundly he condemned it. Is he prepared to let the country risk in war time a danger he did not think it should face in peace? Perhaps Dr. Manion plans to include all parties in his combination and to extinguish the opposition altogether. If he does, he has turned another somersalt, for, as late as

D 54109

November 2nd, 1939, just over three months ago, he used these words:

> "Considering everything, the course followed by the government in keeping full control of our war programme is probably the best for Canada as, under our parliamentary system, an alert and constructively critical Opposition is second only in importance to the government itself."

With Dr. Manion's view, as expressed at that time, I am in the most complete agreement. It is for that very reason that I am opposed to a Union Government. I can only assume that he has changed his views because he sees no possibility of the election of a Conservative government.

Our system of government possesses two great <u>advantages</u> as a result of the existence of an official opposition. Without an Opposition, there would be no safeguard against hasty and ill-advised action on the part of the administration. Even the best of governments will make mistakes. In time of war, avoidable mistakes may be much more costly than in time of peace. Responsible criticism is just as essential to the prosecution of the war as good administration.

The second advantage is this. If there is no effective Opposition, the <u>people are left without an</u>

D 54110

alternative if the existing government loses the confidence of the country. If they desire to defeat a government they should know who their successor will be, and what their policies are. The fact that, under the British system of parliamentary government, there is a responsible opposition, ready to assume the burden of office whenever the existing administration loses the confidence of the country, is the secret of the peaceful political evolution of British countries. It is our greatest safeguard against violent and revolutionary change.

That is why Parliament itself has made the Leader of the Opposition a statutory and salaried officer. His parliamentary position is second only to that of the Prime Minister. It is his duty to contribute to the collective thinking and the parliamentary discussions which help to shape the policies on which government and laws are founded. A great modern writer has said: "I am not sure that we always realise how much of the essence of democracy is contained in the insistence on a tolerated and official opposition." Under this system, he points out, even political opponents serve a common purpose. It is because your representatives pool their experience, air their differences and even their discontents, that progress be-

D 54111

comes possible. Any other system is a denial of democracy. It becomes either out and out autocracy, or dictatorship, under some other disguise.

In order that there may be no misunderstanding about the position of the present government, I should like to repeat one statement I have already made. In saying this I speak with the authority and support of every member of the Cabinet. If, after an appeal has been made to the Country on our war effort and our policies, we are not returned to power, those of our numbers who are elected will constitute themselves His Majesty's Loyal Opposition. I make that simple, straightforward statement, so that there will be no mistake in the minds either of the people or of Dr. Manion -- and no recriminations later on because anyone was left in doubt.

Under our parliamentary system, the party with a majority in the House of Commons is charged with responsibility for government. From that it cannot escape, even if it would. That does not mean that its aim is a monopoly of government. Responsibility for policy does not, for a moment, imply the desire or the power to restrict administration, and the business of carrying out the work of government

D 54112

to members of the majority party. I myself have always tried to look upon public office as a high trust and a great duty. I have not seen fit to dismiss ~~able~~ public servants because of their political affiliations. I have not made party affiliation the sole criterion of appointments to the public service. I have always recognized the difference between the direction of policy and the administrative side of government.

The present government, with respect to its war effort, has had no desire to exercise, and has not exercised, so-called patronage. When we have named military leaders, we have looked for soldiers and sailors, and not politicians or partisans. We have asked how they can serve Canada, now and in the future, not what political party they have served in the past. With respect to all military appointments, commissions and promotions, you have been told by the highest military authority that political or private patronage does not exist, that it has been stamped out by the Minister of National Defence, and that merit is the sole criterion for selection and promotion.

What is true of military service is true also of the other branches of our war activity. We have selected the ablest

D 54113

men available. Politics and partisanship have brought no preferment. As you all know, many of the most important positions are held by well-known Conservatives. Some by men who profess allegiance to no particular party. We shall continue to bring to the service of Canada the best men we can get. It doesn't require a Union Government to join together intelligence and patriotism.

(Brpadcast No.3 2nd Revise February 22, 1940

D 54114

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In his opening broadcast on February the 16th, the Leader of the Opposition set before you two objectives. The first was to defeat the present government because of its war record. The second was to allow him to form, in its stead, what he calls, a "national" government. On Wednesday evening, I met his challenge with respect to our war record. I propose, tonight, to meet his challenge with respect to his so-called "national" government.

In his broadcast, Dr. Manion stated it as his fixed conviction that "only through national government could we do that service to our country, to our Empire, and to civilization, which is demanded of us, now that we are in this war beside Britain and France."

This, fortunately for you, but unfortunately for the Leader of the Opposition, is not the only occasion on which Dr. Manion has expressed his views upon national government.

As recently as July the 26th, less than six weeks before the outbreak of war, he expressed convictions no less definite, even if opposite. I will read you a report of what he said.

"National Conservative Leader

"National Conservative Leader, Robert J. Manion today refused to recognize "national government" as a cure for Canada's present-day ills, arguing that such a set-up would inevitably lead to a Socialist regime dictated by a combination of the C.C.F., Social Credit and "all other Cave of Adullam parties."

"Every Government," said he, "starts to die soon after it is elected. A National Government would be the same in this respect as any other. Therefore after a period of time the Opposition would come into power.

"But the Opposition to a National Government, presumably made up of Liberals and Conservatives, would be the Social Credit, C.C.F., and other Socialist groups that cared to join with them. It would be these parties that would take over the reins of power when the National Government had outlived its usefulness."

What I have just read, you will find in the Toronto Globe and Mail of July the 27th.

I would gladly let the matter rest where Dr. Manion left it on July 26th, if I did not know that the idea of a government where all party differences are submerged in a time of stress undoubtedly makes a strong appeal. Unfortunately, its attractiveness is more apparent than real.

Most of us would like to see

Most of us would like to see, <u>at all times,</u> a political condition where

"none was for a party;"

and "all were for the State."

Could any form of government effect such a transformation in human nature, I am sure that most of us would welcome it with enthusiasm. I, for one, would certainly not wish to discourage the idealism which longs for cessation of all forms of strife, and the permanence of good-will and understanding as the basis of human relations. But those who think that a union government will achieve these desirable ends are, I believe, grieviously mistaken.

Men will always differ in opinion, and it is right that they should do so. There is, however, no reason why differences of opinion should be accompanied by bitterness. Men can differ, and still work together in good-will, without surrendering the right to independent thought, speech, and action.

The words "national government" are deliberately used to suggest a sort of patriotic idealism. The phrase itself has a patriotic ring, even if it does not ring true.

But let us stop a moment to see what the words "national government" really mean. We must be careful not

to be carried away by catch-words and slogans. They are often dangerous and frequently deceptive. Let us look beneath the label to see what is underneath. Let us see if the goods, when we inspect them, are in accordance with the advertisement. Let us look particularly to see whether the Leader of the Opposition, in his present appeal, is not misusing both the word "national" and the word "government".

A national government, in the correct sense of the term, is the government which carries on the business of the nation. It represents the nation in accordance with parliamentary procedure and practice. Under the British system, it must be a representative and responsible government. It means a government which represents the majority in Parliament. It does not mean, as I said recently in the House of Commons, a government which is responsible to the official Opposition, or to any other minority group. It means a government which is responsible to the people. Representation of the people and responsibility to the people are the pillars of our parliamentary system. Since everyone cannot rule at one and the same time, the right to rule is given to those who command the confidence of the largest number. Government by majority rule is, under our system, the only true national government. Equally, it is the only true democratic government.

The only government that can be called truly national is a government which reflects a practical unanimity of sentiment and belief held in common by a majority of the people's representatives. In Canada, such a government should also represent, in fair proportion, every section of the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific. A truly national government cannot be founded upon an unnatural attempt to harmonize conflicting views and opinions. A combination created as a result of bargaining between conflicting parties and groups is not a national government. I might add that a political leader who cannot command support in all parts of the country will have little chance of forming a government strong enough to be a unifying force in time of war.

When the Leader of the Opposition talks of national government what he really means is "union" government. I can quite understand why Dr. Manion doesn't like that name. He would, however, have treated you more fairly if he had used it. Probably he doesn't like the name because it summons up from the past memories of many things we would like to forget. What Dr. Manion is advocating is a government composed of men of different political parties, and, therefore, of conflicting political opinions.

There is, of course, nothing

D 54119

There is, of course, nothing to prevent political parties maintaining their identity and still working together for a common object. Dr. Manion's party did that at the special war session of Parliament last September. That is a matter of attitude to meet compelling circumstances in special cases. It is an attitude which was clearly defined by Sir Wilfrid Laurier during the last war, and maintained by him throughout. Speaking for the Liberal Opposition, in Parliament in 1915, Sir Wilfrid used these words:

> "We are prepared to give to the government, to those who for the moment have the confidence of the Canadian people under our constitutional system, the support to which they are entitled for the attainment of the great end which we all have in mind."

Canada, like other democratic countries, has relied on government by political parties. It is a great mistake to speak of political parties as though they were a menace to the country. Parties are not ends in themselves. They are only means to an end. Through them, men and women who share similar views on great public questions are able to make those views prevail. Party government enables those who are willing to blend their views and opinions, so to combine forces as to

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D 54120

advance policies founded on common views and principles. Political parties are not water-tight compartments. They are not secret societies or exclusive clubs. They do not bar men and women from membership because of race, class, or creed. Anyone is free to belong to whatever party he pleases. If he ceases, for the time being, to give his support to a party to which he normally belongs, it may be, and usually is, because he is not satisfied with its present policy, or with its leader; or, because, he believes that in the existing situation he would advance the country's interest by placing his support elsewhere. ~~If he chooses~~ to continue to support a party or a leader who no longer represents his views, that is his misfortune, if not his fault. If his party is not the majority party, his views will or should be advanced by the minority leader who speaks ~~for him~~.

The present government of Canada is, in the truest sense, a national government. It had in the late Parliament the support of a majority of the representatives of the people. That majority happened to be the largest majority which any government in Canada has ever had. Dr. Manion has told you that "every government starts to die soon after it is elected". That may have been his experience in office. I am happy to say it has not been mine.

The majority with which

D 54121

The majority with which we began was not only maintained but increased as the sessions ~~passed~~ went by.

A union government is almost certain to mean one of two things: a weak government, or a dictatorial government. It might conceivably be both, because the terms are not necessarily contradictory. Weak, because it leads to endless compromises, and the stifling of views. Differences which now divide parties in Parliament would be transferred from Parliament to the Cabinet. What should be a clash of public principles might well become a clash of personal interests. Effective government would be crippled by compromise, or paralysed by inaction.

On the other hand, such a government might easily follow the European pattern. There the merging of parties into one, the suppression of minorities, and the silencing of opposition have soon resulted in the abolition of representative institutions. That is the soil in which dictatorships grow and flourish.

Union government may also be a mere subterfuge to bring together, under the guise of a combination of parties, men of divergent views whose main purpose is to take some course of action which they would not be prepared to champion openly.

The main argument since the outbreak of war for a "national" or union government originated in the desire to

<u>postpone an election</u>,

D 54122

postpone an election, and to extend the life of Parliament. Such a course would have turned Parliament and the government into a virtual dictatorship. It would have been a denial of the undoubted right of a free people to choose their Parliament within the constitutional period fixed for the express purpose of maintaining representative government. That pretext for union government was ended when Parliament was dissolved.

For your guidance, and for the guidance of the Leader of the Opposition, let me come now to one or two very practical matters, of which full account will have to be taken should the present government be defeated and Dr. Manion called upon to form his "union" government. To whom will he turn? At present, no one knows. His invitations to men of other parties seem as great a secret, ~~so far~~, as the acceptances.

In an attempt to find out if he himself really knows, I am going to ask him a few questions on your behalf. Who are the men of brains, inside or outside his own party, who will be asked to join him? All, obviously, cannot be members of his own party, because it would not require a union government to enlist his own supporters.

He has asked you to defeat the present government. Such a defeat would be a condemnation of our conduct of the war, and an expression of lack of confidence in our ability to administer the national affairs of Canada. Yet Dr. Manion

has said that his government

D 54123

has said that his government will include men of both the old political parties. Does he propose to include in his government members of a government whose administration has been condemned and who have lost the confidence of the people? Dr. Manion cannot have it both ways. It is, in any case, hard to believe that Dr. Manion can expect to attract to ~~enlist in~~ his government any of the men whom today he so violently and recklessly condemns.

Where then does Dr. Manion propose to find members of the Liberal party to include in his "union" government? I think you should ask him to tell you what Liberals he has in mind. Has he any hope of getting the consent of outstanding members of the party to join him? What will be the extent of the following which they will be able to bring to the support of the new ministry? Never forget that the value of a leader in any government depends not only on his own qualities, but also upon the strength and character of the following he is able to command. I should also like to ask him what kind of "union" government it would be if no Liberals were included.

A union government is necessarily in the nature of a political bargain. Most bargains require at least two parties to make them. Dr. Manion's union government would probably require at least three.

D 54124

probably require at least three. Does Dr. Manion wish to take Mr. Woodsworth into his government? Will Mr. Woodsworth ~~go~~ come if he is ~~asked~~ called? I doubt very much if the leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation will be prepared to sacrifice his principles upon the altar of Conservative necessity. Would Mr. Woodsworth's C.C.F. supporters follow their leader into such an unaccustomed fold? Will Mr. Blackmore join him and take Social Credit with him? Will Mr. Herridge's New Democracy be born in time? Does Dr. Manion want him if it is? If elected, will Mr. Herridge join Dr. Manion if he does? Who knows what members the present groups will have in the next Parliament? We have had a long succession of third parties in Canada. Sooner or later, one after another, they have vanished. In the last election, Dr. Manion's present first lieutenant, Mr. Stevens, was the leader of such a party. He ended up as the Casabianca on the burning deck of the Reconstruction Party.

Dr. Manion says he <u>may</u> take a woman into his Cabinet. If their support for union government is to be gained by this means, the women of Canada will, I imagine, wish to have a more definite proposal than this. From now on, they will be anxiously watching the lists of his candidates to see whether

~~the lady of his choice~~

D 54125

~~the lady of his choice to be~~ he will make his choice from his own party, or ~~to be selected~~ from some other party or group. Will his Minister of Youth appear in the list of his candidates on nomination day?

There is another very practical consideration. It would be well for you, the electors, and for Dr. Manion himself not to lose sight of it. If the ministers of the new union government are not to be found amongst the candidates to be nominated on nomination day, or, what is much more important, elected on election day, ~~which~~ where and how is he going to get them elected to Parliament? ~~He cannot run away from realities.~~

I have had some experience in forming ministries. I can tell Dr. Manion he would be wise to get his best brains into the House in a general election, and not to wait until the election is over to identify them and to discover constituencies willing to return them. His followers, who may be called upon to surrender their seats, may not share his high opinion of the mentality of their successors. Moreover, if the Cabinet is to be representative, Ministers will also need to be selected from all parts of the country. Only a government that commands the support of all sections can expect to obtain such representation.

But perhaps Dr. Manion has not

But perhaps Dr. Manion has not abandoned the hope of an alliance between the two old parties, which would leave what he calls "the extremists" to form the opposition. This was the only kind of union government which he could see on July 26th, 1939, and you remember how roundly he condemned it.

It is just possible Dr. Manion plans to include all parties in his combination, thereby extinguishing opposition altogether. If he does, he has turned another political somersault, for, as late as November 2nd, 1939, not four months ago, he used these words:

> "Considering everything, the course followed by the government in keeping full control of our war programme is probably the best for Canada as, under our parliamentary system, an alert and constructively critical Opposition is second only in importance to the government itself."

With Dr. Manion's view, as expressed at that time, I am in the most complete agreement. I have not changed my views. I can only assume that Dr. Manion has changed his views because he sees no possibility whatever of the election of a Conservative government.

Let it never be forgotten that the existence of an official opposition gives our system of government two great

<u>advantages</u>.

D 54127

advantages. Without an Opposition a much needed safeguard against hasty and ill-advised action on the part of the administration would be lacking. Even the best of governments will make mistakes. In time of war, avoidable mistakes may be much more costly than in time of peace. Responsible criticism helps to ensure good administration.

If there is no effective Opposition, the people are left without a known alternative to the administration, once a government loses the confidence of parliament or the country. This is the second advantage of an opposition properly performing its constitutional duty. Those who desire to defeat a government should know who its successors will be, and what their policies are. The fact that, under the British system of parliamentary government, there is a responsible opposition, ready to assume the burden of office whenever an existing administration loses the confidence of the country, is the secret of the peaceful political evolution of the British Commonwealth. It is our strongest protection against violent and revolutionary change.

That is one of the reasons why parliament itself by statute has made the Leader of the Opposition a salaried officer. His position in parliament, in many respects, is second only to that of the Prime Minister. It is his duty

to contribute to the

D 54128

to contribute to the collective thinking and to the parliamentary discussions which help to shape the policies on which government and laws are founded. A great modern writer has said: "It is not always realized how much of the essence of democracy is contained in the insistence on a tolerated and official opposition." Under this system even political opponents serve a common purpose. It is because your representatives pool their experience, air their differences, and even their discontents, that progress becomes possible. Any other system is a denial of democracy. It becomes either out and out autocracy, or dictatorship under some other disguise.

In order that there may be no misunderstanding about the position of the members of the present government, I should like to make that position very clearly known. In saying what I do, I speak with the authority and support of every member of the Cabinet. If, after an appeal has been made to the Country on our war effort and our policies, we are not returned to power, those of us who are elected, together with our following, will not betray our parliamentary duty, but will constitute His Majesty's Loyal Opposition. I make that simple, straightforward statement, so that there will be no mistake in the minds either of the people, or of Dr. Manion, concerning our position; and no recriminations

later on because anyone

D 54129

later on because anyone was left in doubt.

Under our parliamentary system, the party with a majority in the House of Commons is charged with responsibility for government. From that it cannot escape, even if it would. But responsibility for government does not mean a monopoly of government. Responsibility for policy does not, for a moment, imply the desire, or the power, to restrict administration, and the business of carrying out the work of government to members of the majority party. I myself, as I think you know, have always looked upon public office as a high trust and a great duty. I have never sanctioned the dismissal of any public servant merely because of his political affiliations. Nor have I made party affiliation the criterion of appointments to the public service. I have been careful to recognize, at all times, the difference between the direction of policy, and the administrative work of government.

With respect to its war effort, the present government has had no desire to exercise, and has not exercised, so-called patronage. When we have named military leaders, we have looked for soldiers and sailors, and not politicians or partisans. We have asked how they can serve Canada, now and in the future, not what political party they have served in the past. With respect to all military appointments, commissions and promotions, you have been told by the highest

military authority that political or private patronage does not exist, that it has been stamped out by the Minister of National Defence, and that merit is the sole criterion for selection and promotion.

What is true of the fighting forces is true also of the other branches of our war activity. We have elected the ablest men available. Politics and partisanship have brought no preferment. As you all know, many of the most important positions are held by well-known Conservatives. Some by members of other parties and some by men who profess allegiance to no particular party. We shall continue to bring to the service of Canada the best men we can get. It doesn't require a Union Government to join together intelligence and patriotism.

With the war and its problems growing in intensity and magnitude, I shall seek, if we are returned to power, to bring to the aid of the Ministry, in an advisory capacity, a still larger number of men of outstanding ability and experience whose services in one way or another might be made available to the State, and add strength to the administration of our policies. How best their services might be consolidated and used, whether in immediate association with the war cabinet, or with a member of the Cabinet, intimately associated with its war activities,

is something that I would wish

is something that I would wish to consider with my colleagues before the next Parliament reassembles. All important administrative developments must be worked out by a ministry in the light of its responsibility for government as it is actually carried on. In this election, I do not intend, any more than I have done in previous elections, to make promise after promise for the sake of gaining political support. I prefer not to count my chickens until they are hatched, and I do not expect them to be hatched by promises.

It must already be apparent to the leader of the Opposition, but I should like to make it equally clear to you, that if Dr. Manion really hopes to form and lead a union government, he is beginning at the wrong time and at the wrong end. The time to form a union government is before, not after, a general election.

That, you will recall, was what was done in 1917. The union government of Sir Robert Borden was not formed **after** a general election. It was formed first. The elections followed immediately afterwards. Throughout the campaign, its leaders were known; its ministers were known; its policies were known. Its candidates in the constituencies were known. They were union government candidates, definitely pledged to support, not some government to be formed after the elections were over, but the union governmend headed by Sir Robert

Borden. The government

D 54132

Borden. The government had not been formed to implement some policy vaguely described as the winning of the war. Sir Wilfrid Laurier and those who shared his opinions were every bit as anxious to win the war as Sir Robert and his followers. They differed on a specific policy. That policy was conscription. The union government was formed to obtain the support of the country for that policy. In the elections of 1917, the leaders of opposed parties who joined together to form union government, ~~were known. They~~ stood side by side on political platforms throughout the campaign. Their policy ~~was known. It~~ was openly supported and ~~opposed~~ opposing candidates. The electorate was not asked to engage in a game of blind man's buff, in which the parties constituting the union government, their leaders, their policies, and even their candidates, were all unknown. Believe it or not, that is exactly the situation as we have it today. You are actually being invited by Dr. Manion to go from now on till March 26th up a blind alley, which he says leads to national government, and on that day, in some booth at the end of the dark road, to mark and deposit your ballot for a government that is not yet in being, and may never come into existence.

Regardless of all else.

D 54133

Regardless of all else, I am sure you will not wish, either on the days immediately following the election, or so long as the war continues, to have the government of this country busy with bickerings and bargainings between opposing groups when its whole effort should be devoted to the prosecution of the war.

I want to say to you, my fellow-countrymen, very earnestly, that the times through which we are passing are such that no government, except it be a government enjoying the most complete confidence of the people of Canada, can hope to meet the grave needs of the present, and the still graver needs of the future.

This war demands Canada's utmost effort. Such an effort can be made only by a government which draws its strength from every section of the country and has been given an unquestioned mandate by the people. Can you name any political group or combination of men, other than the present government, which is likely to enjoy your confidence, or has the remotest chance of being representative of Canadian opinion as a whole? This is the vital question which you, the electors must continue to ask yourselves between now and the 26th of March. If, in the interval, you have failed to take all these matters into account, it will be too late to retrace your steps once that day has passed.

D 54134

Ladies and gentlemen, since Canada answered the call of freedom, new dangers and terrors have come to threaten our allies, and ourselves. Do not forget that Asia as well as Europe is aflame. Finland today fights gallantly against the aggression of brutal force. Who will say what nation is safe from attack as the fateful months roll on? It may even be that before the forces of evil are vanquished, the whole world will be engulfed in the angry seas of battle.

Let us not imagine that our land will inevitably escape the wrath that darkens land and sea; or that our shores will necessarily be spared as the conflict grows and spreads. He would be a foolish man who refused to face the possibilities and realities of a shattered world.

We face a future unknown and unpredictable. We cannot tell what calamities may strike us, before the present year is ended, or what perils may be upon us in 1941 or 1942. Failure to view the situation as a whole, and to take account of all conceivable possibilities might be fraught with the gravest danger. There must be no surrender to the insistent clamour of those who refuse to look beyond the problems of the moment.

The great co-operative war effort which the present government has planned is gaining every day in momentum.

Our hope lies in the

D 54135

Our hope lies in the gathering of our strength to meet the gathering of the storm.

No one can doubt the courage, the will, the endurance of the people of Canada. But the possession of these qualities is not alone sufficient to ensure victory. They must be marshalled and guided by a government that is strong, steady, vigorous, patient, provident and experienced.

10.30 - 11

Broadcast No.3 2nd Revise February 22, 1940

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D 54136

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D 54140

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The majority with which we began was not only maintained but increased, as the sessions passed by.

A union government is almost certain to mean one of two things: a weak government, or a dictatorial government. It might conceivably be both, because the terms are not necessarily contradictory. Weak, because it leads to endless compromises, and the stifling of views. Differences which now divide parties in Parliament would be transferred from Parliament to the Cabinet. What should be a clash of public principles, might well become a clash of personal interests. Effective government would be crippled by compromise, or paralysed by inaction.

On the other hand, such a government might easily follow the European pattern. There the merging of parties into one, the suppression of minorities, and the silencing of opposition have soon resulted in the abolition of representative institutions. That is the soil in which dictatorships grow and flourish.

Union government may also be a mere subterfuge to bring together, under the guise of a combination of parties, men of divergent views whose main purpose is to take some course of action which they would not be prepared to champion openly.

The main argument since the outbreak of war for a "national" or union government originated in the desire to

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postpone an election, and to extend the life of Parliament. Such a course would have turned Parliament and the government into a virtual dictatorship. It would have been a denial of the undoubted right of a free people to choose their Parliament within the constitutional period fixed for the express purpose of maintaining representative government. That pretext for union government was ended when Parliament was dissolved.

For your guidance, and for the guidance of the Leader of the Opposition, let me come now to one or two very practical matters, of which full account will have to be taken, should the present government be defeated, and Dr. Manion called upon to form his "union" government. To whom will he turn? At present, no one knows. His invitations to men of other parties seem as great a secret, ~~so far~~ as the acceptances.

In an attempt to find out if he himself really knows, I am going to ask him a few questions on your behalf. Who are the men of brains, inside or outside his own party, who will be asked to join him? All, obviously, cannot be members of his own party, because it would not require a union government to enlist his own supporters.

He has asked you to defeat the present government. Such a defeat would be a condemnation of our conduct of the war, and an expression of lack of confidence in our ability to administer the national affairs of Canada. Yet Dr. Manion

has said that his government

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has said that his government will include men of both the old parties. Does he propose to include in his government members of a government whose administration has been condemned, and who have lost the confidence of the people? Dr. Manion cannot have it both ways. It is, in any case, hard to believe that Dr. Manion can expect to ~~enlist in~~ attract to his government any of the men whom today he so violently and recklessly condemns.

Where then does Dr. Manion propose to find members of the Liberal party to include in his "union" government? I think you should ask him to tell you what Liberals he has in mind. Has he any hope of getting the consent of outstanding members of the party to join him? What will be the extent of the following which they will be able to bring to the support of the new ministry? Never forget that the value of a leader in any government depends not only on his own qualities, but also upon the strength and character of the following he is able to command. I should also like to ask him what kind of "union" government it would be if no Liberals were included.

A union government is necessarily in the nature of a political bargain. Most bargains require at least two parties to make them. Dr. Manion's union government would probably require at least three.

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probably require at least three. Does Dr. Manion wish to take Mr. Woodsworth into his government? Will Mr. Woodsworth ~~go~~ come, if he is ~~asked~~ called? I doubt very much if the leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation will be prepared to sacrifice his principles upon the altar of Conservative necessity. Would Mr. Woodsworth's C.C.F. supporters follow their leader into such an unaccustomed fold? Will Mr. Blackmore join him, and take Social Credit with him? Will Mr. Herridge's New Democracy be born in time? Does Dr. Manion want him, if it is? If elected, will Mr. Herridge join Dr. Manion if he does? Who knows what members the present groups will have in the next Parliament? We have had a long succession of third parties in Canada. Sooner or later, one after another, they have vanished. In the last election, Dr. Manion's present first lieutenant, Mr. Stevens, was the leader of such a party. He ended up as the Casabianca on the burning deck of the Reconstruction Party.

Dr. Manion says he may take a woman into his Cabinet. If their support for union government is to be gained by this means, the women of Canada will, I imagine, wish to have a more definite proposal than this. From now on, they will be anxiously watching the lists of his candidates to see whether he will name his choice ~~the lady of his choice~~

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he will make his choice from his own party, or from some other party or group. Will his Minister of Youth appear in the list of his candidates on nomination day?

There is another very practical consideration. It would be well for you, the electors, and for Dr. Manion himself not to lose sight of it. If the ministers of the new union government are not to be found amongst the candidates to be nominated on nomination day, or, what is much more important, elected on election day, where and how is he going to get them elected to Parliament?

I have had some experience in forming ministries. I can tell Dr. Manion he would be wise to get his best brains into the House in a general election, and not to wait until the election is over to identify them and to discover constituencies willing to return them. His followers, who may be called upon to surrender their seats, may not share his high opinion of the mentality of their successors. Moreover, if the Cabinet is to be representative, Ministers will also need to be selected from all parts of the country. Only a government that commands the support of all sections can expect to obtain such representation.

But perhaps Dr. Manion has not

But perhaps Dr. Manion has not abandoned the hope of an alliance between the two old parties, which would leave what he calls "the extremists" to form the opposition. This was the only kind of union government which he could see on July 26th, 1939, and you remember how roundly he condemned it.

It is just possible Dr. Manion plans to include all parties in his combination, thereby extinguishing opposition altogether. If he does, he has turned another political somersault, for, as late as November 2nd, 1939, not four months ago, he used these words:

> "Considering everything, the course followed by the government in keeping full control of our war programme is probably the best for Canada as, under our parliamentary system, an alert and constructively critical Opposition is second only in importance to the government itself."

With Dr. Manion's view, as expressed at that time, I am in the most complete agreement. I have not changed my views. I can only assume that Dr. Manion has changed his views because he sees no possibility whatever of the election of a Conservative government.

Let it never be forgotten that the existence of an official opposition gives our system of government two great advantages.

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advantages. Without an Opposition a much needed safeguard against hasty and ill-advised action on the part of the administration would be lacking. Even the best of governments will make mistakes. In time of war, avoidable mistakes may be much more costly than in time of peace. Responsible criticism helps to ensure good administration.

If there is no effective Opposition, the people are left without a known alternative to the administration, once a government loses the confidence of parliament or the country. This is the second advantage of an opposition properly performing its constitutional duty. Those who desire to defeat a government should know who its successors will be, and what their policies are. The fact that, under the British system of parliamentary government, there is a responsible opposition, ready to assume the burden of office whenever an existing administration loses the confidence of the country, lies the secret of the peaceful political evolution of the British Commonwealth. It is our strongest protection against violent and revolutionary change.

That is one of the reasons why parliament itself by statute has made the Leader of the Opposition a salaried officer. His position in parliament, in many respects, is second only to that of the Prime Minister. It is his duty

to contribute to the

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to contribute to the collective thinking and to the parliamentary discussions which help to shape the policies on which government and laws are founded. A great modern writer has said: "It is not always realized how much of the essence of democracy is contained in the insistence on a tolerated and official opposition." Under this system even political opponents serve a common purpose. It is because your representatives pool their experience, air their differences, and even their discontents, that progress becomes possible. Any other system is a denial of democracy. It becomes either out and out autocracy, or dictatorship under some other disguise.

In order that there may be no misunderstanding about the position of the members of the present government, I should like to make that position very clearly known. In saying what I do, I speak with the authority and support of every member of the Cabinet. If, after an appeal has been made to the Country on our war effort and our policies, we are not returned to power, those of us who are elected, together with our following, will not betray our parliamentary duty, but will constitute His Majesty's Loyal Opposition. I make that simple, straightforward statement, so that there will be no mistake in the minds, either of the people, or of Dr. Manion, concerning our position; and no recriminations

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later on because anyone was left in doubt.

Under our parliamentary system, the party with a majority in the House of Commons is charged with responsibility for government. From that it cannot escape, even if it would. But responsibility for government does not mean a monopoly of government. Responsibility for policy does not, for a moment, imply the desire or the power to restrict administration, and the business of carrying out the work of government to members of the majority party. I myself, as I think you know, have always looked upon public office as a high trust and a great duty. I have never sanctioned the dismissal of any public servant merely because of his political affiliations. Nor have I made party affiliation the criterion of appointments to the public service. I have been careful to recognize, at all times, the difference between the direction of policy, and the administrative work of government.

With respect to its war effort, the present government has had no desire to exercise, and has not exercized, so-called patronage. When we have named military leaders, we have looked for soldiers and sailors, and not politicians or partisans. We have asked how they can serve Canada, now, and in the future, not what political party they have served in the past. With respect to all military appointments, commissions and promotions, you have been told by the highest

military authority that political or private patronage does not exist, that it has been stamped out by the Minister of National Defence, and that merit is the sole criterion for selection and promotion.

What is true of the fighting forces is true also of the other branches of our war activity. We have slected the ablest men available. Politics and partisanship have brought no preferment. As you all know, many of the most important positions are held by well-known Conservatives; Some by members of other parties, and some by men who profess allegiance to no particular party. We shall continue to bring to the service of Canada the best men we can get. It doesn't require a Union Government to join together intelligence and patriotism.

With the war and its problems growing in intensity and magnitude, I shall seek, if we are returned to power, to bring to the aid of the Ministry, in an advisory capacity, a still larger number of men of outstanding ability and experience whose services, in one way or another, might be made available to the State, and add strength to the administration of our policies. How best their services might be consolidated and used, whether in immediate association with the war cabinet, or ~~under the [illegible]~~ much a member of the Cabinet, intimately associated with its war activities,

is something that I would wish

is something that I would wish to consider with my colleagues before the next Parliament reassembles. All important administrative developments must be worked out by a ministry in the light of its responsibility for government as it is actually carried on. In this election, I do not intend, any more than I have done in previous elections, to make promise after promise for the sake of gaining political support. I prefer not to count my chickens until they are hatched, and I do not expect them to be hatched by promises.

It must already be apparent to the Leader of the Opposition, but I should like to make it equally clear to you, that if Dr. Manion really hopes to form and lead a union government, he is beginning at the wrong time and at the wrong end. The time to form a union government is before, not after, a general election.

That, you will recall, was what was done in 1917. The union government of Sir Robert Borden was not formed after a general election. It was formed first. The elections followed immediately afterwards. Throughout the campaign, its leaders were known; its ministers were known; its policies were known. Its candidates in the constituencies were known. They were union government candidates, definitely pledged to support, not some government to be formed after the elections were over, but the union governmend headed by Sir Robert Borden. ~~The government~~

Borden. The government had not been formed to implement some policy, vaguely described, as the winning of the war. Sir Wilfrid Laurier and those who shared his opinions were every bit as anxious to win the war as Sir Robert and his followers. They differed on a specific policy. That policy was conscription. The union government was formed to obtain the support of the country for that policy.

In the elections of 1917, the leaders of opposed parties, who joined together to form union government, stood side by side on political platforms throughout the campaign. Their policy was openly supported and openly attacked. The electorate was not asked to engage in a game of blind man's buff, in which the political parties constituting the union government, their leaders, their policies, and even their candidates, were all unknown. Believe it or not, that is exactly the situation as we have it today. You are actually being invited by Dr. Manion to go from now on till March 26th up a blind alley, which he says leads to national government, and on that day, in some booth at the end of the dark road, to mark and deposit your ballot for a government that is not yet in being, and may never come into existence.

Regardless of all else,

Regardless of all else, I am sure you will not wish, either on the days immediately following the election, or so long as the war continues, to have the government of this country busy with bickerings and bargainings between opposing groups, when its whole effort should be devoted to the prosecution of the war.

I want to say to you, my fellow-countrymen, very earnestly, that the times through which we are passing are such that no government, except it be a government enjoying the most complete confidence of the people of Canada, can hope to meet the grave needs of the present, and the still graver needs of the future.

This war demands Canada's utmost effort. Such an effort can be made only by a government which draws its strength from every section of the country and has been given an unquestioned mandate by the people. Can you name any political group or combination of men, other than the present government, which is likely to enjoy your confidence, or has the remotest chance of being representative of Canadian opinion as a whole? This is the vital question which you, the electors must continue to ask yourselves between now and the 26th of March. If, in the interval, you have failed to take all these matters into account, it will be too late to retrace your steps once that day has passed.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

Canada's War Effort—How Best Promoted

"NATIONAL" VERSUS "UNION" GOVERNMENT

A Radio Address by
Right Honourable
W. L. MACKENZIE KING
Ottawa, 23rd February, 1940

Canada's War Effort—How Best Promoted

"NATIONAL" VERSUS "UNION" GOVERNMENT

The third of a series of radio addresses delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King from Ottawa: 23rd February, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In his opening broadcast on February the 16th, the Leader of the Opposition set before you two objectives. The first was to defeat the present government because of its war record. The second was to allow him to form, in its stead, what he calls, a "national" government. On Wednesday evening, I met his challenge with respect to our war record. I propose, tonight, to meet his challenge with respect to his so-called "national" government.

In his broadcast, Dr. Manion stated it as his fixed conviction that "only through national government could we do that service to our country, to our Empire, and to civilization, which is demanded of us, now that we are in this war beside Britain and France."

This, fortunately for you, but unfortunately for the Leader of the Opposition, is not the only occasion on which Dr. Manion has expressed his views upon national government.

Leader of Opposition Holds Opposite Views.

As recently as July the 26th, less than six weeks before the outbreak of war, he expressed convictions no less definite, even if opposite. I will read you a report of what he said.

"National Conservative Leader, Robert J. Manion today refused to recognize "national government" as a cure for Canada's present-day ills, arguing that such a set-up would inevitably lead to a Socialist regime dictated by a combination of the C.C.F., Social Credit and "all other Cave of Adullam parties."

"Every Government," said he, "starts to die soon after it is elected. A National Government would be the same in this respect as any other. Therefore after a period of time the Opposition would come into power.

"But the Opposition to a National Government, presumably made up of Liberals and Conservatives, would be the Social Credit, C.C.F., and other Socialist groups that cared to join with them. It would be these parties that would take over the reins of power when the National Government had outlived its usefulness."

What I have just read, you will find in the Toronto Globe and Mail of July the 27th.

Merits of Union Government More Apparent Than Real.

I would gladly let the matter rest where Dr. Manion left it on July 26th, if I did not know that the idea of a government where all party differences are submerged in a time of stress undoubtedly makes a strong appeal. Unfortunately, its attractiveness is more apparent than real.

Most of us would like to see, at all times, a political condition where

"none was for a party;"
and "all were for the State."

Could any form of government effect such a transformation in human nature, I am sure that most of us would welcome it with enthusiasm. I, for one, would certainly not wish to discourage the idealism which longs for cessation of all forms of strife, and the permanence of good-will and understanding as the basis of human relations. But those who think that a union government will achieve these desirable ends are, I believe, grieviously mistaken.

Men will always differ in opinion, and it is right that they should do so. There is, however, no reason why differences of opinion should be accompanied by bitterness. Men can differ, and still work together in good-will, without surrendering the right to independent thought, speech and action.

The words "national government" are deliberately used to suggest a sort of patriotic idealism. The phrase itself has a patriotic ring, even if it does not ring true.

The True Meaning of National Government

But let us stop a moment to see what the words "national government" really mean. We must be careful not to be carried away by catch-words and slogans. They are often dangerous and frequently deceptive. Let us look beneath the label to see what is underneath. Let us see if the goods, when we inspect them, are in accordance with the advertisement. Let us look particularly to see whether the Leader of the Opposition, in his present appeal, is not misusing both the word "national" and the word "government".

A national government, in the correct sense of the term, is the government which carries on the business of the nation. It represents the nation in accordance with parliamentary procedure and practice. Under the British system, it must be a representative and responsible government. It means a government which represents the majority in Parliament. It does not mean, as I said recently in the House of Commons, a government which is responsible to the official Opposition, or to any other minority group. It means a government which is responsible to the people. Representation of the people and responsibility to the people are the pillars of our parliamentary system. Since everyone cannot rule at one and the same time, the right to rule is given to those who command the confidence of the largest number. Government by majority rule is, under our system, the only true national government. Equally, it is the only true democratic government.

Union Government—What it Means

The only government that can be called truly national is a government which reflects a practical unanimity of sentiment and belief held in common by a majority of the people's representatives. In Canada, such a government should also represent, in fair proportion, every section of the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific. A truly national government cannot be founded upon an unnatural attempt to harmonize conflicting views and opinions. A combination created as a result of bargaining between conflicting parties and groups is not a national government. I might add that a political leader who cannot command support in all parts of the country will have little chance of forming a government strong enough to be a unifying force in time of war.

When the Leader of the Opposition talks of national government what he really means is "union" government.

I can quite understand why Dr. Manion doesn't like that name. He would, however, have treated you more fairly if he had used it. Probably he doesn't like the name because it summons up from the past memories of many things we would like to forget. What, however, Dr. Manion is avowedly advocating is a government composed of men of different political parties, and, therefore, of conflicting political opinions.

Place of Political Parties in Government

There is, of course, nothing to prevent political parties maintaining their identity and still working together for a common object. Dr. Manion's party did that at the special war session of Parliament last September. That is a matter of attitude to meet compelling circumstances in special cases. It is an attitude which was clearly defined by Sir Wilfrid Laurier during the last war and maintained by him throughout. Speaking for the Liberal Opposition, in Parliament in 1915, Sir Wilfrid used these words:

> "We are prepared to give to the government, to those who for the moment have the confidence of the Canadian people under our constitutional system, the support to which they are entitled for the attainment of the great end which we all have in mind."

Canada, like other democratic countries, has relied on government by political parties. It is a great mistake to speak of political parties as though they were a menace to the country. Parties are not ends in themselves. They are only means to an end. Through them, men and women who share similar views on great public questions are able to make those views prevail. Party government enables those who are willing to blend their views and opinions, so to combine forces as to advance policies founded on common

views and principles. Political parties are not water-tight compartments. They are not secret societies or exclusive clubs. They do not bar men and women from membership because of race, class, or creed. Anyone is free to belong to whatever party he pleases. If he ceases, for the time being, to give his support to a party to which he normally belongs, it may be, and usually is, because he is not satisfied with its present policy, or with its leader; or, because, he believes that in the existing situation he would advance the country's interest by placing his support elsewhere. If he chooses to to continue to support a party or a leader who no longer represents his views, that is his misfortune, if not his fault. If his party is not the majority party, his views will or should be advanced by the minority leader who speaks for him.

Mackenzie King Government a True National Government.

The present government of Canada is, in the truest sense, a national government. It had in the late Parliament the support of a majority of the representatives of the people. That majority happened to be the largest majority which any government in Canada has ever had. Dr. Manion has told you that "every government starts to die soon after it is elected". That may have been his experience in office. I am happy to say it has not been mine. The majority with which we began was not only maintained but increased as the sessions passed by.

Union Government Leads to Dictatorship.

A union government is almost certain to mean one of two things: a weak government, or a dictatorial government. It might conceivably be both, because the terms are not

necessarily contradictory. Weak, because it leads to endless compromises, and the stifling of views. Differences which now divide parties in Parliament would be transferred from Parliament to the Cabinet. What should be a clash of public principles might well become a clash of personal interests. Effective government would be crippled by compromise, or paralysed by inaction.

On the other hand, such a government might easily follow the European pattern. There the merging of parties into one, the suppression of minorities, and the silencing of opposition have soon resulted in the abolition of representative institutions. That is the soil in which dictatorships grow and flourish.

Union Government a Pretext for Other Ends.

Union government may also be a mere subterfuge to bring together, under the guise of a combination of parties, men of divergent views whose main purpose is to take some course of action which they would not be prepared to champion openly.

The main argument since the outbreak of war for a "national" or union government originated in the desire to postpone an election, and to extend the life of Parliament. Such a course would have turned Parliament and the government into a virtual dictatorship. It would have been a denial of the undoubted right of a free people to choose their parliament within the constitutional period fixed for the express purpose of maintaining representative government. That pretext for union government was ended when Parliament was dissolved.

Leader of Opposition in a Quandry.

For your guidance, and for the guidance of the Leader of the Opposition, let me come now to one or two very practical matters, of which full account will have to be taken should the present government be defeated and Dr. Manion called upon to form his "union" government. To whom will he turn? At present, no one knows. His invitations to men of other parties thus far seem as a great secret as the acceptances.

In an attempt to find out if he himself really knows, I am going to ask him a few questions on your behalf. Who are the men of brains, inside or outside his own party, who will be asked to join him? All, obviously, cannot be members of his own party, because it would not require a union government to enlist his own supporters.

He has asked you to defeat the present government. Such a defeat would be a condemnation of our conduct of the war, and an expression of lack of confidence in our ability to administer the national affairs of Canada. Yet Dr. Manion has said that his government will include men of both the old parties. Does he propose to include in his government members of a government whose administration has been condemned and who have lost the confidence of the people? Dr. Manion cannot have it both ways. It is, in any case, hard to believe that Dr. Manion can expect to attract to his government any of the men whom today he so violently and recklessly condemns.

Who are to Compose Union Government?

Where then does Dr. Manion propose to find members of the Liberal party to include in his "union" government? I think you should ask him to tell you what Liberals he has

in mind. Has he any hope of getting the consent of outstanding members of the party to join him? What will be the extent of the following which they will be able to bring to the support of the new ministry? Never forget that the value of a leader in any government depends not only on his own qualities, but also upon the strength and character of the following he is able to command. I should also like to ask him what kind of "union" government it would be if no Liberals were included.

A union government is necessarily in the nature of a political bargain. Most bargains require at least two parties to make them. Dr. Manion's union government would probably require at least three. Does Dr. Manion wish to take Mr. Woodsworth into his government? Will Mr. Woodsworth come if he is called? I doubt very much if the leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation will be prepared to sacrifice his principles upon the altar of Conservative necessity. Would Mr. Woodsworth's C.C.F. supporters follow their leader into such an unaccustomed fold? Will Mr. Blackmore join him and take Social Credit with him? Will Mr. Herridge's New Democracy be born in time? Does Dr. Manion want him if it is? If elected, will Mr. Herridge join Dr. Manion if he does? Who knows what members the present groups will have in the next Parliament? We have had a long succession of third parties in Canada. Sooner or later, one after another, they have vanished. In the last election, Dr. Manion's present first lieutenant, Mr. Stevens, was the leader of such a party. He ended up as the Casabianca on the burning deck of the Reconstruction Party.

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anxiously watching the lists of his candidates to see whether he will make his choice from his own party, or from some other party or group. Will his Minister of Youth appear in the list of his candidates on nomination day?

How Will Union Government Ministers Find Seats in Parliament?

There is another very practical consideration. It would be well for you, the electors, and for Dr. Manion himself not to lose sight of it. If the ministers of the new union government are not to be found amongst the candidates to be nominated on nomination day, or, what is much more important, elected on election day, where and how is he going to get them elected to Parliament?

I have had some experience in forming ministries. I can tell Dr. Manion he would be wise to get his best brains into the House in a general election, and not to wait until the election is over to identify them and to discover constituencies willing to return them. His followers, who may be called upon to surrender their seats, may not share his high opinion of the mentality of their successors. Moreover, if the Cabinet is to be representative, ministers will also need to be selected from all parts of the country. Only a government that commands the support of all sections can expect to obtain such representations.

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No Possibility of a Conservative Government.

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> "Considering everything, the course followed by the government in keeping full control of our war programme is probably the best for Canada as, under our parliamentary system, an alert and constructively critical Opposition is second only in importance to the government itself."

With Dr. Manion's view, as expressed at that time, I am in the most complete agreement. I have not changed my views. I can only assume that Dr. Manion has changed his views because he sees no possibility whatever of the election of a Conservative government.

Opposition an Essential Part of Parliamentary System.

Let it never be forgotten that the existence of an official Opposition gives our system of government two great advantages. Without an Opposition a much needed safeguard against hasty and ill-advised action on the part of the administration would be lacking. Even the best of governments will make mistakes. In time of war, avoidable mistakes may be much more costly than in time of peace. Responsible criticism helps to ensure good administration.

If there is no effective Opposition, the people are left without a known alternative to the administration, once a government loses the confidence of parliament or the country. This is the second advantage of an opposition properly per-

forming its constitutional duty. Those who desire to defeat a government should know who its successors will be and what their policies are. In the fact that, under the British system of parliamentary government, there is a responsible opposition, ready to assume the burden of office whenever an existing administration loses the confidence of the country, lies the secret of the peaceful political evolution of the British Commonwealth. It is our strongest protection against violent and revolutionary change.

That is one of the reasons why Parliament itself by statute has made the Leader of the Opposition a salaried officer. His position in Parliament, in many respects, is second only to that of the Prime Minister. It is his duty to contribute to the collective thinking and to the parliamentary discussions which help to shape the policies on which government and laws are founded. A great modern writer has said: "It is not always realized how much of the essence of democracy is contained in the insistence on a tolerated and official opposition." Under this system even political opponents serve a common purpose. It is because your representatives pool their experience, air their differences, and even their discontents, that progress becomes possible. Any other system is a denial of democracy. It becomes either out and out autocracy, or dictatorship under some other disguise.

Liberals Will Constitute Opposition if Present Government Not Returned.

In order that there may be no misunderstanding about the position of the members of the present government, I should like to make that position very clearly known. In saying what I do, I speak with the authority and support of every member of the Cabinet. If, after an appeal has been

made to the country on our war effort and our policies, we are not returned to power, those of us who are elected, together with our following, will not betray our parliamentary duty, but will constitute His Majesty's Loyal Opposition. I make that simple, straightforward statement, so that there will be no mistake in the minds either of the people, or of Dr. Manion concerning our position; and no recriminations later on because anyone was left in doubt.

Responsibility for Government One Thing—Monopoly of Government Another.

Under our parliamentary system, the party with a majority in the House of Commons is charged with responsibility for government. From that it cannot escape, even if it would. But responsibility for government does not mean a monopoly of government. Responsibility for policy does not, for a moment, imply the desire or the power to restrict administration, and the business of carrying out the work of government to members of the majority party. I myself, as I think you know, have always looked upon public office as a high trust and a great duty. I have never sanctioned the dismissal of any public servant merely because of his political affiliations. Nor have I made party affiliation the criterion of appointments to the public service. I have been careful to recognize, at all times, the difference between the direction of policy, and the administrative work of government.

No Patronage in Canada's War Effort.

With respect to its war effort, the present government has had no desire to exercise, and has not exercised, so-called patronage. When we have named military leaders, we have looked for soldiers and sailors, and not politicians or partisans.

We have asked how they can serve Canada, now and in the future, not what political party they have served in the past. With respect to all military appointments, commissions and promotions, you have been told by the highest military authority that political or private patronage does not exist, that it has been stamped out by the Minister of National Defence, and that merit is the sole criterion for selection and promotion.

What is true of the fighting forces is true also of the other branches of our war activity. We have selected the ablest men available. Politics and partisanship have brought no preferment. As you all know, many of the most important positions are held by well-known Conservatives. Some by members of other parties and some by men who profess allegiance to no particular party. We shall continue to bring to the service of Canada the best men we can get. It doesn't require a union government to join together intelligence and patriotism.

Services of Non-partisan Character to be Utilized in Advisory Capacity.

With the war and its problems growing in intensity and magnitude, I shall seek, if we are returned to power, to bring to the aid of the Ministry, in an advisory capacity, a still larger number of men of outstanding ability and experience whose services in one way or another might be made available to the State, and add strength to the administration of our policies. How best their services might be consolidated and used, whether in immediate association with the war cabinet, or with a member of the Cabinet, intimately associated with its war activities, is something that I would like to consider with my colleagues before the next Parliament reassembles.

All important administrative developments must be worked out by a ministry in the light of its responsibility for government as it is actually carried on. In this election, I do not intend, any more than I have done in previous elections, to make promise after promise for the sake of gaining political support. I prefer not to count my chickens until they are hatched, and I do not expect them to be hatched by promises.

Dr. Manion Begins at Wrong Time and Wrong End.

It must already be apparent to the Leader of the Opposition, but I should like to make it equally clear to you, that if Dr. Manion really hopes to form and lead a union government, he is beginning at the wrong time and at the wrong end. The time to form a union government is before, not after, a general election.

That, you will recall, was what was done in 1917. The union government of Sir Robert Borden was not formed after a general election. It was formed first. The elections followed immediately afterwards. Throughout the campaign, its leaders were known; its ministers were known; its policies were known. Its candidates in the constituencies were known. They were union government candidates, definitely pledged to support, not some government to be formed after the elections were over, but the union government headed by Sir Robert Borden. The government had not been formed to implement some policy vaguely described as the winning of the war. Sir Wilfrid Laurier and those who shared his opinions were every bit as anxious to win the war as Sir Robert and his followers. They differed on a specific policy. That policy was conscription. The union government was formed to obtain the support of the country for that policy.

Electors Being Led up a Blind Alley.

In the elections of 1917, the leaders of opposed parties who joined together to form the union government stood side by side on political platforms throughout the campaign. Their policy was openly supported and openly attacked. The electorate was not asked to engage in a game of blind man's buff, in which the parties constituting the union government, their leaders, their policies, and even their candidates, were all unknown. Believe it or not, that is exactly the situation as we have it today. You are actually being invited by Dr. Manion to go, from now on till March 26th, up a blind alley, which he says leads to national government, and on that day, in some booth at the end of the dark road, to mark and deposit your ballot for a government that is not yet in being, and may never come into existence.

An Unquestioned Mandate Essential to Canada's War Effort.

Regardless of all else, I am sure you will not wish, either on the days immediately following the election, or so long as the war continues, to have the government of this country busy with bickerings and bargainings between opposing groups when its whole effort should be devoted to the prosecution of the war.

I want to say to you, my fellow-countrymen, very earnestly, that the times through which we are passing are such that no government, except it be a government enjoying the most complete confidence of the people of Canada, can hope to meet the grave needs of the present, and the still graver needs of the future.

This war demands Canada's utmost effort. Such an effort can be made only by a government which draws its strength from every section of the country and has been given an unquestioned mandate by the people. Can you name any political group or combination of men, other than the present government, which is likely to enjoy your confidence, or has the remotest chance of being representative of Canadian opinion as a whole? This is the vital question which you, the electors must continue to ask yourselves between now and the 26th of March. If, in the interval, you have failed to take all these matters into account, it will be too late to retrace your steps once that day has passed.

New Dangers and Terrors Threaten World.

Ladies and gentlemen, since Canada answered the call of freedom, new dangers and terrors have come to threaten the allied powers and ourselves. Do not forget that Asia as well as Europe is aflame. Finland today fights gallantly against the aggression of brutal force. Who will say what nation is safe from attack as the fateful months roll on? It may even be that before the forces of evil are vanquished, the whole world will be engulfed in the angry seas of battle.

Let us not imagine that our land will inevitably escape the wrath that darkens land and sea, or that our shores will necessarily be spared as the conflict grows and spreads. He would be a foolish man who refused to face the possibilities and realities of a shattered world.

We face a future unknown and unpredictable. We cannot tell what calamities may strike us before the present year is ended, or what perils may be upon us in 1941 or 1942. Failure to view the situation as a whole, and to take account

of all conceivable possibilities, might be fraught with the gravest dangers. There must be no surrender to the insistent clamour of those who refuse to look beyond the problems of the moment.

A Strong and Experienced Government— Canada's Greatest Need.

The great co-operative war effort which this government has planned is gaining every day in momentum. Our hope lies in the gathering of our strength to meet the gathering of the storm.

No one can doubt the courage, the will, the endurance of the people of Canada. But the possession of these qualities is not alone sufficient to ensure victory. They must be marshalled and guided by a government that is strong, steady, vigorous, patient, provident and experienced.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

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Name of Publication Ottawa M. Citizen

Date February 24, 1940

Subject Prime Minister's 3rd broadcast "National Government"

Mackenzie King And Colleagues Would Be "Loyal Opposition"

Prime Minister Says He Speaks for Every One of His Cabinet in Stating Intentions If His Government Is Defeated.

Dictatorship Danger Seen in Manion Plan

Declares He Wants to Make Position of His Party Clear So There Will Be No Mistake About It.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King declared last night neither he nor his cabinet colleagues would enter the national government Conservative Leader Manion proposes to form if he is given a majority of supporters in the general election.

In his third broadcast address of the campaign, the Prime Minister said he wanted his party's position made clear "so that there will be no mistake in the minds either of the people or of Dr. Manion concerning our position."

Speaks For All.

The Prime Minister said he was speaking with the authority and support of every member of the cabinet. He said: "If, after an appeal has been made to the country on our war effort and our policies, we are not returned to power, those of us who are elected, together with our following, will not betray our parliamentary duty but will constitute His Majesty's Loyal Opposition."

Speaking over a national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the Prime Minister discussed the Conservative leader's proposed national government and suggested such an administration might lead to dictatorship.

European Pattern.

"Such a government might easily follow the European pattern," he said. There the merging of parties into one, the suppression of minorities and the silencing of opposition have resulted in the abolition of representative institutions. That is the soil in which dictatorships grow and flourish."

It did not require a union government to "join together intelligence and patriotism," the Prime Minister said. His administration had been appointing prominent Conservatives to high positions and would continue to draft the most able men regardless of party affiliation.

An indication that the cabinet might be augmented by appointment of parliamenary undersecretaries or in some similar way was given when the Prime Minister said he proposed to "bring to the aid of the ministry in an advisory capacity, a still larger number of men of outstanding ability and experience."

(When the present government first took office it indicated consideration was being given to the adoption of a system of parliamentary under-secretaries such as exists in the British parliament but none was appointed.)

Would Like to Forget.

The term "national government" was a misnomer, Mr. Mackenzie King said. What the Conservative leader proposed was "union" government but he could understand why Dr. Manion did not wish to use that term.

"Probably he doesn't like the name because it summons up from the past memories of many things we would like to forget. What, however, Dr. Manion is avowedly advocating is a government composed of men of different political parties and therefore of conflicting political opinion."

The Prime Minister read from a report of statements made by Dr. Manion last July to the effect that he believed a national government in Canada would lead inevitably to a Socialist government.

A government representing the great majority of the people was the only true national government and the only true democratic government, the Prime Minister said.

Truly National.

The present government was truly national since it represented every section of the Dominion and had a record-breaking majority which, instead of decreasing during its five years in office had increased.

If the present government is given a fresh endorsation by the electorate, the Prime Minister said he intended to make a still wider use of the best minds and abilities available to carry on the war effort, regardless of political affiliation.

The Liberal leader directed a series of questions at Dr. Manion asking him who he would have in his union government; if he would have the leaders of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, the Social Credit party and Hon. W. D. Herridge, leader of the New Democracy movement.

He reminded Dr. Manion of the fate of Hon. H. H. Stevens who, in 1935, broke away from the Conservatives to form the Reconstruction party but was the only candidate of that party to be elected and is now "Dr. Manion's present first lieutenant."

Referring to the Conservative leader's intimation he might place a woman in his cabinet the Prime Minister said Canadian women would like something more definite before supporting him on that proposal.

Threat More Serious.

Each day the war threat grew more serious, the Prime Minister said, and no one could be sure it would not engulf the whole world. He urged the electors to consider carefully whether they wanted, at this stage, to place administration of Canada's war effort in new and untried hands.

The Prime Minister said he did not intend to make promises in order to gain support. All administration developments would be worked out carefully.

"In this election," he said, "I do not intend, any more than I have done in previous elections, to make promise after promise for the sake of gaining political support.

"I prefer not to count my chickens until they are hatched and I do not expect them to be hatched by promises."

The Prime Minister declared the presence in the House of Commons of a healthy opposition was an essential part of a democratic parliament not only as a safeguard against hasty or ill-advised action by the administration but as an alternative to the administration if it should lose the confidence of Parliament or the people.

In carrying on the war effort to date the government had eliminated all patronage and partisanship both in the armed forces and in the economic field, Mr. Mackenzie King declared.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 54158

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject .....

Partial Text

Prime Minister Mackenzie King said he proposed to meet Conservative Leader Manion's "challenge with respect to his so-called 'national' government."

"In his broadcast (Feb. 16), Dr. Manion stated it as his fixed conviction that 'only through national government could we do that service to our country, to our Empire and to our civilization, which is demanded of us, now that we are in this war beside Britain and France,'" the Prime Minister said.

Mr. King read from what he said was a report in the Toronto Globe and Mail of what Dr. Manion said of national government on July 26, 1939, as follows:

"National Conservative Leader Robert J. Manion today refused to recognize 'national government' as a cure for Canada's present-day ills, arguing that such a set-up would inevitably lead to a Socialist regime dictated by a combination of the C.C.F., Social Credit and 'all other cave of Adullam parties.'

"Every government," said he, "starts to die soon after it is elected. A national government would be the same in this respect as any other. Therefore after a period of time the opposition would come into power.

"But the opposition to a national government, presumably made up of Liberals and Conservatives, would be the Social Credit, C.C.F., and other Socialist groups that cared to join with them. It would be these parties that would take over the reins of power when the national government had outlived its usefulness."

Would Welcome It.

The Prime Minister continued: "Most of us would like to see, at all time a political condition where

'None was for a party;'

And 'all were for the state.'

"Could any form of government effect such a transformation in human nature, I am sure that most of us would welcome it with enthusiasm. I, for one, would certainly not wish to discourage the idealism which longs for cessation of all forms of strife, and the permanence of good-will and understanding as the basis of relations. But those who think that a union government will achieve these desirable ends are, I believe, grieviously mistaken. . .

"The words 'national government' are deliberately used to suggest a sort of patriotic idealism. The phrase itself has a patriotic ring, even if it does not ring true...

"Let us look to see whether the leader of the opposition, in his present appeal, is not misusing both the word 'national' and the word 'government.'

Business of Nation.

"A national government, in the correct sense of the term, is the government which carried on the business of the nation. It represents the nation in accordance with parliamentary procedure and practice. Under the British system, it must be a representative and responsible government. . .

"The only government that can be called truly national is a government which reflects a practical unanimity of sentiment and belief held in common by a majority of the people's representatives. In Canada, such a government should also represent, in fair proportion, every section of the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

"Truly National Govt."

"A truly national government cannot be founded upon an unnatural attempt to harmonize conflicting views and opinions. A combination created as a result of bargaining between conflicting parties and groups is not a national government.

"I might add that a political leader who cannot command support in all parts of the country will have little chance of forming a government strong enough to be a unifying force in time of war.

"When the leader of the opposition talks of national government what he really means is a 'union' government. I can quite understand why Dr. Manion doesn't like that name. He would, however, have treated you more fairly if he had used it.

Memories of the Past.

"Probably he doesn't like the name because it summons up from the past memories of many things we would like to forget. What, however, Dr. Manion is avowedly advocating is a government composed of men of different political parties, and, therefore, of conflicting political opinions.

"There is, of course, nothing to prevent political parties maintaining their identity and still working together for a common object. Dr. Manion's party did that at the special war session of Parliament last September. That is a matter of attitude to meet compelling circumstances in special cases. It is an attitude which was clearly defined by Sir Wilfrid Laurier during the last war and maintained by him throughout. . .

"The present government of Canada is, in the truest sense, a national government. It had in the late Parliament the support of a majority of the representatives of the people. That majority happened to be the largest majority which any government in Canada has ever had.

"Dr. Manion has told you that 'every government starts to die soon after it is elected.' That may have been his experience. I am happy to say it has not been mine. The majority with which we began was not only maintained but increased as the sessions passed by.

Union Government.

"A union government is almost certain to mean one of two things: a weak government, or a dictatorial government. It might conceivably be both, because the terms are not necessarily contradictory. Weak, because it leads to endless compromises, and the stifling of views. . .

"On the other hand, such a government might easily follow the European pattern. There the merging of parties into one, the suppression of minorities, and the silencing of opposition have soon resulted in the abolition of representative institutions. that is the soil in which dictatorships grow and flourish.

"Union government may also be a mere subterfuge to bring together, under the guise of a combination of parties, men of divergent views whose main purpose is to take some course of action which they would not be prepared to champion openly.

Main Argument.

"The main argument since the outbreak of war for a 'national' or union government originated in the desire to postpone an election, and to extend the life of Parliament.

"Such a course would have turned Parliament and the government into a virtual dictatorship. It would have been a denial of the undoubted right of a free people to choose their Parliament within the constitutional period fixed for the express purpose of maintaining representative government. That pretext for union government was ended when Parliament was dissolved."

To Whom Will He Turn?

The Prime Minister asked Dr. Manion to whom he would turn for those who would form his union government in the event of his success at the polls. "Who are the men inside or outside his own party who will be asked to join him?" he queried.

If the Liberal ministry were defeated it would be condemnation of its war effort. The Prime Minister wondered if any members of a discredited ministry would be asked to join him.

"I think you should ask him what Liberals he has in mind. Has he any hope of gettnig the consent of outstanding members of the party to join him?"

The Prime Minister wondered if C.C.F. Leader Woodsworth would be asked to join and if Mr. Woodsworth would agree. "Will Mr. Blackmore (Social Credit leader) join him and take Social Credit with him? Will Mr. Herridge's New Democracy be born in time? Does Dr. Manion want him in if it is?"

The Prime Minister referred to Dr. Manion's suggestion a woman may be taken into his cabinet. "If their support for union government is to be gained by this means the women of Canada will, I imagine, wish to have a more definite proposal than this."

It is just possible Dr. Manion plans to include all parties in his combination, thereby extinguishing opposition altogether. If he does, he has turned another political somersault, for, as late as Nov. 2, 1939, not four months ago, he used these words:

'Considering everything, the course followed by the government in keeping full control of our war program is probably the best for Canada as, under our parliamentary system, an alert and constructively critical opposition is second only in importance to the government itself.'

In Complete Agreement.

"With Dr. Manion's view, as expressed at that time, I am in the most complete agreement. I have not changed my views. I can only assume that Dr. Manion has changed his views because he sees no possibility whatever of the election of a Conservative government."

An official opposition is an essential branch of Parliament, the Prime Minister said, as a safeguard against hasty and ill-advised action by the administration. It was needed also as an alternative to the administration once a government loses the confidence of Parliament or the country.

"An opposition is our strongest protection against violent and revolutionary change. That is one of the reasons why Parliament itself, by statute, has made the leader of the opposition a salaried officer. His position in Parlia-

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The Prime Minister

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ment, in many respects, is second only to that of the Prime Minister. . . .

Speaks for Cabinet.

"In order that there may be no misunderstanding about the position of the members of the present government, I should like to make that position very clearly known. In saying what I do, I speak with the authority and support of every member of the cabinet.

"If, after an appeal has been made to the country on our war efforts and our policies, we are not returned to power, those of us who are elected, together with our following, will not betray our parliamentary duty, but will constitute His Majesty's loyal opposition. I make that simple, straightforward statement, so that there will be no mistake in the minds either of the people, or of Dr. Manion concerning our position; and no recriminations later on because anyone was left in doubt."

Under the present parliamentary system responsibility for government rested upon that party with a majority in the House of Commons. That party cannot escape the responsibility. But responsibility is no monopoly of government.

High Trust and Duty.

"I myself, as I think you know, have always looked upon public office as a high trust and a great duty. I have never sanctioned the dismissal of any public servant merely because of his political affiliations. Nor have I made party affiliations the criterions of appointments to the public service."

There had been no patronage or party favoritism in any phase of the government's war effort, military or economic, the Prime Minister said. Many high positions are held by well known Conservatives.

"We shall continue to bring to the service of Canada the best men we can get. It doesn't require a union government to join together intelligence and patriotism. . . .

Growing in Intensity.

"With the war and its problems growing in intensity and magnitude, I shall seek, if we are returned to power, to bring to the aid of the ministry, in an advisory capacity, a still larger number of men of outstanding ability and experience whose services in one way or another might be made available to the state, and add strength to the administration of our policies.

"How best their services might be consolidated and used, whether in immediate association with the war cabinet, or with a member of the cabinet, intimately associated with its war activities, is something that I would like to consider with my colleagues before the next Parliament reassembles. All important administrative developments must be worked out by a ministry in the light of its responsibility for government as it is actually carried on.

"In this election, I do not intend, any more than I have done in previous elections, to make promise after promise for the sake of gaining political support. I prefer not to count my chickens until they are hatched, and I do not expect them to be hatched by promises."

Dr. Manion was starting at the wrong end to build up his union government, the Prime Minister said. He should have formed it before making his appeal to the country as Sir Robert Borden did in 1917. Then the voters would know exactly what administration they were being asked to elect.

Blind Alley.

The Conservative leader was inviting electors "up a blind alley which he says leads to national government."

Since Canada entered the war "new dangers and terrors have come to threaten our Allies and ourselves. Do not forget Asia as well as Europe is aflame. Who can say what nation is safe from attack as the fateful months roll on? It may even be that before the forces of evil are vanquished the whole world will be engulfed in the angry seas of battle," the Prime Minister warned.

"Let us not imagine that our land will inevitably escape the wrath that darkens land and sea, or that our shores will necessarily be spared as the conflict grows and spreads. He would be a foolish man who refused to face the possibilities and realities of a shattered world.

"We face a future unknown and unpredictable. We cannot tell what calamities may strike us before the present year is ended, or what perils may be upon us in 1941 or 1942. Failure to view the situation as a whole, and to take account of all conceivable possibilities, might be fraught with the gravest dangers. There must be no surrender to the insistent clamor of those who refuse to look beyond the problems of the moment.

"The great co-operative war effort which this government has planned is gaining every day in momentum. Our hope lies in the gathering of our strength to meet the gathering of the storm.

"No one can doubt the courage, the will, the endurance of the people of Canada. But the possession of these qualities is not alone sufficient to ensure victory. They must be marshalled and guided by a government that is strong, steady, vigorous, patient, provident and experienced."

Pasteurization Order

RICHMOND, Feb. 23.—T. G. Nesbitt, Richmond village clerk, has received notice that after March 1 no milk can be sold in Richmond unless pasteurized.

D 54160

Prime Minister

Political Broadcast No. 4

March 8th, 1940

4

The Training of British Pilots

and the Joint Air Training Plan

Broadcast #4

1st Revise March 6, 1940

D 54161

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The Conservative Opposition during the present campaign has tried in vain to make itself invisible under the magic cloak of an imaginary Union Government. While it has not succeeded in hiding itself, it has been more than successful in hiding its policies. I had hoped to be able to discuss with you tonight Dr. Manion's policy for the prosecution of the war. Up to date, however, he has failed to suggest any action which the government has not already taken. Nor has he suggested that our war effort is being extended in any direction of which he disapproves. Dr. Manion and his associates have, therefore, no constructive policy of their own.

In the plan of campaign of the Leader of the Opposition, while little or nothing has been offered by way of constructive policy, there has been no end of purely destructive criticism and, what is worse, misinterpretation and misrepresentation of all important facts. The latter has been continually repeated so often, that, with respect to the most misleading allegations, I feel it my duty once again to set before the electors of Canada the plain, simple truth.

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I shall deal tonight with matters pertaining to the Air Training Plan which have made Canada, for the purpose of final victory, the pivotal centre of the British Commonwealth. Misrepresentations concerning this matter, while thought of, and no doubt by many intended as incidental only to a political campaign, may well have consequences, with respect to Canada's war effort, much more far reaching than some of those who are lending themselves to them, have begun to surmise. It is possible, while seeking to undermine confidence in an administration at home, for a Conservative political meeting to go a long way in helping to destroy the influence and power of their own country's effort abroad.

The Leader of the Opposition and his associates for some time past have been repeating incorrect statements concerning the history of air training in Canada. Those incorrect statements can be briefly summarized as follow: It is alleged that the British government, either in 1937 or in 1938 (Dr. Manion is not quite sure of the date), made a proposal to establish air training schools in Canada which was refused by the Canadian government. It is alleged that by this refusal the Canadian government prevented the letting of contracts in Canada for the construction of aeroplanes, and that thereby Canada lost some hundred million dollars

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worth of aeroplane contracts. It is alleged that Great Britain proposed, in peace time, to establish schools for pilots in Canada at British expense, to which Great Britain would have sent British young men to train in Canada at the rate of 25,000 a year. Every one of those statements has been made, and most of them have been repeated by Dr. Manion. They are being repeated by some of his candidates and supporters. Every one of them is untrue.

Speaking in the House of Commons on January the 25th of this very year, Dr. Manion used the following words: "The fact is that by July 1, 1938 -- personally I think it goes back to 1937 -- the British had been over here pleading with the Prime Minister to give them the right as one of the partners in the Empire to establish air training schools in Canada to train British pilots."

Speaking as Prime Minister, I wish to say at once that there is not one word of truth in this statement. The British did not come to Canada pleading with the Prime Minister. Once again, I ask Dr. Manion to specify who the British were who came to plead with me when they were over here, and exactly what was the nature of their pleading. I wish to state emphatically, and finally, that no one possessing any authority from the British Government discussed in either 1937 or in 1938 any matter concerning air training with me,

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excepting the British High Commissioner. This statement, of course, does not apply to negotiations with the British Government for the joint training in Canada of a limited number of British pilots seeking advanced training, which grew out of Canada's offer to the British Government, in 1939, nor to negotiations with respect to the present British Commonwealth Air Training Plan begun in September of last year. I challenge Dr. Manion and all his associates, known and anonymous, to identify any other British spokesman than the British High Commissioner, Sir Francis Floud. He had not come to Ottawa for any such purpose. He had been in Ottawa for some time as High Commissioner of the United Kingdom. When he came to interview me, he said that it was only on that morning or the day before that he had received a request from his government to speak to me about this particular matter. Partnership in the Empire was never mentioned. The training of British pilots in Canada except in one particular was not so much as mentioned. The British Government wished to explore the possibilities of sending for further training in Canada some British air pilots who had already been trained in the United Kingdom. The one and only kind of training mentioned was advanced training in long distance flying and gunnery practice. The reason why the possibilities for this class of training in Canada

were explored, was the very obvious one that we possess large, safe, open spaces which Great Britain does not. No definite proposal was made by Sir Francis Floud. The British Government merely wished to find out by way of exploration whether, and if so under what conditions, such training could be carried out in Canada. There was no question whatever, direct or indirect, of linking the training of air pilots in any way to the construction of aircraft except in so far as this might be said to arise from the suggestion.that the establishments for advanced air training would be constructed by the British Government, would be owned and maintained by the British Government and would be administered by the British Government for the advanced training of a certain number of British air pilots.

I pointed out to the British High Commissioner that for the government of the United Kingdom to own, maintain, and have control and direction of air training establishments in Canada, even to the limited extent suggested, would give rise to serious questions of jurisdiction and administration. I also pointed out that anything of the kind attempted in times of peace, would certainly occasion much questioning as to possible commitments involved in the event of war and would be certain, at any time, to prejudice rather than

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further co-operation between British and Canadian air forces. I explained that our position as a free nation in the British Commonwealth demanded that all military establishments in Canada should be under the control of the Canadian government. With that stand I believe that all true Canadians will agree. To the real purpose of the interview, as I understood it, namely that of providing in Canada facilities, I took no exception whatever. On the contrary, I immediately offered, on behalf of the Canadian government, facilities under the control of the Canadian Department of National Defence, an offer which I confirmed a few hours later after consultation with my colleagues in the Cabinet. These conversations took place in May and June of 1938. They were fully explained by myself in the House of Commons on July 1st of that year. The facts are on record. They are true, uncontradicted, and uncontradictable. Dr. Manion and no other person in this Dominion has any excuse whatsoever for misrepresenting them. The records of the British Parliament, no less than our own, confirm the truth of the statements I am making.

Our offer was cordially welcomed by the British Government. On July 7th, in reply to a question by Mr. Attlee, Leader of the Opposition, Sir Kingsley Wood, the Minister for Air, stated in the British House that an offer had been communicated to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom by

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the Canadian Prime Minister and that a reply had been sent expressing warm appreciation of the offer. He further stated arrangements were being made for an officer to be sent immediately to Canada to consider the development and completion of the indicated scheme.

Dr. Manion has always found it convenient to ignore this official reply by the British Government. The suggestion was also received enthusiastically by the British Press and notably by the London "Times". On the basis of our offer a joint scheme was worked out with the British government and an expert from the British Air Ministry arrived. He was made welcome. He co-operated with our officials, and on the basis of his survey an agreement was reached between the two governments. We asked and secured from Parliament, for this express purpose, an appropriation of 6 million dollars over and above the greatly increased amounts for air training for which provision was being made in the general estimates. We undertook to provide facilities in Canada for the training of fifty British pilots a year for three years. The number fifty was fixed, not by us but by the British government. In 1938, as even Dr. Manion knows, we were at peace. The number selected represented as many pilots as the British Government was at that time prepared to send to Canada for this special class of advanced training.

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Let me repeat the facts. No proposal of the British Government was refused. Our offer was accepted. The British Government thanked us for it. The British Press expressed appreciation for it. The number of pilots to be trained was fixed by the British Government. We appropriated $6,000,000 to make the training possible. This amount was over and above our greatly increased budget for national defence. Notwithstanding that all these facts were of record in the proceedings of Parliament, and that Dr. Manion in , 1939, admitted, in Parliament, he had been mistaken as to the nature and terms of the agreement, and would take back what he had been saying about it, he nevertheless, on the 25th of January of this year, 1940, had this to say:

"All we are going to permit the British to send across were fifty a year .... Yet Sir Kingsley Wood, the head of the air defence force in Britain, made the statement in October -- I believe it was on October 9, because I have been studying this matter, and getting thoroughly shocked as I studied it -- that what the British had hoped was that there would be 25,000 pilots trained a year. And we are going to train fifty. That is what the ex-Minister of National Defence stated."

Dr. Manion then proceeded to quote from a statement by Sir Kingsley Wood, not any statement made at the time of or before his statement in the British Parliament in reference

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Let me repeat the facts. No proposal of the British Government was refused. Our offer was accepted. The British Government thanked us for it. The British Press expressed appreciation for it. The number of pilots to be trained was fixed by the British Government. We appropriated $6,000,000 to make the training possible. This amount was over and above our greatly increased budget for national defence. Notwithstanding that all these facts were of record in the proceedings of Parliament, and that Dr. Manion in , 1939, admitted, in Parliament, he had been mistaken as to the nature and terms of the agreement, and would take back what he had been saying about it, he nevertheless, on the 25th of January of this year, 1940, had this to say:

"All we are going to permit the British to send across were fifty a year .... Yet Sir Kingsley Wood, the head of the air defence force in Britain, made the statement in October -- I believe it was on October 9, because I have been studying this matter, and getting thoroughly shocked as I studied it -- that what the British had hoped was that there would be 25,000 pilots trained a year. And we are going to train fifty. That is what the ex-Minister of National Defence stated."

Dr. Manion then proceeded to quote from a statement by Sir Kingsley Wood, not any statement made at the time of or before his statement in the British Parliament in reference

REPEAT
REPETITION

to the agreement respecting advanced training of British pilots in Canada, but a statement made more than a month after the outbreak of war, and in reference to what it was expected might be accomplished under the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan to which he was then referring for the first time. In his anxiety to condemn the present government, Dr. Manion overlooked the dates, he misinterpreted the situation, failed to realize to what scheme Sir Kingsley Wood was referring, and misquoted the British Minister's speech. He alleged that the British proposed to come over here and establish schools for their flying pilots to be maintained at their own expense, as if the reference were to all British pilots, not the few only to be sent for special advanced training. He said that they would have brought over British young men to train at the rate of 36,000 a year, "and if that figure," he says, "is an exaggeration, it is Sir Kingsley Wood's exaggeration and not mine". In the first place, the British at no time have made any proposal to establish schools at their own expense, for the training of British air pilots generally. In the second place, Sir Kingsley Wood did not make any reference at any time to the number of British pilots to receive advanced training in Canada. In the third place, Sir Kingsley Wood when he used figures at all, was talking in war time, about the

D 54170

future of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan, not in reference to the training of British pilots but to the training of pilots from all parts of the Empire, and in largest numbers by Canada as a part of this country's contribution to the winning of the war.

Sir Kingsley Wood is a Minister of the British Crown charged with a responsible task. Does Dr. Manion really believe that Sir Kingsley Wood or the British Government would have established air training schools in Canada, or had ever at any time any idea of establishing air trainin schools in Canada in peace time to train 35,000 pilots a year? In other words, does he believe that the British Government intended to abandon all the air training in the United Kingdom and transfer the whole of it to Canada? Does he believe any such scheme would have met with approval either in the United Kingdom or in Canada? I am sure you will find it difficult to credit his credulity. You may find it even more difficult to believe that the British Government could be as lacking in intelligence and judgment as he suggests.

Dr. Manion in the same speech then proceeded to state that the establishment of this mythical scheme, which was never advanced and could never have been advanced by any man in his senses, would have built up in Canada a great

D54171

industry for the production of planes, which industry is now being built up in the United States and in Great Britain itself. Just listen to this. I quote Dr. Manion's own words as they appear in the record of the debates in Parliament on January 26th of this very year. "The Prime Minister," he says, "had this proposal put up to him by the British to come to their aid in their distress. He refused and the British started then to do what he refused to do. They built up manufacturing plants for the manufacture of planes in their own country, manufacturing plants which they came over here to establish in Canada. I learned when I was in England not long ago that on one occasion they came over here with one hundred million dollars for Canadian plants but they received from the Prime Minister of Canada such a cold reception to this request that they refused to give any contracts at that time." Do you wonder, ladies and gentlemen, that after listening to representations of the kind, given as a lead to his followers in the House of Commons, I should have felt that nothing was to be gained from prolonging the life of a Parliament already in its sixth session, and that, in your interest, to say nothing of the interest of the effective prosecution of Canada's war effort, the sooner the people were given the right of giving expression to their own views, the better it would be for all concerned.

D 54172

Now let us examine this amazing statement, point by point.

Dr. Manion first states that the British would have sent thousands of airmen to train here in peace time. This statement is incorrect, as Dr. Manion might have known if he had consulted the record, instead of his imagination for the facts. He next suggests that such an arrangement would have meant the building up in Canada of a great industry for the production of planes. This statement is doubly incorrect. In the first place, there was no suggestion to train thousands of pilots in Canada before the war; in the second place, there was no connection whatever between discussions which took place between the two governments for the advanced training, in Canada, of British pilots and negotiations that took place between a British Mission and Canadian manufacturers for the production of aircraft. He next affirms once again that the Canadian government refused a proposal from the British government. The Canadian government refused no proposal. They made an offer to the British government which was welcomed with enthusiasm and accepted with gratitude. His fourth allegation is that because of our refusal of training facilities the British did not set up manufacturing plants which they intended establishing in Canada. This is not only a further misrepresentation of facts; it is an

D 54173

insult to the British government. The British government made no attempt to bribe Canada with orders for aeroplanes.

But just listen to this. Dr. Manion further says that he learned long ago that "they", whoever "they" may be, came over to Canada with one hundred million dollars' worth of orders for Canadian plants, which were not placed because the same mysterious "they" received from the Prime Minister of Canada such a cold reception to this request. Dr. Manion delights in anonymity. The "they" in this case, constitutes as complete a "black out" as the "they" who are to constitute Dr. Manion's so-called national government. Where Dr. Manion received this information, I, of course, do not know. But I submit that before he bases an election appeal upon it, and asks your support in virtue of it, he should tell you who gave it to him. He certainly did not receive it from the British government, because they also have regard for the facts. He might tell us who is supposed to have come with the orders. He might inform the electors of Canada who was authorized to buy the consent of the Canadian government to an offer which was never made, with contracts which were never let and never proposed. As the head of the Canadian governments, I would like to know these things, and would like also, as always, to share my knowledge with you.

D54174

It is true that two British aircraft missions did visit Ottawa during 1938. The first of these was known as the Weir Mission. Its main purpose was to visit the United States. Its visit to Canada was brief and incidental. It was a Mission which came to confer with manufacturers. To the extent requested, the Mission was supplied with such information as was in our possession, and was given all the help in our power. On the 21st of June, 1938, I received, through Sir Francis Floud, the British High Commissioner, in an official letter, an expression of the warm appreciation of His Majesty's government in the United Kingdom for the valuable assistance rendered by the Minister of National Defence and his department, to the Weir Mission.

The second aircraft Mission was sent specifically to Canada. In announcing its purpose on July 13th, Sir Kingsley Wood stated in the British House of Commons that it was sent for the purpose of entering into negotiations with the Canadian aircraft industry for the manufacture of bomber aircraft in Canada. The Mission was headed by Sir Hardman Lever. It was in Canada from July 28th to September 7th, 1938. One result of its visit was the organization of a representative co-operative group of Canadian aircraft manufacturers for the fabrication of bomber planes as requested.

Ladies and gentlemen, those are the essential facts.

D 54175

The great British Commonwealth joint air training scheme, as I mentioned in a previous broadcast, was not projected till about a month after the outbreak of war. It was put forward by the British war cabinet after the swift domination of Poland by Germany had demonstrated the decisive importance of superior air power. If the Germans believed that the war was to be won with air power, the Allies were determined not only that theirs would be the superior air power, but that the enemy should know this as soon and as clearly as possible. The surveys of the whole air training situation which followed our offer to provide facilities in Canada for advanced training of British pilots not only provide the necessary foundation for the Commonwealth scheme but an evidence of our sincerity and competence so complete that the British government did not hesitate to suggest Canada as the seat of the joint training enterprise, but enabled the British government to put forward the project in its vast proportions with perfect confidence in its acceptance, not only by our Government, but by the governments of the sister dominions.

I would respectfully suggest that from now on instead of seeking to misrepresent and belittle, in the eyes of the enemy, as well as those of our Allies . . . . . .

having some months prior to the outbreak of war made our agreement with Britain for the advanced training for a

D 54176

definite number of British pilots in Royal Canadian Air Force establishments, and having settled, in connection with that agreement, not only the principles of joint training as between members of different air forces of the British Commonwealth, but also the definite question of administration and such matters as direction and control, we had in times of peace, the extent to which, as well as the spirit in which co-operation is being given by Canada to Britain and France in the present war, the Leader of the Opposition and those who are blindly reasserting his every misrepresentation will, with respect, to air training projects, do well, either to give the facts on which their statements are based, or to cease talking about matters of which they have no personal or official knowledge, indeed, matters of which they have no knowledge whatever.

Canada's war effort may be hindered, it cannot be furthered by statements which are at direct variance with the truth, and which owe their origin not to personal ignorance or personal malice. We shall best uphold the cause as well as all forms of co-operative effort of the Allies in the present war as we ourselves seek to uphold the truth.

Broadcast #4

2nd Revise - March 6, 1940

D 54177

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I had hoped to be able to discuss with you tonight the polâcy of the Leader of the Opposition for the prosecution of the war. Up to date, however, Dr. Manion has failed to suggest any action which the government has not already taken. Nor has he suggested that our war effort is being extended in any direction of which he disapproves. As you will have noticed, the Conservative Opposition during the present campaign has tried to make itself invisible under the magic cloak of an imaginary Union Government. While it has not succeeded in hiding itself, it has been more than successful in hiding its policies.

Little or nothing has been offered by way of constructive policy in the campaign of the Leader of the Opposition. There has, however, been more than enough of purely destructive criticism and, what is worse, misinterpretation and misrepresentation of many important facts. Misrepresentation has been repeated so often that I feel it my duty once again to set before the electors of Canada the plain simple truth.

I shall deal tonight with matters pertaining to the Air Training Plan which has made Canada, for the purpose of final victory, the pivotal centre of the British

D 54178

Commonwealth. Misinterpretation on the lips of thoughtless men and misrepresentation on the tongues of unscrupulous men are perhaps incidental to most political campaigns. But, in the midst of a great war, no one can exaggerate the serious results that may accrue, both at home and abroad, if the political tactics of irresponsible persons are allowed to weaken the influence and power of the war effort of a hitherto united country.

The Leader of the Opposition and his associates for some time past have been repeating incorrect statements concerning the development of air training in Canada. Those incorrect statements can be briefly summarized as follows: It is alleged that either in 1937 or in 1938 (Dr. Manion says he is not quite sure of the date) the British government made a proposal to establish air training schools in Canada which was refused by the Canadian government. It is alleged that, as a result of that refusal, Canada lost some hundred million dollars worth of aeroplane contracts. It is alleged that Great Britain proposed, in peace time, to establish schools for pilots in Canada at British expense, to which Great Britain would have sent British young men to train in Canada at the rate of 25,000 a year. It is alleged that Canada received such a proposal a refused it. Everyone of those statements has been

made by Dr. Manion. Today, they are being repeated by him, and echoed by his candidates and supporters in all parts of Canada. Everyone of these allegations is untrue.

Speaking in the House of Commons on January the 25th of this very year, Dr. Manion used the following words: "The fact is that by July 1, 1938 -- personally I think it goes back to 1937 -- the British had been over here pleading with the Prime Minister to give them the right as one of the partners in the Empire to establish air training schools in Canada to train British pilots."

Speaking as Prime Minister of Canada, I wish to say at once that this statement is absolutely incorrect. Once again, I ask Dr. Manion to specify who the British were who came to plead with me, when they were over here, and exactly what was the nature of their pleading. No British came to Canada pleading with the Prime Minister in 1937, 1938, or in any other year. In the year 1937, I had no conversation with anyone on the possibility of establishing air training schools in Canada to train British pilots. In 1938, I had no conversation with anyone on any phase of the subject until one particular matter was first discussed with Sir Francis Floud in May of that year.

I challenge Dr. Manion and all his associates, known and anonymous, to identify anyone, other than Sir Francis Floud, who, prior to July 1st, 1938, was authorized by the British Government to discuss with me any matter pertaining to the training of British pilots in Canada. Sir Francis Floud had not come to Ottawa for any such purpose. He had been in Ottawa for four years as High Commissioner of the United Kingdom. When Sir Francis came to interview me, he said that it was only within the preceding 24 hours that he had received a request from his government to speak to me about this particular matter. Partnership in the Empire was never mentioned. There was no suggestion of any place for the general training of British pilots in Canada. The British Government wished to explore the possibilities of sending for further training in Canada some British air pilots who had already received training in the United Kingdom. The one and only kind of training mentioned was advanced training in long distance flying and gunnery practice. The reason why the possibilities for this class of training in Canada were explored, was the very obvious one that our country possesses large, safe, open spaces which Great Britain does not. No definite proposal was made by Sir Francis Floud. The British Government merely

wished to find out by way of exploration whether such training could be carried out in Canada, in establishments to be owned, maintained, and controlled by the Government of the United Kingdom.

I pointed out to the British High Commissioner that for the government of the United Kingdom to own, maintain, control and direct air training establishments in Canada, even to the limited extent suggested, would involve important questions of jurisdiction and administration. I explained that our position as a free nation in the British Commonwealth demanded that all military establishments in Canada should be under the control of the Canadian Government. With that stand I believe that all true Canadians will agree.

The object of the conversation, as I understood it, was to find out whether facilities could be provided in Canada for the advance training of a limited number of British air pilots. I took no exception whatever to the idea of providing facilities. On the contrary, I immediately offered, on behalf of the Canadian government, to have such facilities provided under the control of the Canadian Department of National Defence. All this was fully explained by myself in the House of Commons on July 1st, 1938, almost immediately after the conversation had taken place. The facts are on record. They are true, uncontradicted, and

D 54182

uncontradictable. Neither Dr. Manion, nor any other person in this Dominion, has any excuse whatsoever for misrepresenting them. The records of the British Parliament, no less than our own, confirm the truth of the statements I am making.

D 54183

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I had hoped to be able to discuss with you tonight the policy of the Leader of the Opposition for the prosecution of the war. Up to date, however, Dr. Manion has failed to suggest any important course of action which the government has not already taken. Nor has he suggested that our war effort is being extended in any direction of which he disapproves. As you will have noticed, Dr. Manion has sought, during the present campaign, to make the Conservative Opposition invisible, under the magic cloak of an imaginary Union Government. While he has not succeeded in hiding the party, he has been more than successful in hiding its policies.

In the campaign of the Leader of the Opposition, little or nothing has been offered by way of constructive policy. There has, however, been more than enough of purely destructive criticism. What is worse, there have been endless misinterpretations and misrepresentations of important situations and facts. Misinterpretation on the lips of thoughtless men, and misrepresentation on the tongues of unscrupulous men, are perhaps incidental to most political campaigns. But, in the midst of a great war, no one can exaggerate the serious results that may accrue, both at home and abroad, if the political tactics of irresponsible persons are allowed to weaken the influence and power of the war effort of a hitherto united country.

The Air Training Plan.

D 54184

The air training plan, as you are aware, has made Canada, for the purpose of final victory, the pivotal centre of the British Commonwealth. The facts pertaining to this great enterprise are of record, and beyond question, the Leader of the Opposition and his associates keep on repeating inaccurate statements concerning its development.

Speaking in the House of Commons on January the 26th of this very year, Dr. Manion used the following words: "The fact is that by July 1, 1938 - personally I think it goes back to 1937 - the British had been over here pleading with the Prime Minister to give them the right as one of the partners in the Empire to establish air training schools in Canada to train British pilots." Today, this statement is being repeated by Dr. Manion, and echoed by his candidates and supporters in all parts of Canada.

Speaking as Prime Minister of Canada, I wish to say at once that the statement is wholly incorrect. Once again, I ask Dr. Manion to specify who the British were who came to plead with me, when they were over here, and exactly what was the nature of their pleading. No British came to Canada pleading with the Prime Minister in 1937, 1938, or in any other year. In the year 1937, I had no conversation with anyone on the possibility of establishing air training schools in Canada

D 54185

in Canada to train British pilots. In 1938, I had no conversation with anyone, on any phase of the subject, until one particular matter was brought up for consideration in May of that year by the ^ High Commissioner of the United Kingdom, Sir Francis Floud.

I challenge Dr. Manion and all his associates, known and anonymous, to identify anyone, other than Sir Francis Floud, who, prior to July 1st, 1938, was authorized by the British Government to discuss with me any matter pertaining to the training of British pilots in Canada. Sir Francis Floud had not come to Ottawa for any such purpose. He had been in Ottawa for four years as High Commissioner of the United Kingdom. When Sir Francis came to ~~interview~~ confer with me, ^ he said that it was only within the preceding 24 hours that he had received a communication from his government in reference to the matter of which he wished to speak. There was no suggestion in what he said of any plan for the general training of British pilots in Canada. Partnership in the Empire was never mentioned. The British Government, he intimated, wished to explore the possibility of sending to Canada, for further training in Canada, some British d r pilots who had already received training in the United Kingdom. The one and only kind of training mentioned was advanced training in long distance flying and gunnery practice.

[redacted] Canada

D 54186

Canada was thought of for this class of training because of two very obvious advantages. We possess large, safe, open spaces not to be found in Great Britain. We are much closer to the British Isles than any other British Dominion. No definite proposal was made by Sir Francis Floud. The British government wished to find out, by way of preliminary exploration whether there would be any objection to such training in Canada, in establishments to be owned, maintained, and controlled by the government of the United Kingdom.

I pointed out to the British High Commissioner that for the government of the United Kingdom to own, maintain, control and direct any air training establishments in Canada, would involve important questions of jurisdiction and administration. I explained that our position as a free nation in the British Commonwealth demanded that all military establishments in Canada should be under the control of the Canadian Government. With that stand, I believe all true Canadians will agree.

To the idea of facilities being provided in Canada for the advanced training of British air pilots, I took no exception whatever. On the contrary, with the approval of my colleagues in the Cabinet, I offered, on behalf of the Canadian government, to have such facilities provided at once under the control of the Canadian Department of National Defence.

D 54187

Defence. All this was fully explained by myself in the House of Commons on July 1st, 1938, almost immediately after the conversations themselves had taken place. The facts are on record. They are true, uncontradicted, and uncontradictable. No person in this Dominion, has any excuse whatsoever for misrepresenting them. The records of the British Parliament, no less than our own, confirm the truth of the statements I am making.

Our offer was cordially welcomed by the British government. On July 7th, 1938, in the British House of Commons, Mr. Attlee, the Leader of the Opposition, asked Sir Kingsley Wood, the Secretary of State for Air, whether his attention had been drawn to the statement of the Prime Minister of Canada that the Dominion government were prepared, in connection with their own establishments, to help in affording facilities for the training of pilots for the Royal Air Force, and whether he had any statement to make.

To this question Sir Kingsley Wood replied as follows: "Yes, Sir, an offer to this effect has been communicated to His Majesty's government in the United Kingdom by the Canadian Prime Minister through the United Kingdom High Commissioner. A reply has been sent expressing warm appreciation of the offer, and arrangements are being made in accordance with a suggestion of the Canadian Prime Minister

for an officer to be sent immediately to Canada to explore, in co-operation with the Canadian government, the possibility of working out such a scheme for training facilities in Canada."

Dr. Manion has always found it convenient to ignore this official reply and offhandedly dismissed by the British government.

An expert from the British Air Ministry came to Canada almost immediately thereafter. He was cordially welcomed. There was the closest co-operation between him and our own officials. On the basis of a joint survey, an agreement was reached between the two governments. It covered a period of three years. Under the agreement, we undertook to expand our own services and provide facilities necessary for the joint advanced training of British and Canadian pilots.

The British undertook to send to Canada fifty Royal Air Force pilots a year. The number of fifty, was fixed not by us, but by the British government. That number represented as many pilots as the British government, at that time, was prepared to send to Canada for training. For the express purpose of providing the necessary expansion of our own services, we asked and received from Parliament a special appropriation of six million dollars. This was over and above the greatly increased amounts for the Air Force for which provision has been made in the general estimates.

All these facts

All these facts are on the records of Parliament. They were given in reply to questions raised by Dr. Manion himself. Notwithstanding his prior knowledge of these matters, Dr. Manion, speaking in the House of Commons on the 25th of January of this year, said: "All we were going to permit the British to send across were fifty a year..... Yet Sir Kingsley Wood, the head of the air defence force in Britain, made the statement in October -- I believe it was on October 9th, because I have been studying this matter, and getting thoroughly shocked as I studied it -- that what the British had hoped was that there would be 25,000 pilots trained a year. And we are going to train fifty."

Dr. Manion went on to say that the British proposed to come over here and establish schools for their flying pilots to be maintained at their own expense. He said that they would have brought over British young men to train at the rate of 25,000 a year, "and if that figure," he says, "is an exaggeration, it is Sir Kingsley Wood's exaggeration and not mine."

Dr. Manion, in support of his allegation, if not as evidence of his study, was referring to a statement by Sir Kingsley Wood which was made more than a month after the outbreak of war. In this statement, Sir Kingsley Wood was announcing,

<u>in the British House of Commons,</u>

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in the British House of Commons, the proposal for the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. It was made, in fact, on October the 10th, the day on which I made an identical announcement in Canada. Sir Kingsley Wood's statement contained no figures and had no reference whatever to anything considered prior to the war. In his anxiety to condemn the present government, Dr. Manion overlooked the dates, he misinterpreted the situation, failed to realise to what scheme Sir Kingsley Wood was referring, and misapplied the British minister's speech. The figures he quoted were not used by Sir Kingsley Wood at all. Quite evidently, Dr. Manion had confused Sir Kingsley Wood's speech with a speculative statement that accompanied the press report. The Canadian Press despatch from London reporting Sir Kingsley Wood's statement added the following paragraph:

> "The scheme will mean that many thousands of pilots and airmen will be trained in Canada, but no accurate estimate of the total could be obtained. It was thought likely the number would exceed 25,000 annually."

Apparently, Dr. Manion's close study, which gave him such a shock, was not close enough to enable him to distinguish between the Minister's speech and the reporters guess.

Does Dr. Manion really believe

D 54191

Does Dr. Manion really believe that Sir Kingsley Wood or the British government had ever at any time any idea of establishing air training schools in Canada in peace time to train 25,000 British pilots a year? 25,000 pilots were far more than the total numbers of British pilots trained in any one year in peace time. Dr. Manion's statement implies that the British government intended to abandon all the air training in the United Kingdom, and transfer the whole of it to Canada. Does he believe any such scheme would have met with approval either in the United Kingdom or in Canada?

This is the mythical scheme which was never advanced and which could never have been advanced by any man in his senses. Nevertheless, Dr. Manion, in his speech in Parliament on January the 25th, went on to say that this scheme would have secured for Canada a great aircraft industry. This industry, he and others are now saying, has been lost to Canada and is being developed instead in the United States and in Great Britain.

Just listen to this. I quote Dr. Manion's exact words: "The Prime Minister had this proposal put up to him by the British to come to their aid in their distress. He refused and the British started then to do what he refused to do. They built up manufacturing plants for the manufacture of planes in their own country, manufacturing plants which they came over here to establish in Canada. I learned, when I was in England not long ago,

that on one occasion

D 54192

that on one occasion they came over here with one hundred million dollars worth of orders for Canadian plants, but they received from the Prime Minister of Canada such a cold reception to this request that they refused to give any contracts at that time."

The statement that, as a result of our alleged refusal of training facilities, the British did not set up manufacturing plants which they intended to establish in Canada, is not only a further misrepresentation of facts, it is an insult to the British government. The British government made no attempt to bribe Canada with orders for aeroplanes.

Dr. Manion says that he learned, not long ago, that "they" - whoever "they" may be - came over to Canada with one hundred million dollars' worth of orders for Canadian plants, which were not placed because the same mysterious "they" received from the Prime Minister of Canada such a cold reception to this request. Where Dr. Manion received this information, I, of course, do not know. But I submit that before he bases an election appeal upon it, and asks your support in virtue of it, he should tell you who gave it to him. He certainly did not receive it from the British government, because they also have regard for the facts. He might tell us who is supposed to have come with the orders. He might inform the electors of Canada who was authorised to buy the consent of the Canadian government to an offer which was never made, with contracts which were

never let, and never proposed.

D 54193

never let, and never proposed. As the head of the Canadian government, I would like to know these things, and would like also, as always, to share my knowledge with you.

Two British aircraft missions visited Ottawa during 1938. The first of these was known as the Weir Mission. Its visit to Canada was brief and incidental. Its main purpose was to visit the United States. While it was a Mission which came to confer with manufacturers, our government gave it all possible assistance and we were officially thanked by the British Government for our help.

The second aircraft Mission was sent specifically to Canada. In announcing its purpose on July 13th, Sir Kingsley Wood stated, in the British House of Commons, that it was visiting our country to negotiate with the Canadian aircraft industry for the manufacture of bomber aircraft in Canada. The Mission was headed by Sir Hardman Lever. It was in Canada from July 28th to September 7th, 1938. Its visit was successful and resulted in the organization of a representative co-operative group of Canadian aircraft manufacturers for the manufacture of bomber planes. Initial orders were immediately placed.

D 54194

Ladies and Gentlemen: Dr. Manion and his associates are now saying that the great British Commonwealth Air Training Scheme would have been further advanced and would have cost Canada less had the Canadian Government not refused to accept proposals which Dr. Manion and his associates allege were made by the British Government. I have proved to you that no such proposals were made. The great Air Training Plan could not have been evolved in peace time. It could not have been developed sooner. No earlier discussion or decision could have affected our military and financial position under the agreement as it was finally signed.

As I mentioned in a previous broadcast, the Commonwealth Plan was not projected until about a month after the outbreak of war. It was put forward by the British War Cabinet after the swift domination of Poland by Germany had demonstrated the decisive importance of superior air power. The fact is that Canada's action in 1938 and 1939, the surveys which were then made, and the questions of jurisdiction which were then determined,

settled the principle

D 54195

settled the principle upon which any plan of joint training would be organized and controlled. Our action at that time assisted and accelerated the development of the present plan. The evidence of our sincerity and competence was so complete that when the British War Cabinet proposed the Governments of the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand had no hesitation in selecting Canada as the site and centre of the joint training enterprise for the whole Commonwealth.

Broadcast No. 4 — 4th Revise, March 7, 1940

Ladies and Gentlemen:

As you are aware, the joint air training plan now being developed has made Canada, for the purpose of final victory in the present war, the pivotal centre of the British Commonwealth. The facts pertaining to this great enterprise are of record and beyond question. Nevertheless, in an attempt to discredit the government, the Leader of the Opposition and his associates keep on misrepresenting the whole situation with regard to the inception and expansion of the plan, and, in particular, the training of British pilots in Canada. These misrepresentations can do no good. They may do an infinite amount of harm.

Speaking in the House of Commons on January the 25th of this very year, Dr. Manion used the following words: "The fact is that by July 1, 1938 -- personally I think it goes back to 1937 -- the British had been over here pleading with the Prime Minister to give them the right as one of the partners in the Empire to establish air training schools in Canada to train British pilots." As recently as last night, this statement was repeated by Dr. Manion in a nation-wide broadcast, and continues to be echoed and reasserted today by his candidates and supporters throughout the Dominion.

D 54197

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D 54198

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D 54199

Ladies and Gentlemen:

As you are aware, the joint air training plan now being developed has made Canada, for the purpose of final victory in the present war, the pivotal centre of the British Commonwealth. The facts pertaining to this great enterprise are of record and beyond question. Nevertheless, in an attempt to discredit the government, the Leader of the Opposition and his associates keep on misrepresenting the whole situation with regard to the inception and expansion of the plan, and, in particular, the training of British pilots in Canada. These misrepresentations can do no good. They may do an infinite amount of harm.

Speaking in the House of Commons on January the 25th of this very year, Dr. Manion used the following words: "The fact is that by July 1, 1938 -- personally I think it goes back to 1937 -- the British had been over here pleading with the Prime Minister to give them the right as one of the partners in the Empire to establish air training schools in Canada to train British pilots." As recently as last night, this statement was repeated by Dr. Manion in a nation-wide broadcast, and continues to be echoed and reasserted today by his candidates and supporters throughout the Dominion.

D 54200

Broadcast No. 4 — 4th Revise, March 7, 1940

Ladies and Gentlemen:

As you are aware, the joint air training plan now being developed has made Canada, for the purpose of final victory in the present war, the pivotal centre of the British Commonwealth. The facts pertaining to this great enterprise are of record and beyond question. Nevertheless, in an attempt to discredit the government, the Leader of the Opposition and his associates keep on misrepresenting the whole situation with regard to the inception and expansion of the plan, and, in particular, the training of British pilots in Canada. These misrepresentations can do no good. They may do an infinite amount of harm.

Speaking in the House of Commons on January the 25th of this very year, Dr. Manion used the following words: "The fact is that by July 1, 1938 -- personally I think it goes back to 1937 -- the British had been over here pleading with the Prime Minister to give them the right as one of the partners in the Empire to establish air training schools in Canada to train British pilots." As recently as last night, this statement was repeated by Dr. Manion in a nation-wide broadcast, and continues to be echoed and reasserted today by his candidates and supporters throughout the Dominion.

D 54201

Broadcast No. 4 — 5th Revise - March 8, 1940

Canada and the War

THE TRAINING OF BRITISH PILOTS
AND THE JOINT AIR TRAINING PLAN

Mackenzie King Replies to Dr. Manion

Ladies and Gentlemen:

As you are aware, the (joint) air training plan now being developed has made Canada, for the purpose of final victory in the present war, a pivotal centre of the British Commonwealth. The facts pertaining to this great enterprize are of record and beyond question. Nevertheless, in an attempt to discredit the government, the Leader of the Opposition and his associates, keep on misstating the facts concerning the training of British pilots in Canada, and Canada's vital contribution to the Plan itself. Misrepresentation of the kind cannot assist the prosecution of Canada's war effort. It may do an infinite amount of harm to the Allied cause.

Speaking in the House of Commons

D 54202

Speaking in the House of Commons on January the 25th of this very year, Dr. Manion used the following words: "The fact is that by July 1, 1938 -- personally, I think it goes back to 1937 -- the British had been over here, pleading with the Prime Minister to give them the right, as one of the partners in the Empire, to establish air training schools in Canada, to train British pilots." As recently as last night, this statement was repeated by Dr. Manion in a nation-wide broadcast. Since it was originally made, it has been re-asserted and re-echoed by his candidates and supporters throughout the Dominion.

Speaking as Prime Minister of Canada, I wish to say at once that the statement is wholly incorrect. Once again, I ask Dr. Manion to specify who the British were, who came to plead with me, when they came over here, and exactly what was the nature of their pleading. No British came to Canada pleading with the Prime Minister in 1937, in 1938, or in any other year.

In the year 1937,

D 54202

Speaking in the House of Commons on January the 25th of this very year, Dr. Manion used the following words: "The fact is that by July 1, 1938 -- personally, I think it goes back to 1937 -- the British had been over here, pleading with the Prime Minister to give them the right, as one of the partners in the Empire, to establish air training schools in Canada, to train British pilots." As recently as last night, this statement was repeated by Dr. Manion in a nation-wide broadcast. Since it was originally made, it has been re-asserted and re-echoed by his candidates and supporters throughout the Dominion.

Speaking as Prime Minister of Canada, I wish to say at once that the statement is wholly incorrect. Once again, I ask Dr. Manion to specify who the British were, who came to plead with me, when they came over here, and exactly what was the nature of their pleading. No British came to Canada pleading with the Prime Minister in 1937, in 1938, or in any other year.

In the year 1937,

REPEAT
REPETITION

In the year 1937, I had no conversation with anyone on the possibility of establishing air training schools in Canada, to train British pilots. In 1938, I had no conversation with anyone, on any phase of the subject, until one particular matter was brought up for consideration in May of that year, by the then High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, Sir Francis Floud.

I challenge Dr. Manion and all his associates, known and anonymous, to identify anyone, other than Sir Francis Floud, who, prior to July 1st, 1938, was authorized by the British government to discuss with me any matter pertaining to the training of British pilots in Canada. Sir Francis Floud had not come to Ottawa for any such purpose. He had been in Ottawa for four years as High Commissioner of the United Kingdom. When Sir Francis came to confer with me, he said that, it was only within the preceding 24 hours that he had received a communication from his government, in reference to the matter of which he wished to speak.

I did not gather from anything

I did not gather from anything said, that there was so much as a suggestion of any plan for the general training of British pilots in Canada. Partnership in the Empire was never mentioned. The British government, as I understood it, wished to explore the possibility of sending to Canada, for further training in Canada, some British air pilots who had already received training in the United Kingdom. The kind of training mentioned was advanced training in long distance flying and gunnery practice. Canada had been thought of for this class of training because of two very obvious advantages. We possessed large, safe, open spaces not to be found in Great Britain. We were much closer to the British Isles than any other British Dominion. No definite proposal or request was made by Sir Francis Floud. The British government wished to find out, by way of preliminary exploration, whether there would be any objection to such training in Canada, in establishments to be owned, maintained, and controlled by the government of the United Kingdom.

I pointed out

D 54205

I pointed out to the British High Commissioner, that, apart from possible controversy which might arise, for the government of the United Kingdom to own, maintain, control and direct any air training establishments in Canada, would involve important questions of jurisdiction and administration. I explained that our position, as a free nation in the British Commonwealth, demanded that all military establishments in Canada should be under the control of the Canadian government. With that stand, I believe, all true Canadians will agree.

To the idea of facilities being provided, in Canada, for the advanced training of British air pilots, I took no exception whatever. On the contrary, with the approval of my colleagues in the Cabinet, I offered, on behalf of the Canadian government, to have such facilities provided at once, under the control of the Canadian Department of National Defence. All this was fully explained by myself, in the House of Commons on July 1st, 1938, almost immediately after the conversations themselves had taken place.

The facts are on record

The facts are on record. Moreover, the records of the British Parliament, no less than our own, confirm the truth of the statements I am making.

Our offer was cordially welcomed by the British government. On July 7th, 1938, in the British House of Commons, Mr. Attlee, the Leader of the Opposition, asked Sir Kingsley Wood, the Secretary of State for Air, whether his attention had been drawn to the statement of the Prime Minister of Canada that the Dominion government were prepared, in connection with their own establishments, to help in affording facilities, for the training of pilots, for the Royal Air Force, and whether he had any statement to make.

To this question Sir Kingsley Wood replied as follows: "Yes, Sir, an offer to this effect has been communicated to His Majesty's government in the United Kingdom, by the Canadian Prime Minister, through the United Kingdom High Commissioner. A reply has been sent expressing warm appreciation of the offer, and arrangements are being made, in accordance with a suggestion of the Canadian Prime Minister, for an officer to be sent immediately to Canada, to explore, in co-operation with the Canadian government, the possibility of working out such a scheme for training facilities in Canada."

Dr. Manion has always

Dr. Manion has always found it convenient to ignore this official, and appreciative acknowledgment, by the British government.

An expert from the British Air Ministry came to Canada almost immediately thereafter. He was cordially welcomed. There was the closest co-operation between him and our own officials. On the basis of a joint survey, an agreement was reached between the two governments. It covered a period of three years. Under the agreement, we undertook to expand our own services, and provide facilities necessary for the joint advanced training of British and Canadian pilots.

The British undertook to send to Canada fifty ~~fifty~~ Royal Air Force pilots a year. The number fifty, was fixed not by us, but by the British government. That number represented as many pilots as the British government, at that time, was prepared to send to Canada for training. For the express purpose of providing the necessary facilities, and expansion of our own services, we asked and received from Parliament a special appropriation of six million dollars. This was, over and above, the greatly increased amounts for the Air Force, for which provision was being made in the general estimates.

All these facts

All these facts are on the records of Parliament. They were given in reply to questions raised by Dr. Manion himself. Notwithstanding his prior knowledge of these matters, Dr. Manion, speaking in the House of Commons on the 25th of January of this year, said: "All we were going to permit the British to send across were fifty a year .....Yet Sir Kingsley Wood, the head of the air defence force in Britain, made the statement in October - I believe it was on October 9th, because I have been studying this matter, and getting thoroughly shocked as I studied it -- that what the British had hoped was that there would be 25,000 pilots trained a year. And we are going to train fifty."

Dr. Manion went on to say: "Let us see what would have happened if the right hon. gentleman (that is myself) had said "yes" to them at that time, as I say he should have done. They would have come over here, and established their air training schools. They would have brought over their British young men to train at the rate of 25,000 a year. If that figure is an exaggeration, it is Sir Kingsley Wood's exaggeration, not mine."

Dr. Manion, in support of his

Dr. Manion, in support of his allegation,- if not as evidence of his study,- was referring to a statement by Sir Kingsley Wood which was made more than a month after the outbreak of war. In this statement, Sir Kingsley Wood was announcing, in the British House of Commons, the proposal for the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. It was made, in fact, on October the 10th, the day on which I made an identical announcement in Canada. Sir Kingsley Wood's statement contained no figures, and had no reference whatever to anything considered prior to the war. In his anxiety to condemn the present government, Dr. Manion overlooked the dates, he misinterpreted the situation, failed to realize to what scheme Sir Kingsley Wood was referring, and misapplied the British minister's speech.

The figures Dr. Manion quoted as being Sir Kingsley Wood's were not used by Sir Kingsley Wood at all. They were part of a speculative statement that accompanied the press report. Apparently, Dr. Manion's close study, which gave him such a shock, was not close enough to enable him to distinguish between the Minister's speech, and the reporters' guess.

Does Dr. Manion really believe

Does Dr. Manion, or anyone else, really believe that Sir Kingsley Wood, or the British government, had ever, at any time, any idea of establishing air training schools in Canada, in peace time, to train 25,000 British pilots a year? This figure will, I believe, be found to represent more than ten times the number of pilots trained in the United Kingdom, in peace time, in any year prior to the war. Moreover, Dr. Manion's statement implies that the British government intended to abandon all the air training in the United Kingdom, and transfer the whole of it to Canada. Does he believe any such scheme would have met with approval either in the United Kingdom or in Canada?

This is the mythical scheme which was never advanced, and could never have been advanced by any man in his senses. Nevertheless, Dr. Manion, in his speech in Parliament on January the 25th, went on to say, and continues, today, to say that this scheme would have secured for Canada a great aircraft industry. This industry, he and others are now saying, has been lost to Canada, and is being developed instead in the United States and in Great Britain.

Just listen to this.

D 54811

Just listen to this. I quote Dr. Manion's exact words: "The Prime Minister had this proposal put up to him by the British, to come to their aid in their distress. He refused, and the British started then, to do what he refused to do. They built up manufacturing plants, for the manufacture of planes, in their own country, manufacturing plants which they came over here to establish in Canada. I learned, when I was in England not long ago, that, on one occasion, they came over here with one hundred million dollars worth of orders for Canadian plants, but they received from the Prime Minister of Canada such a cold reception to this request, that they refused to give any contracts at that time."

The statement that, as a result of the alleged refusal of training facilities, the British did not set up manufacturing plants, which they intended to establish in Canada, is not only a further misrepresentation of facts, it is an insult to the British government. The British government made no attempt to bribe Canada with orders for aeroplanes.

Dr. Manion says

Dr. Manion says that "they" - whoever "they" may be - came over to Canada with one hundred million dollars' worth of orders for Canadian plants, which were notplaced because the same mysterious "they" received from the Prime Minister of Canada such a cold reception to this request. Where Dr. Manion received this information, I, of course, do not know. But I submit that before he bases an election appeal upon it, and asks your support in virtue of it, he should tell you who gave it to him.

Two British aircraft missions visited Ottawa during 1938. The first of these was known as the Weir Mission. Its visit to Canada was brief and incidental. Its main purpose was to visit the United States. While it was a Mission which came to confer with manufacturers, our government gave it all possible assistance, and, on June 21st, 1938, we were officially thanked by the British government for our help.

The second aircraft Mission was sent specifically to Canada.

In announcing its purpose

In announcing its purpose on July 13th, Sir Kingsley Wood stated, in the British House of Commons, that it was visiting our country to negotiate with the Canadian aircraft industry for the manufacture of bomber aircraft in Canada. The Mission was headed by Sir Hardman Lever. It was here from July 28th to September 7th, 1938. Its visit was successful, and resulted in the organization of a representative co-operative group of Canadian aircraft manufacturers for the manufacture of bomber planes. Initial orders were immediately placed. Only yesterday, Sir Kingsley Wood told the British House of Commons that the first military aircraft manufactured in Canada for the British government had already been flown. He added that large additional orders had recently been placed in Canada.

Ladies and Gentlemen: Dr. Manion and his associates are now saying that the great British Commonwealth Air Training Plan would have been further advanced, and would have cost Canada less, had the Canadian government not refused to accept the proposals which Dr. Manion continues to allege were made by the British government.

I have proved to you

I have proved to you that no such proposals were made. Apart from this, however, the Commonwealth Plan could not possibly have been evolved in peace time. It could not have been developed sooner. No earlier discussion or decision could have affected our military and financial position under the agreement as it was finally signed.

As I mentioned in a previous broadcast, the Commonwealth Plan was not projected until about a month after the outbreak of war. It was put forward by the British War Cabinet after the swift domination of Poland by Germany had demonstrated the decisive importance of superior air power. The fact, however, is that Canada's action in 1938 and 1939, the surveys which were then made, and the questions of jurisdiction which were then determined, settled the principle upon which any plan of joint training would be organized and controlled.

By our action at that time,

By our action at that time, the development of the present plan was materially assisted and accelerated. The evidence of our sincerity and competence was so complete that, when the Plan was proposed by the British War Cabinet, the governments of the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand had no hesitation in selecting Canada as the site and centre, for the whole Commonwealth, of this great joint training enterprize. As I said at the beginning of my remarks, it has made Canada, in the present war, a pivotal centre for the purpose of final victory.

On December 17th, in a public interview given on the eve of his departure from Canada, Lord Riverdale, the head of the British Air Mission, said: "We have had wonderful co-operation from your government and from your Air Force officers. This agreement is a wonderful achievement, and all the parties are completely satisfied with it." Speaking in his native city of Sheffield, upon his return to the United Kingdom, Lord Riverdale again referred to what had been accomplished at Ottawa. He described the work of the several Missions "as the biggest thing ever done in the Empire".

At this moment of political controversy, Lord Riverdale's appreciation may not be without its value in assisting you to form a fair and impartial judgment.

D 54217

CANADA AND THE WAR

The Training of British Pilots and the Joint Air Training Plan

MACKENZIE KING REPLIES TO DR. MANION

A Radio Address by
Right Honourable
W. L. MACKENZIE KING
Ottawa, 8th March, 1940

The Training of British Pilots and the Joint Air Training Plan

MACKENZIE KING REPLIES TO DR. MANION

A radio address delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King from Ottawa, 8th March, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

As you are aware, the joint air training plan now being developed has made Canada, for the purpose of final victory in the present war, a pivotal centre of the British Commonwealth. The facts pertaining to this great enterprize are of record and beyond question. Nevertheless, in an attempt to discredit the government, the Leader of the Opposition and his associates keep on misstating the facts concerning the training of British pilots in Canada and Canada's vital contribution to the Plan itself. Misrepresentation of the kind cannot assist the prosecution of Canada's war effort. It may do an infinite amount of harm to the Allied cause.

False Representations Respecting Training of British Pilots in Canada

Speaking in the House of Commons on January the 25th of this very year, Dr. Manion used the following words: "The

fact is that by July 1, 1938—personally, I think it goes back to 1937—the British had been over here pleading with the Prime Minister to give them the right as one of the partners in the Empire to establish air training schools in Canada to train British pilots." As recently as last night, this statement was repeated by Dr. Manion in a nation-wide broadcast. Since it was originally made, it has been re-asserted and re-echoed by his candidates and supporters throughout the Dominion.

Speaking as Prime Minister of Canada, I wish to say at once that the statement is wholly incorrect. Once again, I ask Dr. Manion to specify who the British were who came to plead with me, when they came over here, and exactly what was the nature of their pleading. No British came to Canada pleading with the Prime Minister in 1937, in 1938, or in any other year. In the year 1937, I had no conversation with anyone on the possibility of establishing air training schools in Canada to train British pilots. In 1938, I had no conversation with anyone, on any phase of the subject, until one particular matter was brought up for consideration in May of that year by the then High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, Sir Francis Floud.

A True Statement of the Matter

I challenge Dr. Manion and all his associates, known and anonymous, to identify anyone, other than Sir Francis Floud, who, prior to July 1st, 1938, was authorized by the British Government to discuss with me any matter pertaining to the training of British pilots in Canada. Sir Francis Floud had not come to Ottawa for any such purpose. He had been in Ottawa for four years as High Commissioner of the United Kingdom. When Sir Francis came to confer with me, he

said that it was only within the preceding 24 hours that he had received a communication from his government in reference to the matter of which he wished to speak. I did not gather from anything said that there was so much as a suggestion of any plan for the general training of British pilots in Canada. Partnership in the Empire was never mentioned. The British Government, as I understood it, wished to explore the possibility of sending to Canada, for further training in Canada, some British air pilots who had already received training in the United Kingdom. The kind of training mentioned was advanced training in long distance flying and gunnery practice. Canada had been thought of for this class of training because of two very obvious advantages. We possessed large, safe, open spaces not to be found in Great Britain. We were much closer to the British Isles than any other British Dominion. No definite proposal or request was made by Sir Francis Floud. The British government wished to find out, by way of preliminary exploration whether there would be any objection to such training in Canada, in establishments to be owned, maintained, and controlled by the government of the United Kingdom.

Question One Not of Facilities but of Administration

I pointed out to the British High Commissioner that, apart from possible controversy which might arise, for the government of the United Kingdom to own, maintain, control and direct any air training establishments in Canada, would involve important questions of jurisdiction and administration. I explained that our position as a free nation in the British Commonwealth demanded that all military establishments in

Canada should be under the control of the Canadian Government. With that stand, I believe all true Canadians will agree.

To the idea of facilities being provided in Canada for the advanced training of British air pilots, I took no exception whatever. On the contrary, with the approval of my colleagues in the Cabinet, I offered, on behalf of the Canadian government, to have such facilities provided at once under the control of the Canadian Department of National Defence. All this was fully explained by myself in the House of Commons on July 1st, 1938, almost immediately after the conversations themselves had taken place. The facts are on record. They are true, uncontradicted, and uncontradictable. No person in this Dominion, has any excuse whatsoever for misrepresenting them. The records of the British Parliament, no less than our own, confirm the truth of the statements I am making.

Canada's Offer Cordially Welcomed by the British Government

Our offer was cordially welcomed by the British government. On July 7th, 1938, in the British House of Commons, Mr. Attlee, the Leader of the Opposition, asked Sir Kingsley Wood, the Secretary of State for Air, whether his attention had been drawn to the statement of the Prime Minister of Canada that the Dominion government were prepared, in connection with their own establishments, to help in affording facilities for the training of pilots for the Royal Air Force, and whether he had any statement to make.

To this question Sir Kingsley Wood replied as follows: "Yes, Sir, an offer to this effect has been communicated to

His Majesty's government in the United Kingdom by the Canadian Prime Minister through the United Kingdom High Commissioner. A reply has been sent expressing warm appreciation of the offer, and arrangements are being made in accordance with a suggestion of the Canadian Prime Minister for an officer to be sent immediately to Canada to explore, in co-operation with the Canadian government, the possibility of working out such a scheme for training facilities in Canada."

Dr. Manion has always found it convenient to ignore this official and appreciative acknowledgment by the British government.

Agreement Respecting Joint Training Between the Governments of the United Kingdom and Canada

An expert from the British Air Ministry came to Canada almost immediately thereafter. He was cordially welcomed. There was the closest co-operation between him and our own officials. On the basis of a joint survey, an agreement was reached between the two governments. It covered a period of three years. Under the agreement, we undertook to expand our own services and provide facilities necessary for the joint advanced training of British and Canadian pilots.

The British undertook to send to Canada fifty Royal Air Force pilots a year. The number of fifty, was fixed not by us, but by the British government. That number represented as many pilots as the British government, at that time, was prepared to send to Canada for training. For the express purpose of providing the necessary facilities and expansion of our own services, we asked and received from Parliament a

special appropriation of six million dollars. This was over and above the greatly increased amounts for the Air Force for which provision was being made in the general estimates.

Dr. Manion Confuses Two Wholly Different Matters

All these facts are on the records of Parliament. They were given in reply to questions raised by Dr. Manion himself. Notwithstanding his prior knowledge of these matters, Dr. Manion, speaking in the House of Commons on the 25th of January of this year, said: "All we were going to permit the British to send across were fifty a year....Yet Sir Kingsley Wood, the head of the air defence force in Britain, made the statement in October—I believe it was on October 9th, because I have been studying this matter, and getting thoroughly shocked as I studied it—that what the British had hoped was that there would be 25,000 pilots trained a year. And we are going to train fifty."

Dr. Manion went on to say—"Let us see what would have happened if the right honourable gentleman (that is myself) had said "yes" to them at that time; as I say he should have done. They would have come over here and established their air training schools. They would have brought over their British young men to train at the rate of 25,000 a year. If that figure is an exaggeration, it is Sir Kingsley Wood's exaggeration, not mine."

Dr. Manion, in support of his allegation, if not as evidence of his study, was referring to a statement by Sir Kingsley Wood which was made more than a month after the outbreak of war. In this statement, Sir Kingsley Wood was announcing, in the British House of Commons, the proposal

for the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. It was made, in fact, on October the 10th, the day on which I made an identical announcement in Canada. Sir Kingsley Wood's statement contained no figures and had no reference whatever to anything considered prior to the war. In his anxiety to condemn the present government, Dr. Manion overlooked the dates, he misinterpreted the situation, failed to realize to what scheme Sir Kingsley Wood was referring, and misapplied the British minister's speech.

Dr. Manion's Study Not Sufficiently Close

The figures Dr. Manion quoted, as being Sir Kingsley Wood's, were not used by Sir Kingsley Wood at all. Quite evidently, Dr. Manion had confused Sir Kingsley Wood's speech with a speculative statement that accompanied the press report. The Canadian Press despatch from London, reporting Sir Kingsley Wood's statement, added the following paragraph:

> "The scheme will mean that many thousands of pilots and airmen will be trained in Canada, but no accurate estimate of the total could be obtained. It was thought likely the number would exceed 25,000 annually."

Apparently, Dr. Manion's close study, which gave him such a shock, was not close enough to enable him to distinguish between the Minister's speech and the reporter's guess.

Does Dr. Manion really believe that Sir Kingsley Wood, or the British government, had ever, at any time, any idea of establishing air training schools in Canada, in peace time, to train 25,000 British pilots a year? This figure will, I believe, be found to represent more than ten times the number of pilots trained in the United Kingdom in peacetime in any

year prior to the war. Moreover, Dr. Manion's statement implies that the British government intended to abandon all the air training in the United Kingdom, and transfer the whole of it to Canada. Does he believe any such scheme would have met with approval either in the United Kingdom or in Canada?

Complete Misrepresentation Respecting Establishment of Aircraft Industry

This is the mythical scheme which was never advanced and could never have been advanced by any man in his senses. Nevertheless, Dr. Manion, in his speech in Parliament on January the 25th, went on to say, and continues today to say, that this scheme would have secured for Canada a great aircraft industry. This industry, he and others are now saying, has been lost to Canada and is being developed instead in the United States and in Great Britain.

Just listen to this. I quote Dr. Manion's exact words: "The Prime Minister had this proposal put up to him by the British to come to their aid in their distress. He refused and the British started then to do what he refused to do. They built up manufacturing plants for the manufacture of planes in their own country, manufacturing plants which they came over here to establish in Canada. I learned, when I was in England not long ago, that on one occasion they came over here with one hundred million dollars worth of orders for Canadian plants, but they received from the Prime Minister of Canada such a cold reception to this request that they refused to give any contracts at that time."

The statement that, as a result of the alleged refusal of training facilities, the British did not set up manufacturing

plants which they intended to establish in Canada, is not only a further misrepresentation of facts, it is an insult to the British government. The British government made no attempt to bribe Canada with orders for aeroplanes.

No Attempt at Bribery by the British Government

Dr. Manion says that he learned, not long ago, that "they"—whoever "they" may be—came over to Canada with one hundred million dollars worth of orders for Canadian plants, which were not placed because the same mysterious "they" received from the Prime Minister of Canada such a cold reception to this request. Where Dr. Manion received this information, I, of course, do not know. But I submit that before he bases an election appeal upon it, and asks your support in virtue of it, he should tell you who gave it to him. He certainly did not receive if from the British government, because they also have regard for the facts. He might tell us who is supposed to have come with the orders. He might inform the electors of Canada who was authorized to buy the consent of the Canadian government to an offer which was never made, with contracts which were never let, and never proposed. As the head of the Canadian government, I would like to know these things, and would like also, as always, to share my knowledge with you.

Visit of British Aircraft Missions

Two British aircraft missions visited Ottawa during 1938. The first of these was known as the Weir Mission. Its visit to Canada was brief and incidental. Its main purpose was to

visit the United States. While it was a Mission which came to confer with manufacturers, our government gave it all possible assistance and, on June 21st, 1938, we were officially thanked by the British Government for our help.

The second aircraft Mission was sent specifically to Canada. In announcing its purpose on July 13th, Sir Kingsley Wood stated, in the British House of Commons, that it was visiting our country to negotiate with the Canadian aircraft industry for the manufacture of bomber aircraft in Canada. The Mission was headed by Sir Hardman Lever. It was here from July 28th to September 7th, 1938. Its visit was successful and resulted in the organization of a representative co-operative group of Canadian aircraft manufacturers for the manufacture of bomber planes. Initial orders were immediately placed. Canada's aircraft industry has since made marked progress. Only yesterday, Sir Kingsley Wood told the British House of Commons that the first military aircraft manufactured in Canada for the British government had already been flown. He added that large additional orders had recently been placed in Canada.

British Commonwealth Air Training Plan Assisted and Accelerated by Canada's Action in 1938 and 1939

Ladies and Gentlemen: Dr. Manion and his associates are now saying that the great British Commonwealth Air Training Plan would have been further advanced, and would have cost Canada less, had the Canadian Government not refused to accept the proposals which Dr. Manion continues to allege were made by the British Government. I have proved to you that no such proposals were made. Apart from this, however,

the Commonwealth Plan could not possibly have been evolved in peace time. It could not have been developed sooner. No earlier discussion or decision could have affected our military and financial position under the agreement as it was finally signed.

As I mentioned in a previous broadcast, the Commonwealth Plan was not projected until about a month after the outbreak of war. It was put forward by the British War Cabinet after the swift domination of Poland by Germany had demonstrated the decisive importance of superior air power. The fact, however, is that Canada's action in 1938 and 1939, the surveys which were then made, and the questions of jurisdiction which were then determined, settled the principle upon which any plan of joint training would be organized and controlled.

By our action at that time, the development of the present Plan was materially assisted and accelerated. The evidence of our sincerity and competence was so complete that, when the Plan was proposed by the British War Cabinet, the governments of the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand had no hesitation in selecting Canada as the site and centre, for the whole Commonwealth, of this great joint training enterprise. As I said at the beginning of my remarks, it has made Canada, in the present war, a pivotal centre for the purpose of final victory.

A fair and impartial judgment

On December 17th, in a public interview given on the eve of his departure from Canada, Lord Riverdale, the head of the British Air Mission, said: "We have had wonderful co-operation from your government and from your Air Force

officers. This agreement is a wonderful achievement, and all the parties are completely satisfied with it." Speaking in his native city of Sheffield, upon his return to the United Kingdom, Lord Riverdale again referred to what had been accomplished at Ottawa. He described the work of the several Missions "as the biggest thing ever done in the Empire". At this moment of political controversy, Lord Riverdale's appreciation may not be without its value in assisting you to form a fair and impartial judgment.

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General Election Campaign - 1940

Mr. King's Meeting - Massey Hall,
Toronto, March 14th.

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Speeches by: Mr. Lapointe, Mr. Rogers,
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Mr. King's Speech

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1.

Mr. King's Speech

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REPEAT
REPETITION

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[redacted] a.

Toronto Star

Text of Mr. King's Speech

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Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar. 15/40

Subject

D 54282

'EACH ONE OF MY MEMBERS STANDS BY ME LIKE ARMY'

Has Never Lost a Man, Says Premier King—Unity Features Career

PERFECT HARMONY

The text of Premier King's address at last night's Liberal rally in Massey Hall follows:

In the course of my public life it has been my privilege to be present at and to address a very large number of political meetings, but I doubt if in the course of my whole experience there has been a single occasion which will remain in my memory to the extent to which the gathering this evening is certain to remain. What I am saying of myself I think probably is equally true of every one who is present in this hall tonight. This meeting this evening is one of the historic political meetings in our country. It will be remembered by all of you who are here as long as you live, and I am sure that many of you will tell your children, and they will tell their children of what you have witnessed here this evening.

To me personally I cannot but feel that while public life has many hard places it has also its great rewards. I am one who believes very strongly in the doctrine of compensation, and as has been told you here this evening already, when blows come thick and fast, you can be pretty sure they come from an enemy, and that there is a reason for it; that he feels there is some strength in the adversary or the blows would be going in some other direction.

Oldest, Closest Friends

But this evening, ladies and gentlemen, if you will allow me to say just a personal word in advance of speaking on political issues, I have reason for a very special pride, and it is this, that without any prior arrangement, as far as I am aware, but by the mere coincidence of events, there happens to be on this platform with me tonight a group of gentlemen who are among the oldest and closest friends, personal and political, that I have had in the whole of my life.

In the person of the presiding officer this evening, Senator Hardy, I have one who entered university with me, as he has told you this evening, in 1890, fifty years ago. We went as young men, as undergraduates to the classes at the university, and from that time to this we have been intimately associated with each other in the different relationships with which we have been brought into association. To have him here at my side after these 50 years, speaking to you in confidence of the close friendship which we have enjoyed, and some of the remarks that have taken place, so to speak, behind the scenes, is a tribute that I cannot be too grateful for.

You have just listened to the grand old man of this province, the Rt. Hon. Sir William Mulock. I think I can say that no man or woman who is present here this evening can other than rejoice that it has been a great privilege to see on a political platform in our country a gentleman who has had as great a career as any man in the public life of Canada, and who appears before you to speak to you and to address you at the great age of 96 years.

GREATEST UNDERTAKING

"We have been told by the British government itself that the great air training scheme is the greatest thing the empire has undertaken. Lord Riverdale said that what had been accomplished at Ottawa was the greatest thing that had been done by the British commonwealth since the war started."—Premier King.

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Sir William Opened Door

My association with Sir William has been even more intimate than with Senator Hardy, and I doubt —and I think I am right perhaps, Sir William—if two men in Canada have ever had a closer combined personal and political friendship than you and I have enjoyed for half a century.

I do not forget, and I think of it particularly this evening, that it was Sir William Mulock who sent a cable to me when I was travelling in Europe informing me that the government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier had decided to establish a department of labor, and that he was to take charge of that department, and the organization of it, and inviting me to come to Canada to undertake the work of his deputy in the organization of the new department about to be established.

It was through Sir William Mulock that in this way the door opened for me to come into the political life of the country, to come into it first through the public service of the country. I wish tonight to say something that perhaps is very unusual, and that is at the end of 40 years to thank Sir William anew in the presence of my fellow citizens for the privilege which he gave me on that occasion.

Then, I have beside me tonight on this platform one who has been exceedingly close to me in all this political life in which I have actively participated. There has been no one in this country who was ever a more loyal, truer, more faithful associate than my friend, Ernest Lapointe.

Oldest Member of House

It makes me particularly happy and proud, ladies and gentlemen, to think that Mr. Lapointe, who is very busy at this time, and speaking in all parts of the country, should have found it possible to come here this evening and to speak in this city at the meeting at which I also have the privilege of being present. He has been good enough to say many things about me, and I would like to say many things about him, but all I can say is that if half of what he has told you is true in regard to myself I could repeat it 100 per cent. in regard to him.

ALL MUST GO TOGETHER

"There can be no such thing as neutrality in any sense of the word. We are either for or against the forces of evil. Canada itself cannot win this war. Britain herself cannot. All working together can."—Premier King.

We have worked in the closest association with respect to all questions that have come up. He has been in parliament for 36 years, and there is another thing for you to remember, that you have the honor this evening not only of looking upon the oldest privy councillor in the Dominion of Canada sitting on this platform, but also the oldest member of the house of commons of Canada.

Now, do these associations not mean something? These men are not at my side because I have ever betrayed the Liberal party or betrayed any principle of the party. They are at my side tonight because during the time I have been the leader of this party I have been faithful to the party and faithful to its principles.

There is also here this evening a gentleman who has been a very close friend and associate of mine. We were associated together first in the work of the prime minister's office. We have since been associated together in the cabinet. I imagine that association we had in the office of the prime minister, where Mr. Rogers saw everything from the inside, was about as intimate an association as one man could come to have with another.

Another Evidence of Trust

The fact that he was prepared himself to come into public life and take on the turmoil and the strife of public life, and to accept the great responsibility which he today has accepted in the present government, that in itself again is another evidence of confidence and friendship of which I cannot be too proud.

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Mr. Lapointe has told you tonight of something else, and that is this: I have worked with my colleagues steadily over the years that I have been in office, and I do not think in all that time, 12 or 13 years altogether that I have been in the office of prime minister, that during the time that these gentlemen were associated with me in the cabinet that I had a single personal difference with any colleague. We have had differences about our views as to how far we should go in one direction or another or as to whether this course was advisable or not, but there has never been a personal difference, nor has there been a loss of friendship of any kind at any time in which we were in the cabinet together.

I come now to this present cabinet. As to the present cabinet, as you have been told, there is not a single member of it has left my side in this campaign. Not a single member has left my side since the cabinet was formed nearly five years ago except Mr. Rinfret who was taken from us altogether, and two of my colleagues, Mr. Dunning and Senator Elliott, who were obliged on account of failure of health for the time being to give up the offices they held.

Every One Loyal and True

These things are significant at the time when we are speaking of unity, and speaking of the direction of affairs, in which it is essential to have men working and co-operating together.

That goes very far, but may I say one thing further. There are, on this platform tonight, a great body of gentlemen who are presenting themselves as Liberal candidates, and amongst them, some who were members of the last parliament. In the last parliament, there came back into power, a government with the largest following of any political party in the history of our Dominion—the largest following. And, ladies and gentlemen, may I stress this point, that in the five sessions we have held in the last four years, running into the fifth year, notwithstanding that our following was the largest in the history of Canada, we never lost one man from our side during the whole five years. (Applause). Not one. Every one of them remained loyal and true to their leader.

And may I point out another thing; there is not one single man, amongst that large number, who is opposing me in this general election—not one, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. (Applause).

Most of them have been re-nominated as Liberal candidates in the various constituencies throughout Canada. There they stand; a great army. We have been as one, from the very beginning to this hour. Now, I ask you, is there not something to this association that is of value to this country at this time of its greatest need?

"YOU FACE CLASS WAR"

"Dr. Manion says: 'Let us have a National Government' . . . Everybody who has a grievance will make up the opposition. What is going to happen? I venture to say that if you had that sort of set-up in the House of Commons, you would have a class war, inside of two years, in addition to a national war."—Premier King.

"Why We Ask Support"

I put that question before the people of Canada tonight. Is there not something, after all, in the intimacy of that association, in that complete unity of men from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with regard to men who have been in such close association with each other, which is of the greatest possible value to this nation at this critical time in the history of the world? (Applause).

It is for that reason that we are asking the people to give us their support, to enable us to go on with the arduous and heavy task which has come to us.

The war was none of our making, but when it came its obligations fell heaviest of all upon our shoulders. We had to make the decision for this country. We accepted it in full measure, and I think we have discharged our obligations in full measure also. We are now before the people to ask them whether or not they feel that we are to be trusted to carry on the war effort of Canada, in the light of what we have done in the matter of bringing this country into the war as one, and in putting forth the vigorous war effort on behalf of this war which we have since we came into office.

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Now, the question is a very simple one, as to what the public has to decide. Sir William Mulock has put it to you out of his great wealth of experience as a public man and a jurist.

The Question To Decide

It is a question of what is best for Canada in the carrying on of its war efforts, to have an administration, every man of whom you all know, every man of whom has been in public office for a long time, to have an administration with a record already before you, to continue to carry on at this time, or to sweep out that government and put in an administration, about which you do not know the first thing—in fact, about which you know nothing whatever. That is the question.

Ladies and gentlemen, there has never been such an extraordinary situation in the history of our country as presents itself at this time. You are being asked to vote for a national government in Canada. Was there ever a greater misnomer? Can you tell me anywhere else in any country in the world, where men and women have been asked to vote for national government candidates, where the government itself was not in existence? (Laughter, applause).

NO OTHER WAY OUT

"Parties are a necessary instrument for carrying on a government under a democracy. There is no other way of doing it.——Premier King.

Candidates who are supporting the Liberal party today are asking the people to support a government which is known, whose policies are known, whose principles are known, whose record is known.

You are being asked by Dr. Manion to support a government—he calls it a "National Government"—which is a government which is non-existent, that does not exist, that is not even a shadow government, because it has never existed enough to throw a shadow (laughter) across Canada.

Purely a Phantom

It is purely a phantom government. As Sir William (Mulock) says, it is a government which exists in the mind—an imaginary government, (applause). That is what you are being asked to vote for—in time of war. In the worst situation which this world has ever been faced with, you are being asked to put out a government that has shown its capabilities and ability to direct the country's affairs in time of war, and put in its place this imaginary administration.

I submit that if this situation were not so critical, that it would be absolutely funny; it is perfectly ludicrous, because, as I say, there has never been in the history of this world a situation where the people were asked to vote for a government which does not exist. They have been asked to vote for a party which is prepared to do this or that, under a certain set of circumstances, but that is a very different thing. That is not what is going on today. You are being asked to vote for a government which exists only in the imagination of its candidates.

Dr. Manion, speaking in Kingston last night, said an extraordinary thing. He said he was trying to follow the examples of Sir John A. Macdonald, and Sir Robert Borden; that they had formed a coalition or a National Government, and he was doing the same thing, in a time of great emergency.

Does He Know History

He went further, and he said he was doing this, because he wanted to put country before party. I want you to keep these thoughts in mind. Dr. Manion said he has found it necessary to create this National Government, so-called—an imaginary government — in order to put country before party. In other words, wherever there has been a political party before, which has sought to administer the affairs of the country, its object was not to serve the country, but to serve the party.

Let us take Sir John Macdonald's record on that. Let us take it since confederation. Was Sir John A. Macdonald ever the head of or taking part in a coalition government since confederation? I wonder if Dr. Manion knows his history. Sir John A. Macdonald was never a member of any coalition government since confederation. What happened

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sometime prior to confederation was this: these two old provinces of Ontario and Quebec joined together from 1840 on, in one government, known as the "Union Government", which sat one year at Kingston and another year at Montreal.

It had a large following from Ontario, and a large following from Quebec-members in the House. Those from Ontario were largely English-speaking and Protestant; those from Quebec were largely French-speaking and Roman Catholic.

It was found, in the course of the proceedings in that parliament, that the parties were so evenly balanced one way or another, and were so much opposed to each other, that it was found almost impossible to carry on the government at all.

How Confederation Came

In those circumstances, an effort was made through the then Governor Monk, and others associated with him, to try to get the members of these two provinces to join together to make government itself possible, not to put it through on any certain principles, and George Brown, of this city, said he was prepared to give up any feelings he had against Sir John A. Macdonald, and to join with him in helping to carry on government.

When the government was formed, there were discussions on different questions. There was held a conference in the Maritime provinces of men who wanted to unite the maritime provinces as one, and they thought it was better to unite all the provinces into a Dominion, and another conference was held in Quebec for the purpose of drafting legislation, out of which came the British North America Act, and confederation. These men joined together to make government possible, and to help pave the way for bringing into being the confederation of all the provinces.

But, notice this. They were not imaginary men; they were not unknown men; they were not men who had no following; they were not men who were designated "N. G's."; they were Conservatives and Liberals; they were outstanding men in parliament, who were known, and who joined together to help to do the particular work at that particular time.

We have no such situation today in Canada, and, frankly, one of the reasons we have not, is because we have our friend, Mr. Lapointe, sitting on this platform tonight (applause).

Emphasis on Unity

You have your associates from this province, joining with his associates from the province of Quebec, not with a view of putting emphasis on the differences which lie between them, but to put emphasis on the unity we have, as Canadians, working together in common (applause).

We do not need to form any "N.G." government in order to bring about unity in Canada. We have it now, and what we are trying to do is to preserve it, and save it from being destroyed in some other way.

Now, coming down to his next example. Sir John A. Macdonald was head of the Conservative party in Canada from confederation—from 1867—with the exception of an intermission, during the time of Alexander MacKenzie—until the early 90's. What was he leading? He was leading the Conservative party.

Now read Dr. Manion's words at Kingston, the seat Sir John (Macdonald) represented, and ask yourselves how it applies to Sir John. He was leading a party, and it is Dr. Manion's logic that if you lead a party, therefore, you are against your country. What does Dr. Manion say he has done with the country, I would not have believed this, if I had not read it with my own eyes. Here is the statement from the Monetary Times, and I think the same will be found in McLean's Magazine.

Here is a picture of Dr. Manion, and underneath it, these words: "I submerged the Conservative

"PERFECTLY LUDICROUS"

"If this situation were not so critical, it (Dr. Manion's National Government proposal) would be absolutely funny. There never has been a situation where the people were asked to vote for a government that did not exist."—Premier King.

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party in the interest of Canada's future"—"I submerged the party in the interest of Canada's future."

"I'd Rescue The Party"

Just imagine: (laughter): Imagine a political leader, chosen by a large following, who designated themselves "Conservatives", saying that in order to serve his country he had to submerge the party, (laughter).

I do not know how far the Conservatives are going to follow him in this campaign, but I can tell you if I belonged to any party and my leader thought it well to submerge it I would not be on his platform supporting him, I would be out trying to rescue his party.

Take Sir Robert Borden. He says Sir Robert Borden formed a union government, and therefore this ought to be done here. Well, I say nothing about the record of the government, but I would point out that it was not formed until after three years of war, and it was formed as any coalition is formed, or any union government is formed, for a specific purpose.

The government of Sir Robert Borden was formed to put through the policy of conscription, and it was formed out of men on both sides of Parliament for that reason, men who differed in their political views but who felt conscientiously that conscription was the thing that was necessary at this time. What I want to point out is this: Sir Robert Borden led his party in those years.

Was he only for the party and not for the state when he was leading his government at that time? Was Mr. Bennett, the late Conservative leader, only for the party and not for the country when he was leading his government? Was the Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen leading his party only for the sake of the party and not for the sake of the country?

THANKS SIR WILLIAM

"It was through Sir William Mulock that the door opened for me to come into the political life of the country. I wish tonight at the end of 40 years to thank Sir William in the presence of my fellow citizens for the privilege."—Premier King.

It is a condemnation of every man who has ever been the head of of a political party when one says that the party has to be submerged in order that the country's interest may be served. Parties are necessary. They are a necessary instrument for carrying on government under a democracy. There is no other way of doing it.

If you try any other way, as Mr. Lapointe has said tonight, you get into the position where you have a totalitarian state, and you have one party only, and anyone who differs with the party is put out of business altogether. It is that kind of thing we want to get away from in this country, or rather we do not want it to come near us if we can possibly keep it away. What I want to emphasize this evening is this, because I feel that the national government question is an important one in this campaign, that it has a subtle appeal to a number of people who seem to think that we all ought to be for the state, and that if we support a particular party therefore we are not supporting the state. That is the doctrine that Dr. Manion has put out. Nothing could be further from the truth than that, because parties are necessary, as I say, in order to make possible the carrying on of government in a democracy.

Not In True Sense

But what is necessary with a national government in the sense in which Dr. Manion has used it? He is not using the word in the true sense at all. National government in the true sense is, as Mr. Lapointe has described it, a government that represents all parts of the country and represents it in a very certain and definite way, and is carrying on the national business of the country. That is a national government, and that is what this present government is. It is a national government in the true sense of the word.

It isn't a government composed of men of conflicting ideas. It is a government composed of men who have views in common with relation to the management of affairs in our country, but what I want to stress, if I may, is this, that any government that appeals to the people, or any party that appeals to the people, ought to make known its policies, ought to have backing for its policies on the part of those who have to do with the making of the policies of a political party.

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Now, I am going to try to put the case to you in a manner in which I think you will be able to carry it away quite easily in your minds, and I ask you to consider how Dr. Manion came into the leadership of his own party, and what a party stands for in that way.

"I Submerge It All"

The Conservative party in 1938 had a convention. They thought it desirable to select a leader, a new leader. That convention was representative of all parts of Canada. Conservatives came from every part. They came from the different constituencies. They knew what their following in those constituencies wanted. They drew up a series of resolutions at the convention. Those resolutions were brought before the convention.

After a good deal of discussion some of them were dropped and others were accepted, and they became the platform and policy of the Conservative party from then on, and Dr. Manion was chosen as the leader of that party to put its principles and policies into force whenever the opportunity might be given him for that purpose. Now, what has he done? He has said "so far as that is concerned I am going to submerge all that. I am going to begin and build up the party myself." So he starts to work without any convention, without any group of men belonging to the party he has now created giving him authority so to do, and he makes himself the leader of that party, and he lays down its policy, not a soul back of him anywhere, and then he gets candidates and appeals to the country on that basis.

Now, I notice Dr. Manion said last night at Kingston: "But I did have the backing of the members of parliament; we all met in caucus, and we all agreed we should go to the country as a national government."

It's Absolutely Untrue

I say that is absolutely untrue, and I will tell you why it is untrue in a way that I think even Dr. Manion himself will have to accept.

He said, "We all met in caucus and decided we would become the national government party."

There was no parliament when their caucus met; not one of them was a member of parliament, not one. A group of ex-M.P.'s, a group of men who had been members of parliament, but a parliament that had gone out of existence, what right had they to say what the people of the different constituencies they represented wanted?

It shows you, ladies and gentlemen, how far we are drifting from a real understanding of democratic principles. Men have forgotten that the real source and authority of that power in government is the people in the country, that you are the government. Then the constitution of our country says the people have the right to name who their representatives shall be.

WAR WON'T BE SHORT ONE

"Before this war is over you may find not only Finland but some other countries very near to Finland in this war. You may find the southern parts of Europe also in danger. It is not going to be a short war. What you are being called on now to decide is what body of men can best carry forward the war effort."—Premier King.

The constitution has also taken good care to provide that these representatives shall not get everything in their own way for all time, but once at least in every five years the people will have a chance to choose a new set of representatives and say anew who their represeentatives in parliament will be. So, following up the constitutional practice, after we had five years of parliament, I advised the governor-general to dissolve this present parliament and give the people a chance to elect their own representatives for a war parliament.

"Did Party Consent?"

What I want to draw attention to is this, that the caucus that Dr. Manion talks about was a caucus that was held after parliament had ceased to exist, and of men who were not members of parliament at all. But supposing they were, had any of them had a chance to consult their constituents? Had any of them got any consent on the part of the Conservative party in the different constituencies of Canada to change its name from Conservative into National Government or "N.G." government?

Dr. Manion went a step further. He said: "It has also been approved by the leaders in the different provinces." What leaders? Who were they? Let Dr. Manion give us their names so the people will understand who it is that is taking the

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authority of speaking in the name of the Conservative party in the different provinces without even consulting the people of those provinces. Where have the leaders of these different provinces had a chance to confer with the electorate in the provinces in relation to the program that Dr. Manion has put forward or in relation to the title he has given to the party which he is leading? No, ladies and gentlemen, the more you look into this thing the more you find that not only in this present campaign are the great questions that lie in relation to peace and war at stake but also the very fundamentals of democratic government in our country. Do not let that be trifled with at a time when we are trying to do the best we can to preserve freedom in other parts.

Parallel to Stevens

If you want an exact parallel for what Dr. Manion has done, I will give it to you, and I do not think it can be refuted.

Dr. Manion has done exactly what Harry Stevens, who was his left bower for five years, did. Harry Stevens first of all forsook his own party, which is what Dr. Manion has done. He left the Conservative party, although he is still a Conservative. He was back on the Conservative seats afterwards, but he left the party, and what did he do to form another party under another name? He went to work and gave it a name, and the name was the Reconstruction party, which was going to be so appealing. Everybody was looking for reconstruction at that time, and that would be a catch-word all over the country.

Having given the party a name, the next thing he did was to try to give it a policy. So what did Stevens do? He started in with scissors and paste, clipping from different platforms here and there, th things he thought would appeal to the different people in different parts of Canada, and he drafted it all in the form of a platform and published it as the Reconstruction platform.

Then what was the third step? To get a leader. Stevens was all alone. He had worked out the platform, and having done so, the next thing he thought wise to do was to become the leader, and so he became the leader of the Reconstruction party.

Getting the Candidates

Having become the leader, and having his platform, the next thing was to get candidates, and so he went here and there and got candidates nominated as Reconstruction candidates. When the election came on, the candidates were put into the field in different parts of the country. The new leader went out, but upon looking at his platform the more he went on with his campaign, he found there were not enough promises in it. There were some things he had forgotten in this locality, and others he had forgotten in that locality, so he began to supplement the platform by all kinds of promises.

In Alberta he promised monetary reform. In Saskatchewan he made promises in regard to the price of wheat. Down here, he had a word for the manufacturers and others whom he thought might be pleased. In Quebec he had a nice word for our French friends, looking after the rights of minorities.

Then came the election, and what happened? I ask you to keep this in mind when thinking of the next government. He had all his candidates in the field. All had their policies. All had been talking, but when the election was over, there was only one person returned from the Reconstruction party, and that

REWARD OF LOYALTY

"The oldest privy councillor in the Dominion and the oldest member of the House of Commons are not at my side because I have ever betrayed the Liberal party or any principle of the party. They are at my side because during the time I have been leader I have been faithful to the party."

—Premier King.

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one was Harry Stevens himself. (Laughter, applause).

It All Disappears

Now, there is a great moral in that. Dr. Manion is making all kinds of promises of what he will do, and what this National Government will do, but all it can do will depend upon whether he is returned, and whether his following is returned, and how many of them there will be, and what their policies will be when they all get together.

Supposing something happens to Dr. Manion's government like happened to Mr. Stevens' Reconstruction party, and only Dr. Manion comes back again. How will those people feel who have voted for National Government if it all disappears except the leader?

But there is something even more serious than that. At that time Mr. Stevens was lucky in getting back, but a good many of his followers were very unlucky. This thing may turn a little bit the other way. Some of the "N.G's." may get in; they may be elected here and there, but who can guarantee that Dr. Manion himself will be elected, and if Dr. Manion is not elected, who will take up the platform of the National Government party and see that it is put into force?

Now, stop and think of that, ladies and gentlemen, with regard to the present situation with which we are faced. On the 27th of March—the day after the election—this country will be anxiously looking to see how this war effort will be carried on, and I ask you, if Dr. Manion is defeated in Fort William—and he may well be—who will carry on the National Government of Canada?

Even Toronto To Be Amazed

Dr. Manion's reply to me, of course, will be, "Oh, well, Mr. King may meet with the same fate; he may be defeated." I admit it is possible, but I do not think it is probable, ladies and gentlemen. I think that even Toronto will be amazed when they see the majority by which the present leader of the government will be returned from Prince Albert (applause).

But, supposing I am defeated? I have at my side 15 men, who have been there throughout parliament—this last parliament. Every one of them is a man tried in the affairs of government. There is not one who is not capable of being the leader of a political party, and carrying on the business of government (prolonged applause).

The work of government, the war effort of the government of Canada would go on the next morning, just the same as it was going on the day before. These gentlemen would see to it that the government's affairs would be duly managed. Those affairs would be in safe hands. (Applause).

There is the difference, ladies and gentlemen. There is a situation which I think the people of Canada should and will have to consider very carefully between now and the time for voting.

Now, I want to come to just one other matter, and carry on a little further this question of "Party and the Country", because it is on that score that Dr. Manion is appealing. He says he is putting country before party; he says, also, that "Mr. King is putting party before country." He says "All Mr. King cares about is party."

"Did We Put Party First?"

I want to ask my fellow countrymen now if during the years immediately preceding this outbreak of war, when those of us who were in the administration saw the danger there in Europe, and felt that a situation might arise in the next year or two which might be very critical, and we tried to get parliament to realize how critical it was, and we tried to get provision made for the defence of our own country to begin with—I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, were we putting party before country, when we went into the House of Commons, and asked our own following to increase the estimates for defence, and make a larger outlay for the naval service, make a larger outlay for the militia, and make a larger outlay for the air force, when we knew in taking that stand, we were running counter to the feeling of a very large number of men in our own party?

Ir our own party in the House of Commons we could not keep all our own members supporting us on these defence expenditures, and I ask you when we asked for these additional expenditures, as a political party to its followers, and did our utmost to get them through, and succeeded in getting them through, were we putting party before country at that time?

What help did we get from Dr. Manion, in supporting us when we needed help to get these extra outlays? He has said we all knew there was going to be a war, and why was not this government ready?

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Manion Did Nothing

If he knew there was going to be a war, why did not he and some of his men get up in the House of Commons and support us? (applause). We were being opposed by some of the other groups in the House, the C.C.F., and others, to make it difficult for us in parliament and in the constituencies. When we needed help, Dr. Manion sat perfectly quiet and did nothing.

I ask you, was the Conservative party, when in office, in cutting down the air force, as it did, after the present government had gone out of office, and they were cutting down and cutting down and cutting down—was that putting country before party, when they considered the trend which they thought would be the popular thing to do at that particular time?

We opposed that. Let me tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that no one was more strongly opposed to the cutting down of the air force than Colonel Ralston (applause). I spoke with him on that, and, in fact, our whole party did. We objected strenuously to its being cut down. We said it was a thing that should be built up, but it was being cut down.

We did not get very much help, upon again coming into power, in trying to build it up again.

Standing By Britain

Now, to go a little further. When war broke out in Europe, and when before even Britain had declared war, I stated to the people of this country that if war was declared by Britain and France against Germany, for having invaded Poland, as she did, that Canada would be at the side of Britain (applause).

Was that putting our party before our country?

Our government announced, before even Britain had declared she was going into the war, that if she found it necessary to go into war, we would be prepared and recommend to parliament that we would stand beside her, because we knew what the cause was and what the situation was, the attitude of Germany in her aggressive violence against these smaller states.

Let us go a step further. When parliament met, and, as a government, we appeared before parliament and stated our policies there, was that putting party ahead of country? I say we were putting country ahead of party, (applause).

Let me again go a step further. When after putting our policies into force—and we did our best to get them into force—and the government was attacked for what it was doing, attacked in the province of Quebec, my friends, Mr. Lapointe, Mr. Cardin and Mr. Power, and other members of the administration, went out and fought the government of Quebec on that very issue, and defeated them—were we putting party before country? (applause).

ALWAYS IN SAFE HANDS

"Who can guarantee Dr. Manion himself will be elected? If Dr. Manion is not elected, who will take up the platform of the National government party and put it into force? Supposing I am defeated, I have at my side 15 men, every one tried. The affairs of government would be in safe hands."—Premier King.

Manion Wanted Election

Now, let me go back for a moment. You all will recall July and August of last year. You remember the effort that was made to have me bring on a general election at that time. Dr. Manion has told you today that we all knew there was a war coming, and we ought to have been prepared, yet he was the man who was urging that a general election should be brought on at that time. It was Dr. Manion who urged that.

Look at the files of the daily papers and you will see in July and August Dr. Manion said, "Mr. King should be having a general election. He has no business to be hanging on to office."

Was I putting party ahead of country, when I said there will be

HARMONIOUS CAREER

"I do not think that in all the 12 or 13 years that I have been prime minister that I had a single personal difference with any colleague. Nor has there been a loss of friendship of any kind."—Premier King.

no general election until I see if there is going to be a war, and then we will make our decision and make known our position?

What a nice position this country would have been in, had I permitted an election to be brought on in the month of August, and the war breaking out early in September; if we had gone through a general election for two months, September and October, with a war proceeding in Europe, and Canada without any government or parliament, would we not have been in a great position? I had the interest of the country at heart—not the interest of the party.

Best For the Country

There were many men who wanted me to bring on a campaign; they did not seem to feel there was the same danger. The public did not realize it. It was natural they should not. In Britain itself, they did not realize, until recently, that the danger would be as great as it is. But everything that has been done, or that has not been done, has been in the light of what is best for the country and not for the party (applause).

Coming down to our war effort in the last few months have we been thinking about the party? Have we not done what was best for the country? You have heard reference made to Mr. Rogers and what Mr. Rogers has done with reference to appointments in the defence department. You have heard what General McNaughton has said with regard to appointments in the defence department, that there is no such thing as preference being given, no such thing in the way of appointments being done for political motives. There never have been appointments in the army carried out more honorably and fairly in the army itself than in the present case.

This minister sitting on the platform tonight had issued to all members of parliament, and made it known publicly, as I did also myself, that appointments would not be on the basis of party, but would be strictly on the basis of merit.

"We Kept Country First"

When we appointed a war supply board were we thinking of party or thinking of the interests of the country? Look at the men on that supply board and ask yourselves are these men partisans or are they outstanding men to trust with great business affairs at a time or crisis such as this? Take the different boards that we have established in connection with the administration of war affairs. Ask yourselves the question: are these men representative of the Liberal party or are they representative of different parties, and some of them men whose party affiliation is hardly known at all.

I think, ladies and gentlemen, if you go over the record in that way you will see for yourselves very clearly that in all these things we have, above everything else, sought to keep country first and the country's interests first, and we have used the party only as a means to an end, that end being the government of the country in the best and most effective way.

Now, I find that the time is getting late, and I think I won't say very much more except a word or two in regard to the present situation as I hope you will find it possible to view it when a week from Monday comes around. The issue I think is a very clear one. The issue is Canada's war effort, and what administration can best carry out that war effort.

Made No Sectional Appeal

Just here let me stress this point in regard to whether Dr. Manion is putting country first or party first in reference to all these promises that he is making in different parts of Canada today. I challenge anyone in Canada to tell me where since this war began I have made any appeal of any kind of a sectional nature, or for purely party reasons. Since this campaign has opened have I gone into any constituency and tried to appeal to the local feeling there?

When I was in Western Canada did I talk about wheat? Did I talk about freight rates? Did I talk about those different questions or did I talk wholly and solely about the war?

An effort is being made today on the part of the leader of the National Government party to get away from the war effort issue altogether and to get people in the different constituencies thinking in the terms of their local particular questions that may come up there and which may be of big moment to them for the time being. Now, there is a very serious situation, and I say that Dr. Manion, when he talks about putting party ahead of country, had better drop, as quickly as he can, these different promises

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he is making in all sorts of places as to what he will do to remove radio licenses, give us so much money for wheat, and do this and do that. That is all in the nature of an appeal for party ends and not for the good of this country as a whole at this particular time.

Get Down to the Issue

I say let us get down to this one thing which is how this Canada can make the most effective effort in the winning of the war. If this war is not won humanity itself is going to suffer, and suffer untold agonies in all quarters of the globe. Today the forces that are opposing each other, I do not think it is exaggerating to say, are equivalent to the forces of good and evil. You have got in the German mentality at this time under the direction of Nazism all that is worst in the mind of man and evil in this world. There

NEVER LOST A MAN

"In the five sessions we have held in the last four years notwithstanding that our following was the largest in the history of Canada, we never lost one man. Everyone remained loyal and true. Is that not something of value to this country at its greatest need?"
—Premier King.

is an effort there to destroy everything we hold dear, not merely liberty, not merely freedom, but to destroy every sanctity of manhood itself, asserting that all that counts in the matter of power and control is violence and might, that might is right, and not what is right in itself.

You have got these forces that are putting their reliance upon violence and might and power in that way, and they are crushing in upon these different democracies that love freedom of action and thought and love freedom of belief and that are determined at all costs to maintain these things. So I say in this war there can be no such thing as neutrality in any sense of the word. We are either for or against the forces of evil, and all of those who are interested in preserving what is right and good have to fight to the maximum of their strength in order to win at this particular time.

All Must Work Together

Canada itself cannot win this war. Britain herself cannot win this war. France herself cannot win this war The British Empire of itself cannot win the war but the different elements all coming together can; all working and each making its maximum contribution can do it, and Canada can make a very great contribution, and maybe a contribution that will be the deciding one in the end.

This war is going to be won on the fields of battle. It is going to be won on land, air and sea and it is also going to be won by the efforts of men and women in the country, those in the mines, those in the forests, those in the fields, those in the fisheries, those in the factories, those on our transportation systems, those who are working with their hands. The amount of effort that they put in is going to help to determine the economic production of this nation and what we can give to help the allies in sustaining this great fight along the economic front.

In connection with this great air-training scheme that has been inaugurated, we have been told by the British government itself that it is the greatest thing that the British Empire itself has undertaken in this present war.

Lord Riverdale did not spare words when he went back. Speaking as the head of the British mission, he said that what had been accomplished at Ottawa was the greatest thing that had been done by the British commonwealth since the war started, and it has only begun.

When we see that great scheme

develop, as it is rapidly developing now, and when the moment comes when it is most needed, we will be sending out from this country in the air . . . as we have sent out already in part across the ocean an expeditionary force, and we will be sending more, and as we are doing on the ocean with our little naval force, small as it is, but effective, nevertheless . . . we will be sending out that last note of power and strength from this Dominion which may be the deciding one in this particular war.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, the war is not going to end soon. There will be a lot of people who will believe that because Finland has been crushed for the time being, and the war is stopped there—

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stopped as Finland says because she is small and she has to sacrifice a large part of her territory just because she is small and cannot hold it any longer—that the aggressor is going to stop for that reason.

For a United Canada

But that is just so much accomplished by the aggressor today, and they have stopped for the moment, but before this war is over, you may find not only Finland, but some other countries very near to Finland, in this war. You may find the southern parts of Europe also in danger. Who can say what part of this world is not going to be terrorized before this present conflict is over?

No, it is not going to be a short war. It is going to run on for one or two or three years, according to the word that we get from those who are in the best position to know. What you are being called upon to do now is to decide on a week from Monday what body of men you think can best carry forward this country's war efforts during these next few years, as solemn and as grave a choice as a people ever had to make in the history of any nation.

I say that this present administration is fully equipped to make that maximum effort. We believe that maximum effort can only be made if we have a united Canada, and we believe — and this is the reason we are appealing to you—we believe that our party, constituted as it is today, strong as it is, powerful as it is, representing all parts of this country in a true and broad way, is in a better position to keep this country united than any other party.

Won't Take Some In

Now, just to return to the National Government matter. What does Dr. Manion propose for his National Government? It means a union government, bringing in men from other political parties. We have a number of different parties now; there are a number of miscellaneous parties. I do not believe he will bring any of them in to form a union government.

Then we have what is now known as the New Democracy. Yesterday they were Social Crediters, but they, too, have changed their name, but there are only about 20 of them, and I do not believe that Dr. Manion will bring them into his National Government, and if he did I do not believe that it would help the peace of mind of the people of this country.

Then we have the C.C.F.—the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. I forget at the moment the number of candidates they have, but if you add them all together and add the members of the New Democracy, you would not have enough, if they were all returned, to form a government.

Then, too, Mr. Woodsworth says he will have nothing to do with Dr. Manion, so Dr. Manion is reduced down to one thing, and that is, the getting of Liberals into his government, to bring about a National government. What does that mean? I will just give you this, and then not detain you much more. I will give you Dr. Manion's own view.

The Statement of July

He has expressed his views in two ways; first of all, in reference to bringing men in from other parties, and then expressed himself as to the wisdom of having a decent opposition.

Here is what he had to say on the 27th of July. Look at the Globe and Mail of that date—the date of the paper is the 27th of July; it was probably said the day before:

"The National Conservative leader, Robert J. Manion, today refused to recognize National Government as a cure for Canada's present-day ills, arguing that such a set-up would inevitably lead to a Socialist regime, attacked by a combination of the

THERE IS A MORAL

"Dr. Manion has done exactly what Harry Stevens did. Harry Stevens first of all forsook his own party and formed another under another name. He started in with scissors and paste, clipping platforms here and there . . . Only one person was returned, Harry Stevens. There is a moral in that."

—Premier King.

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C.C.F. and Social Credit or other parties."

That is what he is proposing to do now.

"Every government starts to die soon after it is elected. The National Government would be the same in this respect as any other, and, therefore, after a period of time, the opposition would come into power."

I do not wonder that Dr. Manion thinks that a party began to die when he started to lead it (laughter; applause). That is not my experience. The party I was leading in the last parliament was stronger at the end than it was at the beginning, after five years (applause).

Where Are We Heading

Then he goes on to say:

"But the opposition to the National Government presumably made up of Liberals and Conservatives, would be the Social Crediters, the C.C.F. and other Socialist groups that cared to join with them. It would be these parties which would take over the reins of government, when the National Government had outlived its usefulness."

Notice that, ladies and gentlemen. And I ask my fellow countrymen from the Atlantic to the Pacific to carefully consider this, and particularly those of this city and of this province, and see what you are heading for.

Dr. Manion says: "Let us have a National Government, not of this government, but of the Liberals and Conservatives, and the conclusion of that will be that you will have all these extreme groups making up the opposition in parliament. There will be the C.C.F., there will be the Social Crediters; there will be perhaps the Communists, if they are elected—and I do not think there will be—but everybody who has a grievance from one part of the country or the other, will make up the opposition, and you will have on this side what they call the "two old political parties" and on the other hand, you will have these other groups, doing the best they possibly can to make the country believe that they are somehow or other linked up to the best interests of the country.

Would Have Class War

Now, what is going to happen when that kind of thing goes on? I venture to say if you had that sort of a set-up in the House of Commons, you would have a class war in this country inside of two years, in addition to a national war (applause).

That is what you would be heading for. According to Dr. Manion, you would have these men of extreme views—not men who simply differ on whether we are going too far, as the Conservatives may feel, or not going far enough, as some radicals feel, and you would have all sorts of extraordinary ideas as to how this country is to be governed, and what policies should prevail. That is not the kind of thing we want to see developed in this country, and Dr. Manion, in his better moods, felt the strength of that, not only by what he said there, but here is what he said in a communication as late as November 2nd:

"Considering everything, the course followed by the government in keeping full control of its war program is probably the best for Canada, as under our parliamentary system, an alert and strong opposition's criticism is second only to the importance of government itself."

That is a good, sound doctrine. I subscribe to every word of it. In any democracy, an opposition is as necessary as government itself; necessary for this reason; that it continually watches the government's action in the name of the people of Canada.

Value o Opposition

It is there to censure if we do what is wrong; it is there to suggest ideas to the government which the government itself may not have considered; it is there to be continually on the alert to see that the government of the day does what is right and true, in accordance with the wishes of the people.

Do not imagine for one moment that because a particular party gets control of government, that the party

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controls all that the government is doing. The opposition plays a very important part in determining what the government itself is doing. Mr. Lapointe and Mr. Rogers, I know, when we are discussing matters in cabinet—and every cabinet is the same have always said—as has the entire cabinet—"What will the opposition say if that is done?"

There you have a check at once—a check at once—because you know the opposition is on guard in reference to this or that, if there is the slightest doubt about the wisdom of it, one way or the other.

But that is not the only check you have. In addition to the political head of the country, there is another government of the country, and that is that great body of the public service which carries on the business of the country. That body is composed of men of all political parties, our civil servants, who carry on the business of this country, and has carried it on year after year, is composed not of Liberals, nor of Conservatives, but of men of different views.

Other Checks On Government

I have never, as long as I have been in office, allowed a single man to be dismissed from the public service because of his party affiliations, but I have seen that men of different political parties were protected, as long as they did their work.

But not only is it the opposition and the civil service that are checks upon the government, to see that the views of the people prevail. But you must remember that you have two houses of parliament, the Senate and the House of Commons, and everything the government does in the way of legislation has to be approved by the Senate. And do you know this, ladies and gentlemen, that in all the years I have been at the head of the government of Canada—13 years altogether—in not one single one of those years have I had the good fortune to have a Liberal majority in the Senate? There has been a Conservative Senate against the governments I have been the head of, all the way through. The Senate is a check upon every piece of legislation that is brought in. It is a Conservative Senate today, and it will be for some time to come.

In addition to that, you have public opinion; you have the press of this country, the radio for men to speak over, and a dozen and one ways in which public opinion is formed, and all these are factors that

SENATE ALWAYS CHECK

"In all the 13 years I have been head of the government I have never had the good fortune to have a Liberal majority on the Senate."—Premier King.

control the government, so do not imagine that a party simply goes in to get everything for party ends; it goes in to try and serve the interests of the country as a whole, in the most effective way it possibly can. (applause).

Picked the Strong Man

I want to just add this word. When the war came on, the present administration realized at once that it was necessary to bring in men from outside to supplement those in public service as far as we could. We had our efficient public service, but we went outside and went to different parts of the country and picked out strong men here and there from those parts, and put them into different positions. They are administering the affairs of the country today, without any interference from the government, and they are carrying on the war efforts in a dozen and one different directions. (Applause.)

If, as is altogether possible, the war assumes terrible proportions before very long, it may be necessary, and I think it will be, for us to add to the numbers of those who can assist us by their expert knowledge and advice. I would be the last man in the world not to wish to bring into association with the government, in the form of advisers to our different war activities, those who would be able to assist us by their counsel and advice, and some of them also by being able to bring special knowledge that they have to bear on the situations which may arise, but that is a very different thing than bringing into a cabinet men who have different political views.

A cabinet has a terrible responsibility in time of war. You cannot have—Mr. Woodsworth has put the picture very well—when you are trying to steer a ship, you cannot have four men, pilots, grabbing at

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the wheel, and each one trying to pull in a different direction.

Must Have Responsibility

You have to have responsibility, and with responsibility you have to have power, and the two things go together. It is not because we do not want to share government with other people who differ from us, that we do not go in for a National government; it is because we want to have a united body of men, carrying on the effort in time of war when it is needed for that purpose. (Applause.)

That is the reason, and the sole reason, why we feel the necessity of having a government composed of men who feel and think alike to carry on the business of the nation.

Well, as I say, ladies and gentlemen, if after the 26th of March, the present administration should be returned, we will keep to the fore one thing, first of all, that victory above everything else is necessary in this war, and, secondly, that in order to maintain victory, this country must put forth its maximum effort in every possible direction to help to win that war, and in the third place, we believe that the maximum effort can only be put forward as our

CAN'T HAVE FOUR PILOTS

"You cannot have four pilots grabbing the wheel."—Premier King.

country is united. United we can go on; divided our efforts will be spoiled in different directions.

In the last place we believe that the government which has the record, which has the association, which has the known capacity and ability this present administration has, and above all, is united in all its actions, united in all its ministry, united in its following, united in its representatives from coast to coast, that government, better than any other, will be able to carry on its administration through the trying years which are ahead. (Applause.)

If we are returned, we will give the best that is in us, to our nation, in furthering Canada's war effort to the utmost of the ability of our country.

I thank you. (Prolonged applause.)

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b.

Toronto Telegram

Report of Mr. King's Speech

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Date March 15/40

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Put Party Before Country Is Still Policy Of Liberals Canada Premier Admits

Hints at Possibility That He May Be Defeated in Own Riding of Prince Albert

"A National Government would bring class warfare to this country within two years," predicted Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King last night, as he addressed a filled Massey Hall and an overflow meeting in a nearby theatre through a loudspeaker system.

Mr. King enlarged on his statement to the effect that a National Government ordinarily would mean a government composed of Liberals and Conservatives. The Opposition would, therefore, be composed of C.C.F., New Democracy, Social Credit, Communist and any other party member who might be elected. An Opposition was necessary but not that kind of opposition, he argued, in appealing to his hearers to vote against Hon. Dr. Robert J. Manion and his followers on March 26.

"We are before the people of Canada to ask them if we are to be trusted to carry on the war effort. The question is a very simple one. It is a question as to what is best for Canada—an administration composed of men you know, or an administration you know nothing about.

THINKS IT FUNNY

"Was there ever a greater misnomer? There is no National Government, so how can there be a National Government party?" argued Mr. King. "It is a phantom government. It is an imaginary government. It exists only in the mind—and this at a time of war! The situation is perfectly ludicrous. It would be more funny if it was not so serious."

In replying to Dr. Manion's statement that he had a precedent in the actions of Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Robert Borden, Mr. King claimed that the former never was a member of a coalition or a union government after Confederation. He was part of a union government (Quebec and Ontario) about 1840. This union was one of the main factors in bringing about Confederation, he admitted.

The Liberal chief ridiculed Dr. Manion's quoted statement that he had "submerged the (Conservative) party in the interests of Canada's future."

"If my leader thought he had to submerge his party to save his country, I'd soon find another leader," said Mr. King.

The Borden government, he said, was formed for the one specific purpose of putting through conscription. Was Borden, Bennett or Meighen submerging the country when they were leading their party, he asked. What would the country do without two parties, he wanted to know.

"It's the only way to run a democratic country. The Liberal government is a National Government in the true sense of the word. But any party should make known its members and its policies," he said.

PREDICTS BIG VICTORY

Drawing a comparison between Dr. Manion's National Government party and the Reconstruction party of Hon. H. H. Stevens, Mr. King chuckled as he described it. "Dr. Manion has done just what Harry Stevens did five years ago. He left the Conservative party to form another party, the Reconstruction party. He formulated a policy and appointed himself leader. Then when the election returns were in, he was the only Reconstructionist to have been elected. He had a party, he had a policy, he was the leader, but he had nobody to lead."

In reply to Dr. Manion's assertion that Mr. King would meet the same fate, Mr. King insisted that Toronto would be surprised at the majority Prince Albert will roll up for him this time.

"But even if I'm defeated, I have fifteen men at Ottawa who can and will carry on the work of Canada at war. They are trained men. They are the men who would be replaced if the Liberals were defeated. And Canada's war effort would suffer.

"What help did we get from Manion?" he asked. "If he knew last year there was going to be a war, why didn't he and his men get up in the House and support us once in a while? I said before Britain went into this war 'Canada will be there beside her.' Is that putting party before unity? Every step taken by this government has been taken for the good of the country."

Flaying what he termed Dr. Manion's "local appeals" in order to sway votes, he charged that the National Government leader was attempting to get the campaign away from the war effort altogether.

AIR TRAINING

"They are trying to localize the election. They are playing for party ends, and not for the good of the country as a whole. Alone, Canada could not win this war. Neither could Britain, or France, or even the British Empire. But, with all working together, we can. Canada's war effort may be a most deciding factor."

Mr. King went on to describe the Commonwealth Air Training Plan as the "greatest thing that has been accomplished by the Commonwealth since the war started." This had been told him by a representative of the British government.

"In 1935 this party was returned with the greatest majority since Confederation," he said. "In the five sessions of Parliament since then, we have not lost a single supporter. Every man remains true and loyal, and in all that number, not one is opposing me to-day. Is there not something of value in that to Canada at this time?"

Sir William Mulock returned to the political wars at the age of 96 to support Mr. King.

"I advise you to take this matter home. Ask yourselves, 'What is best for Canada? What is best for the Empire?' that is the simple issue," he said.

Explaining why Mr. King, as a man of 40 during the last war, hadn't joined the colors, Sir William stated he had a brother with two children who was unable to support himself because of sickness, a blind father, his mother, and an aunt to support.

"He was the only breadwinner in the family, and he did not enlist for that reason. But is that any reason for turning out this government?" he asked.

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Speeches by

Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe ..... a.

Hon. Norman McL. Rogers ..... b.

Rt. Hon. Sir William Mulock ..... c.

Hon. H. C. Nixon, Provincial Treasurer for Ontario. ..... d.

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Hon. Norman McL. Rogers ..... b.

Rt. Hon. Sir William Mulock ..... c.

Hon. H. C. Nixon, Provincial Treasurer for Ontario. ..... d.

REPEAT
REPETITION

D 54240

a.

Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 54241

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar. 15/40

Subject

NONE TO GET RICH OUT OF THIS WAR, SAYS LAPOINTE

Condemns Those Whose Actions Supply Material for Lord Haw Haw

PLEDGED TO UNITY

"The eyes of the world are on Canada because of the publicity this election campaign has received and it is essential the voice of Canada be heard on March 26," Hon. Ernest Lapointe told the huge gathering at Massey Hall last night.

In a speech which at times convulsed the audience with laughter, the minister of justice castigated persons spreading false reports regarding Canada's war effort and predicted he would be "pleased to hear what Lord Haw Haw has to say on March 26."

He was introduced by Senator A. C. Hardy as the victor in the battle of "Duplessis," and said he had come to the meeting as an ambassador of Canadian unity.

"You will remember predictions were made since the last war that if another war came, Canada would be hopelessly divided," he said. "A war has come and Canada has never been so united a Canada as the Canada of today. And the man most responsible for these happy conditions is Mackenzie King. On behalf of my own province of Quebec, I am here to extend to you, my fellow citizens of Ontario, the right hand of fellowship."

"Manion to Need Head"

Quebec was with the rest of Canada today and the rest of Canada was with Quebec, he continued. Hon. R. J. Manion, Conservative leader, said "King and Lapointe are the wreckers of Canadian unity," but, smiled Mr. Lapointe, "I think when he said that he lost his head. I hope he doesn't do it too often for he'll need it when he leads his collection of best brains——". At this point, the audience laughed so loudly the rest of the sentence could not be heard.

Strove for Unity

He had tried all his life to keep Canada united, he continued, and then "a few months ago a dangerous challenge arose in Quebec and I was pleased to lay my own political life in the hands of the people. After the fight I received thousands of telegrams thanking me for the work I had done then. Many of them—and this may surprise you to know—many of the telegrams were from Toronto and you'd be surprised if I gave you the names on some of them." Again there was laughter.

Turning again to Dr. Manion, he said: "The worst conspirator against Dr. Manion is Dr. Manion himself and the speeches he delivers day after day. We're being told by our opponents we are putting national unity before our war effort. But there can't be any war effort without national unity. We can't have a maximum war effort unless the country is united behind the government. I have taken a pledge to use all my energy; all my strength to see Canada stays united."

Mr. King, he said, was respected in every country in the world for his serenity of soul; his sincerity of purpose; his freedom from jealousy and from anger. "He has enemies because he makes them feel their own inferiority," Mr. Lapointe said and again the audience cheered and laughed. "Hatred and jealousy won't build anything; insults and abuses won't unite Canada. With Mackenzie King I will stand or fall—but fall we shall not. We need a leader guided by his reason and not by passion or temperament. A chain is not stronger than its weakest link and a leader is not any stronger than his weakest moment."

The war was going to be long, he said, and there must be calm, perseverance, determination and preparation. Premier Daladier of France had recently received a unanimous vote of confidence from his followers and that was necessary in Canada. Mr. King had been accused of scuttling parliament, but it "was just a case of replacing an old instrument which had outworn its usefulness to replace it with a new stream-lined one."

Rogers Fitted to Task

The war effort of Canada, he said, was being dealt with by Hon. Norman Rogers, minister of defence, who in the last war had served as a private and who knew what was needed. "Recruiting is proceeding in Canada—in Quebec too," he continued, and one Montreal regiment had a waiting list of 2,000.

Turning again to critics of the war effort, he said: "The world admires the soldiers of Canada and why should we have people who try to destroy, belittle, and supply material for 'My Lord Haw Haw'." The soldiers themselves, he predicted, would say who they wanted to govern them and "I'm proud to say there will be an honest vote this time. No batches of ballots will be sent here and there in an effort to elect some candidates, for the soldiers will vote for men in their own constituencies."

Regarding patronage in war contracts, he said both Mr. King and Mr. Rogers had made it quite clear there would be no patronage in this war and "nobody is going to get rich on war contracts at the expense of the Canadian people."

As an example of unity in the King government, he pointed to the fact it was significant in this election "nobody in the cabinet is going to the senate or any other job. The Bennett government had seen half of the cabinet either in the senate or in jobs, but have you seen any of us going?" he asked.

Turning to Dr. Manion's intention of bringing the "best brains" into the cabinet, he asked "Who are these mysterious brains?" Dr. Manion had changed the name of the Conservative party for the sixth time in 20 years, he said amid laughter.

He appealed to the people to re-elect the government of Mr. King in order to carry on with the war, and concluded by saying the "ship of state will be sailing along with all sails set and with the flag of Canadian unity high at the mast-head."

D 54242

b.

Hon. Norman McL. Rogers

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 54243

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar. 15/40

Subject

'BREN GUNS AHEAD OF TIME DELIVERY SOON'—MR. ROGERS

Declares Canadian Army Has Best Diet of Any in World

CONSULTED BRITAIN

First delivery of Canadian-made Bren machine guns will be made "within the next few days," Hon. Norman Rogers, minister of defence, announced last night at the Liberal rally in Massey Hall.

Delivery, he said, as the thousands cheered, would be "well ahead of schedule."

He said the Canadian aircraft industry was organized "and working at top speed," and "our ship yards are being taxed to capacity to provide anti-submarine vessels and mine sweepers."

Introduced by Sen. A. C. Hardy, chairman of the meeting, as "this much abused gentleman," Mr. Rogers asserted that the main issue in the present election campaign "is still the war record of this government under the leadership of Mr. King."

"At this moment," he said, "there are almost 75,000 men on active service with the Canadian Active Service Force. There are approximately 6,000 all ranks on active service with the Royal Canadian Navy, and Royal Canadian Naval volunteer reserve, and there are over 10,000 men enrolled in the Royal Canadian Air Force."

With The Best Equipment

The First Canadian Division, Mr. Rogers noted, has been overseas two months. It was the first expeditionary force from any Dominion to land in the British Isles. "That division left Canada with the best personal equipment and unit equipment of any Canadian force that ever left these shores," he added. "An army co-operation squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Force is completing its training in England preparatory to proceeding to a theatre of war with the First Division."

The Canadian Dental Corps, he said, provides dental services unrivalled in any other army.

"Rations for the Canadian forces constitutes the most varied and balanced diet of any army in the world.

"Behind the Second Division, now in training here, stand the Non-Permanent Active Militia units not called up for active service," Mr. Rogers proceeded. "These units will provide the organization for the continued development of our war effort as the months pass.

"The war supply board has already placed orders for over $100,000,000 for military equipment in this country.

"Behind each of these decisions and policies there lies a story of patient and careful planning, not only by members of the government, but by the staffs of our fighting services and the rank and file of the civil service of Canada.

For a National Effort

"As I close I want to leave with you this final thought to carry with you during the remaining days of this election campaign. On Sept. 3, on the day war was declared between the United Kingdom and Germany, the prime minister spoke to the Canadian people. These were his concluding words:

"The people of Canada will, I know, face the days of stress and strain which lie ahead with calm and resolute courage. There is no home in Canada, no family, and no individual whose fortunes and freedom are not bound up in the present struggle. I appeal to my fellow Canadians to unite in a national effort to save from destruction all that makes life itself worth living, and to preserve for future generations those liberties and institutions which others have bequeathed to us.

"I want you to believe that a united national effort has been the constant concern of the present government," he declared. "With the endorsement of the Canadian people, it will continue to be our purpose to maintain that united national effort by day and by night until the final victory has been won."

Mr. Rogers said Canada's military and defence plans had been made "always in consultation with the British government." He said that neither Hon. R. J. Manion nor George Drew, Ontario Conservative leader, had declared whether the government should have spent more or less with regard to military, naval or air expansion, but had continued to assail the government because the day war was declared Canada was not on a wartime basis.

"You cannot establish a wartime army, navy or air force in time of peace," he asserted, challenging Dr. Manion or Col. Drew to say whether the Borden government, for example, had been fully prepared at the outbreak of the last war, or if even Britain was on a full wartime footing at the outbreak of the present one.

"That charge of unpreparedness," he submitted, "is not a charge to be sustained as a basic criticism of the policy of this government."

D 54244

Rt. Hon. Sir William Mulock

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

D 54245

Date Mar. 15/40.

Subject

NO DOUBT KING WILL WIN SIR WILLIAM TELLS RALLY

Empire's Elder Statesman Delivers First Toronto Political Speech in Forty Years

ADVICE IS CHEERED

Sir William Mulock, Canada's "grand old man," made his first political address in Toronto in at least 40 years last night and warned Canadians against changing an able government in the middle of a mighty war effort. Sir William, 96, and the oldest privy councillor in the Dominion and perhaps in the Empire, sat on the platform at the great Liberal rally in Massey Hall, and voiced support of the government headed by the man whose political career he really launched.

That man—Prime Minister King—applauded as heartily as anyone of the thousands as Sir William rose to say a few words on the invitation of Senator A. C. Hardy, meeting chairman. Sir William stood as erect as a youth as the Maple Leaf Forever was played and sung, and the crowd gave him three cheers and a tiger.

His message was that it would be madness for a country to throw out an experienced government in war time, and replace it with men who would waste valuable time while learning their jobs so that they might continue prosecution of the war.

Jam Started at 7 P.M.

Massey Hall was almost filled half an hour before the meeting was scheduled to begin. Nelson Eddy couldn't have done better. People had begun to line up at the main entrances as early as seven o'clock and at 8 p.m. there was a line from the Shuter St. entrances to Queen St.

Inside the crowd read newspapers, chatted with their neighbors, hummed, sang and kept time with their feet with the 48th Highlanders' band. Every time a candidate known to many took his seat on the platform, he got loud cheers and shouts of welcome. Hon. Harry Nixon and Mrs. Nixon got a tremendous hand as they took seats in the front row, only three away from Premier King.

Sam Factor, of Spadina, got a big hand from the crowd, and so did Arthur Roebuck, running in Trinity, who waved to the audience, then chatted momentarily with Mr. Nixon.

But the cheering thousands rose as one when the prime minister entered, and the band played "For he's a jolly good fellow."

Momentous Issue

John B. Cooper, the chairman, said the meeting was "on the eve of one of the most momentous elections in the history of the country." When that day is over, he said, and when the history of Canada has further pages added to it, "no name will shine with greater lustre than that of the gentleman now prime minister of this country," and there was terrific cheering as he pointed to Mr. King.

Senator Hardy, taking over the chair, said Ontario was regarded as being the pivotal province in the support of any government "and for that reason we want Ontario to come back supporting Mr. King as it has done, and as we know it will do again."

At this point Mr. Cooper introduced Liberal candidates from the Toronto and York ridings. Mr. King had a warm smile and applause for each candidate as he stood up and bowed. There were Col. W. P. Mulock, of North York, whose grandfather Sir William is, and Walter MacRae, of South York.

Others Present

Then there were Chris Bennett, West York; Jim Rooney, St. Paul's; Lewis Duncan, Danforth; J. P. Travers, Parkdale; Fred Hoblitzell, Eglinton; George Cresswell, Broadview; A. J. P. Cameron, High Park; Ald. J. L. Shannon, Rosedale; Thomas Reilly, Greenwood; Neil Cameron, Davenport; Sam Factor, Spadina; Arthur W. Roebuck, Trinity; and W. A. Irwin, East York. Others on the platform included Hon. Thane Campbell, premier of Prince Edward Island, Hon. W. D. Ross, former lieutenant-governor of Ontario, and Senator W. H. McGuire.

Other provincial members, in addition to Mr. Roebuck, were J. J. Glass and W. J. Gardhouse.

As Sir William rose to speak, Senator Hardy remarked "the fact Sir William sees fit to appear on the same platform as Mr. Mackenzie King speaks more than words."

"The warmth of your reception," said the former chief justice of Ontario, "overwhelms me. My emotions are rather interfering with the expression of my sentiments. I shall speak a few words for two reasons; my sense of duty to the people of the country and my affection to my friends here on the platform."

For 30 years, Sir William recalled, he had been a judge and one duty of a judge is to advise jurors that they must make their decision on facts, and not be prejudiced or biased.

The Real Issue

"What is the issue?" he demanded. "Go home and ask yourselves what is best for Canada and the Empire. The issue centres around the question who is to head the government during this war. The question is shall the present government continue its efforts, or would a set of unknown men be best in charge of Canada's war effort? Have you any doubt as to the verdict you give March 26? I haven't."

Sir William recalled that newspapers had suggested the government be turned out "because Mr. Rogers failed to deliver an overcoat to some young recruit." Other papers, he noted, had assailed Mr. King for not participating in the last war.

"He was living in Ottawa," he recalled. "He had a brother there with two children. He had a blind father in Toronto. His brother developed tuberculosis and it was necessary to send him to a dry climate—Arizona—but he could not shake it off and he died. Mr. King during all these years was the only breadwinner for the family. Wouldn't it have been an inhuman thing for him to have gone off to

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 54246

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war, leaving that family uncared for? What shocking criticism that is of him. What possible excuse could there be for bringing up such an irrelevant matter."

If Dr. Manion did win, Sir William suggested, it would be months before he found his "best brains" and they educated themselves for their new jobs.

Scores Shake King's Hand

"In the meantime," he said, "the war effort of Canada would be brought to a standstill. It would be a tragic thing if Canada were to cease its effort as these men learned their business. Wouldn't it be madness to do such a thing? In my opinion it would be."

Sir William stressed he had put party in the background in the past few years, and was speaking as one citizen to another. There was tremendous applause as Sir William sat down.

When Mr. King finished speaking, scores thronged the platform to shake his hand, and speak with the other ministers and dignitaries. Others waited many minutes outside the stage door in the hope of getting a glimpse of Canada's prime minister.

D 54247

d.

Mr. H. C. Nixon

Provincial Treasurer for Ontario

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 54218

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar. 15/40

Subject

KING GOVERNMENT DESERVES SUPPORT OF PEOPLE—NIXON

Provincial Secretary Vindicates Rights of Free Speech in National Issues—Speaks From Platform at Rally

"Believe me, the Mackenzie King government deserves the support of the people. It will continue the good work of Canada, continue the prosecution of the war to a successful and victorious conclusion."—Hon. Harry Nixon.

Thus the provincial secretary of Ontario and chief lieutenant of Premier Hepburn last night in Massey Hall, in the presence of Prime Minister King, publicly placed his stamp of approval on the King administration which Premier Hepburn has bitterly assailed.

The "misunderstanding" which led to his resignation, he told The Star after the meeting, was principally regarding the right of the Ontario cabinet to freely criticize on issues arising "outside" of Ontario. While the principle of cabinet solidarity still prevailed on provincial matters, it was now definitely understood members of the cabinet might do whatever they wished regarding such issues as the federal election campaign.

Twice persons in the audience called for "three cheers for the next premier of Ontario."

Fought Through Crowd

Mr. Nixon's appearance at the meeting came as a surprise to many. It had been announced, following the tearing up of his resignation, Tuesday night by Premier Hepburn, he was going on a holiday. Early last evening, however, he returned to Toronto from his home at St. George accompanied by Mrs. Nixon. Together they fought through the crowd surrounding the stage door at Massey Hall nearly an hour before the meeting opened. Once inside, they started onto the platform but were taken to a sitting room where Mrs. Nixon carried on an animated conversation with Sir William Mulock. The topic, instead of politics, turned to the raising of pheasants with Sir William expressing great interest as Mrs. Nixon told him of various "hatchings."

Mr. Nixon, showing signs of emotional strain, sat silently by until a few minutes before Mr. King entered. Then, as he walked across the stage with Mrs. Nixon, the crowd cheered. Immediately the meeting ended, Premier King, smiling broadly, went over and shook hands with both and said a few words in a low voice to Mr. Nixon. The latter smiled and shook hands again with the federal leader.

Prolonged Ovation

If any doubt existed in Mr. Nixon's mind as to the feeling of the audience toward Mrs. Nixon and himself it was quickly dissipated. As they struggled through the crowd to enter Massey Hall, dozens of persons shook hands with them both and patted Mr. Nixon on the back. Immediately he got inside, Bert Sullivan, secretary of the Liberal association, rushed up. "My, it's great to see you here," he said. "It's nice to be here," replied Mr. Nixon.

For a minute or two, both Mr. and Mrs. Nixon stood at the stage entrance and the crowd got a brief glimpse of them. Again there was a roar of approval and Mr. Nixon grinned. Then he went to the sitting room to await the opening of the meeting. Just before Mr. King came in, they strolled across the stage and took their seats in the front row on the platform, just three chairs away from the federal leader's.

Warmly Hailed

When Mr. King came in, the two shook hands and smiled. When Senator A. C. Hardy called on Mr. Nixon to speak, the crowd roared again. Smiling at the conclusion of his statement, the provincial secretary sat down amid another outburst of cheers and handclapping but had to rise to acknowledge a further storm before the meeting proceeded.

At the end of the meeting, following Mr. King's brief conversation with him, Mr. Nixon was again and again congratulated on the stand he had taken before he could manage to get off the crowded stage and through the hallways.

Today, the provincial secretary said he had not yet decided whether he would start on his holiday trip at once.

"If Mr. Nixon goes to the meeting, that is his privilege," Premier Hepburn said earlier yesterday when it was first reported the provincial secretary intended to attend and voice his approval of the King government.

"There is one point I would like to clear up," Mr. Nixon said today. "The premier's statement on Wednesday night, that the misunderstanding was entirely mine, had only to do with the degree of freedom permitted the ministers. It was not entirely clear to us at that time that we were free to do as we wished with regard to national issues. That was the only misunderstanding."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 54249

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Date Mar. 15/40

Subject

'No Modification or Withdrawal' Nixon Says, Was Asked to Go Back

"Without reservation of any kind, I make no modification or withdrawal of the remarks I gave to the press last Monday," Hon. H. C. Nixon, provincial secretary, told the King meeting in Massey Hall last night amid cheers.

"I believe the government of Mr. King deserves the support of the people of Canada and I believe it will get that support," he went on. "Let me thank you for the very great honor and pleasure you gave me in inviting me to be here tonight. I want to thank you, too, for the reception you have given me. I'll admit I was not any too sure about the reception. But my good wife and I drove down from the farm tonight to tell you, come what may, we're behind Mr. King as we have been since 1921. And I hope to have the pleasure of supporting him in many elections to come.

"It would be presumptuous for me to inject provincial or personal matters at this meeting," he said in opening his remarks.

"Don't be afraid, Harry," someone shouted from the audience.

"When I felt bound to take sharp issue with my premier, I felt it was the right and proper thing for me to do. I gave my resignation also in good faith and the premier, with other members of the cabinet, refused to accept it, taking the attitude that the issue pertained to Canada's conduct of the war and to certain other matters connected therewith, and not to lack of cabinet solidarity since the province had no jurisdiction over the issue and the cabinet had not discussed it. Therefore cabinet solidarity was not involved. The premier did me the very great honor of waiting on me and asking me not to insist on resigning, and that I consented to do," he said as the audience cheered.

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Name of Publication Windsor Star

Date Mar. 15/40

Subject

Denies Retreat From Criticism Of His Leader

Embarrassed Provincial Secretary Insists He Has Not Withdrawn or Modified Censure of Premier Hepburn "on Certain Subjects"

Draws Massey Hall Ovation

Vast Crowd Turns Out to Hear Dominion Prime Minister Accuse Manion of Running Away From War Issue in Campaign

By Norman M. MacLeod

TORONTO, March 15.—While Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King charged National Government Leader R. J. Manion with "running away from the war issue," and also intimated that he would enlarge his circle of advisers if returned to power, Provincial Secretary "Harry" C. Nixon last night injected the element of high political drama into an already noteworthy Liberal gathering that packed Massey Hall and overflowed into a nearby theatre, by declaring:

"I have made no withdrawal or modification whatever of the remarks I issued to the press on Monday last, when I felt bound to take sharp issue with my premier on certain subjects on which I was at variance with him."

"Future Premier"

AT THE conclusion of his statement an enthusiast in the audience called for three cheers for the provincial secretary as "the future premier of Ontario."

They were immediately given in substantial volume.

The Nixon diversion, punctuating addresses by Prime Minister King, by Minister of Justice Ernest Lapointe, by Defense Minister Norman Rogers, and by former Chief Justice Sir William Mulock, was an unscheduled development that lifted what was otherwise a highly notable political rally into a dramatic occasion such as rarely occurs in political history.

The provincial secretary arrived at the meeting with Mrs. Nixon a full half hour before it commenced. The hall was already full, and his arrival was the signal for an outburst of cheering which continued during his walk across the platform, and lasted for the greater part of a minute after he had taken his seat.

Offers No Recognition

Mr. Nixon made no acknowledgment of the demonstration. From his manner, one would have said that it acutely embarrassed him. He kept his eyes on the floor all the time he walked to the front-row chair reserved for him. And when he was seated he remained looking at the floor with an appearance of self-consciousness that was almost painful to witness.

It was almost with awkwardness that he rose a moment or two later as Hon. D. W. Ross, former lieutenant-governor, came over and shook hands with him. When "Boss" Jim Rooney of the Toronto Liberal organization followed suit almost immediately afterwards, he was visibly nervous again. And when both incidents evoked renewed cheering from the audience he did not relish the applause but sat as before looking at the floor.

Thus he remained throughout brief speeches by the minister of national defense and by the minister of justice. Then, out of a clear sky, and departing from the announced list of speakers, Senator A. C. Hardy, chairman

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said: "I am goin_g to ask Mr. Nixon if he won't say a few words.

The provincial secretary raised himself slowly from his chair and proceeded with apparent reluctance to the microphone.

Supporting Mr. King

"I am grateful," he finally started, "for the invitation to be here. I am glad of the opportunity to state on this platform that I am supporting Mr. Mackenzie King unreservedly in this election, as I have supported him in every election since 1921."

He hesitated, then, before continuing somewhat uncertainly:

"It would be presumptuous for me to inject personal or provincial issues at the present time."

A voice: "Don't be afraid, Harry."

Mr. Nixon: Just let me say this, then: "I have made no withdrawal or modification whatever of the remarks I issued to the press on Monday, when I felt bound to take sharp issue with my premier on certain subjects on which I was at variance with him.

Tendered Resignation

"I did so. My premier, however, refused to accept it at a special cabinet meeting called to consider it. He took the stand that my differences related to his views on the conduct of the war and to other related matters in the federal field that our cabinet had not discussed, that were not within his jurisdiction, and upon which it was called upon to reach no conclusions. He held, therefore, that the principle of cabinet solidarity was not involved.

"My premier did me the honor of waiting upon me and urging me to withdraw my resignation. I agreed to do so. But I say tonight I believe the government of Mackenzie King deserves the support of the people of Canada. I believe it will get that support, and I believe it will continue to prosecute the war to a successful conclusion."

The provincial secretary sat down to the accompaniment of an outburst of cheering.

"Three cheers for the next premier of Ontario," a member of the audience called.

They were given with impressive volume.

Hall Filled Early

Quite apart from the dramatic interlude afforded by the provincial secretary, the night's meeting was of a thoroughly noteworthy character. Not only in point of numbers, but in enthusiasm as well, it ranked close to the height of enthusiastic tribute that traditionally Tory Toronto has ever manifested for the Liberal cause.

The crowd was literally huge. The doors of Massey Hall were opened an hour before the meeting commenced, and the auditorium was filled within 15 minutes of their opening. Other thousands overflowed into nearby Shea's Victoria Theatre. And still other hundreds were left listening in the open-air and in the uncomfortable drizzle of a March sleet storm to the loudspeakers that had been provided.

All speakers, furthermore, secured enthusiastic receptions—Mr. King's colleagues no less than himself. The audience was particularly warm towards Mr. Lapointe after he was introduced as "the victor in the war with Mr. Duplessis," and after he declared ringingly that "Britain is relying on Canada and Canada must not fail her.

Defense Minister Rogers, for his part, received warm applause at both the commencement and the close of his address. And the same was true in particularly enthusiastic measure of Sir William Mulock, who declared that, viewing the present situation solely "on the evidence," he could see no case for changing the present government for the uncertainty that Mr. Manion offers.

Mr. King's Appeal

The feature of the evening, however, so far as the current campaign is concerned, was easily the speech of Mr. King. Suiting his remarks to Tory, imperialistic Toronto, the government chieftain charged that there had been no more undemocratic act in recent political history than Mr. Manion's obliteration of the Conservative Party, and that the national government leader's decision that the survival of the party that had made him its head was "inimical to the national interest," was a gross slander on a great, historic body that possessed the imperialistic tradition of which Conservatism was so proud.

Mr. King then charged that Mr. Manion was trying to "get away from the war issue" by resorting instead to all sorts of political promises in different parts of the Dominion—higher wheat prices and lower freight rates for the prairies, local port control for the Maritimes, elimination of the radio license fee everywhere.

"If Mr. Manion wants to talk convincingly about putting country ahead of party," Mr. King said warmly, "I tell him he had better drop as quickly as he can these promises of his. They are an appeal for party purposes—and for party purposes only."

Add to Advisers

Finally, the prime minister intimated that if returned to power he might find it necessary to enlarge the circle of his advisers. He would be the last person, he declared, to hesitate to call in any individuals whose special abilities or special knowledge might be of national value to the government in the present emergency.

But this, he emphasized, is a wholly different proposition from Mr. Manion's proposal to attempt to combine in the one cabinet individuals who believe in conflicting philosophies.

Mr. King's suggestion was rather that an advisory council might be created, than that the present cabinet would necessarily be enlarged.

The prime minister opened his address in a vein of non-partisan objective reasoning. Never, he said, had so amazing a proposition been placed before the Canadian people—particularly in a time of great crisis—as Mr. Manion was submitting. That proposition was to dismiss an administration of proven efficiency and known personnel in order to place in power a so-called "national government" that has no existence, that is wholly an imaginary figment in the opposition leader's mind.

Mr. King professed amazement at Mr. Manion's temerity in asking the voters of the Dominion to experiment, at a time so critical in the nation's history, with the wholly unknown.

Delves Into History

He dealt with the national government leader's contention at Kingston that he was following in the footsteps of Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Robert Borden. The prime minister wondered if Mr. Manion knew his Canadian history. Sir John A. Macdonald after Confederation had never headed a coalition government, and Sir Robert Borden had formed a Union Government for the purpose of enacting a definite known policy, namely, conscription, he said.

Mr. King quarrelled warmly with Mr. Manion's implication that because a leader is for his party, he is against the state. He believed that the national government leader, in deciding that the survival of the Conservative Party was at variance with the national interest, was unforgivably libelling the great, historic organization that had elected him as its head in the Ottawa convention of 1938.

The prime minister dealt with the manner in which the national government had been formed.

"Mr. Manion says," the Liberal chieftain commented, "that 'we all met in caucus and decided to go to the country as a national government.'

"But at the time the so-called caucus was held, there was no Parliament. These individuals who met with Mr. Manion were simply ex-M.P.'s. What right had they to scuttle the great Conservative Party? By what authority from the rank-and-file did they under-

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said: "I am goin„ to ask Mr. Nixon if he won't say a few words.

The provincial secretary raised himself slowly from his chair and proceeded with apparent reluctance to the microphone.

Supporting Mr. King

"I am grateful," he finally started, "for the invitation to be here. I am glad of the opportunity to state on this platform that I am supporting Mr. Mackenzie King unreservedly in this election, as I have supported him in every election since 1921."

He hesitated, then, before continuing somewhat uncertainly:

"It would be presumptuous for me to inject personal or provincial issues at the present time."

A voice: "Don't be afraid, Harry."

Mr. Nixon: Just let me say this, then: "I have made no withdrawal or modification whatever of the remarks I issued to the press on Monday, when I felt bound to take sharp issue with my premier on certain subjects on which I was at variance with him.

Tendered Resignation

"I did so. My premier, however, refused to accept it at a special cabinet meeting called to consider it. He took the stand that my differences related to his views on the conduct of the war and to other related matters in the federal field that our cabinet had not discussed, that were not within his jurisdiction, and upon which it was called upon to reach no conclusions. He held, therefore, that the principle of cabinet solidarity was not involved.

"My premier did me the honor of waiting upon me and urging me to withdraw my resignation. I agreed to do so. But I say tonight I believe the government of Mackenzie King deserves the support of the people of Canada. I believe it will get that support, and I believe it will continue to prosecute the war to a successful conclusion."

The provincial secretary sat down to the accompaniment of an outburst of cheering.

"Three cheers for the next premier of Ontario," a member of the audience called.

They were given with impressive volume.

Hall Filled Early

Quite apart from the dramatic interlude afforded by the provincial secretary, the night's meeting was of a thoroughly noteworthy character. Not only in point of numbers, but in enthusiasm as well, it ranked close to the height of enthusiastic tribute that traditionally Tory Toronto has ever manifested for the Liberal cause.

The crowd was literally huge. The doors of Massey Hall were opened an hour before the meeting commenced, and the auditorium was filled within 15 minutes of their opening. Other thousands overflowed into nearby Shea's Victoria Theatre. And still other hundreds were left listening in the open-air and in the uncomfortable drizzle of a March sleet storm to the loudspeakers that had been provided.

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Mr. King declared strongly:

"The more you examine the formation of this so-called national government movement, the more apparent it becomes that the very manner of its inception has done reckless violence to those fundamentals of democracy for the survival of which we are fighting in Europe today."

Mr. Manion, the prime minister then proceeded to point out, is criticizing the government for being "unprepared for a war that everyone knew was coming."

If everyone—including Mr. Manion—knew that war was coming, why had not the Conservatives, Mr. King wanted to know, supported the government's increased defense estimates in the 1939 session, instead of blocking them?

And if Mr. Manion knew last July that war was certain to come, why did he urge in that month that a general election should be held? Had Mr. Manion, when he urged an appeal that would have caused war to come upon a Canada sunk in partisan strife, been putting country ahead of party—or party ahead of country? And, by way of contrast, had the present government not put country ahead of party in its elimination of patronage from the defense forces, in the appointments it had made to responsible posts of military command, and in its selections for such bodies as the War Supplies Board, the Foreign Exchange Control Board and the administrative bodies?

Prosecution of War

Mr. King concluded his remarks by emphasizing that the prosecution of the war is the chief issue before the electorate. Hitlerism has unloosed upon the world "all that is worst in the minds of man." It is not going to be a short war. From the best information that the government has received from responsible sources, it is going to continue for one, two, or three years, and no one can tell what parts of the world it will terrorize before it is over. It is for the Canadian people to say what body of men they wish to have administering the part that they must play by the side of Britain if democracy is to be saved.

Mr. King accused Mr. Manion of trying to run away from the war issue.

"The national government," he declared caustically, "talks about putting country ahead of party. Then he goes to the West and he talks about wheat and about freight rates: elsewhere he talks about port control.

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"I say that Dr. Manion is trying to get away from the war issue, and I challenge him to quote a speech of mine in this campaign in which I have made any local promise or in which I have appealed upon any other issue than the importance of effective prosecution of the war.

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Lapointe Hailed

The reception given by the crowd to Right Hon. Ernest Lapointe was a notable demonstration of enthusiasm. Cheering which was already general became tumultuous when Senator Hardy presented him as "the victor in the recent war against Duplessis."

"I have come to Toronto tonight to stand by my leader and the minister of national defense as ambassadors of national unity," the minister of justice declared, while the applause broke out afresh.

"You will remember the prediction," he continued, "that if war came to Canada the nation would be hopelessly divided. Well war has come, and never has our Dominion been united as it is today, and the man who is mostly responsible for this happy condition is Mackenzie King. In this year of 1940 Quebec is with Canada—and Canada is with Quebec. We in French-speaking Canada are tremendously proud that is so. I know you are proud of it equally."

Mr. Lapointe referred only briefly to the recent Duplessis election in Quebec.

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"All my life," he said simply, "I have fought for Canadian unity. I was glad in that campaign of the opportunity to take my political life in my hand and meet the challenge it constituted."

He alluded to a recent reference to the prime minister and to himself as "wreckers of national unity," which Mr. Manion had made. He suggested that the national government leader had "lost his head," and hoped that it would not occur too often.

"For," he commented mildly, "Dr. Manion is going to need his head very badly to control that aggregation of 'best brains' that he is going to have in his national government."

He then contrasted Mr. Manion's impulsiveness with Mr. King's constant sense of responsibility, and commented:

"A party leader or a prime minister is no stronger than his weakest mo-

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The minister of justice emphasized that national unity is the essential basis of a strong war effort. The King Government, he declared, has created successfully that highly necessary condition.

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It is being said that the prime minister had "scuttled Parliament." Actually, the speaker explained, he had appealed to democracy, to the power of the people, for endorsation of a war policy that would marshal the resources of the Dominion behind the Empire and behind the cause of the democratic Allies.

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"The chief issue in this campaign," he told the audience simply and without preliminary, "is the conduct of Canada's war effort under the leadership of Mackenzie King."

The defense minister then gave details of the achievements of the Dominion so far as the realm of war effort. Not only had the First Division been the "first overseas force to arrive in Britain," but a total of 75,000 men are

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In addition, the country's coast defenses are manned, the British Commonwealth air training scheme is under way, the Canadian aircraft and ship building industries are organized and working at top speed, "within a few days" delivery of Bren guns will commence, and already the War Supplies Board has let contracts totalling over $100,000,000.

"I want you to believe," Mr. Rogers concluded, "that a united national effort has been the constant concern of the present government under the leadership of Mackenzie king, supported by our colleague, Ernest Lapointe. With the endorsement of the Canadian people, it will continue to be our purpose by day and by night until the final victory has been won."

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Senator Hardy, as chairman of the meeting, twitted the opposition with having changed its name three times in the past 15 years. It had been the Liberal-Conservative Party. Then it had become the National Conservative Party. And now it is trying to hide its identity under the title of the national government party—"despite the fact that 95 per cent. of its candidates are straight Conservatives."

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Editorial Comment

Toronto Star ..... a.

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D 54255

Toronto Star

a.

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 53256 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar. 14/40

Subject

Toronto Welcomes Two Fine Canadians

Toronto welcomes today the two most distinguished statesmen of the two great races predominant in Canada, Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister, and Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe, Minister of Justice. Mr. King has been First Minister of the Dominion for all but five years and a few months of the past eighteen years. Mr. Lapointe has been a member of the King ministry throughout that period, first as Minister of Marine and Fisheries, and since 1924 as Minister of Justice. Mr. King's membership in the Commons dates back to 1908, but for eight years previous to that he had been in the civil service as Deputy Minister of Labor. Mr. Lapointe entered the Commons in 1904 and has been continuously a member since that time. These two men, born within less than two years of each other, both proteges of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and with a similarly liberal outlook upon life, represent experience, statesmanship and a devotion to high ideals of public service. They have inherited Sir Wilfrid's passion for a united Canada. By their long personal friendship, they themselves typify the possibility of mutual understanding between the two great races.

Mr. King has been Prime Minister in peace and in war. He brought Canada into war as a united nation by avoiding such premature and extreme pronouncements as would have divided her people. But when war became imminent he set forth in unmistakable terms the government's policy. Two days before Britain's declaration, he publicly announced the unanimous decision of his government to go in on the side of Britain in case she should fight to resist Nazi aggression. The day Britain entered the war, he reiterated this determination and announced that the Canadian militia, naval and air forces were already on active service. "I appeal to my fellow-Canadians," he said, "to unite in a national effort to save from destruction all that makes life worth living, and to preserve to future generations those liberties and institutions which others have bequeathed to us."

On September 8, with parliament in session, he announced that "We stand for co-operation in this country at the side of Britain, and if this House will not support us in that policy, it will have to find some other government to assume the responsibilities of the present." Mr. Lapointe followed Mr. King with an announcement that an expeditionary force would be sent by Canada if required, coupled with a rebuke to those who had suggested that such a force, if sent, should be paid for by Britain. Said Mr. Lapointe: "Canadians will never be mercenaries paid by any country—not even Britain. If Canadians go to the front line of the battle, they will go voluntarily as Canadians, under the control of Canada, commanded by Canadians and maintained by the Dominion of Canada."

The determination thus expressed to aid Britain to the limit of Canada's resources has been the guiding principle of the King government throughout the months which have since intervened. Mr. King and Mr. Lapointe and the other members of the cabinet have consecrated themselves to the prosecution of the war. They and their colleagues have spared neither time nor effort, and they have summoned to their assistance, on the various war boards, outstanding business men of both political parties, and civil service experts who are chiefly without party. They have also served Canada by securing from Quebec a declaration of co-operation in the Dominion's war effort which found expression in the defeat of the Duplessis anti-war administration. Mr. King and Mr. Lapointe took a prominent part in making that verdict certain. Mr. Lapointe and his French-Canadian colleagues in the cabinet staked their portfolios on the result, announcing that they would resign if the provincial decision should be otherwise than favorable to Canada's participation.

Mr. Lapointe and his leader will alike be welcomed by Toronto at tonight's great meeting. It is a traditionally Conservative city, but of recent years the tradition has been broken in quite a number of instances, and Liberal sentiment will be further strengthened by tonight's gathering.

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Office of
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Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar. 15/40

Subject

A Great Toronto Gathering

Last night's great meeting at Massey Hall was not only a splendid tribute to the Prime Minister of Canada and his colleagues, but, in the character of their speeches, it was a demonstration of all that such a gathering should be. The news columns of a morning paper not friendly to the King administration sum up the situation by saying that "the spirit of partisanship seemed to be missing." Mr. King, Mr. Lapointe and Mr. Rogers "told of Canada's war efforts without heat, without bitter personalities." Mr. Lapointe struck the keynote of the meeting when he said "Abuse will never unite Canada."

Toronto, to the extent of many thousands of its people representative of all classes, had an opportunity to judge Mr. King and two of his cabinet colleagues at first hand. And no one could have heard them without being convinced of their sincerity, their honesty of purpose, their high ideals of public service and their earnestness in prosecuting Canada's share in the war. Political discussions on the high plane of last night's address do credit to Canada. They were in marked contrast to the type of political speech which is sometimes heard on the hustings—and from men who should be better advised.

If there were those in the gathering who had listened, perhaps, to the unwarranted suggestions of Mr. King's opponents that he lacks energy and fire, they must have been undeceived last night. The vast audience came away with the knowledge that the man who is at the head of Canada's war government is not only inspired by the finest of ideals, but is possessed of a physical and mental vigor and an energy of purpose which are so contagious as to lend strength to the war efforts of all around him. It was a great meeting and Toronto is proud to have been the host to such distinguished guests.

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Toronto Telegram

b.

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 54259 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram

Date March 14/40

Subject

GREETING TO MR. KING
FROM ONE OF HIS OWN.

When the Prime Minister comes to Canada's second largest city, it is fitting that he should be the recipient of the welcome which is his due. Even when he comes in the midst of an election campaign it is desirable that the auspicious occasion should be noted. He cannot be allowed to sojourn here with the secrecy that is thrown about the movement of troops.

A feeling of delicacy prevents The Telegram butting in to perform the honors in this connection. We therefore have great pleasure in calling upon one of his most prominent supporters in the present campaign, Hon. T. B. McQuesten, Ontario's Minister of Highways, to say what is in the minds of all of us at this historic moment. Mr. McQuesten will speak in the words of an interview he gave The Globe and Mail on January 25th, the day Mr. King hurriedly dissolved parliament. The voice you next hear will be that of Hon. Thomas Baker McQuesten.

Take it away, Hon. T. B.

"I am not at all surprised, because Mr. King has to move quickly to cover up his incompetency. I don't consider that this Federal Government has in any way acted creditably in maintaining Canada's record. I say that it is absolutely incompetent administratively, and that it is a most deplorable thing that we even have to look forward to a possible continuation of this type of administration.

"I hope that we will see strong leadership being given that will really represent the aims and purposes of this country so that we may take advantage of this opportunity to establish our self-respect among the countries of the Empire.

"Up to date we have been improperly represented, and the contribution we have made so far to the Empire at war is simply disgusting. I am perfectly convinced that the present Administration has no capacity to do what is necessary for this country through the war.

"This Government a war Government? Shades of Pitt and Lloyd George! It is more like Aesop's fable of the jackass clothed in a lion's skin."

Thank you Mr. McQuesten. These words straight from your heart introduce your honored leader as he should be introduced when he comes to the loyal city of Toronto.

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 54260

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram

Date March 15/40

Subject

NO CALL FOR GRATITUDE
FOR MR. KING'S PRESENCE HERE.

"Toronto will welcome the opportunity of learning what it can first hand from the head of the Government, grateful that he has been able to cut into his days long enough to address a meeting."—Globe and Mail.

Every once in a while the Globe and Mail gives unmistakable evidence of the powerful Globe tradition which cannot be eradicated from its editorial policy. Such a paragraph as the one cited above is worthy of the Globe in its most partisan Liberal-worshipping days.

The head of the Government before whom the Globe and Mail bows in abject reverence is the same Mackenzie King whom the same Globe and Mail referred to in these caustic words when he violated every democratic precedent by dismissing Parliament:

"Moreover it is deplorable that as one of his last official acts in Canada, Lord Tweedsmuir should have been asked to sign a document which in effect gagged Parliament and stifled criticism, defying the democracy we are fighting to preserve."

* * *

"We had even hoped enough wisdom prevailed to see the desirability of forming a national government which would include the ablest men of all parties to serve until the war's end. This was found necessary in the last war. It is considered desirable in England and France now."

"We cannot but regret both the decision and the manner in which it has been reached. It promises an unholy mess in the country."

Of course Mr. King is a busy man—very busy trying to get elected when he should be busy trying to give Britain every assistance possible in order to win the war instead of being the spearhead of an election campaign which is dividing the people when they should be united and party politics forgotten.

Mr. King is a busy man because he is so greedy for power that he could not surrender personal prestige even for the sake of country.

And we are told by the Globe and Mail that we should be "grateful that he has been able to cut into his busy days long enough to address a meeting" in Toronto. Isn't that wonderful and isn't Mr. King a real patriot? Mr. King's visit to Toronto is for the sole purpose of rallying votes for his party Government. And the Toronto electors should be grateful to Mr. King the man who precipitated the "unholy mess" which the Globe and Mail predicted.

Moreover, Mr. King would not have had to take time out at this time to address a meeting in Toronto had he not scuttled Parliament when he did, thus, as the Globe and Mail has remarked, "defying the democracy we are fighting to preserve."

Perhaps the Globe and Mail would have the electors of the city believe that they should be grateful for the privilege of voting for Mr. King.

GOVERNMENT MARKS TIME
AT THE LINDSAY ARSENAL.

With Canada at war, the Dominion Arsenal at Lindsay provides employment for a grand total of 26 men. The plant which should be busily engaged in turning out armament and munitions is practically idle. Since Lindsay has the proportion of unemployment which is normal for a town of its size under present conditions, the failure of the Government to make use of the establishment is the subject of more than local criticism.

Evidence that the Government is aware of the effect of its neglect of the Arsenal is to be seen in the fact that on the eve of the election the announcement has been made that the erection of seven metal storage buildings in connection with the plant is planned. These buildings will be used to store materials removed from the Arsenal to leave room for machinery for the production of arms. At least, so the announcement stated.

The building of these sheds is regarded as no more than a pre-election gesture which is intended to have a pork-barrel appeal. It is pointed out that there has been no definite declaration that the plant will be put into immediate production, nor of what kind or to what extent munitions will be manufactured there.

Canada has been at war for more than six months. Belated promises that the Government intends to build a few metal sheds at the Lindsay arsenal will deceive no one into believing that adequate use has been made of the Government Arsenal at Lindsay or that there is any intention of doing more than make a show that the Government hopes will tide it over the elections.

D 54261

Toronto Globe and Mail

c.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 54262

Name of Publication Toronto Globe and Mail

Date March 16/40

Subject

POLITICAL VIEWS IN WARTIME.

We have no reason to doubt Mr. King's sincerity in supporting the principle of party government under all circumstances. Virtually all his public life has been devoted to politics. He has learned to look on public affairs from the background of Parliament Hill, is a firm believer in constitutional formality, and evidently considers a party's political views as sacred and inviolate. In his opinion, apparently, political views cannot be separated from a man's public activities. On several occasions during the present campaign, including his speech in Massey Hall, he declared it impossible to have a Cabinet of men with different political views.

As this is his main argument against Dr. Manion's plan for a wartime National Government, it must be concluded that he does not believe it possible to sacrifice political views in Government affairs even during so grave a crisis. Yet he has made non-partisan appointments outside the Government for war purposes. Some of the most essential and difficult work being done is in the hands of men who are not Liberals. The Prime Minister and his colleagues have given assurance that politics is not considered in drafting able men for such service. Conservatives, or other non-Liberals, may be able to act in this capacity, but would not be acceptable in a wartime Cabinet because of their political views.

We assume, therefore, that Mr. King holds that a Government must be guided during a war by its political views, although the actual dray-horse management may be safe in the hands of Conservatives. If we are wrong in this interpretation we would be glad to be corrected. It is a difficult attitude to understand, if one considers, as Mr. King himself states, nothing matters at this time but winning a war requiring all the assistance Canada can give. We cannot see where politicial views enter into it.

Crediting sincerity to Mr. King, we are obliged to grant the same to Dr. Manion, notwithstanding that the Prime Minister used much of his time at Massey Hall to ridiculing the National Government plan. He said there has never been a time in the history of this world where the people were asked to vote for a Government which does not exist. We don't think he meant this, for in every election at least one party asks the people, in effect, to vote for a Government yet to be formed. It would be preferable, undoubtedly, if Dr. Manion could say: "This is my Government." The only one who can do this in any election campaign is the Prime Minister. Mr. King could have gone to the people with a National Government, after inviting representatives of other groups to join him, and declared that political views were out for the duration of the war, that a war Government had been formed to avert political squabbling and unite all parties on a war program. He has not chosen to do this, and we believe Dr. Manion is aiming to do his utmost in this direction. Whether or not he succeeds depends on the will of the voters, but he has a right to put the proposition up to them.

As we see it, the difference between the Prime Minister and the Opposition Leader is one of method. The former believes partyism must be preserved; the latter that it can be dispensed with, in principle at least, while the war lasts.

Moreover, in one respect it would be easier for Dr. Manion than Mr. King to form a united party Government. He has no Cabinet Ministers to drop to make way for others. When Premier Borden formed his Union Government he divided the portfolios as far as possible between Conservatives and Liberals. Upon the insistence of Hon.

N. W. Rowell, who was in his Cabinet, appointments were also divided between parties, the Civil Service being expanded to do away with a great deal of the patronage which had been in vogue. A Union or National Government today would probably be confronted with a similar necessity. If Mr. King decided on a National Government he would be obliged to have half his present colleagues make way for Conservatives and share the perquisites of office, which would split his party. Is this the real obstacle?

According to Mr. Woodsworth, the C.C.F. is opposed to sending men overseas to help Britain, and therefore cannot assist the war effort of either Liberals or Conservatives. But a union of the two old parties would represent the great majority of the people and would mean national unity more truly than a single party or any other combination of groups.

If Dr. Manion is endeavoring to provide a substitute for what Mr. King ought to do he should not be ridiculed. In the opinion of this paper, Mr. King's prediction as to the seriousness of this war is the minimum to be contemplated, and before it is over the Canadian people will have no use for party politics anyway.

D 54264

Windsor Star

d.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 57265

Name of Publication Windsor Star

Date Mar. 16/40

Subject

Toronto Rally Convinces Grits Victory Hopes On Solid Basis

Today In OTTAWA

Premier King's Snub to Nixon Shows That All Is Not Forgiven

By NORMAN MACLEOD

OTTAWA, March 16.—And now federal circles are staging their own epilogue to the almost incredible and not wholly savory political burlesque performance given by that stellar provincial team of Hepburn and Nixon.

It consists of a debate conducted in spirited vein around the interesting speculative proposition as to what Prime Minister King really thinks of Ontario's provincial secretary and of the human interest touch that he contributed so dramatically to the great Liberal rally in Massey Hall, Toronto.

Federal Liberals who attended that notable gathering did not fail to remark the pointed manner in which the prime minister ignored Mr. Nixon, refraining from mentioning him even after he had made his dramatic statement of support of the present ministry. And the theory has gone abroad, consequently, that the provincial secretary's role in the evening's program was arranged without Mr. King's prior knowledge — and has evoked his subsequent disapproval. In other words, the suggestion is made that Senator Arthur Hardy, shrewd veteran though he is in the art of political diplomacy, committed an error of judgment when he called upon Mr. Nixon to say his now-celebrated "few words" to the gathering that had come, not to hear the bones rattled in the Hepburn Government's skeleton closet, but to acclaim the prime minister.

Those who make this suggestion do not know either Senator Hardy or Mr. King. The senator, when it comes to using sheer political brains, is not, in the common parlance, "cute as a fox." He is a whole lot cuter. And the prime minister, as his well-known record testifies, is equally sagacious. It was one thing—and a highly effective thing—for Senator Hardy to stage-manage a dramatic, human interest incident that reminded the Massey Hall audience that Premier Hepburn did not speak for even his own ministers. It was another thing—and an equally adroit thing—for Mr. King to refrain from approving or even endorsing an incident for which, from the standpoint of the discredit that it has cast upon democratic public life, he could hardly be expected to express admiration.

Broad Strategy Seen in Incident

IN BRIEF, the eminent resources of strategy that the best Liberal brains possess has rarely been shown to better advantage, in the opinion of Parliament Hill, than when Senator Hardy and the prime minister teamed up in the Nixon episode—the one exhibiting the provincial secretary to effective political purpose, and the other ignoring him and scoring equally thereby.

It takes no particularly intimate acquaintanceship with Mr. King to realize that, in ignoring Mr. Nixon, he was following not only the path of wise policy, but of his own inclinations as well. The Liberal chieftain, however he may yield to expediency in other matters, is an uncompromising and passionate believer in democracy. It is in that characteristic of burning fervor that his fundamental Liberalism most commonly reveals itself. Consequently when any one commits an action that brings democracy into disrepute, he automatically forfeits Mr. King's sympathy and appeals to every instinct of hostility that his usually reasonable nature harbors. And when a cabinet minister resigns one day because he regards his leader as sabotaging the country's war effort, and patches up a truce with his leader and saves his own job the next day—while maintaining that his view on the sabotage question is still unaltered—then that action comes within the category of grasping, defenseless opportunism that the federal Liberal chieftain would regard as bringing democracy—the thing for which Canada is fighting in Europe—into disrepute.

Harry Nixon served Mr. King's purpose on Thursday night. It can be safely surmised that he did not win

either his approval or his respect.

As the week ends, the Liberals look back upon the Toronto meeting as not only the highlight of the campaign so far, but as definitely marking a new phase in its development. The tonic effect of the remarkable tribute that "Tory Toronto" accorded the prime minister and his French-speaking first lieutenant, Right Hon. Ernest Lapointe, has spread through the entire Liberal organization, building an optimism even greater than that which existed before.

Liberals Conclude Chances Improved

THE government forces are talking hopefully now of gaining even Toronto seats, and they no longer are prepared to concede Mr. Manion the substantial increase in his following that they once looked upon as a matter of course. They believe that the national government leader, in forsaking the war issue in part at least to build his campaign upon higher wheat prices, lower freight rates, and abolition of the radio license fee, has made a fatal strategic error. And they consider quite soberly that, with the prime minister taking his stand on the war issue alone and resisting the temptation to make any other appeal, there is an excellent chance of the result a week from next Tuesday being an even greater sweep than the record one of 1935.

D 54267

News Items

Toronto Star ..... a.

Toronto Globe and Mail .... b.

Toronto Telegram ..... c.

D 54[illegible]

News Items

Toronto Star ..... a.

Toronto Globe and Mail .... b.

Toronto Telegram ..... c.

REPEAT
REPETITION

D 54268

Toronto Star

a.

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 54269 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar. 14/40

Subject

KING NEEDS NO GUARD AT STATION WELCOME

Prime Minister Gets Warm Welcome From Railway Workers

STOPS TO CHAT

Prime Minister Mackenzie King slipped into the city without fuss or display today. There was no crowd and not a single police or other guard around his private car at the Union Station as he had breakfast and attended for an hour or more to the most urgent public business of the day. He was accompanied by only two secretaries. His arrival and quiet reception contrasted with the excitement and ceremony which accompany the goings and comings of the leaders of most other nations. It was strikingly democratic.

Senator A. D. Hardy of Brockville and J. B. Cooper, president of the Toronto Central Liberal association, were the only two to invade the premier's car. They waited until he had attended to several pressing matters of government and then the three came out of the car unannounced and walked to the nearby hotel.

Workers Greet Him

A group of railway and express workers, learning Mr. King was about to leave his car, gathered at a distance and greeted the prime minister. Premier King at once walked over to them, shook hands happily with them all, then made his way through the station to the hotel tunnel. On the way several veteran station employees in uniform welcomed the premier who unhurriedly stopped and chatted with them all.

As on other occasions during the present campaign when he has left the capital, Mr. King is spending the day quietly at his hotel suite, which has been turned into an office for the occasion. He is dividing his time between attention to government business and preparation of his address for tonight. Aside from luncheon with a score or so party workers and receiving briefly a few close friends, the prime minister concentrated throughout the day on the duties of office.

Fourth Appearance

Tonight's address at Massey Hall will be the fourth of Mr. King's five platform appearances during the present campaign. Carrying out to the letter his promise of weeks ago to put war prosecution before winning the election, the prime minister has established a precedent in addressing only five meetings. He spoke at Winnipeg, Prince Albert and Montreal, speaks here tonight, and will give his last public address at Ottawa on the eve of the voting. During the whole campaign he has been absent from the capital barely one week.

Never in any previous Canadian election has there been anything approaching the brevity of Mr. King's campaign tour. But the prime minister feels the Canadian people realize his purpose in sticking to business at a time when grave decisions must be made daily, rather than spending his time electioneering throughout the country.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 54270

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar. 14/40

Subject

PRIME MINISTER SURE THAT CANADA AT WAR VINDICATES DEMOCRACY

Gets Into Toronto Without Fanfare, Busies Himself With Job's Routine

LOOKS FIT AND WELL

By H. R. ARMSTRONG

Feeling confident the election will prove a "Liberal sweep" throughout the Dominion, Prime Minister Mackenzie King came unostentatiously to Toronto today to spend the day here and address the Liberal rally at Massey Hall tonight.

Considering the triple responsibility of normal government, war direction and election leadership which he is carrying, the Canadian premier looked remarkably well and fit as he arrived in the city for his only appearance here of the election campaign.

Mr. King is not only happy at the outlook for a decisive government victory on March 26, but at the certainty that this normal election during the stress of war has vindicated the ability of democracy to function fully in the midst of a clash of arms in which its very existence may be at stake.

As polling day nears, Mr. King is increasingly of the opinion that campaign developments demonstrate that Canada can proceed democratically in war as well as in peace. He regards the orderly progress of the wartime election as a vindication and triumph of democracy and as proof there is no need to suspend democratic principles or institutions at a time when the country is in the throes of a struggle to preserve them.

The present voting, he feels, will end forever in the Dominion the idea that during war it is necessary to prolong parliament indefinitely without giving the people their constitutional opportunity to express their views through the ballot. Mr. King is as satisfied with this aspect of the situation as at the prospect of expected convincing endorsation of his war administration.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 54251

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar. 14/40.

Subject

2 OF BIGGEST HALLS IN CITY WON'T HOLD KING'S AUDIENCE

Massey Hall and Victoria Theatre Will Be Used for Big Rally Tonight

SEATS ALL GONE

Because of the tremendous demand for seats to hear Prime Minister Mackenzie King, Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe, minister of justice, and Hon. Norman Rogers, minister of defence, two buildings have been found necessary for the Liberal rally here tonight.

The main meeting will be held in Massey Hall, and Victoria theatre, Victoria St., will handle the overflow. A public address system will carry proceedings in Massey Hall to the theatre, and in addition the theatre crowd will have Stanley St. John's orchestra.

The buildings will accommodate over 5,000. Tickets available a week ago were all taken in a few days, officials said. At the meeting, which begins at 8.30 though doors will be open at 7.30, admission will be by ticket only until 8.

Two hundred and fifty on the platform will include Sir William Mulock, Senators Salter Hayden, W. H. McGuire, Norman Lambert and Arthur Hardy, the 15 candidates from Toronto and York.

In Massey Hall the 48th Highlanders' band will play from 7.30 to 8.30 and there will be community singing.

Mr. King, Mr. Lapointe and Mr. Rogers will visit the overflow crowd.

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar. 15/40

Subject

D 54272

Come 400 Miles to Cheer King Speaking Two City Blocks Away

Two thousand men and women sat in the Victoria theatre for three hours last night facing an empty stage applauding the speeches of Prime Minister Mackenzie King, Hon. Ernest Lapointe, Hon. Norman Rogers and Sir William Mulock that reached them through a loud speaker in the centre of the stage.

At least three of this overflow audience from Massey Hall had come from 250 to 400 miles to hear the prime minister and his right-hand men address the largest and most enthusiastic gathering of the campaign.

This trio, who came from Kirkland Lake, Timmins and North Bay, were sorry they did not arrive in time to jam their way into Massey Hall, but they cheerfully climbed to a box in the Victoria theatre because, as they explained, "We want to hear King and Lapointe."

These three gave only one indication of the mass desire to get in and hear the Liberal speakers.

The rush for seats in the overflow hall began before eight o'clock. From that time until well after nine o'clock they flocked in, filling the lower floor in short order and then filling the balcony.

Stanley St. John's orchestra kept them entertained until the Massey Hall meeting opened. Then, when things got underway at Massey Hall, the applause and cheering in the Victoria theatre matched and, at times, drowned out the applause roaring out of the public address loud speaker in the centre of the stage.

Round after round of applause punctuated Defence Minister Rogers' exposition of what had been accomplished with Canada's armed forces. Applause and laughter came spontaneously during Hon. Ernest Lapointe's speech, as it alternated in sparkling witticisms and hard facts.

When Prime Minister King was introduced the nearer cheers of the theatre audience almost drowned out the roar of cheering from the loud speaker. When he finished there was the unique spectacle of 2,000 persons applauding a loud speaker.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar.15/4 0.

Subject

D 54279

SWEPT OFF HIS FEET BY WAVE OF FRIENDSHIP PREMIER KING INSPIRED

Prime Minister Thrilled by Reception—Hon. Ernest Lapointe Cuts Loose and Cracks His Voice in Sheer Ecstasy of Fun —Hon. Norman Rogers Catches Spirit of Gathering

By GREGORY CLARK

Just see what friendliness can do.

The friendliest, kindliest mass meeting in the history of this hide-bound old city last night wiped away like a smudge a tradition as old as the oldest of us.

Without one word of rancor, without an unkind word amidst a flood of three hours of witty words from Mr. Lapointe and humble forthright words from Mr. Harry Nixon, grandfatherly words from marvellous 96-year-old Sir William, blunt classroom words from Mr. Rogers, the minister of war who looks so wholly like a man of peace; and, from the prime minister for whom all this great mass meeting was staged, words so unstudied and eager and somehow boyish that you knew he was swept off his feet by the friendship that filled the whole night—on such a note was a great tradition, the tradition of a one-eyed, one-party, one-idea Tory Toronto swept away into the Fort York museum to join the stuffed musketeers of our little history.

Massey Hall jammed to the roof, an overflow of 2,700 in the Victoria theatre, four-deep lines of pleasant patient people lined completely around the whole Massey Hall block down Yonge and along Queen to Victoria St. In snow and slush and creepy March night wind, a crowd that was estimated as twice the number that could hope to get in the two meetings gathered to do justice to a very great night in Toronto's history.

Tone of Friendliness

The tone of decency and friendliness was set on the harsh night streets outside the meeting before it began. The crowds which numbered thousands of women had a quality about it you do not recollect as part of political mass meetings. This was different. And when you got inside, without fighting or fury, you found Massey Hall bright with flags, bright with the 48th Bands, both brass and pipers, and for decoration, on the wall high beyond the platform a great 10-foot picture of Mackenzie King.

And the first thing that happened to tingle the very hearts of everybody as the guests took their platform seats was the slightly shy entrance, from the left wing of the platform, of Hon. Harry and Mrs. Nixon.

This was a surprise and a sensation. Everybody knew them instantly, in that vast crowded hall. The candidates and the old stalwarts of the party on the platform suddenly started clapping. With a roar, the applause swept all over the house. Mr. Nixon, obviously at high tension in this bold and homely act of public duty, sank into his chair facing the full massed meeting, and Mrs. Nixon sat down close beside him. One by one, people on the platform got up and walked over to him and shook his hand. Each handshake, the crowd applauded. It was a friendly, kindly throng to begin with. The Harry Nixon incident, for a prelude, signed, sealed and delivered the great gathering over to kindliness entire.

And it never departed for a second, a word or a phrase from kindliness for three hours. Mr. Rogers, "the most abused member of the government," was the first speaker. The abuse that has been heaped on him might sour a man into a few stung phrases thought up in the night and treasured for such a gathering as this. But Hon. Norman Rogers, a boy and a plain private soldier in my old brigade in the last war, now the unspangled, quiet, word-pinching controller of the 90,000 private soldiers and officers he has already enlisted in Canada's new army, air force and navy, never uttered a word that had a trace of bitter in it. The friendliness of this huge gathering swept down and enfolded him. He did not need any fireworks. He spoke —as the prime minister said later— as a gentleman speaks to gentlemen.

Lapointe Lays Old Ghosts

Then up got Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe and for nearly an hour, sensing the bulging affection of the meeting, laid all the ghosts of the past as between Toronto and Montreal, as between Ontario and Quebec. He recognized the historic character of the throng, and of the occasion. After 36 years in Canada's parliament fighting ruggedly and massively for Canadian unity, he suddenly saw before him a Toronto crowd that seemed to look at him as if it knew him. And it cheered him. It must have been a nice feeling. For it did a queer thing to Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe. It cut him loose and he spoke in English with all the glitter and wit and homely humor that makes him so beloved to his own folk when he speaks in French. He acted. He pranced. He whispered and mimicked and cracked his voice in sheer ecstasy of fun. For a whole hour, he gave a huge Toronto audience a taste of something they had never seen before —a great French-Canadian being utterly at home.

You can read his speech elsewhere in the paper. It won't read as gay as it came over the platform edge of Massey Hall. But if you can picture a huge, Norman sort of a man, a baronial, battle-axe kind of amiable giant leaning out over the microphones, with his great fingers jagged at you, and his face pinched up with glee and saying . . . " . . . a chain is only as strong, they say, as its weakest link. A political leader, aaahhh, is only as strong as his weakest moment."

He speckles his speech with things like that, every sentence. He shares your laugh. He stands there and forgets who he is, so delighted is he to discover who you are. It was Mackenzie King's meeting. But Ernest Lapointe was given a fat share of it by a great crowd of Toronto people who knew full well they were dancing at the wake of an old withered tradition this night now dead.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar.15/4 0.

Subject

SWEPT OFF HIS FEET BY WAVE OF FRIENDSHIP PREMIER KING INSPIRED

Prime Minister Thrilled by Reception—Hon. Ernest Lapointe Cuts Loose and Cracks His Voice in Sheer Ecstasy of Fun —Hon. Norman Rogers Catches Spirit of Gathering

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The tone of decency and friendliness was set on the harsh night streets outside the meeting before it began. The crowds which numbered thousands of women had a quality about it you do not recollect as part of political mass meetings. This was different. And when you got inside, without fighting or fury, you found Massey Hall bright with flags, bright with the 48th Bands, both brass and pipers, and for decoration, on the wall high beyond the platform a great 10-foot picture of Mackenzie King.

And the first thing that happened to tingle the very hearts of everybody as the guests took their platform seats was the slightly shy entrance, from the left wing of the platform, of Hon. Harry and Mrs. Nixon.

This was a surprise and a sensation. Everybody knew them instantly, in that vast crowded hall. The candidates and the old stalwarts of the party on the platform suddenly started clapping. With a roar, the applause swept all over the house. Mr. Nixon, obviously at high tension in this bold and homely act of public duty, sank into his chair facing the full massed meeting, and Mrs. Nixon sat down close beside him. One by one, people on the platform got up and walked over to him and shook his hand. Each handshake, the crowd applauded. It was a friendly, kindly throng to begin with. The Harry Nixon incident, for a prelude, signed, sealed and delivered the great gathering over to kindliness entire.

And it never departed for a second, a word or a phrase from kindliness for three hours. Mr. Rogers, "the most abused member of the government," was the first speaker. The abuse that has been heaped on him might sour a man into a few stung phrases thought up in the night and treasured for such a gathering as this. But Hon. Norman Rogers, a boy and a plain private soldier in my old brigade in the last war, now the unspangled, quiet, word-pinching controller of the 90,000 private soldiers and officers he has already enlisted in Canada's new army, air force and navy, never uttered a word that had a trace of bitter in it. The friendliness of this huge gathering swept down and enfolded him. He did not need any fireworks. He spoke —as the prime minister said later— as a gentleman speaks to gentlemen.

Lapointe Lays Old Ghosts

Then up got Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe and for nearly an hour, sensing the bulging affection of the meeting, laid all the ghosts of the past as between Toronto and Montreal, as between Ontario and Quebec. He recognized the historic character of the throng, and of the occasion. After 36 years in Canada's parliament fighting ruggedly and massively for Canadian unity, he suddenly saw before him a Toronto crowd that seemed to look at him as if it knew him. And it cheered him. It must have been a nice feeling. For it did a queer thing to Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe. It cut him loose and he spoke in English with all the glitter and wit and homely humor that makes him so beloved to his own folk when he speaks in French. He acted. He pranced. He whispered and mimicked and cracked his voice in sheer ecstasy of fun. For a whole hour, he gave a huge Toronto audience a taste of something they had never seen before —a great French-Canadian being utterly at home.

You can read his speech elsewhere in the paper. It won't read as gay as it came over the platform edge of Massey Hall. But if you can picture a huge, Norman sort of a man, a baronial, battle-axe kind of amiable giant leaning out over the microphones, with his great fingers jagged at you, and his face pinched up with glee and saying . . . " . . . a chain is only as strong, they say, as its weakest link. A political leader, aaahhh, is only as strong as his weakest moment."

He speckles his speech with things like that, every sentence. He shares your laugh. He stands there and forgets who he is, so delighted is he to discover who you are. It was Mackenzie King's meeting. But Ernest Lapointe was given a fat share of it by a great crowd of Toronto people who knew full well they were dancing at the wake of an old withered tradition this night new dead.

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 52371

Sir William There

In the front row, his white beard and head gleaming like a banner, old Sir William sat at gaze before all this spectacle of good will and unexampled good nature. The chairman, Senator Hardy from Brockville, could not help but get the telepathy from the crowd that called for the great old man to speak. Up got Sir William to stand to the mikes with a strong clear voice, upright and incredibly aware across the almost century of his years—and without a word lost, told us to do what a jury does, take the evidence, and the evidence only, setting aside all prejudice, and in this time of national peril, give our decision in the favor of the things and the men we knew, and not in the favor of the things and the men we do not know.

Then Hon. Harry Nixon was called. He spoke only three minutes. The friendly and warm reception he got, without one dissenting yell or cry, had unquestionably flabbergasted him. He said so. He said he had not been at all sure what sort of reception he might get. Well, he got a good country slice of the friendliest meeting in Toronto's history. A meeting that made you glad to be a Torontonian, at last. When he sat down, after his few sentences of explanation for his moves of the past week, the crowd applauded and cheered him long and loud, and in a second burst, a sort of afterthought of applause, as it were, louder than the first, forced Mr. Nixon to get up and take a bow again. He did not turn and look at his wife. Mrs. Nixon did not pat his arm or make any sign of the thrill she must have felt at that minute. But you can bet your boots it was a brave woman and a brave man that came into Massey Hall when those two came in. And I hope they took hands and squeezed the minute the meeting was over and they were out in the cheering halls, lost in the happy multitude.

Speaks Ad Lib

It was well after 10 o'clock when the chief of all was called, the prime minister. From the notes he took and laid on the table and later picked up and put in his inside pocket, it is likely he had prepared a speech very different from the homely, amiable, unstudied address he gave us. A fighting speech, a studied, reasoned political speech would have been grotesquely out of tune. I think when Mackenzie King entered Massey Hall last night, he still thought of Tory Toronto, of a battlemented hilltop stronghold; and he a Marmion crossing the drawbridge.

But after 10 minutes, he put his notes away in his inside breast pocket and just spoke from his heart. You can read his speech. We had three shorthand men taking it down. But shorthand doesn't catch the grace notes of a man's voice who knows he is welcome, at last, in the city he must call home.

Massey Hall never seated a greater, a more representative or a kindlier hearted crowd than it held last night. There were surely as many women as men. You would think it was a concert, the way the applause burst and fell—not a political meeting.

And one of the loveliest instants of a night electric with new things and old was the moment old Sir William rose to his feet and Captain John Slatter of the 48th, seizing like all the rest of us the spirit of the hour leaped his band into "The Maple Leaf Forever" when Sir William got to his feet. We were on our feet anyway. But that instant, we all went tip toe.

And when we sang "O Canada," there in the front row, by the side of his lifelong friend and leader, and fellow fighter for Canada's deep unity, stood Ernest Lapointe, phrasing the noble song in great round French while we waved it forth in English.

And at the end, in no hurry to get out, we all shook hands with the people around us, perfect strangers until that minute.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar. 14/40

Subject

D 54375

KING, MANION HERE BUT DON'T MEET

The election paths of Premier King and Hon. R. J. Manion, Conservative leader, crossed briefly in the dim depths of the Union station here today. Mr. King came from Ottawa for his election meeting here tonight and was working in his private car, while Dr. Manion came in from the east and changed trains for western Ontario. The leaders did not meet.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
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Name of Publication Toronto Star

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar. 15/40

Subject

D54277

C.B.C. POLICY BANNED KING FROM AIRWAVES

Never Broadcast Public Political Speeches, Censor Explains

Regulations of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation prevented the speech of Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King at Massey Hall from being broadcast last night, C. A. A. Fraser, radio censor in Toronto, explained today.

A flood of protests poured into The Star's office last night as radio listeners complained they were not able to tune in on the Liberal rally.

"It is one of the rules of the C.B.C. that no political speeches be broadcast from a public platform," he said. "The ban includes all parties, but does not extend to prepared political speeches delivered from a radio studio. It is simply a matter of C.B.C. policy."

Hon. R. J. Manion's speech at Maple Leaf Gardens Monday evening will also be kept off the air.

D 54278

Toronto Globe and Mail

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Globe & Mail

Date Mar. 15/40

Subject

D 54279

'We're All Behind King,' Pledge Women at Rally

(By THELMA CRAIG.)
(Staff Writer, The Globe and Mail.)

Ontario and Toronto women Liberals last night turned out in full force to give what they themselves termed "unqualified support" to Federal Leader, W. L. Mackenzie King at the Massey Hall rally.

It was not the huge and enthusiastic crowd that thrilled them most, however. They felt that was only "natural." It was rather the presence on the platform of Hon. and Mrs. Harry Nixon.

While presidents, past presidents, executive officers and conveners of both the Ontario and Toronto Women's Liberal Associations occupied sections on the very left and very right of the platform, there were just three seats reserved for women in the front row. There sat Mrs. D. McGill Farwell, president of the Toronto Women Liberals; Mrs. C. R. Widdifield of Stratford, president of the Ontario Women Liberals, and Mrs. Harry Nixon.

"We're going to have Mrs. Nixon beside us," said Mrs. Widdifield, pointing to the vacant chair beside her a few minutes before the entry of Mr. and Mrs. Nixon amid cheers.

"Isn't that exciting!" exclaimed the leader of the Provincial Women Liberals. "I can't imagine anything nicer happening to us!"

Mrs. Widdifield hopes there won't be any landslide for the Liberal Party, however. "It is very important, I think, to have a really good strong Opposition for Parliament to function at its best."

Someone said it had been reported that some Liberals would vote for Conservative candidates with the mere idea of reducing the majority of the King Government, Mrs. Farwell said, "I hope not too many."

"We are 100 per cent behind Mr. King," declared Mrs. Widdifield.

"That goes for the Toronto Women Liberals, too," injected Mrs. Farwell.

Occupying loge seats in Massey Hall were Mrs. Harry Lay, Mr. King's sister, of Barrie, and several prominent women Liberals. Among them were Mrs. Adam Ballantyne, past president Toronto Women Liberals, and Mrs. G. S. Lindsay, who has served both as president of the Ontario Women's Liberal Association and the Toronto Women's Group also.

While the audience was preponderantly comprised of men, there were very many hundreds of women present.

Among the women on the platform were also the wives of the Liberal candidates in Toronto.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Globe and Mail

Date Mar.15/40.

Subject

D5380

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Globe and Mail

Date Mar.15/40

Subject

D 54291

Streets Near Hall Filled as Crowds Flock to King Rally

Line Extends for Blocks; Several Thousands Estimated Unable to Gain Entry; Vociferous Welcome Given Prime Minister by Assembly

THEATRE JAMMED TO CAPACITY, TOO

(Other Pictures on Page 4.)

The title of "Tory Toronto" and the reputation of the city for apathy toward the Liberal brand of politics were both swept away last night when thousands of citizens jammed the streets for blocks in an attempt to enter Massey Hall, where Prime Minister Mackenzie King delivered his first Ontario speech of the election campaign.

Police reinforcements were necessary to control the thousands who disregarded the worst possible weather conditions to hear the Dominion Leader defend his Government's war record. The Victoria Theatre, with a capacity of approximately 2,700, was filled to the roof top and the speeches were relayed there from Massey Hall. It was estimated several thousand were unable to gain admittance to either building.

At 7:30 p.m. there was a line, three deep, extending from Massey Hall, along Shuter Street, south on Yonge Street to Queen Street, and east on Queen Street to Victoria Street. They waited patiently in the slush and cold of a typical March night, moving a few feet at a time toward the doors. Many hundreds did not even attempt to get into Massey Hall. They headed directly for the Victoria Theatre.

Contrary to his own statement the night he withdrew his resignation as Provincial Secretary, Hon. H C. NNixon was present on the platform, and his appearance with Mrs. Nixon was the signal for a storm of applause.

It was a good-humored crowd that awaited the arrival of the Prime Minister and his Ministers. There were the usual songs in which the audience was exhorted to join. The entertainment helped pass the time, but it was just a filler-in for the big moment—the arrival of the Prime Minister in the one and only appearance of the campaign as far as Toronto is concerned.

On the platform sat the Toronto and York Liberal candidates.

Then came the entrance of Mr. King, and the assemblage rose in a spontaneous movement and shouted themselves hoarse.

The Prime Minister, looking rested after his day in the seclusion of the Royal York Hotel, waved his hands in response to the tumultuous welcome. Walking ahead of him to the platform was Sir William Mulock, one of the patriachs of Canadian Liberalism.

King Portrait Seen.

Behind the galaxy of platform figures was a large portrait of Mr. King, framed against a large maple leaf. Flags dotted the hall where so many stirring political meetings have been held in the past. And the Prime Minister of Canada is no stranger to Massey Hall. In the past he has stood on the spacious platform and defended the record of his Government.

Last night Mr. King gave his hearers some of the reasons which, he felt, entitled his Government to a renewal of public confidence. The reception accorded him when he walked to the platform paled before the ovation which greeted him as he rose to speak. The audience, among whom could be seen a sprinkling of war veterans' berets, rose and cheered in deafening volume. It was a stirring welcome and one which obviously pleased the Federal Leader.

About 2,500 who were unable to gain admittance to Massey Hall were accommodated at the Victoria Theatre.

An orchestra on the stage of the theatre gave a personal touch to the remote-control program as the audience applauded in unison with the Massey Hall gathering to the sallies of Senator A. C. Hardy, the Prime Minister and other speakers.

In plush seats on the main floor, the audience in the overflow meeting was more comfortably seated than the main gathering in the music centre. They were as quick to appreciate the telling points of the speakers, whose words were carried to them by a loudspeaker system, as were those in Massey Hall.

Prime Minister King applauded with the audience as he turned to fix his attention upon each Liberal candidate in Toronto and York ridings as they were introduced to the enthusiastic audience.

Mr. King turned from the audience as he applauded each candidate. The applause was more vociferous for Arthur Roebuck, former Queen's Park member, and for William Pate Mulock, whose grandfather, Sir William, was among the dignitaries on the platform. As the dozen candidates, whose names were on individual banners at the rear of the platform, rose to their feet from the second row of the platform to acknowledge the plau-

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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D 54282

dits of the audience, Liberal dignitaries seated in the four other rows along the platform rose to show their approbation.

Premier Lauded.

John B. Cooper, Toronto Central Liberal Association president, referred to the recent banquet which Liberals from all parts of Canada tendered the Prime Minister to mark completion of many years of service as Liberal Party Leader.

Much water had flown under the bridges since then, Mr. Cooper declared, and Canada was now on the eve of one of the most momentous elections in its history.

"And when history comes to be written," he maintained, "no name will shine with greater lustre than the gentleman who is Prime Minister of Canada tonight."

Senator Arthur Hardy of Brockville then assumed his duties as chairman of the rally and drew rounds of applause as he expressed the conviction that the vast majority of Canadians were standing solidly behind the Mackenzie King Government's war effort.

Ontario had sent fifty-six Liberal members to the House of Commons at the last election, Senator Hardy recalled, and in his opinion there was little doubt but that this achievement would be repeated if not bettered on March 26.

"The Prime Minister has come to Toronto tonight to ask you to give him and his Administration a renewal of your confidence," he continued as the crowd burst into applause and shouts of "We Will" came from all sides.

"Mr. King is asking you to support the Liberal Party," Senator Hardy declared, "as against a party that has changed its name three times in the past fifteen years."

The Senator contended that the Manion supporters were now trying "to hide" behind the name of National Government candidates when all the time they were nothing more than 99 per cent Tories.

Premier King had already made a tremendous success in guiding the Government's war effort, Senator Hardy continued and from the moment he first assumed office it had been a Mackenzie King policy to surround himself with the best brains possible.

To illustrate his contention the Senator paid particular reference to Hon. Charles Dunning and Hon. J. L. Ralston. Both men had such confidence in the Prime Minister, he said, that they had given up their private careers and entered the Cabinet at great personal sacrifice.

Rogers Reviews Program.

Defense Minister Rogers, who under earlier arrangements was to have had a silent role, gave a ten-minute review of Canada's war program.

He said there were 75,000 men on active service, 6,000 in the Royal Canadian Navy and 10,000 in the R.C.A.F. He referred to auxiliary services, and stressed that behind the First and Second Divisions stood the Non-Permanent Active Militia units. These, he said, would provide the organization for the continued development of the war effort.

"Behind each of these decisions and policies there lies a story of patient and careful planning, not only by members of the Government, but by the staffs of our fighting services and the rank and file of the Civil Service of Canada.

"As I close," said Mr. Rogers, "I want to leave with you this final thought to carry with you during the remaining days of this election campaign. On Sept. 3, on the day war was declared between the United Kingdom and Germany, the Prime Minister spoke to the Canadian people. These were his concluding words:

"'The people of Canada will, I know, face the days of stress and strain which lie ahead with calm and resolute courage. There is no home in Canada, no family, and no individual whose fortunes and freedom are not bound up in the present struggle. I appeal to my fellow-Canadians to unite in a national effort to save from destruction all that makes life itself worth living, and to preserve for future generations those liberties and institutions which others have bequeathed to us.'

"I want you to believe that a united national effort has been the constant concern of the present Government under the leadership of Mackenzie King, supported by our colleague Ernest Lapointe. With the endorsement of the Canadian people, it will continue to be our purpose by day and by night until the final victory has been won."

Lapointe Acclaimed.

Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe was introduced as the victor of the "great Duplessis battle in Quebec" as the audience rose to its feet to acclaim the Prime Minister's chief lieutenant.

"I am glad to be introduced to you as a messenger of Canadian unity," he said.

"You remember the predictions made throughout Canada since the last war that if there were to be another war, Canada would be divided and it might be the end of Confederation. But Canada has never been so united as it is today," he declared, giving Mr. King full credit for the unity of the Dominion.

"What a difference there existed twenty-two years ago when it was said most of the rest of Canada was against Quebec and Quebec was against the rest of Canada. But in 1940 Quebec is with the rest of Canada and the rest of Canada is with Quebec. And we are proud of it. And this man here," he said, pointing to Mr. King, "is responsible for it."

He said Dr. Manion "temporarily lost his head" when he accused the Prime Minister of creating disunity. "I have worked all my life to try to unite Canada," he said, "I think I have healed many wounds inflicted from time to time."

Mr. Lapointe declared the unity of Canada was "dangerously challenged" by Duplessis in the Quebec election. "I took my political future in my hands," he said, referring to his public determination to leave the Federal Cabinet if Duplessis had been supported by the Quebec electorate.

"I have had telegrams from all parts of Canada thanking me for the work done then and I might say many of them came from Toronto," added Mr. Lapointe. "And you would be surprised if I gave you the names of some of them. I might be more indiscreet and give you some of them," he said with a smile, but without further enlightenment.

"Manion has said that King and myself have entered into a conspiracy against national unity and them. I am afraid the worst conspirator against Dr. Manion is Dr. Manion himself.

"Someone from Winnipeg has said if Dr. Manion catches laryngitis he may not be so good as he was. We are being told by our opponents today that we are putting national unity before war effort.

"There cannot be a satisfactory war effort without national unity. If there is not complete unity, there cannot be a maximum war effort. The country must be united behind the Government for the war effort to be satisfactory and effective.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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"I have had telegrams from all parts of Canada thanking me for the work done then and I might say many of them came from Toronto," added Mr. Lapointe. "And you would be surprised if I gave you the names of some of them. I might be more indiscreet and give you some of them," he said with a smile, but without further enlightenment.

"Manion has said that King and myself have entered into a conspiracy against national unity and them, I am afraid the worst conspirator against Dr. Manion is Dr. Manion himself.

"Someone from Winnipeg has said if Dr. Manion catches laryngitis he may not be so good as he was. We are being told by our opponents today that we are putting national unity before war effort.

"There cannot be a satisfactory war effort without national unity. If there is not complete unity, there cannot be a maximum war effort. The country must be united behind the Government for the war effort to be satisfactory and effective.

REPEAT
REPETITION

Name of Publication Toronto Globe & Mail

Date Mar. 15/40

Subject

D 54283

Streets Near Hall Filled as Crowds Flock to King Rally

Line Extends for Blocks; Several Thousands Estimated Unable to Gain Entry; Vociferous Welcome Given Prime Minister by Assembly

THEATRE JAMMED TO CAPACITY, TOO

(Other Pictures on Page 4.)

The title of "Tory Toronto" and the reputation of the city for apathy toward the Liberal brand of politics were both swept away last night when thousands of citizens jammed the streets for blocks in an attempt to enter Massey Hall, where Prime Minister Mackenzie King delivered his first Ontario speech of the election campaign.

Police reinforcements were necessary to control the thousands who disregarded the worst possible weather conditions to hear the Dominion Leader defend his Government's war record. The Victoria Theatre, with a capacity of approximately 2,700, was filled to the roof top and the speeches were relayed there from Massey Hall. It was estimated several thousand were unable to gain admittance to either building.

At 7:30 p.m. there was a line, three deep, extending from Massey Hall, along Shuter Street, south on Yonge Street to Queen Street, and east on Queen Street to Victoria Street. They waited patiently in the slush and cold of a typical March night, moving a few feet at a time toward the doors. Many hundreds did not even attempt to get into Massey Hall. They headed directly for the Victoria Theatre.

Contrary to his own statement the night he withdrew his resignation as Provincial Secretary, Hon. H C. NNixon was present on the platform, and his appearance with Mrs. Nixon was the signal for a storm of applause.

It was a good-humored crowd that awaited the arrival of the Prime Minister and his Ministers. There were the usual songs in which the audience was exhorted to join. The entertainment helped pass the time, but it was just a filler-in for the big moment—the arrival of the Prime Minister in the one and only appearance of the campaign as far as Toronto is concerned.

On the platform sat the Toronto and York Liberal candidates.

Then came the entrance of Mr. King, and the assemblage rose in a spontaneous movement and shouted themselves hoarse.

The Prime Minister, looking rested after his day in the seclusion of the Royal York Hotel, waved his hands in response to the tumultuous welcome. Walking ahead of him to the platform was Sir William Mulock, one of the patriachs of Canadian Liberalism.

King Portrait Seen.

Behind the galaxy of platform figures was a large portrait of Mr. King, framed against a large maple leaf. Flags dotted the hall where so many stirring political meetings have been held in the past. And the Prime Minister of Canada is no stranger to Massey Hall. In the past he has stood on the spacious platform and defended the record of his Government.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 54284

Last night Mr. King gave his hearers some of the reasons which, he felt, entitled his Government to a renewal of public confidence. The reception accorded him when he walked to the platform paled before the ovation which greeted him as he rose to speak. The audience, among whom could be seen a sprinkling of war veterans' berets, rose and cheered in deafening volume. It was a stirring welcome and one which obviously pleased the Federal Leader.

About 2,500 who were unable to gain admittance to Massey Hall were accommodated at the Victoria Theatre.

An orchestra on the stage of the theatre gave a personal touch to the remote-control program as the audience applauded in unison with the Massey Hall gathering to the sallies of Senator A. C. Hardy, the Prime Minister and other speakers.

In plush seats on the main floor, the audience in the overflow meeting was more comfortably seated than the main gathering in the music centre. They were as quick to appreciate the telling points of the speakers, whose words were carried to them by a loudspeaker system, as were those in Massey Hall.

Prime Minister King applauded with the audience as he turned to fix his attention upon each Liberal candidate in Toronto and York ridings as they were introduced to the enthusiastic audience.

Mr. King turned from the audience as he applauded each candidate. The applause was more vociferous for Arthur Roebuck, former Queen's Park member, and for William Pate Mulock, whose grandfather, Sir William, was among the dignitaries on the platform. As the dozen candidates, whose names were on individual banners at the rear of the platform, rose to their feet from the second row of the platform to acknowledge the plaudits of the audience, Liberal dignitaries seated in the four other rows along the platform rose to show their approbation.

Premier Lauded.

John B. Cooper, Toronto Central Liberal Association president, referred to the recent banquet which Liberals from all parts of Canada tendered the Prime Minister to mark completion of many years of service as Liberal Party Leader.

Much water had flown under the bridges since then, Mr. Cooper declared, and Canada was now on the eve of one of the most momentous elections in its history.

"And when history comes to be written," he maintained, "no name will shine with greater lustre than the gentleman who is Prime Minister of Canada tonight."

Senator Arthur Hardy of Brockville then assumed his duties as chairman of the rally and drew rounds of applause as he expressed the conviction that the vast majority of Canadians were standing solidly behind the Mackenzie King Government's war effort.

Ontario had sent fifty-six Liberal members to the House of Commons at the last election, Senator Hardy recalled, and in his opinion there was little doubt but that this achievement would be repeated if not bettered on March 26.

"The Prime Minister has come to Toronto tonight to ask you to give him and his Administration a renewal of your confidence," he continued as the crowd burst into applause and shouts of "We Will" came from all sides.

"Mr. King is asking you to support the Liberal Party," Senator Hardy declared, "as against a party that has changed its name three times in the past fifteen years."

The Senator contended that the Manion supporters were now trying "to hide" behind the name of National Government candidates when all the time they were nothing more than 99 per cent Tories.

Premier King had already made a tremendous success in guiding the Government's war effort, Senator Hardy continued and from the moment he first assumed office it had been a Mackenzie King policy to surround himself with the best brains possible.

To illustrate his contention the Senator paid particular reference to Hon. Charles Dunning and Hon. J. L. Ralston. Both men had such confidence in the Prime Minister, he said, that they had given up their private careers and entered the Cabinet at great personal sacrifice.

Rogers Reviews Program.

Defense Minister Rogers, who under earlier arrangements was to have had a silent role, gave a ten-minute review of Canada's war program.

He said there were 75,000 men on active service, 6,000 in the Royal Canadian Navy and 10,000 in the R.C.A.F. He referred to auxiliary services, and stressed that behind the First and Second Divisions stood the Non-Permanent Active Militia units. These, he said, would provide the organization for the

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 54285

continued development of the war effort.

"Behind each of these decisions and policies there lies a story of patient and careful planning, not only by members of the Government, but by the staffs of our fighting services and the rank and file of the Civil Service of Canada.

"As I close," said Mr. Rogers, "I want to leave with you this final thought to carry with you during the remaining days of this election campaign. On Sept. 3, on the day war was declared between the United Kingdom and Germany, the Prime Minister spoke to the Canadian people. These were his concluding words:

"'The people of Canada will, I know, face the days of stress and strain which lie ahead with calm and resolute courage. There is no home in Canada, no family, and no individual whose fortunes and freedom are not bound up in the present struggle. I appeal to my fellow-Canadians to unite in a national effort to save from destruction all that makes life itself worth living, and to preserve for future generations those liberties and institutions which others have bequeathed to us.'

"I want you to believe that a united national effort has been the constant concern of the present Government under the leadership of Mackenzie King, supported by our colleague Ernest Lapointe. With the endorsement of the Canadian people, it will continue to be our purpose by day and by night until the final victory has been won."

Lapointe Acclaimed.

Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe was introduced as the victor of the "great Duplessis battle in Quebec" as the audience rose to its feet to acclaim the Prime Minister's chief lieutenant.

"I am glad to be introduced to you as a messenger of Canadian unity," he said.

"You remember the predictions made throughout Canada since the last war that if there were to be another war, Canada would be divided and it might be the end of Confederation. But Canada has never been so united as it is today," he declared, giving Mr. King full credit for the unity of the Dominion.

"What a difference there existed twenty-two years ago when it was said most of the rest of Canada was against Quebec and Quebec was against the rest of Canada. But in 1940 Quebec is with the rest of Canada and the rest of Canada is with Quebec. And we are proud of it. And this man here," he said, pointing to Mr. King, "is responsible for it."

He said Dr. Manion "temporarily lost his head" when he accused the Prime Minister of creating disunity. "I have worked all my life to try to unite Canada," he said. "I think I have healed many wounds inflicted from time to time."

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D 54286

Toronto Telegram

C.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram

Date Mar. 14/40

Subject

D 54287

EVEN SKIES FROWN ON PRIME MINISTER

Bleak Reception For Mr. King on Arrival in Toronto — Only Newsmen on Hand

Prime Minister Mackenzie King arrived in Toronto in his sumptuous private car attached to the Ottawa train at 7.20 a.m. to-day, preparatory to speaking at a Liberal meeting in Massey Hall to-night.

It was a typical "Tory Toronto" greeting he received as far as the weather—and the citizens, too—was concerned. The Prime Minister perhaps lifted the shade of his drawing room window just far enough to peek out. If he did, he saw dull grey skies, sleet and snow pounding down in the bleak railway yard. Then, perhaps, he snuggled down in his soft, warm bed again, for soon it was announced to the assembled "greeters"—a party of newsmen and photographers—that Mr. King would be leaving his car at 9.30 a.m. Hon. Norman Rogers, it was also stated, would be leaving about 8.30 a.m.

By 10.30, a secretary had appeared, but Mr. King hadn't. It was stated that Mr. King would meet the Toronto Liberal officials at his suite in the Royal York later in the day.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram

Date March 15/40

Subject

D 54288

Nixon Changes Mind Again Hops Back From 'Holiday' To Attend Rally For King

Political antics of Hon. Harry Nixon became even more ludicrous last night when, just 48 hours after re-embracing Premier Mitchell F. Hepburn, he went to Massey Hall platform to honor Mr. Hepburn's arch-enemy, W. L. M. King.

This latest move which is permitted by the Provincial Secretary's divided loyalties is considered even more strange in political quarters by reason of his announcement on the evening of his reconciliation with the Ontario Premier, that he was going away for two or three days' rest and would not be at the King meeting.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Nixon actually did embark on his holiday, but only succeeded in reaching his farm near St. George from which he promptly returned to attend the King rally.

As other members of the Hepburn Government preserved silence at Queen's Park to-day it was difficult to determine their reaction to the newest Nixon reversal of decision.

Premier Hepburn said this afternoon that Mr. Nixon's sudden decision to join the King supporters on the Massey Hall platform would not alter the situation in the Hepburn Cabinet created by the Provincial Secretary's resignation and subsequent reconciliation.

"There is nothing for me to say except that while we agree on provincial affairs, we are free to go our own way in federal matters," Mr. Hepburn told The Telegram.

Attorney-General Gordon Conant's only reaction to Mr. Nixon's appearance on the King platform last night was the remark: "I've got my hands busy in my own riding where I am supporting W. H. Moore."

Hon. Harold Kirby, Minister of Health, one of the few ministers at Queen's Park to-day, said that so far as he was concerned, Mr. Nixon's action on appearing on the platform last night made no difference in the situation.

"We are all free to do as we like, so far as national politics is concerned," said he.

Hon. T. B. McQuesten, Hon. Paul Leduc, Hon. Eric Cross and Hon. Norman O. Hipel were all absent from the city to-day.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram

Date Mar. 15/40.

D 54289

Subject

Nixon On King's Platform Greeted As "Next Premier"

Appearing on the platform of the Liberal rally in Massey Hall last night was Ontario's Provincial Secretary, Hon. Harry Nixon—lone representative of the Ontario cabinet to put in an appearance.

He received a vociferous welcome, and his face, first a little strained, broke into a smile.

"I'll admit," he said, "I wasn't too sure just what would happen when I came here to-night. But come what may," and here he turned to Mrs. Nixon, also on the platform, "we are behind Mackenzie King as we have been since 1921.

"It would be presumptuous to inject provincial or personal matters into a meeting of this kind," he commenced.

"Let her go, Harry!" someone yelled from the audience, and Harry let her go.

"I have made no withdrawal to the remarks I issued to the press on Monday last. I thought it only right and proper that when I took that position, I could do nothing else but resign.

"The Premier and the members of the cabinet refused to accept my resignation. They submitted that the doctrine of cabinet solidarity was not involved. The Premier of Ontario did me the great honor to wait on me and persuade me to continue my duties. I believe the government of Mackenzie King deserves the support of the people of Canada. I believe that government will get it," he concluded.

Then he sat down as a loud voice called from the Massey Hall "gods": "There's the next Premier of Ontario."

D 54290

Photographs

D 54290

Photographs

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar. 15/40

D 54291

Subject



FEDERAL LEADER ACKNOWLEDGES TORONTO'S HOMAGE

In ringing tones, Prime Minister Mackenzie King told a great Toronto audience in Massey Hall last night that the Liberal party was the true party of national unity, and that no new and untried government could with equal success carry on the war. "It is because we want a united government that we oppose those who want national government," he declared.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar. 15/40

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D 54291



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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar. 14/40

Subject

D 54392



PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar. 14/40

D 54292

Subject



PRIME MINISTER ARRIVES FOR GREAT LIBERAL RALLY

Because the constant pressure of war duties keeps him from active campaigning, Premier King's only platform speech in Ontario will be made in Massey Hall tonight and carried to an overflow crowd in the Victoria theatre. Mr. King is shown on the platform of his train as he arrived in Toronto today. Other speakers tonight will be Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe, minister of justice, and Hon. Norman Rogers, minister of defence. Among the 250 notables on the platform will be Sir William Mulock, Senators Salter Hayden, W. H. McGuire, Norman Lambert and Arthur Hardy, and 15 Toronto and York candidates.

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar. 14/40

Subject

5293



PRIME MINISTER IS WELCOMED TO TORONTO BY OLD SCHOOLMATE

Arriving at the Union Station today to address a campaign meeting tonight, Prime Minister Mackenzie King found a friend of his boyhood on hand to greet him. He is shown as he shook hands with C. H. Doerr, Kitchener manufacturer (LEFT) with whom he went to school, while Assistant Station Master George Clarke smilingly looks on. Because of the tremendous demand for seats at tonight's meeting, the Victoria theatre has been engaged to accommodate part of the overflow crowd from Massey Hall.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar. 15/40

Subject

D 54294



"OLDEST, CLOSEST FRIENDS" SURROUND LEADER AT MEETING

Opening his address in Massey Hall last night, Prime Minister King expressed his "very special pride" that gathered with him on the platform were a number of his oldest and closest friends, both personal and political. After 40 years, he renewed his thanks to Sir William Mulock (RIGHT), who, as minister of labor, "opened the door" for Mr. King to enter the public life of Canada. The prime minister paid tribute also to the qualities of Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe, minister of justice (CENTRE). "No one has ever had a more loyal, truer, more faithful associate," he declared.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star D54205

Date Mar. 15/40

Subject

HEPBURN'S RIGHT-HAND MAN PLEDGES CONTINUED SUPPORT TO MACKENZIE KING



HON. HARRY NIXON STANDS BY HIS CONDEMNATION OF PROVINCIAL PREMIER'S FEDERAL ATTITUDE

Several times hailed by members of the audience as "the next premier of Ontario", Hon. Harry C. Nixon received a great ovation as he appeared on the same platform as Prime Minister King at the Liberal rally in Massey Hall last night. "Come what may, I am behind Mr. King," he declared amid cheers. He was the only member of the provincial cabinet who attended the meeting. Immediately after the meeting, Mr. King, smiling broadly, crossed the platform to shake hands with Mr. and Mrs. Nixon. He spoke a few words to Mr. Nixon, who smiled and shook hands again. The three are shown on the platform, LEFT, as the Nixons led applause for the federal leader. At LEFT, Mr. and Mrs. Nixon are pictured as they chatted with Sir William Mulock prior to the meeting, and at RIGHT is Mr. Nixon as he declared: "I believe the government of Mr. King deserves the support of the people of Canada, and I believe it will get that support. We're behind Mr. King as we have been since 1921."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 54296

Name of Publication Toronto Globe & Mail

Date Mar. 15/40

Subject

'Big Three' of Mackenzie King Cabinet Here



On their way to the mass rally of Toronto Liberals at Massey Hall last night, Minister of Justice Lapointe, Defense Minister Norman Rogers and Prime Minister King, left to right, are pictured as they left the Royal York Hotel.—Staff Photo.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 54296

Name of Publication Toronto Globe & Mail

Date Mar. 15/40

Subject

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 54297

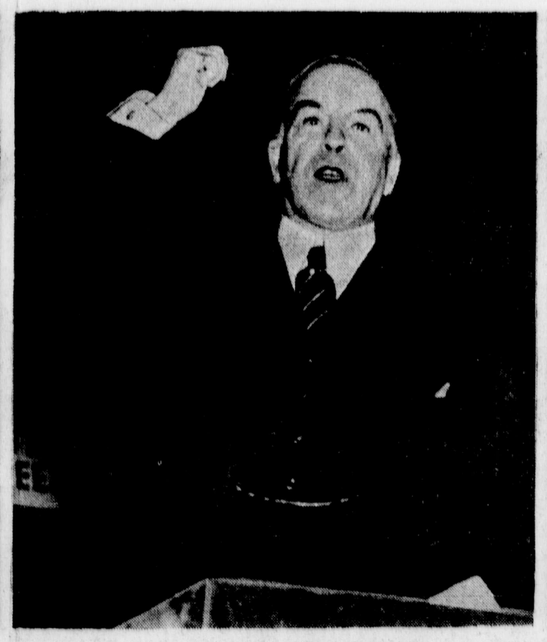
Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar. 15/40

Subject

FEDERAL LEADER ASKS CONTINUED SUPPORT OF GOVERNMENT WHOSE POLICIES, PRINCIPLES AND RECORD ARE KNOWN







FUNDAMENTALS OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT ARE AT STAKE IN THIS ELECTION, PRIME MINISTER TELLS THOUSANDS OF SUPPORTERS

Flanked by two key members of his wartime cabinet, and stirred by the spontaneous ovation given him by a representative cross-section of Toronto's citizens, Prime Minister King last night painted a picture of united national effort in the conduct of the war. "Those who support the Liberal party today," he told an overflow crowd, "are supporting a government which is known, whose policies are known, whose principles are known, whose record is known." He said that this government was better constituted to carry on Canada's war effort than "Dr. Manion's shadow government." Hon. Norman Rogers, defence minister, with whom Mr. King is shown at LEFT, told a story of "patient and careful planning, not only by members of the government, but by the staffs of our fighting service and the rank and file of the civil service." At CENTRE the prime minister, with hand upraised in emphasis, declares that the people are being asked "to put out a government that has demonstrated its ability to carry on the affairs of this country in an able manner, and to put in its place an imaginary government, a national government that exists only in the imagination of Dr. Manion." Mr. King is shown at RIGHT as supporters crowded around him after the meeting to pledge their loyalty.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of The Prime Minister

D 54298

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar. 15-40

Subject

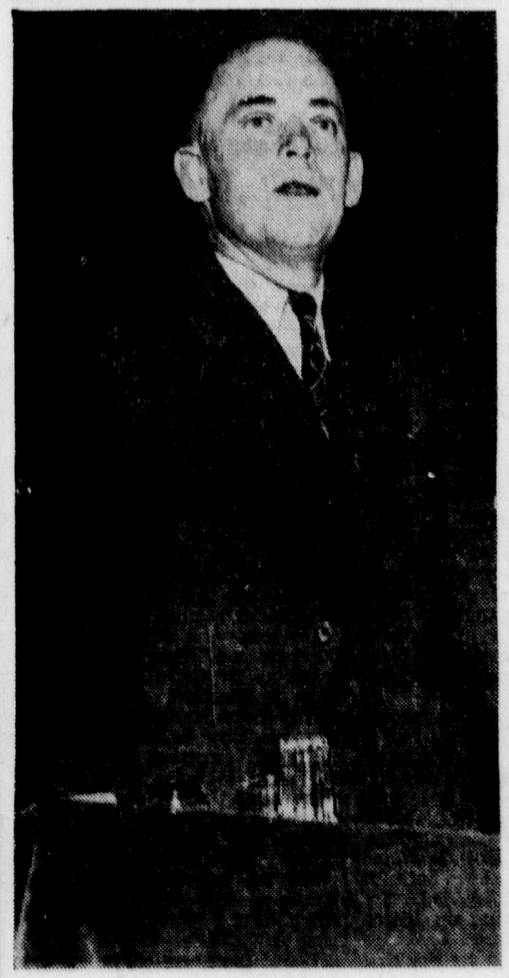
ROGERS DECLARES FIRST DIVISION "BEST EQUIPPED THAT EVER LEFT THESE SHORES"





LOYAL SUPPORTERS

For 50 years, since they entered university together, Senator Arthur Hardy (RIGHT) and Prime Minister King have been close friends, the federal leader said last night. Senator Hardy presided at the meeting. At (LEFT) is John B. Cooper, president of the Toronto Central Liberal association.





PLEDGE OF LOYALTY

The Liberal rally in Massey Hall was the most enthusiastic ever seen in Toronto, with party notables and the rank and file pledging wholehearted support of the government's leadership. Shown here are Prime Minister King and T. Stewart Lyon (RIGHT), chatting after the meeting.

BREN GUNS ARE READY WELL AHEAD OF SCHEDULE, DEFENCE MINISTER REVEALS

Proof that Canada's war effort was working at top speed was offered by Hon. Norman Rogers, minister of defence (LEFT) when he disclosed that delivery of the first Bren guns would be made "within the next few days," well ahead of schedule. Citing the war effort as the major issue in the campaign, he said the first Canadian division was the first from any dominion to reach the British Isles. It had "the best personal equipment and the best unit equipment of any force that ever left these shores," he added. As evidence that the war effort is not confined to the government, women in the audience were knitting for the troops as they listened to speakers. At (RIGHT) is Eileen Edge, busy with the needles.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar. 15/40

D54299

Subject



"COME WHAT MAY, I AM BEHIND MR. KING"

Hon. Harry C. Nixon, chief minister of the Hepburn cabinet, last night pledged his whole-hearted support to the Mackenzie King administration and its conduct of the war. Mr. Nixon is pictured as he led in the applause which greeted Prime Minister King when he ascended to the platform to address the big rally at Massey Hall. Beside him is Mrs. Nixon, who with all the others in the Nixon family will work and vote for Mr. King. "We are going to vote for Mr. King as we have done since 1921," Mr. Nixon told the cheering audience.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Woodstock Sentinel

Date Mar. 16/40

D 54300

Subject

PREMIER KING GIVEN ROUSING RECEPTION IN TORONTO



Nearly 6,000 Torontonians turned out to hear Prime Minister King and other stalwarts of the Liberal party as Mr. King made his first and only personal appearance speech in Ontario during the present federal election campaign. The prime minister is pictured here surrounded by some of his admirers during the rally which heard Defence Minister Rogers, Justice Minister Lapointe and other leading Liberals defend the government's war record.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Globe & Mail

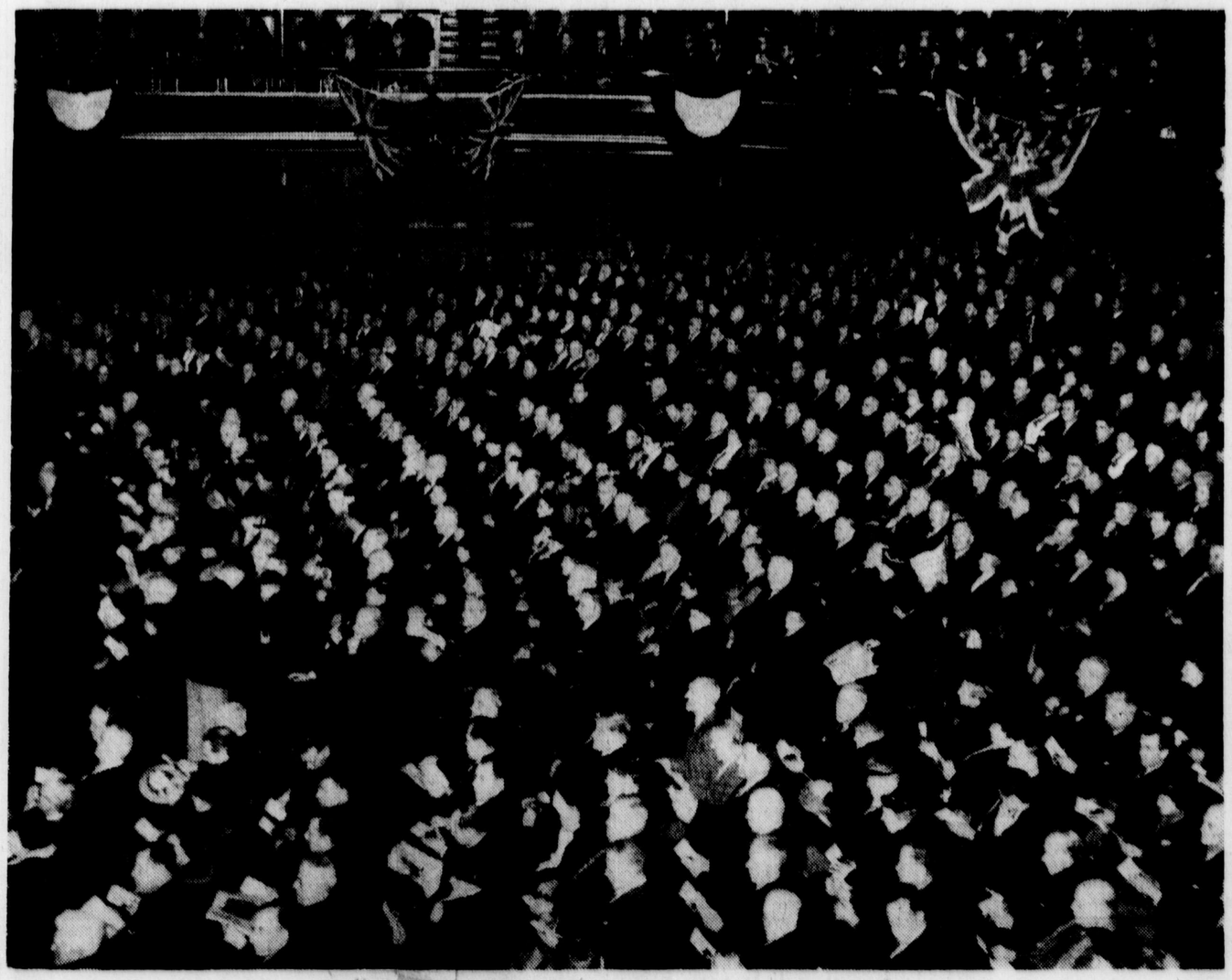
Date Mar. 15-40

Subject

D 54301

'Tory Toronto' Jams Massey Hall and Streets Outside to Hear Prime Minister King





Here are two closeup views of the dense crowds that turned out from "Tory Toronto" to welcome Prime Minister Mackenzie King at Massey Hall last night. Loudspeakers carried proceedings of the mass meeting to an overflow crowd in near-by Victoria Theatre, opened for the occasion. The lineup extended along Shuter Street to Yonge, down Yonge to Queen, along Queen to Victoria and up Victoria to Massey Hall entrance again. One photo is of the big crowd outside, and the other of the equally large throng inside Massey Hall.—Staff Photos.

D 54302

Prime Minister

Political Broadcast No. 5

The Choice That Lies Before
the Electors

March 21, 1940

17. iii. 40

D 54303

Notes for last Two Broadcasts

Re Party before Country.

Regret at public appearances limited.

England and Australia re National Government,
and Stevens.

Re reason for not wanting men of conflicting views in
in Government.
Government is to make views of majority prevail.
Need of opposition,
responsibility.

Manion's promises.

Re preparedness.
Apply to a new Ministry;
to know departments;
to know plans of campaign;
to get elected to parliament.
British Government.

What men? If from ranks of Conservatives,
like speakers in campaign -
Do you want to entrust your future to them? -
No constructive idea - all detraction.
We know no others.

Then race war.
Worst moment of war. Need of Govt. to carry on.

D 54304

Re Dissolution

Had a large majority. - No danger of defeat.

Nothing to hide - all investigated.

Will enquire fully next parliament.

Parliament will be meeting, instead of ending in May.

Look at situation.

Berriedale Keith.

In Manion defeated.

Some very practical considerations for decision

(Effect on democratic government)

Next 5 years.

Re Stevens:

A name, a policy, a leader,

promises - candidates.

Only difference - Stevens called his a party,

Manion called his a Government.

Re Lincoln:

Note

On March 27

Question will be, how is Canada's war effort to be carried on?

If present Government returned - you know.

" " " defeated - what then?

defeated not by one party only, but by a combination of parties.

D 54305

Suppose N.G. plus N.D. plus C.C.F. greater than Liberals,
Government is then in a minority in H. of C.
Is effective war effort possible?
Will first have to decide whether we will try to carry on
at all,
or go at once into opposition, leaving it to those
who have defeated us to form a government.
Leaving it to Dr. Manion who has done all he can to defeat
us to join with others who have done the same, to form
a government.
Then to get parliament summoned.
Then to get Ministers.
Then to get Ministers elected.
Meanwhile, war is on, and reached stage of frightfulness
greatest intensity - agony of mind of people.
Just at moment, a strong government most needed - with an
unquestionable mandate.
Next look at how matter will be represented in Germany.
Canadian war effort paralyzed.
Government that brought Canada into war defeated!
Four groups contending for power.
One committed not to send expeditionary forces, to give only
economic aid.
One for conscription -
Old Conservative party - wiped out - National Government
party trying in vain to form a Ministry.

Take opposite view if Government returned.

Canada more united than ever in determination to win war.

Government that brought Canada into war at side of Britain and France, - sustained by overwhelming majority.

Men and women of all provinces, of all creeds and classes, give their support to Mackenzie King for a united war effort, of a united Canada

Citizens of Canada forget party differences to join with the war administration in the winning of the war.

The Canadian nation behind Mackenzie King administration in the winning of the war.

Just as defeat of those who opposed the war policy of present Government in Quebec in November last contributed more than all else to disclosing solidarity of opinion in Canada behind Canada's war effort, so defeat of parties trying to destroy present administration will be hailed as greatest evidence of unity of nation in war effort of the Government.

It may have a far reaching and decisive effect upon enemy behaviour, - on morale of Germany, etc.

Would defeat of present administration be hailed abroad as other than a victory for combined forces of opposition to an administration that had put all possible into winning of war.

D 54307

The war is the issue, whether we wish to have it so or not -- and we must look to how results of elections will be viewed abroad in Canada's war effort - as well as effect of results upon Canada's war effort at home.

D 54308

Broadcast No. 5 - March 21, 1940. First Draft W.L.M.K.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

For most people, it is always a little difficult to look far ahead. At any given moment, our feelings and prejudices, if strong, are apt to blind our vision. They too frequently control our judgment. This is true in politics at all times. It is doubly true at a time of war, when passions are easily aroused and hatreds intensified. And yet there is no time at which this ability to look ahead, to see beyond the immediate present, to judge of conditions as they are likely to be in the future, is so greatly needed as at a time of war. It is this truth and what it signifies that, above all else, I am anxious to impress upon you, my fellow citizens, in the present broadcast, which is the last of the nation-wide broadcasts I shall have an opportunity of making before you go to the polls on Tuesday next to discharge the most serious obligation which, as citizens of Canada, you have ever been obliged to exercise or may ever likely be called upon to meet.

First of all, I wish to illustrate what I have to say in reference to the dissolution of Parliament, of which you have heard so much in the present campaign. I wish, however, to emphasize it particularly with reference to the significance of the vote you may cast on Tuesday next.

I am anxious that you should realize that, by your own individual vote, you will be helping to determine the matter so all-important to all the citizens of Canada as well as to yourself of the government that is to manage Canada's affairs during the next five fateful years. I am even more anxious, however, to have you realize that your own individual vote is immediately related to the most vital of all matters: the outcome of the present war. You may feel that I am exaggerating the importance of your part in the campaign. On the contrary, I seek only to have you realize how important to yourself and to others, to our country and to other countries, it really is.

You know what Canada's war effort has been, and what it has meant to the allied powers since the outbreak of war. On the result of the elections being held on Tuesday next will depend what, from now on, that effort is likely to be and how it is likely to be viewed not only by allied powers and neutral nations but, above all, by the enemy that is menacing the freedom of both.

Before, however, I begin what I have to say on these two outstanding features of the elections, may I express to you, my fellow citizens, my grateful appreciation of your understanding of the circumstances which, in the course of the present campaign, have made it necessary for me to forego what has always been the greatest of my pleasures and satisfactions in previous general elections, of addressing public meetings in all parts of the Dominion.

Broadcast No. 5 - March 21, 1940 2nd Draft W.L.M.K.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

For most people, it is always a little difficult to look far ahead. At any given moment, our feelings and prejudices, if strong, are apt to blind our vision. They too frequently control our judgment. This is true in politics at all times. It is doubly true at a time of war, when passions are easily aroused and hatreds intensified. And yet there is no time at which this ability to look ahead, to see beyond the immediate present, to judge of conditions as they are likely to be in the future, is so greatly needed as at a time of war. It is this truth and what it signifies, above all else, I am anxious to impress upon you, my fellow citizens, in the present broadcast. It is the last of the nation-wide broadcasts I shall have an opportunity of making before you go to the polls on Tuesday next. I hope you will realize that, at that time, you discharge the most serious obligation which, as citizens of Canada, you have ever been obliged to exercise, or may ever likely be called upon again to meet.

I wish to illustrate what I have to say, first of all, in reference to the dissolution of Parliament, of which you have heard so much in the present campaign. I wish, however,

D 54312

to emphasise the need of looking ahead, particularly with reference to the signigicance of the vote you may cast on Tuesday next. I am anxious that you should realise that, by your own individual vote, you will be helping to determine what government that is to manage Canada's affairs during the next five fateful years. This is an all-important matter to all the citizens of Canada as well as to yourself. I am even more anxious, however, to have you realise that, the elections coming as they do at this time of war, your own individual vote is immediately related to and may have a no uncertain effect upon the outcome of the present war.

You know what Canada's war effort has been, and what it has meant to the allied powers since the outbreak of war. On the result of the elections being held on Tuesday next will depend what, from now on, that effort is likely to be and how it is likely to be viewed not only by allied powers and neutral nations but, above all, by the enemy that is menacing the freedom of both.

D 54313

Re: Inability to travel

However, before I begin what I have to say, may I express a personal word:

In past years, I have known no privilege or pleasure greater than that which a general election affords of travelling to and addressing public meetings in all parts of the Dominion. In the present campaign, I would particularly have welcomed that opportunity for I have never felt more deeply the importance of the issue and the far-reaching possible consequences of the outcome of the contest itself, and where the personal appeal was likely to count for so much.

Since the outbreak of war, indeed I might say for some time prior to that, I have felt it imperative to keep as closely in touch with events from day to day as might be possible. This duty has been doubly imperative seeing that I have the responsibility which attaches not only to the high office of Prime Minister but to the position of Secretary of State for External Affairs, which, from its inception, has been held by the one occupying the position of Prime Minister. Since the outbreak of war, not a day has passed that many telegrams and despatches have not had to be immediately read and

D 54314

answered, but important decisions made.

When the elections were announced, I made carefully to consider how far I could risk an absence from the Capital at a time when most of my colleagues would also be absent in different parts of the country. Moreover, I was obliged to recognize that at any moment some situation might present itself in which my presence either in conference with my colleagues or alone would be imperative, if delays which might have more serious consequences were to be avoided.

While I saw very clearly that a nation-wide programme of public appearances and addresses would be perhaps the greater service I could render my party, were I viewing matters at this time from a purely party point of view, I also recognized that to attempt anything of the sort would necessarily be at the expense of many matters arising from day to day in the ordinary business of government and the all-important matters continually presenting themselves for consideration in connection with the war. Obviously, if the country's interests were not to be sacrificed, however much the party's interests might suffer through a less active participation in the campaign, I had no choice but to give to the responsible duties of my office the attention which I believed to be in the national interest.

D 54315

In considering what was possible, you will perhaps pardon me if I say that in considering what might be possible in the way of a political campaigning combined with the duties of my office in a time of war, I too have had to look ahead beyond the days of the campaign itself to what may be expected of me should the campaign result in the continuance of the present administration in office, the session of Parliament for which it will be necessary immediately to prepare, and in the proceedings of which later I will be expected to participate, to say nothing of the judgment that may have to be exercised in dealing with problems certain to present themselves, once the present war bursts with all its fury upon the world. The curse of our age is that decisions affecting the lives of multitude of men and women are being made with little or no reflection on the part of those whose word constitutes a final say. That action, however, ill-conceived and ill-considered, is all that the times demand. It is along that path made hideous by endless rushings to and fro and ceaseless propaganda, however false, that destruction has fallen to the extent it has upon this world.

D 54316

I have never felt that I can render my country any enduring service by imitating performances of dictators or permitting their methods to gain a foothold in this Dominion. I have sought to avoid coercion, even of thought, and make my appeal to intelligence and reason. Fortunately, the radio has made it possible for me, without leaving the Capital, to speak to a larger number of persons than could have been reached in like proportion or in any other way in previous campaigns. For your understanding of all this, I should like to express my warmest thanks.

Broadcast No. 5 - March 21, 1940. 3rd Revise W.L.M.K.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

This is the last of the nation-wide broadcasts which I shall make to you before you go to the polls on Tuesday next. I feel sure you all realise that on that day you will be discharging a most important and serious duty. It will be as serious and important a duty as any which, as citizens of Canada, many of you have ever been called upon to perform, or may ever be called upon to perform again.

By your individual vote you will be helping to determine what government is to manage the affairs of Canada during the next five fateful years. This may come to mean very much to your own personal fortunes. It will also affect the well-being of all your fellow citizens. A possibility of the kind ~~This~~ is more or less true of all elections. But your individual vote in the present elections will have an effect far beyond that which it would have in ordinary times. This year it will be immediately related to all that pertains to war and peace. On it combined with ~~and~~ others cast in the present elections will depend the unity and war effort of this country.

D 54318

 (See 2(a)

You know what Canada's war effort has been. You have heard from British and French statesmen what it has meant to the allied powers since the outbreak of war. What you do on election day will determine what that war effort is likely to be in the future. Your decision is being awaited with deep concern not by our country only but by the allied powers and by the enemy. You know how anxious they were, across the seas, in October last, when the war effort of Canada's federal government was challenged in the province of Quebec. Nothing since the outbreak of war gave so much heart to the British and the French, or so suddenly shattered the desires and hopes of the enemy, as the evidence that election afforded of a united war effort of a united Canada. Canada's voice as expressed by your votes on election day will carry an even greater measure of elation or despair to the contending forces in Europe. It will be full of meaning as well to all small nations that are seeking to protect their freedom, and to all democracies. For it will be the free vote of a democracy cast in a war where democracy is fighting for its existence.

On that day, before you mark your ballots, it will be your duty to look as far ahead as you can. Remember that the present war may last for years. No one can say, how long it may last, as to what dimensions it may grow. When it ends will come the making the peace. Should that be within the

D 54319

lifetime of the new parliament, the government that you choose to administer your affairs on Tuesday next will be the government to voice your views at the peace-table. Consider also that momentous fact when you cast your ballots on Tuesday next. We are reaping in no uncertain measure some of the fruits of the Conference of Versailles. We don't want that condition of affairs repeated ever again, if it can be avoided.

D54320

For most people, it is always a little difficult to look into the future. At all times, our feelings and prejudices are apt to blind our vision. Too frequently they control our judgment. This is true in politics at all times, even in peace times. It is doubly true at a time of war when tempers are frayed, minds are impatient, passions easily aroused, and hatreds intensified. And yet, there is no time in which this ability to look ahead, to see beyond the immediate present, to judge conditions not only as they are, but as they are likely to be, is so greatly needed as in time of war.

I cannot over-emphasize that truth. And if it is your duty to look ahead at election time, it has been my duty at all times.

During recent years, when world conditions were steadily deteriorating, when the world's peace was threatened, when the hopes of saving it were imperilled, when national unity was endangered, when I declined ~~to yield~~ listen to the demand of the Leader of the Opposition for a general election in July and August of last year in September when war came, ~~but~~ when I had to consider the summoning of Parliament in war session, and recommend to Parliament Canada's

D 54321

participation at the side of Britain and France; when, some months later, I had to consider the dissolution of Parliament with a view to an immediate election, it was my duty, each and every day calmly to consider the future. That future I had to consider, not in the light of the extent to which my actions might occasion inconvenience to political friends, or of how my (motives would do) actions might be ~~construed and~~ misconstrued by opponents in a political campaign, ~~but~~ I had ~~only~~ (one eye) one question to ask myself, and that was, what clearly, at the moment, in the interests of Canada and, later, in the interests of Canada's war effort, and the cause of the allies, was the right thing to do. (Having decided upon what I believed to be right I have not hesitated in acting upon the decision.) In deciding upon the right course, I have had ~~to~~ me guide, such political experience and wisdom as I have gained in a life (line) spent in the country's service, most of it in active politics, ~~and~~ I have (also fortunately) had what, in affairs of State, is most valuable of all, the counsel and advice of able, trusted and experienced colleagues, with whom, over many years, I have fully shared every confidence in matters of common (national) concern.

"Where no counsel is, the people fall;

"But in the multitude of counsellors there is safety"

D 54322

This ancient proverb I have kept constantly in mind throughout the whole of my public life. Its application to the problems of our day and generation is greater, I believe, than to those of any preceding era. One of the curses of our age has been that the decisions affecting the lives of multitudes of men and women have been made and are being made without consideration of the ultimate effect upon the history of human happiness.

In Parliament and during the present elections, I have been taken to task by the Leader of the Opposition for having remained at the seat of government, instead of making repeated journeys across the Dominion. Had I not gained my acquaintance with Canada and her problems by the study of a life-time devoted to these very matters, and by daily association with representative citizens from all parts of Canada, there might be something to be said for a chance acquaintance and a chance advantage to be gained in that way. There are, however, times and reasons for all things. During the last five years, with my responsibilities and duties what they have been, I have felt that my obligations to my fellow citizens could best be discharged, ^ but viewing my duties from day to day in

D 54323

the light of what the existing situation rendered most imperative, ~~On January 16, 1939,~~ I made ~~quite~~ ~~clear~~ my position in this regard, quite clear in parliament on Jan. 16th of last year I did so in the following words:

"Let me say only this in conclusion: The position of the leader of a government in Canada today is not unlike that of the captain of a ship when the ship is in a storm. The captain of the ship must not be spending his time wandering among the passengers on the decks; his place is at the helm." Some say, I should have said "on the bridge". For my purposes, and yours, the two, I trust, may be regarded as synonymous. I continued: "Mr. Speaker, I intend to remain at the helm of this ship of state just so long as I have the confidence of the people of Canada and have the strength to perform the duties of my office. But if I have to gain that confidence by going back and forth across the country, making speeches here and there, and by seeking to cater to local tastes and prejudices, I do not wish to occupy office for a day. So long as God gives me strength to do my duty I shall seek to serve the country as best I can, according to the best light my conscience may give me."

D54324

I repeat, tonight, that statement, made over a year ago, because there have been similar comments made in the course of the present campaign with regard to my remaining so constantly in the seat of government, instead of travelling about the country and making numerous public appearances. I need not tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that in past years I have known no ~~p~~greater privilege than that which a general election affords of meeting and greeting large numbers of my fellow citizens. I have always immensely enjoyed visiting all parts of the Dominion and addressing public meetings. In the present campaign, I would particularly have welcome that opportunity. I have never felt more deeply the importance of the issues that face us. I have never realized more clearly the far-reaching possible consequences of the outcome of the contest itself. I would have liked to discuss them with you face to face. I have believed, however, that at this time of war, with no Parliament in existence, and with most of my colleagues necessarily absent in different parts of the country, with matters concerned with the business of the country, ~~the Capital most of the time,~~ my first duty was to keep in touch with events from day to day and be where I could at a moment's notice be reached and conferred with, ~~and could confer with others, at a moments notice,~~ as serious situations arose requiring immediate attention. The Prime Minister of Canada is, as well as those arising out of the war, requiring daily attention,

D 54325

by law and custom, also the Secretary of State for External Affairs, which office embraces, in addition, supervision of our inter-imperial relations, ~~the duties of Foreign~~ those matters which pertain to a Ministry of Foreign Affairs ~~Minister~~. Since the outbreak of war, not a day has passed in the course of which telegrams and despatches of the utmost importance have not been received and the most careful decisions required.

While I know as well as any man that a nation-wide programme of public appearances and addresses would have been of the greatest service to my party and to myself as its leader, I have had to recognize, in the existing situation, to leave my post at Ottawa was to risk ~~have~~ prejudicing the country's interests in some particulars ~~of Canada~~, and, indeed, ~~have~~ creating the most serious embarrassments in untold directions.

I have had no choice at this time of war but to give to the responsible duties of my office my first attention and make the country's affairs apart altogether from the political campaign my first duty. Without neglecting the ~~campaign of our country and of the allied powers at this time of war~~. I too have had to look beyond the days of the campaign. I have had to consider the obligations that will continue to rest upon my shoulders should the present administration be continued in office, what my duties will be the morning after the elections in the

preparation of the work of the new parliament, the demands of the session, above all the need that will fall upon whoever leads the administration of reuniting the parties in one great endeavour to further the common interests of our country + the allied powers at this time.

I think you will have observed that I have tried to promote a fair and calm discussion of our national affairs, that I have been careful to avoid inflicting personal wounds upon those who have differed from me and with whom, in your interests it may be necessary for me to associate in parliament or elsewhere. I have sought to avoid coercion of thought and of speech. I have tried to make my appeal without bitterness to your intelligence and your reason. Fortunately the radio has made it possible for me, without leaving the capital, to speak to a larger number of my fellow-citizens than I could possibly have addressed in any other way in previous campaigns.

For your understanding of all this, and for giving me the opportunity of talking to you in your homes, in your offices and your meetings places, I would like to express my warmest thanks.

As I have said, on March 26th, the future of Canada, our unity, the effectiveness of our war effort, our contribution to victory, to the peace and to the rebuilding of a new world will be yours to decide. You will decide not

only on policies, but you will choose the men who will express your will in action.

In previous broadcasts, and in other public addresses, I have tried to put the issues before you clearly. I would like to remind you once again that you are being asked to decide what group of men working together in harmony of thought and solidarity of purpose, can best use their abilities and their experience for the furtherance of Canada's war effort, and the maintenance of a united country. Never forget that the two are inseparable. You are selecting men not for a month, not for a year, but it may be for five years. The five years that lie before us will not be easier than the five years which lie behind us. They will be the most difficult, the most dangerous, the most exacting five years in the history of this country. During those five years, our security, our existence, and the security and existence of free peoples the world over, will be menaced as they have never been menaced before. I pray with all my heart that they will also make real the dream of a just and enduring peace. Those who will guide the destinies of this nation are being called therefore to a great two-fold task -- the making of war and the making of peace.

D54328

In choosing the persons to represent you and your interests in the tasks of war and peace, you will, as well carefully to ~~naturally~~, examine the records of the men who are offering to serve you. There are two questions which it seems to me you will wish to ask yourselves, and the answers to which will help you to a wise decision. They are, in a sense, the one question expressed in different terms. That one question is: In the interests of all concerned, is it not most prudent and wise to entrust the war-time government of Canada to men who are known to all the country, tried in the school of experience, familiar with the problems to be faced, and advocates of policies which are known and widely supported, and men who throughout have been united by a community of views? The other question is: Again in the interest of all concerned, should the government in these critical days be handed over to men, practically all of whom are still unknown and who are bound together by no common principles and agreed policies. Perhaps you will think it well to ask yourselves one further question: If it were desirable for any reason to make such a change, would it be wise to make it in the middle of a war?

Something more, however, is required of the people of Canada at this time than merely to decide what particular government is to hold office. If Canada's war effort is

to be sustained, it is imperative that no doubts be left in the mind of any one as to the government that is to carry on having the nation solidly at its back. That does not mean that in supporting the present administration, should such be your desire, you are approving of each and every detail of its war administration. It does not mean you are prepared either to countenance or overlook each and every fault whether of omission or commission in its record. The charges made - most of them wholly unsupported by even a semblance of justification can all be carefully reviewed by Parliament when it meets and if substantiated the proper remedy can be speedily applied. It means that recognizing the enormous problems with which the present administration has been faced in its war effort, you believe it has done as well, if not better, than any other administration similarly circumstanced could possibly have done, ~~and that~~ It means you feel that with the knowledge it already possesses and the experience it has already gained ~~it~~ the present govt. is in a better position than any newly formed administration could possibly be to carry on what has already been accomplished with so much satisfaction to the Allied powers, and with so much of general approval on the part of the Canadian people themselves.

Please do not forget that what is being chosen on March the 26th is Canada's war-time government. That if

D 54330

the government's action in the prosecution of the war is to be strong and decisive its mandate must be clear and unquestioned. That mandate cannot be given in too unmistakeable terms. The government that is to carry on will need the encouragement of your hands upon its shoulders. It will need to be supported in the eyes of the world as well as in its own eyes by a national verdict that is unmistakeable. And just here let me say that there is a very real danger involved in voting for the candidates of political groups which cannot hope themselves to form a government. However great may be the sympathies which are felt for the peace-time objects of third parties, the pursuit of these objects in a time of war will serve only to distract our energies from the all-important task of prosecuting the war to a successful conclusion. Unless the war is won, these groups, and their hopes and policies as well, will disappear in the universal disaster. When victory has been achieved, there will be time, in the peace which has been secured, to thresh out our domestic differences and to contest the rival merits of untried political theories. At this time, all our efforts must be directed to winning the victory and achieving the peace. I earnestly submit that in casting his ballot, every citizen should put out of his mind all other questions except one -- will my vote contribute to the establishment and maintenance of a strong,

D 54331

united government, capable of a strong, united war effort? A vote cast for the candidate of a political group without hope of a majority in parliament cannot in the present situation be other than a vote against a strong, united government. It may serve to frustrate Canada's war effort; it cannot possibly promote it.

And in this connection may I say to those who desire to support the present government how all-important it is that they should vote for the candidate who is known to be the recognized official candidate. In some constituencies I notice there are two or three and possible more candidates running who style themselves Liberal or Independent Liberal. Where more than one candidate takes the name of Liberal, there is a danger that the Liberal support may become divided and an opposition candidate be returned by a minority of votes. To avoid this dangerous possibility, I would ask that support be given to the one who has been endorsed as the official candidate. For personal reasons you may, in some cases prefer to support the independent candidate. It is, however, the government, through its candidates, that you are being asked to support, and in which that support can be given is the only sure and effective way by supporting the one to whom official recognition has been accorded.

D 54332

Will a vote for Dr. Manion's candidate help to establish a strong and effective government? That depends first of all on Dr. Manion's chance of securing a majority in parliament. Without a majority he will have no opportunity to form any government, national or otherwise. What are his chances? In some thirty constituencies he has no candidates. He has given up hope in them before the contest began. He no longer has the united support of the historic party whose name and traditions he threw away. Has he found recruits in other parties for his so-called "national government" party? We now have the answer. One of his supporters has told us that among the candidates supporting Dr. Manion are two Liberals and one man who previously belonged to no party! The two Liberals mentioned are as unknown to me as I imagine they ar to most of you. I doubt if they will need be classed even by Dr. Manion as cabinet timber.

The so-called "national government" party is not a party, nor is it national, nor is it a government. I maintain that the present administration with a candidate in every constituency but one -- and in that one a candidate endorsed by the government -- has a far better claim to call itself national than the supporters of Dr. Manion. I doubt if the Conservative leaders, in their hearts, have the slightest hope of forming a government. They have no longer a party. In January it

D 54333

seemed that Dr. Manion had abandoned his party. Today it begins to look as though what really happened was that the Conservative party had abandoned Dr. Manion. In any case one searches in vain, in this campaing, for the great Conservative names among his supporters.

Dr. Manion's is the third attempt in five short years to create a one-man party in Canada. Mr. Stevens tried with the success you know. Mr. Herridge has tried without success. Dr. Manion has a little more audacity than his predecessors. He is not content to call his experiment a party, he calls it a government.

You know and I know, and I believe Dr. Manion knows, he will not secure a majority from his own candidates. But suppose the present administration should fail to receive enough supporters to give it a majority, and, that instead, Dr. Manion's supporters, plus the C.C.F., plus a few Social Credit-New Democrats and Independents have a combined majority. What kind of government will result? Will it be the kind of government Canada wants in war-time? Will it be strong enough to prosecute our war effort effectively?

The present administration would either have to try to carry on with a daily prospect of defeat, or we would have to resign, go into opposition and leave those who had defeated us to form a government.

If the present administration resigned in such circumstances, Dr. Manion would have to try to form a government. Could he form any government, let alone a strong government? Where would he find allies? The C.C.F. leaders have repudiated such an alliance in advance; the New Democracy has not committed itself. Perhaps the price of their support would be an experiment in social credit and monetary inflation. Dr. Manion's chief lieutenant, Mr. Stevens, has hinted that this prospect would not displease him. You will recall his flirtations with Social Credit five years ago. But what would such an experiment do to Canada's war effort? It might well, by destroying our credit, destroy the country altogether.

In such a combination, who would be the Ministers? Can you imagine an effective government stretching all the way from genuine Conservativism to the extremity of monetary theorists? The cabinet would cease to be a maker of policy and a director of administration. It would become a debating society. And all this at a time when the war would probably be growing in intensity, and when Canada would, as never before, need a strong government with unquestioned popular support.

And how would all this look to the outside world? How would it be viewed in Germany? The government which had

D54335

taken Canada unitedly into the war would have been defeated. Four conflicting groups would be contending for power. The three groups who together had defeated the government would be without any basis of common action; one opposed to giving military aid to the allies, one for conscription, the third and largest without any fixed policy at all. The old Conservative party would be gone, and its so-called "national" successor trying in vain to form a government.

Let me now present the alternative. What will happen if the present government is returned with a clear and substantial majority? It will mean that the government which brought Canada into the war at the side of Britain and France, has been sustained. It will mean that men and women of all provinces, of all creeds and classes, have given their support to a tried and experienced administration, for the united war effort of a united Canada. It will mean that once the heat of the campaign has passed, our citizens will be able to forget party differences and join with the war administration in the winning of the war.

Just as the defeat of those who opposed the war policy of the present government in Quebec, last October, contributed more than all else to reveal the solidarity of opinion behind Canada's war effort, so the defeat of the

D 54336

parties trying to destroy the present administration will be held as the greatest evidence of the unity of the nation in its war effort. Such a result may well have a far-reaching effect upon the morale of our enemy and the spirits of our allies. Whether we wish to have it so or not, the war is the issue and we must consider how the results of the elections will be viewed abroad, as well as their effect upon Canada's war effort at home.

There is still another consideration. If the government should be defeated and a new government formed, much time would necessarily be consumed by the new ministers in learning the work of their departments, in becoming familiar with both the general plans and the details of our war effort, in establishing smooth and effective relations with the British and other allied governments. All this would slow up our war effort and this, in all probability, just at the moment when the closest concentration of effort may be required. It would result certainly in delays, probably in confusion.

Some mistakes have no doubt been made in branches of the administration charged with the colossal tasks that have been undertaken since the outbreak of war. Where these have come to our notice, we have tried to correct them as rapidly as possible, and to learn from them. We have already much valuable experience. All this would be lost, and much

D 54337

time would be required by new men, however able -- and you have been given no idea how able they will be. They would also have to learn to work together, a harder lesson than many realize. All these considerations should be in the mind of every serious voter when he casts his ballot next Tuesday for the parliament being elected for the next five years.

There is one other matter to which I wish to refer. It concerns not only the next parliament, but the future of the public life of this country. I believe that I am stating what is in the minds of hundreds of thousands of men and women of Canada when I express the strongest possible resentment at the methods of political controversy which have been adopted by Dr. Manion and not a few of those who have supported him on public platforms throughout the present campaign. Instead of discussing public issues on their merits, there has been a deliberate effort to destroy the reputations of public men. Gross personal attacks have been launched against men who have served this country faithfully, honestly and industriously over many years and at no time more so than in the hour of its greatest need. You have heard assailed in public meetings and in your own homes the motives and characters of men who value their personal honour above all else. Was this necessary to the coming election, to say nothing of the winning of the war? Do I need to ask if there is a single Canadian, worthy of the name, who in his or her own heart really believes that my colleagues and myself,

carrying out the greatest responsibility in the name of the Canadian people, would knowingly countenance for one moment the betrayal of the national trust at a time when sore trials and great burdens are upon every man and woman in this country? Does any one think that there is a single member of the administration, with the eyes not only of the country, but also of his own associates of the cabinet upon him, who would knowingly or negligently permit the advancement of the personal interest, either of himself, his friends or his associates, to the detriment of the public welfare, or the surrender of accepted standards of public conduct? Hundreds of my fellow citizens who normally do not support the Liberal Party have said to me in the course of the present campaign that they propose to show in the only way which is left for them their condemnation of the attempt to substitute abuse for argument, and personalities for policies.

I have been in the parliament of Canada for twenty-five years, and in the public service of my country for a much longer time. I have always considered public service both a privilege and a duty. My own public career cannot last, in the very nature of things, for many more years. Even if I desired it, there is little I could wish for in the way of honourable recognition beyond what I have already

D 54340

received. I am content to have the name I bear, as I am of the names of those from whom I received it to the safe-keeping of those who following on may seek to uphold honourable traditions in our public life. It is not of myself I am thinking of the moment. I am thinking of the future of our country. I am thinking of the consequences which will follow if men of sensitive natures, wishing to safeguard their reputations, are deterred from entering our parliament and our legislatures because of being obliged to submit to the kind of thing they have witnessed in the present campaign.. What is to become of our country if the affairs of government come thereby to be left to the type of men who substitute for political argument the grossest kind of personal abuse. That is the process which d destroyed democratic government in Germany. It is all too rapidly have a effect in our own.

I ask you to consider what is to become of the public life of this country, if every time there is an appeal to the electors, the basest insinuations are to be made as to the character of men in their private and their public lives. Is there any ground for seeking to create suspicions and distrusts with respect to the management of public affairs, unless there is the strongest of reasons for so doing. Must able and honourable men be branded as liars,

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deceivers and hypocrites as the reward of their readiness and their capacity to serve their country in parliament?

The kind of villification which has characterized the campaign of our opponents is, I submit, uncalled for at any time. It is doubly uncalled for at a time when men and women everywhere should be seeking the closer relationship of human brotherhood which begets trust in one another, and the power to bring comfort and assistance to minds that are filled with terror, and hearts that are full of grief. How could the men who have sought so assiduously to create suspicion and distrust in our public life, who have busied themselves seeking to defame the characters and to misinterpret and misrepresent the actions of my colleagues and myself expect, if they were given authority, to administer your affairs to earn the co-operation of those who throughout this campaign they have been doing their utmost to destroy. You will have on March 26th an opportunity to show your disapproval of tactics of the kind. I have not the least doubt that most of you have already made up your minds to do so in no uncertain way.

There is a right way and a wrong way to go about anything. If Dr. Manion and those who are supporting his idea of national government ever had any real desire to form such a government they would not have expended all their

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efforts on antagonizing and villifying the very men with whom they wished to co-operate in the affairs of government. Instead they would have done their utmost to conciliate them, and to remove any feelings of personal antipathy and antagonism fxxxx those with whom they differed politically. Dr. Manion has referred to the coalition or union governments formed by Sir John Macdonald and Sir Robert Borden. ~~Sir John Macdonald did not~~ Neither Sir John nor Sir Robert struck their party colours and then tried to make a Joseph's coat of the many rags and tatters that remained. Neither of them "submerged", as Dr. Manion says he has done, the party which had made him the leader. They recognized that with the destruction of party identity national government in the nature of coalition and union itself disappeared. Sir John did not seek to destroy the character of the men with whom he was to have an intimate and close association in government. On the contrary, he sought to bury every feeling of personal and political difference and to build up in the minds of the public a feeling of mutual confidence in those with whom he was inviting to carry on the government of the country.

When Sir Robert Borden invited Mr. Rowell and other Liberals to join him in forming a union government

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he did not begin by saying of them, as Dr. Manion said of me at Halifax a day or two ago, that they were neither mentally nor temperamentally qualified to head an administration. He did not say of any minister of the Crown, nor would he have permitted any of his associates to say, what was said of the present Minister of National Defence at Toronto on the 18th instant, by one who has sought great prominence and who has been conspicuous by his insolence in the present campaign. Let me quote his words as they have been recorded in the press from one end of Canada to the other:

> "I do not intend to waste any time on what Mr. Rogers says. That dyspeptic little son of Mars has been a standing joke in every military camp since he blossomed forth as our new war lord last September."

Nor did Sir Robert, in obscurity, conceal the names of his colleagues. Instead, he let the country know who his associates in the government would be - who they were. He then did everything in his power to have the country believe that, despite all he or other members of his party might previously have said about any of them, the men associated with him were men of the highest character and

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Please remember that this was said of one who was gassed in the last war, and whose health in consequence has suffered a slight impairment ever since. Remember, too, it was said by one who is not without ambitions for the post occupied by the present Minister of National Defence. Study this remark with care and see if there is not about it something singularly akin to the Nazi mentality. What will become of Canada at a time of war if the kind of power represented in that utterance ever becomes a part of the supreme authority in our land. You will do well to keep that also in mind when you cast your ballots on Tuesday next.

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integrity. He announced the specific policies on which they were agreed, and maintained the position that they merited all the support the country could give them.

In the nature of things, the formation of a national government, in the sense of a coalition or union government, is different from a purely party government. In the case of a party government, it is assumed that its members will be chosen from the party that carries the country. They are known in a general way. Their identity becomes obvious in a campaign. But, in the case of a coalition or union government, members of other parties as well are involved. To estimate its value it is necessary to know the strength of the individuals and the following they are able to command. That is why, to serve the ends of a coalition at all, their names must be known in advance.

When Dr. Manion talks of national government in terms of unknown, mysterious and mythical persons, rather than in terms of persons whose identity is clear and whose policies are known, he is beginning at the wrong end of the road. He is making the idea of national government a mockery and a delusion. When he goes a step

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further, as he has done all through this campaign, and seeks to destroy the character, the motives, the reputation, the ability, and the integrity of the men who, if a national government is formed, would have to be partners in that government, he is destroying every possibility of such a government ever being formed with himself at its head. It is too late now for Dr. Manion and his supporters to change their tactics, either toward the Conservative party, which they have submerged, or toward the Liberal party, which they have sought to defame. Fortunately, however, it is not too late for you, the people of this country, to express your opinion of these deceptive tactics. I do not hesitate to say that your interests, in a time of war, are being sacrificed to personal ambition and personal animosity. On Tuesday next you will have the opportunity to express your views of the judgment and political wisdom displayed by the Leader of the Opposition in the course of the present campaign.

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Ladies and Gentlemen:

This is the last of the nation-wide broadcasts which I shall make to you before you go to the polls on Tuesday next. I feel sure you all realize that on that day you will be discharging a most important and serious duty. Your individual vote in the present elections will have an effect far beyond that which it would have in ordinary times. This year it will be immediately related to all that pertains to war and peace.

You know what Canada's war effort has been. You have heard from British and French statesmen what it has meant to the allied powers since the outbreak of war. Your decision, respecting the government best best to be carried on, is being awaited with deep concern, not by our country only, but by the allied powers, and by the enemy.

You know how anxious they were, across the seas, in October last, when the war effort of Canada's federal government was challenged in the province of Quebec. Nothing since the outbreak of war gave so much heart to the British and the French, or so disappointed the desires and hopes of the enemy, as the evidence that election afforded of a united war effort of a united Canada. Canada's voice as expressed by your votes on this election day will carry an even greater measure of elation or despair to the contending forces in Europe. It will be full of meaning as well, to the small nations that are seeking to protect their freedom. It will be significant for all democracies. For it will be the first vote of a free democracy, cast in the present-war, where democracy is fighting for its existence.

On that day,

On ~~that day~~ Tuesday next, before you mark your ballots, it will be your duty to look as far ahead as you can. Remember that the present war may last for years. No one can say how long it may last, nor to what dimensions it may grow. When it ends, there will come the making of peace. Should that be within the life-time of the new parliament, the government that you choose to administer your affairs on Tuesday next will be the government to voice your views at the peace-table. When you cast your ballots consider also that momentous fact.

For most people, it is always a little difficult to look into the future. At all times, our feelings and prejudices are apt to blind our vision. Too frequently they control our judgment. This is true in politics at all times, even in peace times. It is doubly true at a time of war, when tempers are frayed, minds are impatient, passions easily aroused, and hatreds intensified. And yet, there is no time in which this ability to look ahead, to see beyond the immediate present, to judge conditions not only as they are, but as they are likely to be, is so greatly needed as in time of war.

I cannot over-emphasize that truth.

I cannot over-emphasize that truth. And if it is your duty to look ahead at election time, it has been my duty, at all times.

During recent years, when world conditions were steadily deteriorating, when the world's peace was threatened, when the hopes of saving it were imperilled, it was my duty, each and every day, calmly to consider the future. When national unity was endangered, when the Leader of the Opposition was demanding a general election in July and August of last year, when war came in September, when I had to consider the summoning of Parliament in war session, and recommending to Parliament Canada's participation at the side of Britain and France, I had again carefully to look beyond the present to the future.

I had particularly considered the future, as well as the circumstances then existing, when I recommended the dissolution of Parliament, and an immediate election.

I, of course, have been

I, of course, have been only too well aware that my motives, as well as my actions, would be misconstrued by opponents in a political campaign. I had however, in fact but one question to ask myself: What, in the interests of Canada, in the interests of Canada's war effort, in the cause of the allies, was the right thing to do? Having decided upon what I believed to be right, I have not hesitated in acting upon that decision.

I think that even my opponents are beginning to see that I was right in not permitting a political campaign to be started in Parliament, and followed later by another in the country. You will probably agree also that I was right in making it possible for all the men in our defence forces to cast their votes under the most favourable conditions, and to have the elections concluded before war itself bursts forth in all its fury. Are you not heartily glad that the past eight weeks are over? Can you bear to think of what it would mean to us all, if this were still some weeks or months away, or were just about to begin, instead of happily being, as it is, almost at its close?

In deciding upon

In deciding upon the right course, in the perplexing situations which have arisen, I have had to guide me such political experience and wisdom as I have gained in a life-time spent in the country's service. I have also fortunately had, what is most valuable of all, the counsel and advice of able, trusted and experienced colleagues, with whom, over many years, I have fully shared every confidence in matters of common national concern.

"Where no counsel is, the people fall;
"But in the multitude of counsellors there is safety."

That ancient proverb I have kept constantly in mind throughout the whole of my public life. One of the curses of our age has been that decisions affecting the lives of multitudes have too often been made, and are being made, without reflection, consultation or knowledge, by irresponsible and inexperienced men.

In Parliament and during the present elections - as recently even as last night - I have been taken to task by the Leader of the Opposition for having remained at the seat of government, instead of making repeated journeys across the Dominion. May I say that I have gained my acquaintance with Canada and her problems by the study of a life-time, and by daily association and correspondence with representative citizens from all parts of the country. I made my position in this regard quite clear in Parliament, over a year ago.

These are the words I used: "The position of the leader of a government in Canada today, is not unlike that of the captain of a ship, when the ship is in a storm. The captain of the ship must not be spending his time wandering among the passengers on the decks; his place is at the helm." Some say, I should have said "on the bridge". The meaning, I think, is perfectly clear. I continued: "Mr. Speaker, I intend to remain at the helm of this ship of state, just so long as I have the confidence of the people of Canada, and have the strength to perform the duties of my office.

But if I have to gain

But if I have to gain that confidence by going back and forth across the country, making speeches here and there, and by seeking to cater to local tastes and prejudices, I do not wish to occupy office for a day. So long as God gives me strength to do my duty, I shall seek to serve the country as best I can, according to the light my conscience may give me."

I need not tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that, in past years, I have known no greater privilege than the opportunity a general election affords of meeting and greeting large numbers of my fellow citizens. I have always immensely enjoyed visiting all parts of the Dominion, and addressing public meetings. In the present campaign, I would particularly have welcomed that opportunity. I have never felt more deeply the importance of the issue. I have never realized more clearly, the far-reaching possible consequences of the outcome of the contest itself. I would have liked to discuss them with you face to face. But this is a time of war.

Most of my colleagues are necessarily absent in different parts of the country. The business of government must still be carried on. Daily attention must be given to vital questions affecting the business of the country, and particularly the conduct of the war. The Prime Minister of Canada is, by law and custom, also the Secretary of State for External Affairs. Our external affairs include foreign affairs, and inter-imperial relations. Since the outbreak of war, not a day has passed in the course of which telegrams and despatches of the utmost importance have not been received, and immediate decisions required. In these circumstances, I have had no other choice but to give the responsibilities of my office my first attention, and to make the country's affairs my first duty.

In this, at least, I hope I have placed country before party. I might add that, in this too, as in all else, I have had to look to the future. I have had to consider the obligations that will continue to rest upon my shoulders should the present administration be sustained, and what my duties will be the morning, and days, and months, after the elections, when calm judgment will, more than ever, be required for the decisions that have hourly to be made.

In the part

In the part which I have taken in the campaign, in public meetings and on the air, I think you will have observed that I have tried to promote a fair and calm discussion of our national affairs. I have been careful to avoid inflicting personal wounds upon those who have differed from me, and with whom, in your interests, it may be necessary for me hereafter to associate in Parliament or elsewhere. I have sought to avoid coercion of thought and of speech. I have tried to make my appeal without bitterness to your intelligence and your reason. I have not neglected the campaign. Fortunately, the radio has made it possible for me, with few absences from the Capital, to speak to a larger number of my fellow-citizens than I could possibly have addressed in any other way in previous elections.

For your understanding of all this, and for giving me the opportunity of talking to you in your homes, in your offices, and your meeting places, I would like to express my warmest thanks.

In previous broadcasts, and in other public addresses, I have tried to put the issues before you clearly. I would like to remind you once again that you are being asked to decide what group of men working together, in harmony of thought and solidarity of purpose, can best use their abilities and their experience for the furtherance of Canada's war effort, and the maintenance of a united country. A united war effort and a united Canada - never forget that the two are inseparable.

You are selecting men not for a month, not for a year, but it may be for five years. The five years that lie before us will not be easier than the five years which lie behind us. They will be the most difficult, the most dangerous, the most exacting five years in the history of this country. During those five years, our security, our existence, and the security and existence of free peoples the world over, will be menaced as they have never been menaced before. I pray with all my heart that ~~they~~ three next five years, will also make real the dream of a just and enduring peace.

Those who will guide the destinies of this nation are being called, therefore, to a great two-fold task - the making of war and the making of peace.

In choosing the persons to represent you and your interests in the tasks of war and peace, you will do well carefully to examine the records of the men who are offering to serve you. There are two questions which it seems to me you will wish to ask yourselves, and the answers to which will help you to a wise decision. They are, in a sense, one question expressed in different terms. - In the interests of all concerned, is it not most prudent and wise to entrust the war-time government of Canada to men who are known to all the country, tried in the school of experience, familiar with the problems to be faced, and advocates of policies which are known and widely supported - men who, throughout, have been united, by a community of views?

Or to express it

Or to express it another way: Should the government in these critical days be handed over to men, practically all of whom are still unknown, and who are bound together by no common principles and agreed policies?

Something more, however, is required of the people of Canada at this time than merely to decide what particular government is to hold office. If Canada's war effort is to be sustained, it is imperative that no doubt be left in the mind of anyone that the government that is to carry on Canada's war effort has the nation solidly at its back. That does not mean that in supporting the present administration, should such be your desire, you are approving of each and every detail of its war administration. It means that recognizing the enormous problems with which the present administration has been faced in its war effort, you believe it has done as well, if not better, than any other administration, similarly placed, could have done.

It means you feel

It means you feel that with the knowledge it already possesses, and the experience which it has already gained, the present government is in a better position to carry on than any newly formed administration could possibly be.

Please do not forget that what is being chosen on March the 26th is Canada's war-time government. That, if the government's action in the prosecution of the war is to be strong and decisive, its mandate must be clear and unquestioned. The government that is to carry on will need the encouragement of your hands upon its shoulders. It will need to be supported, in the eyes of the world, as well as in its own eyes, by a national verdict that is unmistakable.

And, just here, let me say that there is a very real danger involved in voting for the candidates of political groups which cannot hope themselves to form a government. However great may be the sympathies which are felt for the peace-time objects of third parties, the pursuit of these objects in a time of war will serve only to distract our energies from the all-important task of prosecuting the war to a successful conclusion.

Unless the war is won,

Unless the war is won, these groups, and their hopes and policies as well, will disappear in the universal disaster. When victory has been achieved, there will be time, in the peace which has been secured, to thresh out our domestic differences, and to contest the rival merits of untried political theories. At this time, all our efforts must be directed to winning the victory and achieving the peace. I earnestly submit that, in casting his ballot, every citizen should put out of his mind all other questions except one -- will my vote contribute to the establishment and maintenance of a strong, united government, capable of a strong, united war effort? A vote cast for the candidate of a political group without hope of a majority in Parliament, cannot, in the present situation, be other than a vote against a strong, united government. It may serve to frustrate Canada's war effort; it cannot possibly promote it.

There is one other matter

There is one other matter to which I wish to refer. It concerns not only the next Parliament, but the future of the public life of this country. I believe that I am stating what is in the minds of hundreds of thousands of men and women of Canada when I express the strongest possible resentment at the methods of political controversy which have been adopted by Dr. Manion, and not a few of those who have supported him on public platforms throughout the present campaign. Instead of discussing public issues on their merits, there has been a deliberate effort to create suspicion and distrust, and to destroy the reputations of public men. Slanderous personal attacks have been launched against men who have served this country faithfully, honestly, and industriously over many years, and at no time more than in this hour of its greatest need. You have heard assailed in public meetings, and in your own homes, the motives and characters of men who value their personal honour above all else. Was this necessary to the winning of the election, to say nothing of the winning of the war?

Do I need to ask

Do I need to ask if there is a single Canadian, worthy of the name, who in his or her own heart really believes that my colleagues and myself, carrying out the greatest responsibility in the name of the Canadian people, would knowingly countenance, for one moment, the betrayal of the national trust, at a time when sore trials and great burdens are upon every man and woman in this country? Does anyone think that there is a single member of the administration, with the eyes not only of the country, but also of his own associates in the cabinet upon him, who would, knowingly or negligently, permit the advancement of the personal interest, either of himself, his friends, or his associates, to the detriment of the public welfare, or the surrender of accepted standards of public conduct?

Hundreds of my

Hundreds of my fellow citizens who normally do not support the Liberal Party have intimated to me, in the course of the present campaign, that they propose to show at the polls on Tuesday next their condemnation of the attempt to substitute abuse for argument, and personalities for policies.

I have been in the Parliament of Canada for nearly twenty-five years, and in the public service of my country for a much longer time. I have always considered public service both a privilege and a duty. My own public career cannot last, in the very nature of things, for many more years. Even if I desired it, there is little I could wish for, in the way of honourable recognition, beyond what I have already received. I am content to leave the name I bear, as I am the names of those from whom I received it, to the safekeeping of men and women who cherish a respect for integrity in public life, and honour the traditions of disinterested public service.

It is, however,

It is, however, not of myself I am thinking at the moment. I am thinking of the future of our country. I am thinking of the consequences which will follow, if honourable men, valuing their reputations, are deterred from entering our Parliament and our Legislatures, rather than submit to the degraded standards of public controversy, so evident in the present campaign. What is to become of our country, if the affairs of government are, in consequence, to be left to men of the type who substitute for political argument, the grossest kind of personal abuse. That is the process which destroyed democratic government in Germany. It is all too rapidly making its evil presence felt in our own land.

Dr. Manion has endeavoured to substitute promises for policies. He has travelled from coast to coast. His trans-continental path has been strewn with promissory notes which he can never meet, with pledges which he cannot redeem.

At no place has he

At no place has he enunciated a war policy. At every place he has left behind him a peace promise. Nearly every promise has been designed to influence unduly the community in which it has been made. Nearly every promise has been a promise to spend the taxpayer's money. In nearly every case it has been a promise to spend the taxpayer's money on something which has nothing to do with the winning of the war. What, however, Dr. Manion has failed to tell you, is, that to redeem his promises, he himself will have to be elected, have a following sufficiently large to entitle him to be called upon to form a government, and then, in bringing together the men of conflicting political views, persuade them to honour pledges about which they have never been consulted. What must be apparent to all is that most of his promises would require a complete reversal of Conservative policy to bring them into being.

Still, Dr. Manion's promises

Still, Dr. Manion's promises do not appear to worry him. They do worry, however, his own followers, and the newspapers who support him. They are aghast at his spendthrift recklessness. They would worry, too, the taxpayers of Canada if they ever became effective. They should worry all those who believe in a vigorous war effort, because the cost of keeping them would be an impossible drain upon the resources which will be desperately needed for the great task before us.

Ladies and gentlemen, the man who has asked that the present government should be judged upon its record of performance, asks you, in time of peril, to entrust the government to him on a record of promise. Your duty is to choose a strong and united government, able to hold this country constant, and able, by reason of plans wisely laid, to speed the momentum of its war effort until victory is achieved.

I believe that the public

I believe that the public realizes that in spite of some shortcomings, some omissions, some imperfections, the present government has done a good job.

Any wise man must know that no country can be at one and the same time a great democracy cherishing peace, and a military autocracy planning for war. When peace was possible, we did everything within our power to preserve it. When peace was threatened, we did what we could, as a peaceful democracy, to prepare for war in a manner which appealed even to our present critics. When the peace of the world was finally broken, we did everything possible to co-operate with our allies in the waging of war. Even our present critics approved of what we did, until the election opened up for them a vision of office, and inspired them with a dream of power.

Let me recall to you,

Let me recall to you, very briefly, some of the achievements of the present government. In peace time, we had the courage to multiply the defence estimates -- and when I say courage, I mean that very thing. Because even our opponents will admit that it takes courage to tax a peaceful and peace-loving democracy, for defence against a war, remote from our shores. We rebuilt our national defences; we reorganized the Air Force; we built the Trans-Canada Air Lines; we established the Bank of Canada as a truly national institution; we found for our producers wider markets, we vastly increased Canada's trade, and we established the friendliest of relations with our immediate neighbour. We did much, as well, to bring Canada and Britain closer than ever together.

Since the outbreak of war, we have organized agriculture to meet war conditions. We have saved workers and merchants from the disaster of falling international exchange, and the inflation of Canadian money. We have protected the worker and the housewife from an undue rise in the price of the necessities of life.

We have equipped

We have equipped and sent overseas soldiers and airmen. Our second division is training in Canada. We greatly strengthened the Army and the Royal Canadian Navy. We have played the major part in the establishment of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan. I dislike prophecies, but I suggest that, as you watch events develop, you remember my words, and the words of British statesmen, that final victory may well be shaped by that great and powerful instrument. We have published in the open light of day every contract made for the purchase of war supplies.

To assist in victory, we have brought to the service of Canada outstanding men of other parties, and of no party. We have made merit the sole criterion of promotion in the armed forces. We have allowed no man, and no group of men, however powerful, to use the national calamity for scandalous profit making.

<u>If you are old enough</u>

If you are old enough to remember the last war, your own fairmindedness will make the comparisons. If you are not old enough to remember the last war, I suggest that you ask your fathers and mothers who do.

We began at the side of Britain and France in full understanding. We remain there today. We have succeeded in maintaining a united Canada. The traditional loyalty of our French-speaking compatriots has once again inspired us with a sense of national unity. They too, stand side by side with English-speaking Canada, with Britain and with France, in defence of altar, home and the elemental rights of mankind.

I submit to you with humility, but also with confidence, that this is no time to refuse your continued and generous support to a government which has begun a great task.

I urge upon you

I urge upon you that this is no time to change a government which is capable of completing that task by a continuance of experience, vigour, confidence in the justice of our cause, and an undimmed conception of the realities of national unity and co-operation.

As I have already said, the men whom you are electing will carry the responsibilities of war and peace. Theirs will be the most arduous of all duties, and the highest of all privileges. They will be charged with the duty of sustaining the war effort of a free people until victory is assured. Theirs will be the privilege, when peace comes, of helping humanity itself to a new hope. They will need not only your support, but your overwhelming support, to fortify them and to encourage them in the stormy and shattering days, and months, and years, that are before us.

Should this great task

Should this great task be entrusted by you to the present administration, on behalf of those who have planned Canada's effort in war, and will continue to work undaunted for victory and a just and enduring peace, I pledge to your service the strength and vigour of our united labours.

While the war lasts, you and I, no matter what our burdens may be, will be inspired by the knowledge that young Canadian men, like their fathers before them, are once again willing to offer life itself upon the altars of nationhood and humanity. We will do our utmost to make our endeavours worthy of them. When the war is over, the cause of peace will also need the help of Canada. It will need the united authentic voice of this nation speaking to all nations through a strong government.

For the voice of Canada

For the voice of Canada is the voice of the new world. It is, moreover, the voice of a young and free nation which is giving of its best in the cause of human freedom. It is the voice of generosity, good-will, reconciliation, healing and Christian brotherhood.

May the duty which you owe to Canada, and her future, guide you in the choice which it is yours to make.

D 54375

Final revise - W.L.M.K.

Broadcast No. 5 - March 21, 1940

Ladies and Gentlemen:

This is the last of the nation-wide broadcasts which I shall make to you before you go to the polls on Tuesday next. I feel sure you all realize that on that day you will be discharging a most important and serious duty. ~~By your individual vote, you will be helping to determine what government is to manage the affairs of Canada during the next five fateful years. It will affect your own well-being and the well-being of all your fellow citizens. Of all elections, this, of course, is true.~~ But your individual vote in the present elections will have an effect far beyond that which it would have in ordinary times. This year it will be immediately related to all that pertains to war and peace.

You know what Canada's war effort has been. You have heard from British and French statesmen what it has meant to the allied powers since the outbreak of war. Your decision is being awaited with deep concern, not by our country only, but by the allied powers, and by the enemy. You know how anxious they were, across the seas, in October last, when the war effort of Canada's federal government

was challenged

was challenged in the province of Quebec. Nothing since the outbreak of war gave so much heart to the British and the French, or so disappointed the desires and hopes of the enemy, as the evidence that election afforded of a united war effort of a united Canada. Canada's voice as expressed by your votes on this election day will carry an even greater measure of elation or despair to the contending forces in Europe. It will be full of meaning as well, to the small nations that are seeking to protect their freedom. It will be significant for all democracies. For it will be the first vote of a free democracy, cast in a war, where democracy is fighting for its existence.

On that day, before you mark your ballots, it will be your duty to look as far ahead as you can. Remember that the present war may last for years. No one can say how long it may last, nor to what dimensions it may grow. When it ends, there will come the making of peace. Should that be within the lifetime of the new parliament, the government that you choose to administer your affairs on Tuesday next will be the government to voice your views at the peace-table. When you cast your ballots ~~on Tuesday next~~ consider also that momentous fact.

For most people

For most people, it is always a little difficult to look into the future. At all times, our feelings and prejudices are apt to blind our vision. Too frequently they control our judgment. This is true in politics at all times, even in peace times. It is doubly true at a time of war when tempers are frayed, minds are impatient, passions easily aroused, and hatreds intensified. And yet, there is no time in which this ability to look ahead, to see beyond the immediate present, to judge conditions not only as they are, but as they are likely to be, is so greatly needed as in time of war.

I cannot over-emphasize that truth. And if it is your duty to look ahead at election time, it has been my duty, at all times.

During recent years, when world conditions were steadily deteriorating, when the world's peace was threatened, when the hopes of saving it were imperilled, it was my duty, each and every day, calmly to consider the future. When national unity was endangered, when the Leader of the Opposition was demanding a general election in July and August of last year, when war came in September, when I had to consider the summoning of Parliament in war session, and recommending to Parliament Canada's participation at

the side of Britain and France, I had again carefully to look beyond the present to the future. I had particularly considered the future, as well as the circumstances then existing, when I recommended the dissolution of Parliament, and an immediate election. I, of course, have been only too well aware that my motives as well as my actions would be misconstrued by opponents in a political campaign. I had however but one question to ask myself: What, in the interests of Canada, in the interests of Canada's war effort, in the cause of the allies, was the right thing to do? Having decided upon what I believed to be right, I have not hesitated in acting upon that decision.

In deciding upon the right course, I have had to guide me such political experience and wisdom as I have gained in a life-time spent in the country's service. I have also fortunately had, what is most valuable of all, the counsel and advice of able, trusted and experienced colleagues, with whom, over many years, I have fully shared every confidence in matters of common national concern.

"Where no counsel is, the people fall;

"But in the multitude of counsellors there is safety."

That ancient proverb

D 54379

Insert on page 4, (a) at end of first paragraph

I think that even my opponents are beginning to see that I was right in not permitting a political campaign to be started in Parliament ~~to be~~ and followed later by another in the country. I am quite sure you also will be glad I was right also in ~~seeing to it that a new Parliament was brought into being~~ making sure while it was still possible for all the men in our defence forces to cast their votes under the most favourable conditions, before the elections were concluded, and before war itself bursts forth in all its fury. Are you not heartily glad that the past eight weeks are over? Can you bear to think of what it would mean to us all, if the campaign were still some weeks or months away, or were just about to begin, instead of happily being, as it is, almost at its close.

That ancient proverb I have kept constantly in mind throughout the whole of my public life. One of the curses of our age has been that decisions affecting the lives of multitudes have been made, and are being made, without reflection, consultation or knowledge, by irresponsible and inexperienced men.

In Parliament and during the present elections - as recently even as last night - I have been taken to task by the Leader of the Opposition for having remained at the seat of government, instead of making repeated journeys across the Dominion. I have gained my acquaintance with Canada and her problems by the study of a life-time, and by daily association and correspondence with representative citizens from all parts of the country. I made my position in this regard quite clear in Parliament, over a year ago.

These are the words I used: "The position of the leader of a government in Canada today, is not unlike that of the captain of a ship, when the ship is in a storm. The captain of the ship must not be spending his time wandering among the passengers on the decks; his place is at the helm." Some say, I should have said "on the bridge". The meaning, I think, is perfectly clear. I continued: "Mr. Speaker, I intend to remain at the helm of this ship of state, just so long as I have the confidence of the people of Canada, and

have the strength to perform the duties of my office. But if I have to gain that confidence by going back and forth across the country, making speeches here and there, and by seeking to cater to local tastes and prejudices, I do not wish to occupy office for a day. So long as God gives me strength to do my duty, I shall seek to serve the country as best I can, according to the light my conscience may give me."

I need not tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that, in past years, I have known no greater privilege than the opportunity a general election affords of meeting and greeting large numbers of my fellow citizens. I have always immensely enjoyed visiting all parts of the Dominion, and addressing public meetings. In the present campaign, I would particularly have welcomed that opportunity. I have never felt more deeply the importance of the issue. I have never realized more clearly, the far-reaching possible consequences of the outcome of the contest itself. I would have liked to discuss them with you face to face. But this is a time of war. ~~There is no Parliament in existence.~~ Most of my colleagues are necessarily absent in different parts of the country. The business of government must still be carried on. Daily attention must be given to vital questions affecting the business of the country, and particularly the conduct of the war.

conduct of the war. The Prime Minister of Canada is, by law and custon, also the Secretary of State for External Affairs. Our external affairs include foreign affairs and inter-imperial relations./ Since the outbreak of war, not a day has passed in the course of which telegrams and despatches of the utmost importance have not been received, and immediate decisions required. In these circumstances, I have had no other choice but to give the responsibilities of my office my first attention, and to make the country's affairs my first duty.

In this, at least, I hope I have placed country before party. I might add that, In this too, as in all else, I have had to look to the future. I have had to consider the obligations that will continue to rest upon my shoulders should the present administration be sustained, and what my duties will be the morning and days, and months after the elections, when calm judgment will, more than ever, be required for the decisions that have hourly to be made. 9

In the part which I have taken in the campaign, in public meetings and on the air, I think you will have observed that I have tried to promote a fair and calm discussion of our national affairs. I have been careful to avoid inflicting personal wounds upon those who have

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differed from me, and with whom, in your interests it may be necessary for me hereafter to associate in Parliament or elsewhere. I have sought to avoid coercion of thought and of speech. I have tried to make my appeal without bitterness to your intelligence and your reason. I have not neglected the campaign. Fortunately, the radio has made it possible for me, with few absences from the Capital, to speak to a larger number of my fellow-citizens than I could possibly have addressed in any other way in previous elections.

For your understanding of all this, and for giving me the opportunity of talking to you in your homes, in your offices, and your meeting places, I would like to express my warmest thanks. 10

In previous broadcasts, and in other public addresses, I have tried to put the issues before you clearly. I would like to remind you once again that you are being asked to decide what group of men working together, in harmony of thought and solidarity of purpose, can best use their abilities and their experience for the furtherance of Canada's war effort, and the maintenance of a united country. A united war effort and a united Canada:- never forget that the two are inseparable.

You are selecting men not for a month, not for a year, but it may be for five years. The five years that lie before us will not be easier than the five years which lie behind us. They will be most the difficult, the most dangerous, the most exacting five years in the history of this country. During those five years, our security, our existence, and the security and existence of free peoples the world over, will be menaced as they have never been menaced before. I pray with all my heart that they will also make real the dream of a just and enduring peace. Those who will guide the destinies of this nation are being called therefore to a great two-fold task -- the making of war and the making of peace.

In choosing the persons to represent you and your interests in the tasks of war and peace, you will do well carefully to examine the records of the men who are offering to serve you. There are two questions which it seems to me you will wish to ask yourselves, and the answers to which will help you to a wise decision. They are, in a sense, one question expressed in different terms. In the interests of all concerned, is it not most prudent and wise to entrust the war-time government of Canada to men who are known to all the country, tried in

<u>the school of experience</u>,

the school of experience, familiar with the problems to be faced, and advocates of policies which are known and widely supported - men who, throughout, have been united by a community of views? Or to express it another way: Should the government in these critical days be handed over to men, practically all of who are still unknown, and who are bound together by no common principles and agreed policies.?

Something more, however, is required of the people of Canada at this time than merely to decide what particular government is to hold office. If Canada's war effort is to be sustained, it is imperative that no doubt be left in the mind of any one that the government that is to carry on Canada's war effort has the nation solidly at its back. That does not mean that in supporting the present administration, should such be your desire, you are approving of each and every detail of its war administration. It means that recognizing the enormous problems with which the present administration has been faced in its war effort, you believe it has done as well, if not better, than any other administration, similarly placed, could have done. It means you feel that with the knowledge it already possesses, and the experience which it has already gained, the present government is in a

<u>better position to carry on</u>

better position to carry on than any newly formed administration could possibly be.

Please do not forget that what is being chosen on March the 26th is Canada's war-time government. That, if the government's action in the prosecution of the war is to be strong and decisive, its mandate must be clear and unquestioned. The government that is to carry on will need the encouragement of your hands upon its shoulders. It will need to be supported, in the eyes of the world, as well as in its own eyes, by a national verdict that is unmistakable.

And, just here, let me say that there is a very real danger involved in voting for the candidates of political groups which cannot hope themselves to form a government. However great may be the sympathies which are felt for the peace-time objects of third parties, the pursuit of these objects in a time of war will serve only to distract our energies from the all-important task of prosecuting the war to a successful conclusion. Unless the war is won, these groups, and their hopes and policies as well, will disappear in the universal disaster. When victory has been achieved, there will be time, in the peace which has been secured, to thresh out our domestic differences, and to contest the rival merits of untried

<u>political theories</u>.

D 54387

political theories. At this time, all our efforts must be directed to winning the victory and achieving the peace. I earnestly submit that, in casting his ballot, every citizen should put out of his mind all other questions except one -- will my vote contribute to the establishment and maintenance of a strong, united government, capable of a strong, united war effort? A vote cast for the candidate of a political group without hope of a majority in Parliament, cannot, in the present situation, be other than a vote against a strong, united government. It may serve to frustrate Canada's war effort; it cannot possibly promote it.

There is one other matter to which I wish to refer. It concerns not only the next Parliament, but the future of the public life of this country. I believe that I am stating what is in the minds of hundreds of thousands of men and women of Canada when I express the strongest possible resentment at the methods of political controversy which have been adopted by Dr. Manion and not a few of those who have supported him on public platforms throughout the present campaign. Instead of discussing public issues on their merits, there has been a deliberate effort to destroy the reputations of public men. Slanderous personal attacks have been launched against men who have

served this country

served this country faithfully, honestly, and industriously over many years, and at no time more than in this hour of its greatest need. You have heard assailed in public meetings, and in your own homes, the motives and characters of men who value their personal honour above all else. Was this necessary to the winning of the election, to say nothing of the winning of the war? Do I need to ask if there is a single Canadian, worthy of the name, who in his or her own heart really believes that my colleagues and myself, carrying out the greatest responsibility in the name of the Canadian people, would knowingly countenance, for one moment, the betrayal of the national trust, at a time when sore trials and great burdens are upon every man and woman in this country? Does anyone think that there is a single member of the administration, with the eyes not only of the country, but also of his own associates in the cabinet upon him, who would, knowingly or negligently, permit the advancement of the personal interest, either of himself, his friends, or his associates, to the detriment of the public welfare, or the surrender of accepted standards of public conduct? Hundreds of my fellow citizens who normally do not support the Liberal Party have intimated to me, in the course of the present campaign, that they

propose to show

propose to show at the polls on Tuesday next their condemnation of the attempt to substitute abuse for argument, and personalities for policies.

I have been in the Parliament of Canada for twenty-five years, and in the public service of my country for a much longer time. I have always considered public service both a privilege and a duty. My own public career cannot last, in the very nature of things, for many more years. Even if I desired it, there is little I could wish for, in the way of honourable recognition, beyond what I have already received. I am content to leave the name I bear, as I am the names of those from whom I received it, to the safekeeping of ~~those~~ men and women who cherish a respect for integrity in public life, and honour the traditions of disinterested public service. It is, however, not of myself I am thinking at the moment. I am thinking of the future of our country. I am thinking of the consequences which will follow, if honourable men, valuing their reputations, are deterred from entering our Parliament and our Legislatures, rather than submit to the degraded standards of public controversy, so evident in the present campaign. What is to become of our country, if the affairs of government are, in consequence, to be left to men of the type who substitute for political argument, the grossest kind of personal abuse. That is the process which destroyed democratic government in Germany. It is all too rapidly making its evil presence felt in our own land.

D[a] 54390

Dr. Manion has endeavoured to substitute promises for policies. He has travelled from coast to coast. His trans-continental path has been strewn with promissory notes which he can never meet, with pledges which he cannot redeem. At no place has he enunciated a war policy. At every place he has left behind him a peace promise. Nearly every promise has been designed to influence unduly the community in which it has been made. Nearly every promise has been a promise to spend the tax-payer's money. In nearly every case it has been a promise to spend the taxpayer's money on something which has nothing to do with the winning of the war. What, however, Dr. Manion has failed to tell you is that to redeem his promises he himself will have to be elected, have a following sufficiently large to entitle him to be called upon to form a government, and then, in bringing together the men of conflicting political views, persuade them to honour pledges about which they have never been consulted. What must be apparent to all is that most of his promises would require a complete reversal of Conservative policy to bring them into being.

Still, Dr. Manion's promises do not appear to worry him. They do worry, however, his own followers, and the newspapers who support him. They are aghast at his spendthrift recklessness. They would worry too the taxpayers of Canada if they ever became effective. They should worry ~~too~~ all those who believe in a vigorous war effort, because the cost of keeping them would be an impossible drain upon the resources which will be desperately needed for the great task before us.

Ladies and gentlemen, the man who has asked that ~~this~~ government should be judged upon its record of performance, asks you in time of peril to entrust the government to him on a record of promise. Your duty is to choose a strong and united government, able to hold this country constant, and able by reason of plans wisely laid, to speed the momentum of war until victory is achieved. ~~This is~~ a war-time election, and it is a war-time government that is being chosen. I know that throughout this country the belief is widely and generally held that there should be no change at the present time. I believe that the public realizes that in spite of some shortcomings, some omissions, some imperfections, ~~this~~ government has done a good job.

c. D 54392

Any wise man must know that no country can be at one and the same time a great democracy cherishing peace, and a military autocracy planning for war. When peace was possible, we did everything within our power to preserve it. When peace was threatened, we did what we could, as a peaceful democracy, to prepare for war in a manner which appealed even to our present critics. When the peace of the world was finally broken, we did everything possible to co-operate with our allies in the waging of war. Even our present critics approved of what we did, until the election opened up for them a vision of office, and inspired them with a dream of power.

Let me recall to you, very briefly, some of the achievements of the present government. In peace time, we had the courage to multiply the defence estimates -- and when I say courage, I mean that very thing. Because even our opponents will admit that it takes courage to tax a peaceful and peace-loving democracy, for defence against a war, remote from our shores. We rebuilt our national defences; we reorganized the Air Force; we built the Trans-Canada Air Lines; we established the Bank of Canada as a truly national institution. Since the outbreak of war, we have organized agriculture to meet war conditions. We have

saved workers and merchants from the disaster of falling international exchange, and the inflation of Canadian money. We have protected the worker and the housewife from an undue rise in the price of the necessities of life. 23 We have equipped and sent overseas soldiers and airmen. Our second division is training in Canada. We greatly strengthened the Army and the Royal Canadian Navy. We have played the major part in the establishment of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan. I dislike prophecies, but I suggest that, as you watch events develop, you remember my words, and the words of British statesmen, that final victory may well be shaped by that great and powerful instrument. We have published in the open light of day every contract made for the purchase of war supplies.

To assist in victory, we have brought to the service of Canada outstanding men of other parties, and of no party. We have made merit the sole criterion of promotion in the armed forces. We have allowed no man and no group of men, however powerful, to use the national calamity for 24 scandalous profit making. If you are old enough to remember the last war, your own fairmindedness will make the comparisons. If you are not old enough to remember the last war, I suggest that you ask your fathers and mothers who do. We began at the side of Britain and France in full understanding. We

remain there today. We have succeeded in maintaining a united Canada. The traditional loyalty of our French-speaking compatriots has once again inspired us with a sense of national unity. They too, stand side by side with English-speaking Canada, with Britain and with France, in defence of altar, home and the elemental rights of mankind.

I submit to you with humility, but also with confidence, that this is no time to refuse your continued and generous support to a government which has begun a great task. I urge upon you that this is no time to change a government which is capable of completing that task by a continuance of experience, vigour, confidence in the justice of our cause, and an undimmed conception of the realities of national unity and co-operation.

As I have already said, the men whom you are electing will carry the responsibilities of war and peace. Theirs will be the most arduous of all duties, and the highest of all privileges. They will be charged with the duty of sustaining the war effort of a free people until victory is assured. Theirs will be the privilege, when peace comes, of helping humanity itself to a new hope.

They will need not only your support, but your overwhelming support, to fortify them and to encourage them in the stormy and shattering days, and months, and years, that are before us. Should this great task be entrusted by you to the present administration, on behalf of those who have planned Canada's effort in war, and will continue to work undaunted for victory and a just and enduring peace, I pledge to your service the strength of our united labours.

While the war lasts, you and I, no matter what our burdens may be, will be inspired by the knowledge that young Canadian men, like their fathers before them, are once again willing to offer life itself upon that altars of nationhood and humanity. We will do our utmost to make our endeavours worthy of them. When the war is over, the cause of peace will also need the help of Canada. It will need the united authentic voice of this nation speaking to all nations through a strong government. For the voice of Canada is the voice of the new world. It is the voice of generosity, good-will, reconciliation, healing and Christian brotherhood. May the duty which you owe to Canada, and her future, guide you in the choice which it is yours to make.

March 28, 1940 D 54396

Memorandum for Mr. Herbert:

Suggested title of broadcast of March 26, 1940, same as on title page of red book - possibly with the addition at the top of: "Canada and the War". Running heading with Canada and the War underneath

The last address to be entitled: or following

"A WORD OF THANKS TO THE PEOPLE OF CANADA"

"The final broadcast - March 26, 1940"

Follow in with sub-headings:

(1) Canada's general election at a time of war.

(2) The making of history and the safeguarding of liberty.

(3) Standards in Canadian public life preserved by the people.

(4) ~~Prime Minister~~ An appeal to all to unite for Victory, Peace and Freedom.

(5) The service of country in a great cause.

Photograph of Prime Minister and Pat to be inserted in front.

Under the photograph, the words:

"Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister of Canada

In Motion

"A united War Effort is the heartfelt desire of every loyal Canadian. To this great cause, I pledge myself."

General election campaign, 1940."

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D 54398

CANADA AND THE WAR

The Choice That Lies Before The Electors

A FINAL WORD TO THE CANADIAN PEOPLE.

A Radio Address by
Right Honourable
W. L. MACKENZIE KING
Ottawa, 21st March, 1940

CANADA AND THE WAR

The Choice That Lies Before The Electors

A FINAL WORD TO THE CANADIAN PEOPLE.

A radio address delivered by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King from Ottawa, 21st March, 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

This is the last of the nation-wide broadcasts which I shall make to you before you go to the polls on Tuesday next. I feel sure you all realize that on that day you will be discharging a most important and serious duty. By your individual vote, you will be helping to determine what government is to manage the affairs of Canada during the next five fateful years. It will affect your own well-being and the well-being of all your fellow citizens. Of all elections, this, of course, is true. But your individual vote in the present elections will have an effect far beyond that which it would have in ordinary times. This year it will be immediately related to all that pertains to war and peace.

The national and international significance of the elections.

You know what Canada's war effort has been. You have heard from British and French statesmen what it has

meant to the allied powers since the outbreak of war. Your decision respecting the government which has carried it on is being awaited with deep concern not by our country only but by the allied powers and by the enemy. You know how anxious they were, across the seas, in October last, when the war effort of Canada's federal government was challenged in the province of Quebec. Nothing since the outbreak of war gave so much heart to the British and the French, or so disappointed the desires and hopes of the enemy, as the evidence that election afforded of a united war effort of a united Canada. Canada's voice as expressed by your votes on election day will carry an even greater measure of elation or despair to the contending forces in Europe. It will be full of meaning as well, to the small nations that are seeking to protect their freedom. It will be significant for all democracies. For it will be the first vote of a free democracy cast in the present war where democracy is fighting for its existence.

The importance of looking to the future.

On Monday next, before you mark your ballots, it will be your duty to look as far ahead as you can. Remember that the present war may last for years. No one can say how long it may last, nor to what dimensions it may grow. When it ends there will come the making of peace. Should that be within the lifetime of the new parliament, the government that you choose to administer your affairs on Tuesday next will be the government to voice your views at the peace-table. When you cast your ballots consider also that momentous fact.

For most people, it is always a little difficult to look into the future. At all times, our feelings and prejudices are apt to blind our vision. Too frequently they control our judgment.

This is true in politics at all times, even in peace times. It is doubly true at a time of war when tempers are frayed, minds are impatient, passions easily aroused, and hatreds intensified. And yet, there is no time in which this ability to look ahead, to see beyond the immediate present, to judge conditions not only as they are, but as they are likely to be, is so greatly needed as in time of war.

I cannot over-emphasize that truth. And if it is your duty to look ahead at election time, it has been my duty at all times.

Far reaching decisions.

During recent years, when world conditions were steadily deteriorating, when the world's peace was threatened, when the hopes of saving it were imperilled, it was my duty each and every day, calmly to consider the future. When national unity was endangered, when the Leader of the Opposition was demanding a general election in July and August of last year, when war came in September, when I had to consider the summoning of Parliament in war session, and recommending to Parliament Canada's participation at the side of Britain and France, I had again carefully to look beyond the present to the future.

I had particularly considered the future, as well as the circumstances then existing, when I recommended the dissolution of Parliament and an immediate election. I, of course, have been only too well aware that my motives as well as my actions would be misconstrued by opponents in a political campaign. I have had however in these matters but one question to ask myself: What, in the interests of Canada, in the interests of Canada's war effort, in the cause of the

allies, was the right thing to do. Having decided upon what I believed to be right, I have not hesitated in acting upon that decision.

Dissolution of Parliament more than justified.

I think that even my opponents are beginning to see that I was right in not permitting a political campaign to be started in Parliament, and followed later by another in the country. You will probably agree also that I was right in making it possible for all the men in our defence forces to cast their votes under the most favourable conditions, and in making it possible to have the elections concluded before war itself bursts forth in all its fury. Are you not heartily glad that the past eight weeks are over? Can you bear to think of what it would mean to us all, if this year's political campaign were still some weeks or months away, or were just about to begin, instead of happily being, as it is, almost at its close?

The importance of wise counsel in political affairs.

In deciding upon the right course, I have had to guide me such political experience and wisdom as I have gained in a life-time spent in the country's service. I have also fortunately had what is most valuable of all, the counsel and advice of able, trusted and experienced colleagues, with whom, over many years, I have fully shared every confidence in matters of common national concern.

"Where no counsel is, the people fall;

"But in the multitude of counsellors there is safety."

That ancient proverb I have kept constantly in mind through-

out the whole of my public life. One of the curses of our age has been that the decisions affecting the lives of multitudes have been made and are being made without reflection, consultation or knowledge, by irresponsible and inexperienced men.

Necessity for Prime Minister to be at seat of government.

In Parliament and during the present elections—as recently even as last night—I have been taken to task by the Leader of the Opposition for having remained at the seat of government, instead of making repeated journeys across the Dominion. May I say that I have gained my acquaintance with Canada and her problems by the study of a life-time, and by daily association and correspondence with representative citizens from all parts of the country. I made my position in this regard quite clear in Parliament over a year ago.

These are the words I used: "The position of the leader of a government in Canada today is not unlike that of the captain of a ship when the ship is in a storm. The captain of the ship must not be spending his time wandering among the passengers on the decks; his place is at the helm." Some say, I should have said "on the bridge". The meaning, I think, is perfectly clear. I continued: "Mr. Speaker, I intend to remain at the helm of this ship of state just so long as I have the confidence of the people of Canada, and have the strength to perform the duties of my office. But if I have to gain that confidence by going back and forth across the country, making speeches here and there, and by seeking to cater to local tastes and prejudices, I do not wish to occupy office for a day. So long as God gives me strength to do my duty, I shall seek to serve the country as best I can, according to the light my conscience may give me."

The nation's business at a time of war.

I need not tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that in past years I have known no greater privilege than the opportunity a general election affords of meeting and greeting large numbers of my fellow citizens. I have always immensely enjoyed visiting all parts of the Dominion, and addressing public meetings. In the present campaign, I would particularly have welcomed that opportunity. I have never felt more deeply the importance of the issue. I have never realized more clearly the far-reaching possible consequences of the outcome of the contest itself. I would have liked to discuss them with you face to face. But this is a time of war. There is no Parliament in existence. Most of my colleagues are necessarily absent in different parts of the country. The business of government must still be carried on. Daily attention must be given to vital questions affecting the business of the country and particularly the conduct of the war. The Prime Minister of Canada is, by law and custom, also the Secretary of State for External Affairs. Our external affairs include foreign affairs and inter-imperial relations. Since the outbreak of war, not a day has passed in the course of which telegrams and despatches of the utmost importance have not been received and immediate decisions required. In these circumstances, I have had no other choice but to give the responsibilities of my office my first attention and to make the country's affairs my first duty.

Country before Party—Participation in the campaign.

In this, at least, I hope I have placed country before party. In this too, as in all else, I have had to look to the future. I have had to consider the obligations that will

continue to rest upon my shoulders should the present administration be sustained, and what my duties will be the morning, and the days, and the months after the elections, when calm judgment will, more than ever, be required for the decisions that have hourly to be made.

In the part which I have taken in the campaign in public meetings and on the air, I think you will have observed that I have tried to promote a fair and calm discussion of our national affairs. I have been careful to avoid inflicting personal wounds upon those who have differed from me and with whom, in your interests it may be necessary for me hereafter to associate in Parliament or elsewhere. I have sought to avoid coercion of thought and of speech. I have tried to make my appeal without bitterness to your intelligence and your reason. I have not neglected the campaign. Fortunately, the radio has made it possible for me, with few absences from the Capital, to speak to a larger number of my fellow-citizens than I could possibly have addressed in any other way in previous elections.

For your understanding of all this, and for giving me the opportunity of talking to you in your homes, in your offices, and your meeting places, I would like to express my warmest thanks.

A two-fold task—the making of war and the making of peace.

In previous broadcasts, and in other public addresses, I have tried to put the issues before you clearly. I would like to remind you once again that you are being asked to decide what group of men working together, in harmony of thought and solidarity of purpose, can best use their abilities and their experience for the furtherance of Canada's war

effort, and the maintenance of a united country. A united war effort and a united Canada:—never forget that the two are inseparable.

You are selecting men not for a month, not for a year, but it may be for five years. The five years that lie before us will not be easier than the five years which lie behind us. They will be the most difficult, the most dangerous, the most exacting five years in the history of this country. During those five years, our security, our existence, and the security and existence of free peoples the world over, will be menaced as they have never been menaced before. I pray with all my heart that these next five years will also make real the dream of a just and enduring peace. Those who will guide the destinies of this nation are being called therefore to a great two-fold task—the making of war and the making of peace.

The question to be decided.

In choosing the persons to represent you and your interests in the tasks of war and peace, you will do well carefully to examine the records of the men who are offering to serve you. There are two questions which it seems to me you will wish to ask yourselves, and the answers to which will help you to a wise decision. They are, in a sense, one question expressed in different terms. In the interests of all concerned, is it not most prudent and wise to entrust the war-time government of Canada to men who are known to all the country, tried in the school of experience, familiar with the problems to be faced, and advocates of policies which are known and widely supported—men who, throughout, have been united by a community of views? Or to express it another way: Should the government in these critical days be handed over to men, practically all of who are still unknown and who are bound together by no common principles and agreed policies?

Necessity for a clear and unquestioned mandate.

Something more, however, is required of the people of Canada at this time than merely to decide what particular government is to hold office. If Canada's war effort is to be sustained, it is imperative that no doubts be left in the mind of any one that the government that is to carry on Canada's war effort has the nation solidly at its back. That does not mean that in supporting the present administration, should such be your desire, you are approving of each and every detail of its war administration. It means that recognizing the enormous problems with which the present administration has been faced in its war effort, you believe it has done as well, if not better, than any other administration similarly placed could have done. It means you feel that with the knowledge it already possesses, and the experience which it has already gained, the present government is in a better position to carry on than any newly formed administration could possibly be.

Please do not forget that what is being chosen on March the 26th is Canada's war-time government. That, if the government's action in the prosecution of the war is to be strong and decisive, its mandate must be clear and unquestioned. The government that is to carry on will need the encouragement of your hands upon its shoulders. It will need to be supported, in the eyes of the world, as well as in its own eyes, by a national verdict that is unmistakable.

Support of third party candidates a positive danger.

And, just here, let me say that there is a very real danger involved in voting for the candidates of political groups which cannot hope themselves to form a government. However

great may be the sympathies which are felt for the peace-time objects of third parties, the pursuit of these objects in a time of war will serve only to distract our energies from the all-important task of prosecuting the war to a successful conclusion. Unless the war is won, these groups, and their hopes and policies as well, will disappear in the universal disaster. When victory has been achieved, there will be time, in the peace which has been secured, to thresh out our domestic differences, and to contest the rival merits of untried political theories. At this time, all our efforts must be directed to winning the victory and achieving the peace. I earnestly submit that, in casting his ballot, every citizen should put out of his mind all other questions except one—will my vote contribute to the establishment and maintenance of a strong, united government, capable of a strong, united war effort? A vote cast for the candidate of a political group without hope of a majority in Parliament cannot, in the present situation, be other than a vote against a strong, united government. It may serve to frustrate Canada's war effort; it cannot possibly promote it.

Abuse substituted for argument—personalities for policies.

There is one other matter to which I wish to refer. It concerns not only the next Parliament, but the future of the public life of this country. I believe that I am stating what is in the minds of hundreds of thousands of men and women of Canada when I express the strongest possible resentment at the methods of political controversy which have been adopted by Dr. Manion and not a few of those who have supported him on public platforms throughout the present campaign. Instead of discussing public issues on their merits,

there has been a deliberate effort to destroy the reputations of public men. Slanderous personal attacks have been launched against men who have served this country faithfully, honestly, and industriously over many years, and at no time more than in this hour of its greatest need. You have heard assailed in public meetings, and in your own homes, the motives and characters of men who value their personal honour above all else. Was this necessary to the winning of the election, to say nothing of the winning of the war?

Do I need to ask if there is a single Canadian, worthy of the name, who in his or her own heart really believes that my colleagues and myself, carrying out the greatest responsibility in the name of the Canadian people, would knowingly countenance for one moment the betrayal of the national trust at a time when sore trials and great burdens are upon every man and woman in this country? Does anyone think that there is a single member of the administration, with the eyes not only of the country, but also of his own associates of the cabinet upon him, who would knowingly or negligently permit the advancement of the personal interest, either of himself, his friends, or his associates, to the detriment of the public welfare, or the surrender of accepted standards of public conduct? Hundreds of my fellow citizens who normally do not support the Liberal Party have intimated to me in the course of the present campaign that they propose to show at the polls on Tuesday next their condemnation of the attempt to substitute abuse for argument, and personalities for policies.

Degraded standards of public controversy a menace to Canada's future.

I have been in the Parliament of Canada for nearly twenty-five years, and in the public service of my country for a much

longer time. I have always considered public service both a privilege and a duty. My own public career cannot last, in the nature of things, for many more years. Even if I desired it, there is little I could wish for in the way of honourable recognition beyond what I have already received. I am content to leave the name I bear, as I am the names of those from whom I received it, to the safekeeping of those who cherish a respect for integrity in public life, and honour the traditions of disinterested public service. It is, however, not of myself I am thinking at the moment. I am thinking of the future of our country. I am thinking of the consequences which will follow if honourable men, valuing their reputations, are deterred from entering our Parliament and our Legislature rather than submit to the degraded standards of public controversy so evident in the present campaign. What is to become of our country if the affairs of government are, in consequence, to be left to men of the type who substitute for political argument the grossest kind of personal abuse. That is the process which destroyed democratic government in Germany. It is all too rapidly making its evil presence felt in our own land.

Dr. Manion's many promissory notes.

Dr. Manion has endeavoured to substitute promises for policies. He has travelled from coast to coast. His transcontinental path has been strewn with promissory notes which he can never meet, with pledges which he cannot redeem. At no place has he enunciated a war policy. At every place he has left behind him a peace promise. Nearly every promise has been designed to influence unduly the community in which it has been made. Nearly every promise has been a promise to spend the tax-payer's money. In nearly every case it has been a promise to spend the taxpayer's money on something

which has nothing to do with the winning of the war. What, however, Dr. Manion has failed to tell you is that to redeem his promises he himself will have to be elected, have a following sufficiently large to entitle him to be called upon to form a government and then in bringing together the men of conflicting political views persuade them to honour pledges about which they have never been consulted. What must be apparent to all is that most of his promises would require a complete reversal of Conservative policy to bring them into being.

Still, Dr. Manion's promises do not appear to worry him. They do worry, however, his own followers, and the newspapers who support him. They are aghast at his spendthrift recklessness. They would worry too the tax-payers of Canada if they ever became effective. They should worry all those who believe in a vigorous war effort, because the cost of keeping them would be an impossible drain upon the resources which will be desperately needed for the great task before us.

The choice of a war-time government.

Ladies and gentlemen, the man who has asked that this government should be judged upon its record of performance, asks you in time of peril to entrust the government to him on a record of promise. Your duty is to choose a strong and united government, able to hold this country constant, and able, by reason of plans wisely laid, to speed the momentum of its war effort until victory is achieved. This is a war-time election, and it is a war-time government that is being chosen. I know that throughout this country the belief is widely and generally held that there should be no change at the present

time. I believe that the public realizes that in spite of some shortcomings, some omissions, some imperfections, this government has done a good job.

Any wise man must know that no country can be at one and the same time a great democracy cherishing peace, and a military autocracy planning for war. When peace was possible we did everything within our power to preserve it. When peace was threatened, we did what we could as a peaceful democracy to prepare for war in a manner which appealed even to our present critics. When the peace of the world was finally broken, we did everything possible to co-operate with our allies in the waging of war. Even our present critics approved of what we did, until the election opened up for them a vision of office, and inspired them with a dream of power.

Achievements of the Mackenzie King administration.

Let me recall to you, very briefly, some of the achievements of the present government. In peace time, we had the courage to multiply the defence estimates—and when I say courage, I mean that very thing. Because even our opponents will admit that it takes courage to tax a peaceful and peace-loving democracy for defence against a war remote from our shores. We rebuilt our national defences; we reorganized the Air Force; we built the Trans-Canada Air Lines; we established the Bank of Canada as a truly national institution; we have found for our producers wider markets, we greatly increased Canada's trade and we established the friendliest of relations with our immediate neighbor. We did much, as well, to bring Canada and Britain closer than ever together.

Since the outbreak of war, we have organized agriculture to meet war conditions. We have saved workers and merchants from the disaster of falling international exchange, and the inflation of Canadian money. We have protected the worker and the housewife from an undue rise in the price of the necessities of life. We have equipped and sent overseas soldiers and airmen. Our second division is training in Canada. We greatly strengthened the Army and the Royal Canadian Navy. We have played the major part in the establishment of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan. I dislike prophecies, but I suggest that, as you watch events develop, you remember my words, and the words of British statesmen, that final victory may well be shaped by that great and powerful instrument. We have published in the open light of day every contract made for the purchase of war supplies.

Methods taken to ensure victory.

To assist in victory, we have brought to the service of Canada outstanding men of other parties, and of no party. We have made merit the sole criterion of promotion in the armed forces. We have allowed no man and no group of men, however powerful, to use the national calamity for scandalous profit making. If you are old enough to remember the last war, your own fairmindedness will make the comparisons. If you are not old enough to remember the last war, I suggest that you ask your fathers and mothers who do.

We began at the side of Britain and France in full understanding. We remain there today. We have succeeded in maintaining a united Canada. The traditional loyalty of our French-speaking compatriots has once again inspired us with a sense of national unity. They too, stand side by side with

English-speaking Canada, with Britain and with France, in defence of altar, home and the elemental rights of mankind.

I submit to you with humility, but also with confidence, that this is no time to refuse your continued and generous support to a government which has begun a great task. I urge upon you that this is no time to change a government which is capable of completing that task by a continuance of experience, vigour, confidence in the justice of our cause, and an undimmed conception of the realities of national unity and co-operation.

A pledge of service.

As I have already said, the men whom you are electing will carry the responsibilities of war and peace. Theirs will be the most arduous of all duties, and the highest of all privileges. They will be charged with the duty of sustaining the war effort of a free people until victory is assured. Theirs will be the privilege, when peace comes, of helping humanity itself to a new hope. They will need not only your support, but your overwhelming support, to fortify them and to encourage them in the stormy and shattering days, and months, and years, that are before us. Should this great task be entrusted by you to the present administration, on behalf of those who have planned Canada's effort in war, and will continue to work undaunted for victory and a just and enduring peace, I pledge to your service the strength and vigour of our united labours.

The voice of Canada.

While the war lasts, you and I, no matter what our burdens may be, will be inspired by the knowledge that young Canadian men, like their fathers before them, are once again

willing to offer life itself upon the altars of nationhood and humanity. We will do our utmost to make our endeavours worthy of them. When the war is over, the cause of peace will also need the help of Canada. It will need the united authentic voice of this nation speaking to all nations through a strong government. For the voice of Canada is the voice of the new world. It is, moreover, the voice of a young and free nation which is giving of its best in the cause of human freedom. It is the voice of generosity, good-will, reconciliation, healing and Christian brotherhood.

May the duty which you owe to Canada and her future guide you in the choice which it is yours to make.

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D54399

Corrections made in attached copy as Mr. King delivered the broadcast

D 54400

Ladies and Gentlemen:

This is the last of the nation-wide broadcasts which I shall make to you before you go to the polls on Tuesday next. I feel sure you all realize that on that day you will be discharging a most important and serious duty. Your individual vote in the present elections will have an effect far beyond that which it would have in ordinary times. This year it will be immediately related to all that pertains to war and peace.

You know what Canada's war effort has been. You have heard from British and French statesmen what it has meant to the allied powers since the outbreak of war. Your decision with respect to the Government is being awaited with deep concern, not by our country only, but by the allied powers, and by the enemy.

You know how anxious

D 54401

You know how anxious they were, across the seas, in October last, when the war effort of Canada's federal government was challenged in the province of Quebec. Nothing since the outbreak of war gave so much heart to the British and the French, or so disappointed the desires and hopes of the enemy, as the evidence that election afforded of a united war effort of a united Canada. Canada's voice as expressed by your votes on this election day will carry an even greater measure of elation or despair to the contending forces in Europe. It will be full of meaning as well, to the small nations that are seeking to protect their freedom. It will be significant for all democracies. For it will be the first vote of a free democracy, cast in the present war, where democracy is fighting for its existence.

On that day,

D 54402

On ~~that day~~ Tuesday next, before you mark your ballots, it will be your duty to look as far ahead as you can. Remember that the present war may last for years. No one can say how long it may last, nor to what dimensions it may grow. When it ends, there will come the making of peace. Should that be within the life-time of the new parliament, the government that you choose to administer your affairs on Tuesday next will be the government to voice your views at the peace-table. When you cast your ballots consider also that momentous fact.

For most people, it is always a little difficult to look into the future. At all times, our feelings and prejudices are apt to blind our vision. Too frequently they control our judgment. This is true in politics at all times, even in peace times. It is doubly true at a time of war when tempers are frayed, minds are impatient, passions easily aroused, and hatreds intensified. And yet, there is no time in which this ability to look ahead, to see beyond the immediate present, to judge conditions not only as they are, but as they are likely to be, is so greatly needed as in time of war.

I cannot over-emphasize that truth.

I cannot over-emphasize that truth. And if it is your duty to look ahead at election time, it has been my duty, at all times.

During recent years, when world conditions were steadily deteriorating, when the world's peace was threatened, when the hopes of saving it were imperilled, it was my duty, each and every day, calmly to consider the future. When national unity was endangered, when the Leader of the Opposition was demanding a general election in July and August of last year, when war came in September, when I had to consider the summoning of Parliament in war session, and recommending to Parliament Canada's participation at the side of Britain and France, I had again carefully to look beyond the present to the future.

I had particularly considered the future, as well as the circumstances then existing, when I recommended the dissolution of Parliament, and an immediate election.

I, of course, have been

I, of course, have been only too well aware that my motives as well as my actions would be misconstrued by opponents in a political campaign. I had however in all this matter but one question to ask myself: What, in the interests of Canada, in the interests of Canada's war effort, in the cause of the allies, was the right thing to do? Having decided upon what I believed to be right, I have not hesitated in acting upon that decision.

I think that even my opponents are beginning to see that I was right in not permitting a political campaign to be started in Parliament and followed later by another in the country. You will probably agree also that I was right in making it possible for all the men in our defence forces to cast their votes under the most favourable conditions, and in making it possible to have the elections concluded before war itself bursts forth in all its fury. Are you not heartily glad that the past eight weeks are over? Can you bear to think of what it would mean to us all, if this year's political campaign were still some weeks or months away, or were just about to begin, instead of happily being, as it is, almost at its close?

In deciding upon

D 54405

In deciding upon the right course, in the perplexing situations which have arisen, I have had to guide me such political experience and wisdom as I have gained in a life-time spent in the country's service. I have also fortunately had, what is most valuable of all, the counsel and advice of able, trusted and experienced colleagues, with whom, over many years, I have fully shared every confidence in matters of common national concern.

"Where no counsel is, the people fall;
"But in the multitude of counsellors there is safety."

That ancient proverb I have kept constantly in mind throughout the whole of my public life. One of the curses of our age has been that decisions affecting the lives of multitudes have too often been made, and are being made, without reflection, consultation or knowledge, by irresponsible and inexperienced men.

D 54406

In Parliament and during the present elections - as recently even as last night - I have been taken to task by the Leader of the Opposition for having remained at the seat of government, instead of making repeated journeys across the Dominion. May I say that I have gained my acquaintance with Canada and her problems by the study of a life-time, and by daily association and correspondence with representative citizens from all parts of the country. I made my position in this regard quite clear in Parliament, over a year ago.

These are the words I used: "The position of the leader of a government in Canada today, is not unlike that of the captain of a ship, when the ship is in a storm. The captain of the ship must not be spending his time wandering among the passengers on the decks; his place is at the helm." Some say, I should have said "on the bridge". The meaning, I think, is perfectly clear. I continued: "Mr. Speaker, I intend to remain at the helm of this ship of state, just so long as I have the confidence of the people of Canada, and have the strength to perform the duties of my office.

But if I have to gain

D 54407

But if I have to gain that confidence by going back and forth across the country, making speeches here and there, and by seeking to cater to local tastes and prejudices, I do not wish to occupy office for a day. So long as God gives me strength to do my duty, I shall seek to serve the country as best I can, according to the light my conscience may give me."

I need not tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that, in past years, I have known no greater privilege than the opportunity a general election affords of meeting and greeting large numbers of my fellow citizens. I have always immensely enjoyed visiting all parts of the Dominion, and addressing public meetings. In the present campaign, I would particularly have welcomed that opportunity. I have never felt more deeply the importance of the issue. I have never realized more clearly the far-reaching possible consequences of the outcome of the contest itself. I would have liked to discuss them with you face to face. But this is a time of war.

Most of my colleagues

D 54408

Most of my colleagues are necessarily absent in different parts of the country. The business of government must still be carried on. Daily attention must be given to vital questions affecting the business of the country, and particularly the conduct of the war. The Prime Minister of Canada is, by law and custom, also the Secretary of State for External Affairs. Our external affairs include foreign affairs and inter-imperial relations. Since the outbreak of war, not a day has passed in the course of which telegrams and despatches of the utmost importance have not been received, and immediate decisions required. In these circumstances, I have had no other choice but to give the responsibilities of my office my first attention, and to make the country's affairs my first duty.

In this, at least, I hope I have placed country before party. I might add that, in this too, as in all else, I have had to look to the future. I have had to consider the obligations that will continue to rest upon my shoulders should the present administration be sustained, and what my duties will be the morning, ~~the same~~ days, and months, after the elections, when calm judgment will, more than ever, be required for the decisions that have hourly to be made.

In the part

D54409

In the part which I have taken in the campaign, in public meetings and on the air, I think you will have observed that I have tried to promote a fair and calm discussion of our national affairs. I have been careful to avoid inflicting personal wounds upon those who have differed from me, and with whom, in your interests it may be necessary for me hereafter to associate in Parliament or elsewhere. I have sought to avoid coercion of thought and of speech. I have tried to make my appeal without bitterness to your intelligence and your reason. I have not neglected the campaign. Fortunately, the radio has made it possible for me, with few absences from the Capital, to speak to a larger number of my fellow-citizens than I could possibly have addressed in any other way in previous elections.

For your understanding of all this, and for giving me the opportunity of talking to you in your homes, in your offices, and your meeting places, I would like to express my warmest thanks.

In previous broadcasts,

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In previous broadcasts, and in other public addresses, I have tried to put the issues before you clearly. I would like to remind you once again that you are being asked to decide what group of men working together, in harmony of thought and solidarity of purpose, can best use their abilities and their experience for the furtherance of Canada's war effort, and the maintenance of a united country. A united war effort and a united Canada - never forget that the two are inseperable.

You are selecting men not for a month, not for a year, but it may be for five years. The five years that lie before us will not be easier than the five years which lie behind us. They will be the most difficult, the most dangerous, the most exacting ~~five~~ years in the history of this country. During those five years, our security, our existence, and the security and existence of free peoples the world over, will be menaced as they have never been menaced before. I pray with all my heart that this next five years will also make real the dream of a just and enduring peace.

Those who will guide

D 54411

Those who will guide the destinies of this nation are being called therefore to a great two-fold task - the making of war and the making of peace.

In choosing the persons to represent you and your interests in the tasks of war and peace, you will do well carefully to examine the records of the men who are offering to serve you. There are two questions which it seems to me you will wish to ask yourselves, and the answers to which will help you to a wise decision. They are, in a sense, one question expressed in different terms. In the interests of all concerned, is it not most prudent and wise to entrust the war-time government of Canada to men who are known to all the country, tried in the school of experience, familiar with the problems to be faced, and advocates of policies which are known and widely supported - men who, throughout, have been united, by a community of views?

<u>Or to express it</u>

Or to express it another way: Should the government in these critical days be handed over to men, practically all of whom are still unknown, and who are bound together by no common principles and agreed policies?

Something more, however, is required of the people of Canada at this time than merely to decide what particular government is to hold office. If Canada's war effort is to be sustained, it is imperative that no doubt be left in the mind of anyone that the government that is to carry on Canada's war effort has the nation solidly at its back. That does not mean that in supporting the present administration, should such be your desire, you are approving of each and every detail of its war administration. It means that recognizing the enormous problems with which the present administration has been faced in its war effort, you believe it has done as well, if not better, than any other administration, similarly placed, could have done.

<u>It means you feel</u>

D 54413

It means you feel that with the knowledge it already possesses, and the experience which it has already gained, the present government is in a better position to carry on than any newly formed administration could possibly be.

Please do not forget that what is being chosen on March the 26th is Canada's war-time government. That, if the government's action in the prosecution of the war is to be strong and decisive, its mandate must be clear and unquestioned. The government that is to carry on will need the encouragement of your hands upon its shoulders. It will need to be supported, in the eyes of the world, as well as in its own eyes, by a national verdict that is unmistakable.

And, just here, let me say that there is a very real danger involved in voting for the candidates of political groups which cannot hope themselves to form a government. However great may be the sympathies which are felt for the peace-time objects of third parties, the pursuit of these objects in a time of war will serve only to distract our energies from the all-important task of prosecuting the war to a successful conclusion.

Unless the war is won,

Unless the war is won, these groups, and their hopes and policies as well, will disappear in the universal disaster. When victory has been achieved, there will be time, in the peace which has been secured, to thresh out our domestic differences, and to contest the rival merits of untried political theories. At this time, however, all our efforts must be directed to winning the victory and achieving the peace. I earnestly submit that, in casting his ballot, every citizen should put out of his mind all other questions except one -- will my vote contribute to the establishment and maintenance of a strong, united ~~government~~ Canada, capable of a strong, united war effort? A vote cast for the candidate of a political group without hope of a majority in Parliament, cannot, in the present situation, be other than a vote against a strong, united government. It may serve to frustrate Canada's war effort; it cannot possibly promote it.

There is one other matter

D 54415

There is one other matter to which I wish to refer. It concerns not only the next Parliament, but the future of the public life of this country. I believe that I am stating what is in the minds of hundreds of thousands of men and women of Canada when I express the strongest possible resentment at the methods of political controversy which have been adopted by Dr. Manion and not a few of those who have supported him on public platforms throughout the present campaign. Instead of discussing public issues on their merits, there has been a deliberate effort to create suspicion and distrust, and to destroy the reputations of public men. Slanderous personal attacks have been launched against men who have served this country faithfully, honestly, and industriously over many years, and at no time more than in this hour of its greatest need. You have heard assailed in public meetings, and in your own homes, the motives and characters of men who value their personal honour above all else. Was this necessary to the winning of the election, to say nothing of the winning of the war?

Do I need to ask

Do I need to ask if there is a single Canadian, worthy of the name, who in his or her own heart really believes that my colleagues and myself, carrying out the greatest responsibility in the name of the Canadian people, would knowingly countenance, for one moment, the betrayal of the national trust, at a time when sore trials and great burdens are upon every man and woman in this country? Does anyone think that there is a single member of the administration, with the eyes not only of the country, but also of his own associates in the cabinet upon him, who would, knowingly or negligently, permit the advancement of the personal interest, either of himself, his friends, or his associates, to the detriment of the public welfare, or the surrender of accepted standards of public conduct?

Hundreds of my

D 54417

Hundreds of my fellow citizens who normally do not support the Liberal Party have intimated to me, in the course of the present campaign, that they propose to show at the polls on Tuesday next their condemnation of the attempt to substitute abuse for argument, and personalities for policies.

I have been in the Parliament of Canada for twenty-five years, and in the public service of my country for a much longer time. I have always considered public service both a privilege and a duty. My own public career cannot last, in the very nature of things, for many more years. Even if I desired it, there is little I could wish for, in the way of honourable recognition, beyond what I have already received. I am content to leave the name I bear, as I am the names of those from whom I received it, to the safekeeping of men and women who cherish a respect for integrity in public life, and honour the traditions of disinterested public service.

<u>It is, however,</u>

It is, however, not of myself I am thinking at the moment. I am thinking of the future of our country. I am thinking of the consequences which will follow, if honourable men, valuing their reputations, are deterred from entering our Parliament and our Legislatures, rather than submit to the degraded standards of public controversy, so evident in the present campaign. What is to become of our country, if the affairs of government are, in consequence, to be left to men of the type who substitute for political argument, the grossest kind of personal abuse. That is the process which destroyed democratic government in Germany. It is all too rapidly making its evil presence felt in our own land.

Dr. Manion has endeavoured to substitute promises for policies. He has travelled from coast to coast. His trans-continental path has been strewn with promissory notes which he can never meet, with pledges which he cannot redeem.

At no place has he

At no place has he enunciated a war policy. At every place he has left behind him a peace promise. Nearly every promise has been designed to influence unduly the community in which it has been made. Nearly every promise has been a promise to spend the taxpayer's money. In nearly every case it has been a promise to spend the taxpayer's money on something which has nothing to do with the winning of the war. What, however, Dr. Manion has failed to tell you, is, that to redeem his promises, he himself will have to be elected, have a following sufficiently large to entitle him to be called upon to form a government, and then, in bringing together the men of conflicting political views, persuade them to honour pledges about which they have never been consulted. What must be apparent to all is that most of his promises would require a complete reversal of Conservative policy to bring them into being.

Still, Dr. Manion's promises

D 54420

Still, Dr. Manion's promises do not appear to worry him. They do worry, however, his own followers, and the newspapers who support him. They are aghast at his spendthrift recklessness. They would worry, too, the taxpayers of Canada if they ever became effective. They should worry all those who believe in a vigorous war effort, because the cost of keeping them would be an impossible drain upon the resources which will be desperately needed for the great task before us.

Ladies and gentlemen, the man who has asked that the present government should be judged upon its record of performance, asks you, in time of peril, to entrust the government to him on a record of promise. Your duty is to choose a strong and united government, able to hold this country constant, and able, by reason of plans wisely laid, to speed the momentum of its war effort until victory is achieved.

I believe that the public

D 54421

I believe that the public realizes that in spite of some shortcomings, some omissions, some imperfections, the present government has done a good job.

Any wise man must know that no country can be at one and the same time a great democracy cherishing peace, and a military autocracy planning for war. When peace was possible, we did everything within our power to preserve it. When peace was threatened, we did what we could, as a peaceful democracy, to prepare for war in a manner which appealed even to our present critics. When the peace of the world was finally broken, we did everything possible to co-operate with our allies in the waging of war. Even our present critics approved of what we did, until the election opened up for them a vision of office, and inspired them with a dream of power.

Let me recall to you.

D 54422

Let me recall to you, very briefly, some of the achievements of the present government. In peace time, We had the courage to multiply the defence estimates -- and when I say courage, I mean that very thing. Because even our opponents will admit that it takes courage to tax a peaceful and peace-loving democracy, for defence against a war, remote from our shores. We rebuilt our national defences; we reorganized the Air Force; we built the Trans-Canada Air Lines; we established the Bank of Canada as a truly national institution; we found for our producers wider markets, we vastly increased Canada's trade, and we established the friendliest of relations with our immediate neighbour. We did much as well, to bring Canada and Britain closer than they were ever together before.

Since the outbreak of war, we have organised agriculture to meet war conditions. We have saved workers and merchants from the disaster of falling international exchange, and the inflation of Canadian money. We have protected the worker and the housewife from an undue rise in the price of the necessities of life.

<u>We have equipped</u>

D 54423

We have equipped and sent overseas soldiers and airmen. Our second division is training in Canada. We greatly strengthened the Army and the Royal Canadian Navy. We have played the major part in the establishment of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan. I dislike prophecies, but I suggest that, as you watch events develop, you remember my words, and the words of British statesmen, that final victory may well be shaped by that great and powerful instrument. We have published in the open light of day every contract made for the purchase of war supplies.

To assist in victory, we have brought to the service of Canada outstanding men of other parties, and of no party. We have made merit the sole criterion of promotion in the armed forces. We have allowed no man and no group of men, however powerful, to use the national calamity for scandalous profit making.

If you are old enough

D 54424

If you are old enough to remember the last war, your own fairmindedness will make the comparisons. If you are not old enough to remember the last war, I suggest that you ask your fathers and mothers who do.

We began at the side of Britain and France in full understanding. We remain there today. We have succeeded in maintaining a united Canada. The traditional loyalty of our French-speaking compatriots has once again inspired us with a sense of national unity. They too, stand side by side with English-speaking Canada, with Britain and with France, in defence of altar, home and the elemental rights of mankind.

I submit to you with humility, but also with confidence, that this is no time to refuse your continued and generous support to a government which has begun a great task.

I urge upon you

D 54425

I urge upon you that this is no time to change a government which is capable of completing that task by a continuance of experience, vigour, confidence in the justice of our cause, and an undimmed conception of the realities of national unity and co-operation.

As I have already said, the men whom you are electing will carry the responsibilities of war and peace. Theirs will be the most arduous of all duties, and the highest of all privileges. They will be charged with the duty of sustaining the war effort of a free people until victory is assured. Theirs will be the privilege, when peace comes, of helping humanity itself to a new hope. They will need not only your support, but your overwhelming support, to fortify them and to encourage them in the stormy and shattering days, and months, and years, that are before us.

Should this great task

D 54426

Should this great task be entrusted by you to the present administration, on behalf of those who have planned Canada's effort in war, and will continue to work undaunted for victory and a just and enduring peace, I pledge to your service the strength and vigour of our united labours.

While the war lasts, you and I, no matter what our burdens may be, will be inspired by the knowledge that young Canadian men, like their fathers before them, are once again willing to offer life itself upon the altars of nationhood and humanity. We will do our utmost to make our endeavours worthy of them. When the war is over, the cause of peace will also need the help of Canada. It will need the united authentic voice of this nation speaking to all nations through a strong government.

For the voice of Canada

D 54427

For the voice of Canada is the voice of the new world. It is, moreover, the voice of a young and free nation which is giving of its best in the cause of human freedom. It is the voice of generosity, good-will, reconciliation, healing and Christian brotherhood.

May the duty which you owe to Canada, and her future, guide you in the choice which it is yours to make.

Sub heading Galley (1)

D 54428

(1) The national and international significance of the elections

(2.) The importance of looking ~~[illegible]~~ to the future

(3.) Far reaching decisions

(4) Dissolution of parliament ~~fully~~ more ~~justified~~ than justified

D54429

Sub-headings on Galley 1.

1. The national and international significance of the elections.

2. The importance of looking to the future.

3. Far reaching decisions

4. Dissolution of parliament more than justified.

D 54430

(5) Her importance of Woman Counsel ~~and opinions~~
in political affairs

Godey
Lady's Book

(6) ~~Necessity for~~ a Press Censorship
~~in England as well as~~
~~of~~ France.

Treaty.

(7) The Nations business at a time
~~the National business~~
of War

(8) Country before Party. — Participation
in the campaign

(9) a ~~two~~ fold task - the making of war
~~the~~
and the making of peace

(10) the Question to be decided

D 54431

Sub-headings on Galley 2.

5. The importance of wise counsel in political affairs.

6. Necessity for ~~the~~ Prime Minister ~~being~~ to the at ~~the~~ seat of government.

7. The nation's business ~~a~~ t a time of war.

8. Country before Party - Participation in the campaign.

9. A two-fold task - the making of war and the making of peace.

10. The question~~s~~ to be decided.

Colley 3

(11) means for a clear and unquestioned mandate, ~~unless~~ decided

D 54432

(12) ~~Endangered & Suffered~~ Support of third party Candidate a genuine danger

(13) ~~Genuine fear is life danger & Genuine Real imminent potential~~ unwarranted methods employed in ~~Genuine~~ Genuine danger ~~Contrived~~ Slanderous Personal attacks a menace & Genuine future

(14)

(13) abuse subscribed for arguments personalities for policies

(14) degraded standards of public controversy a menace & Genuine future

(15) so many promissory notes unredeemed

D 54433

Sub-headings for Galley 3.

11. Necessity for a clear and unquestioned mandate.

12. Support of third party candidates a positive danger.

13. Abuse substituted for argument - personalities for policies.

14. Degraded standards of public controversy a menace to Canada's future.

15. Dr. Manion's many promissory notes.

D 54434

folly 4 — the choice of a non-time government

(16.)

(17.) achievements of this kind require administration

(18.) methods taken to ensure victory

(19) a blades of service

(20) the voice of Islands

D54435

Sub-headings for Galley 4.

16. The choice of a war-time government.

17. Achievements of the Mackenzie King administration.

18. Methods taken to ensure victory.

19. A pledge of service.

20. The voice of Canada.

D 54436

Prime Minister

Political Broadcast No. 6

The Defence of Freedom at
Home and Abroad

March 23, 1940

D 54437

Ontario Broadcast - March 23, 1940 — 1st draft - W.L.M.K.

In Ontario throughout the campaign, two subjects have been discussed pretty much to the exclusion of all others: the dissolution of Parliament on January 25th last, and Dr. Manion's plan for a National Government. The one related to the past, the other to the future. Tonight I propose briefly to comment upon both. The test of all political policies and actions is whether the interests of the people are thereby better served than they would be by some opposite or alternative course. It is not whether the political interests of opponents of an administration would be better served, not even the personal interests of the people's representatives in Parliament. It is the interests of the people themselves. You, the people, do well to remember that you, at all times, are the sovereign power in the State, not your representatives in Parliament, not the government, not even Parliament itself. Representatives, government and Parliament are your servants, all alike are responsible at all times to you. You are the masters of all three. Once you allow yourself to be diverted from this view, once you begin to think of your representatives as having rights superior to those which you yourself enjoy, once you think of the government as possessing a supremacy over

D 54437

Ontario Broadcast - March 23, 1940 — 1st draft - W.L.M.K.

In Ontario throughout the campaign, two subjects have been discussed pretty much to the exclusion of all others: the dissolution of Parliament on January 25th last, and Dr. Manion's plan for a National Government. The one related to the past, the other to the future. Tonight I propose briefly to comment upon both. The test of all political policies and actions is whether the interests of the people are thereby better served than they would be by some opposite or alternative course. It is not whether the political interests of opponents of an administration would be better served, not even the personal interests of the people's representatives in Parliament. It is the interests of the people themselves. You, the people, do well to remember that you, at all times, are the sovereign power in the State, not your representatives in Parliament, not the government, not even Parliament itself. Representatives, government and Parliament are your servants, all alike are responsible at all times to you. You are the masters of all three. Once you allow yourself to be diverted from this view, once you begin to think of your representatives as having rights superior to those which you yourself enjoy, once you think of the government as possessing a supremacy over

REPEAT
REPETITION

D 54438

Parliament, or Parliament possessing a supremacy over the people, you are beginning to shatter the whole structure of representative and responsible government, and with it the basis of freedom and the means by which all your liberties are secured.

Remote as the possibility has hitherto seemed, there is a terrible danger that this very thing may come to pass in our own land. The very fact that anyone could have thought of calling in question for any reason the dissolution in 1940 of a Parliament returned in 1935, after it had already had five sessions and when the Constitution of our country in order to protect the rights of the people, requires a general election at least once in every five years, shows how far some persons in Canada have forgotten, if indeed they have ever fully understood, the whole theory on which the government of a free people is based, and democracy is truly preserved. Burke long ago pointed out that it is not the will of the House of Commons but the will of the country that should prevail under what is called democratic forms of government. I might add much less can democratic forms of government be preserved if the will or wish of an Opposition in the House of Commons, or any minority or

group is to be permitted to over-ride the will of the government which is responsible to the people for the management of its affairs.

Let it never be forgotten that under the British system of government, a Prime Minister is charged with a double responsibility. It is his to see that at all times the Constitution is upheld, not the written word of the Constitution only but the spirit of the Constitution which has regard above all else for the preservation of the rights of the people. In this parliament as in all else, a Prime Minister is responsible not only for what he does, but what he fails to do. In advising dissolution, I had to consider not only what the situation as it might develop in consequence of dissolution might be. I had equally to consider what it was likely to become if dissolution were denied or deferred. It is of the latter you would be hearing today if I had not taken the course of action I did, at the time I did.

Just consider the position we would now be in if I had not taken the course I did. Parliament in all probability would have still been sitting, with the probability of a dissolution at any time, and the certainty of a general election as soon as dissolution

came. Suppose that dissolution had come after Easter, since it could hardly have come before. It might not have come till June or July - June is what Dr. Manion and his friends were evidently counting upon. Then, instead of the elections being over, as they will be when Easter is past, and a new Parliament duly installed with a fresh mandate from the people to prosecute Canada's war effort, in accordance with policies definitely known and understood, we would have been just entering upon a general election which would have taken the next eight weeks. That is to say, the political campaign would have lasted until about the end of May or the beginning of June. After eight long weeks of bitter wrangling in Parliament, we should have had another eight weeks of political controversy in the country. I wonder in what shape Canadian unity and Canada's war effort would have been by that time? I wonder how this country would have looked in the eyes of our allies and of the enemy!

But that is not all. By having the elections brought on when they were, the members of our defence forces now in England have been able to cast their votes before crossing over to Europe, others have voted

D 54441

before leaving Canadian soil, and all under conditions which will make for a fair and honest election.

Even more important, however, is the fact that not only have the people of Canada been enabled in the past eight weeks to hear the issues fully discussed at a time of comparative quiet in Europe, but the government itself will from now on be placed in a position to give its whole time and attention to the prosecution of Canada's war effort at a time that this is certain to be most needed. We are fortunate indeed that we have be n able to conclude this electoral campaign before the whole European situation has reached its most alarming and appalling stage. One thing is certain, we cannot expect fighting to be confined to the sea and the air much longer, nor to be on the limited scale it has been thus far. It is well for all of us that the elections are now so nearly over. Just imagine the agony of mind of every elector in Canada, if, on top of two months political contention in Parliament, we had now to look forward to another two months of the same sort of thing in the country, with, in addition, as I greatly fear will prove to be a fact, war raging on an intensifieddscale in Europe, and conditions in other parts of the world still more unsettled.

It must be apparent, from what I have said to you, and from what you yourselves have had opportunity to witness since January 25th, that in taking the step I did at that time I was but fulfilling my constitutional duty as Prime Minister once I saw that a general election at the earliest momentn possible had become necessary in the interests of the country, of Canada's war effort, and of the allied cause, so to advise the Governor General, regardless of what inconvenience it might occasion the Members of Parliament, most of whom were my own supporters, or however much the step itself might be misinterpreted and misrepresented in the course of the elections themselves.

It has been said I was "scuttling" Parliament. May I say that those who make this assertion were prepared, if such were the case, to scuttle the people. If I were scuttling the Ship of State, those who opposed the step were prepared to scuttle the Nation. The people, not Parliament, are the source of all political authority and power. Ther are times and seasons for all things. The time for a new Parliament had come; to attempt to carry on with a Parliament that had already had five sessions, with the knowledge that a general election was immediately to follow, would have been to ignore altogether the effect of such a course upon Canadian unity, upon Canada's war effort, and upon the cause

D 54443

of the Allies. Far from scuttling Parliament, I was in fact taking the necessary steps to bring into being at the earliest moment possible, at a time of war, a new and truly representative Parliament to replace a Parliament that had never been elected to serve the people's interests at a time of war, a Parliament that had nearly run its course and was doomed at any moment to die. At this very moment, I would have been receiving the strongest condemnation for not having foreseen the condition that was certain to arise, and would have been blamed for every consequence of it. That condemnation would have grown in intensity and volume every month that I had failed to permit an immediate appeal.

If anything further were needed to justify the appeal to the people of Canada and the dissolution of parliament which made the appeal possible, it would be found in the march of events since January the 25th and in the nature of the campaign which our opponents have waged.

I ask you, the people of Canada, whether your interests as a people have not been better served by our action in accepting the challenge immediately and getting the election over in the shortest possible time. The dissolution may not have served the interests of certain political parties. It may have upset the well laid plans

D 54444

of men more concerned with their own personal advantage than with Canada's war effort, but since there had to be an election this year, I am confident that the people of Canada will be greatly relieved when this campaign is ended and a strong government backed by an unquestioned mandate is free, once again, to give its full and undivided attention to the winning of the war.

We refused to give dictatorship its forst foothold by denying to the Canadian people their constitutional right to choose, during the constitutional period, those whom they wished to guide them through the stress of the gather ng storm. We could have permitted two political campaigns. One is parliament, the other in the country. But I ask the people of Canada, after nearly eight weeks of the kind of campaign which has been waged, what their opinion would have been if the government had allowed that campaign to go on for four or five months.

D 54445

Let me now say a few words of national government as it has been discussed in the present elections. There are times and seasons for all things. What Dr. Manion means, when he speaks of national government, is a coalition, or union government, - a government composed of members of different political parties who combine their forces to achieve a given end. There may be times when this form of government may become advisable, or even a necessity. One instance would be where government and opposition were so equally divided that the carrying on of government itself would be well nigh an impossibility. Such a situation presented itself prior to Confederation, when the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada had been combined, and it was found that,without a coalition of the leaders from both provinces, government itself could not be carried on. This was the situation when Sir George Brown and others joined with Sir John A. Macdonald to form a government, prior, as I have said, to Confederation. The other instance would be where men of opposite parties regard a specific policy necessary to the administration of the country's affairs

D 54446

and see no way of securing its adoption except by combining their forces in a union administration. This was the case in 1917, when the union government of Sir Robert Borden was formed to put through conscription. Neither of these situations present themselves in Canada today, have presented themselves, or are likely to present themselves. On the contrary, there are aspects of Dr. Manion's proposal for so-called national government which would make its adoption positively detrimental to the country's interest at this time.

There is a right way and a wrong way to go about anything and everything. If Dr. Manion, and those who are supporting his idea of national government ever had any real desire to form such a government, they would not have expended so much of their efforts on antagonizing and vilifying the very men with whom they wished to co-operate in the affairs of government. Instead, they would have done their utmost to conciliate them, and to remove any feelings of personal antipathy and antagonism from those with whom they differed politically.

D 54447

Dr. Manion has referred to the coalition or union governments formed by Sr. John A. Macdonald and Sir Robert Borden. Neither Sir John A. nor Sir Robert struck their party colours, and then tried to make a Joseph's coat of the many rags and tatters that remained. Neither of them "submerged", as Dr. Manion says he has done, the party which had made him the leader. They recognized that with the destruction of party identity, national government in the nature of coalition or union itself disappeared. Sir John did not seek to destroy the character of the men with whom he was to have an intimate and close association in government. On the contrary, he sought to bury every feeling of personal and political difference, and to build up in the minds of the public a feeling of mutual confidence in those with whom he was seeking to carry on the government of the country.

When Sir Robert Borden invited the Honourable Mr. Rowell and other Liberals to join him in forming a union government, he did not begin by saying of them, as Dr. Manion said of me at Halifax a day or two ago, that they were "neither mentally nor temperamentally

D 54448

qualified" to head an administration. He did not say of any minister of the Crown, nor would he have permitted any of his associates to say, what was said of the present Minister of National Defence at Toronto on the 18th instant, by one who has sought great prominence, but who has been mostly conspicuous because of his insolence, in the present campaign. Let me quote the words as they have been recorded in the press from one end of Canada to the other: "I do not intend to waste any time on what Mr. Rogers says. That dyspeptic little son of Mars has been a standing joke in every military camp since he blossomed forth as our new war lord last September."

Please remember that this was said of one who was gassed in the last war, and whose health in consequence has suffered a slight impairment ever since. Remember, too, it was said by one who is not without ambitions for the post occupied by the present Minister of National Defence. I suggest that you study this remark with care and see if there is not about it something singularly akin to the Nazi mentality. What will become of Canada at a time of war if the kind of power represented in that utterance ever becomes a part of the supreme authority in our land. You will do well to keep that also in mind when you cast your ballots on Tuesday next.

D 54449

Nor did Sir Robert, in obscurity, conceal the names of his colleagues. Instead, he let the country know who his associates in the government would be - who they were. He then did everything in his power to have the country believe that, despite all he or other members of his party might previously have said about any of them, the men associated with him were men of the highest character and integrity. He announced the specific policies on which they were agreed, and maintained the position that they merited all the support the country could give them.

In the nature of things, the formation of a national government, in the sense of a coalition or union government, is different from a purely party government. In the case of a party government, it is assumed that its members will be chosen from the party that carries the country. They are known in a general way. Their identity becomes obvious in a campaign. But, in the case of a coalition or union government, members of other parties as well are involved. To estimate its value, it is necessary to know the strength of the individuals and the following they are able to command. That is why, to serve the ends of a coalition

at all, their names must be known in advance.

When Dr. Manion talks of national government in terms of unknown, mysterious and mythical persons, rather than in terms of persons whose identity is clear and whose policies are known, he is beginning at the wrong end of the road. He is making the idea of national government a mockery and a delusion. When he goes a step further, as he has done all through the campaign, and seeks to destroy the character, the motives, the reputation, the ability, and the integrity of the men who, if a national government is formed, would have to be partners in that government, he is destroying every possibility of such a government ever being formed with himself at its head. It is too late now for Dr. Manion and his supporters to change their tactics, either toward the Conservative party, which they have submerged, or toward the Liberal party, which they have sought to defame. Fortunately, however, it is not too late for you, the people of this country, to express your opinion of these deceptive tactics. I do not hesitate to say that your interests, in a time of war, are being sacrificed to

D 54451

personal ambition and personal animosity. On Tuesday next you will have the opportunity to express your views of the judgment and political wisdom displayed by the Leader of the Opposition in the course of the present campaign.

Is there any ground for seeking to create suspicion and distrust with respect to the management of public affairs, unless there is the strongest of reasons for so doing. Must able and honourable men be branded as liars, deceivers, crooks, and hypocrites as the reward of their readiness and their capacity to serve their country in Parliament?

The kind of vilification which has characterized the campaign of some of our opponents is, I submit, uncalled for at any time. It is doubly uncalled for at a time when men and women everywhere should be seeking the closer relationship of human brotherhood which begets trust in one another, and the power to bring comfort and assistance to minds that are filled with terror, and hearts that, are long, will be full of grief. How could the men who have sought so assiduously to create suspicion and distrust in our public life, who have busied themselves seeking to defame

the characters and to misinterpret and misrepresent the actions of my colleagues and myself expect, if they ~~were~~ ever given authority to administer your affairs, to be able to earn the co-operation and good-will of those who, throughout this campaign, they have been doing their utmost to destroy. You will have, on March 26th, an opportunity to show your disapproval of tactics of the kind. I have not the least doubt that most of you have already made up your minds to do so at the earliest opportunity.

Ontario Broadcast
March 23, 1940.

2nd draft - March 22nd.

D54453

CANADA AND THE WAR

The Defence of Freedom at Home and Abroad.

Significance of the 1940 Campaign.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am pleased to have the opportunity of speaking in the last of the broadcasts in the present campaign to the men and women of my native province. As most of you are aware, I was born and educated in this fine old province of Ontario, I have lived here for the whole of my life. With the province and its capital city Toronto, I have the closest personal associations. There are family associations as well with the political history of both and that of the county of York which extend over more than a century and a quarter. I should like to add one more to the list this evening by associating the government's objective in the present campaign with the preservation and extension of freedom at home and abroad.

Amidst the din and strife of a political conflict, it is not always easy for those who are in the thick of the fight to see the full significance of the battle in which they

D 54454

are engaged. I am afraid that will be found to be true of Canada as a whole with respect to the present campaign. We are, however, I believe sufficiently near the end of the struggle to be able to discern the more clearly than has hitherto been possible the liberties which I believe we have been able successfuly to defend in our own land while striving to our utmost to make more effectual the contribution to the preservation, and I trust the expansion of freedom across the seas. I would like you to have the picture in your minds when you to to the polls on Tuesday next. It will help you to appreciate the part which as a citizen of Canada it is your privilege to have in the making of history.

I know that many of you have been perplexed by not a few of the matters to which reference has been made over and over again. You want to be sure in your own minds that the right thing has been done with respect to acts of the administration concerning which our opponents have sought to occasion doubt. Above all you want to be sure that you are doing the right thing should your ballot be cast as I hope, in your own interest and that of our country, it may in support of the present administration, instead of for some imaginery National Goverment which, on the day

following the elections, may prove to have been equally a delusion and a snare, or for some so-called independent or third party candidate whose presence in Parliament at this very critical time is more likely to prove a source of embarrassment than a support to a government charged with the successful prosecution of the war, which until victory is achieved, must constitute our supreemnational aim.

Let me proceed to remove what doubts, if any, may still exist, and above all to ddisclose the full significance of our several policies.

D 54456

Ontario Broadcast
March 23, 1940

4th draft - March 22nd

CANADA AND THE WAR

The Defence of Freedom at Home and Abroad

Significance of the 1940 Campaign

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In the last of the broadcasts in the present campaign, I am pleased to have the opportunity of speaking to the men and women of my native province. As most of you are aware, I was born and educated in Ontario. I have lived here for the whole of my life. With the province and its capital city, Toronto, there are personal and family associations which extend over more than a century and a quarter. They are intimately connected with the establishment and defence of political freedom. This evening, I would like to make clear wherein the main objective of the government in the prosecution of Canada's war effort has been the preservation and extension of freedom at home and abroad.

~~determination to preserve and extend freedom at home and abroad.~~ These have been our objectives in the present campaign. They will remain our objectives till victory is won, peace established and freedom secured.

Amidst the din and turmoil of a political conflict, it is not always easy for those in the thick of the fight to see the full significance of the battle in which they are engaged. We are, however, I believe sufficiently near the end of the present campaign to enable all to see how completely the government was maintained and protected the foundations of our own political freedom, while at the same time we have been striving with all our strength to contribute to the preservation, and, I trust, to the expansion of freedom across the seas. I would like you to have that picture in your minds when you go to the polls on Tuesday next. It will help you to appreciate the part which each one of you, as a citizen of Canada, can have in the making of history.

I know that many

I know that many of you have been perplexed by not a few of the matters to which frequent reference has been made by our political opponents. You want to be sure in your own minds that in all the important actions which our opponents have questioned or condemned, the present administration has done the right thing. Above all, you want to be sure that you are doing the right thing if you cast your ballot, as I hope you will, in support of the present government.

Let me proceed to remove what doubts may still exist and make clear to you the course which we have followed and the position we have taken.

In this old province of Ontario, throughout the campaign, two subjects have been discussed pretty much to the exclusion of all others: they are the dissolution of Parliament on January 25th last, and Dr. Manion's proposal for a so-called National Government. The one relates to the past, the other to the

<u>future. Tonight</u>

D 54459

Tonight I propose briefly to discuss both. The final test of all policies and actions is whether they serve the interests of the people better than some other course. Government is not conducted to serve the political interests of the opponents of an administration or the personal interests of the people's representatives in Parliament. The interests of the people themselves are the supreme concern of democratic government. You, the people, would do well to remember that you, at all times, are the sovereign power in the State. Your representatives in Parliament do not constitute the power of democracy. Neither the government or even Parliament is sovereign. Your representatives, your government and your Parliament are your servants; all alike are finally responsible to you, their masters. Once you allow yourselves to be blind to this view, once you begin to think of your representatives as possessing rights superior to those which you yourself enjoy, once you think of the government as supreme over

Parliament, or of Parliament

Parliament, or of Parliament as supreme over the people, the whole structure of representative and responsible government will begin to crumble, and the basis of democratic freedom and popular liberties will eventually be destroyed.

The fact that the dissolution in 1940 after five sessions of a Parliament elected in 1935, could be called into question when the law of the land requires a general election at least once in every five years, shows how completely some persons have forgotten, if indeed they have ever fully understood, the safeguards by which our liberties are secured. It should never be forgotten that by free and regular elections alone is democracy itself preserved. Burke long ago pointed out that it is not the will of the House of Commons but the will of the country that should prevail if government by the people is to survive [redacted]. I might add that our democratic system of government is even less likely to be preserved if the wishes of an Opposition

in the House of Commons.

D 54461

in the House of Commons, or of any minority group are to be allowed to over-ride the will of the government which is responsible finally to the people for the management of their affairs.

Let it never be forgotten that under the British system of government, a Prime Minister is charged with a double responsibility. It is his duty to see that the Constitution is upheld, not only in word but also in spirit.

D 54462

Ontario Broadcast
March 23, 1940

Final draft - March 23rd

16/

CANADA AND THE WAR

The Defence of Freedom at Home and Abroad

Significance of the 1940 Campaign

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In the last of the broadcasts in the present campaign, I am pleased to have the opportunity of speaking to the men and women of my native province. As most of you are aware, I was born and educated in Ontario. I have lived here for the whole of my life. With the province and its capital city, Toronto, there are personal and family associations which extend over more than a century and a quarter. They are intimately connected with the establishment and defence of political freedom. This evening, I would like to make clear wherein the main objective of the government in the prosecution of Canada's war effort has been and will continue to be the preservation and extension of freedom at home and abroad.

Amidst the din and turmoil

D 54463

Amidst the din and turmoil of a political conflict, it is not always easy for those in the thick of the fight to appreciate the full significance of the battle in which they are engaged. We are, however, sufficiently near the end of the present elections for all to discern the main objectives of our campaign. The government has maintained and protected the foundations of our own political freedom, while at the same time we have been striving with all our strength to contribute to the preservation, and, I trust, to the expansion of freedom across the seas. I would like you to have that picture in your minds when you go to the polls on Tuesday next. It will help you to appreciate the part which each one of you, as a citizen of Canada, can have in the making of history.

I know that many of you have been perplexed by not a few of the matters to which frequent reference has been made by our political opponents.

You want to be sure

D 54464

You want to be sure in your own minds that in the important actions which our opponents have questioned or condemned, the present administration has done the right thing. Above all, you want to be sure that you are doing the right thing if you cast yourballot, in support of the present government, as I hope you may feel the interests of the country demand.

Let me proceed to remove what doubts may still exist, and make clear to you the full significance of the course which we have followed, and the position we have taken.

In this old province of Ontario, throughout the campaign, two subjects have been discussed largely to the exclusion of all others: they are the dissolution of Parliament on January 25th, and Dr. Manion's proposal for a so-called National Government. The one relates to the past, the other to the future. Tonight I propose briefly to discuss both.

In matters of government

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In matters of government, the final test of all actions and policies is whether they serve the interests of the people better than some other course. Government is not conducted to serve the political interests of the opponents of an administration, or the personal interests of the people's representatives in Parliament. The interests of the people themselves are the supreme concern of democratic government. You, the people, would do well to remember that you, at all times, are the sovereign power in the State. Your representatives in Parliament do not constitute the power of democracy. Neither the government, nor even Parliament, is sovereign. Your representatives, your government, and your Parliament, are your servants; all alike are finally responsible to you, their masters. Once you allow yourselves to be blind to this view, once you begin to think of your representatives as possessing rights superior to those which you yourself enjoy,

FILE CONTINUES ON NEXT REEL

LE DOSSIER CONTINUE SUR LA BOBINE SUIVANTE

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