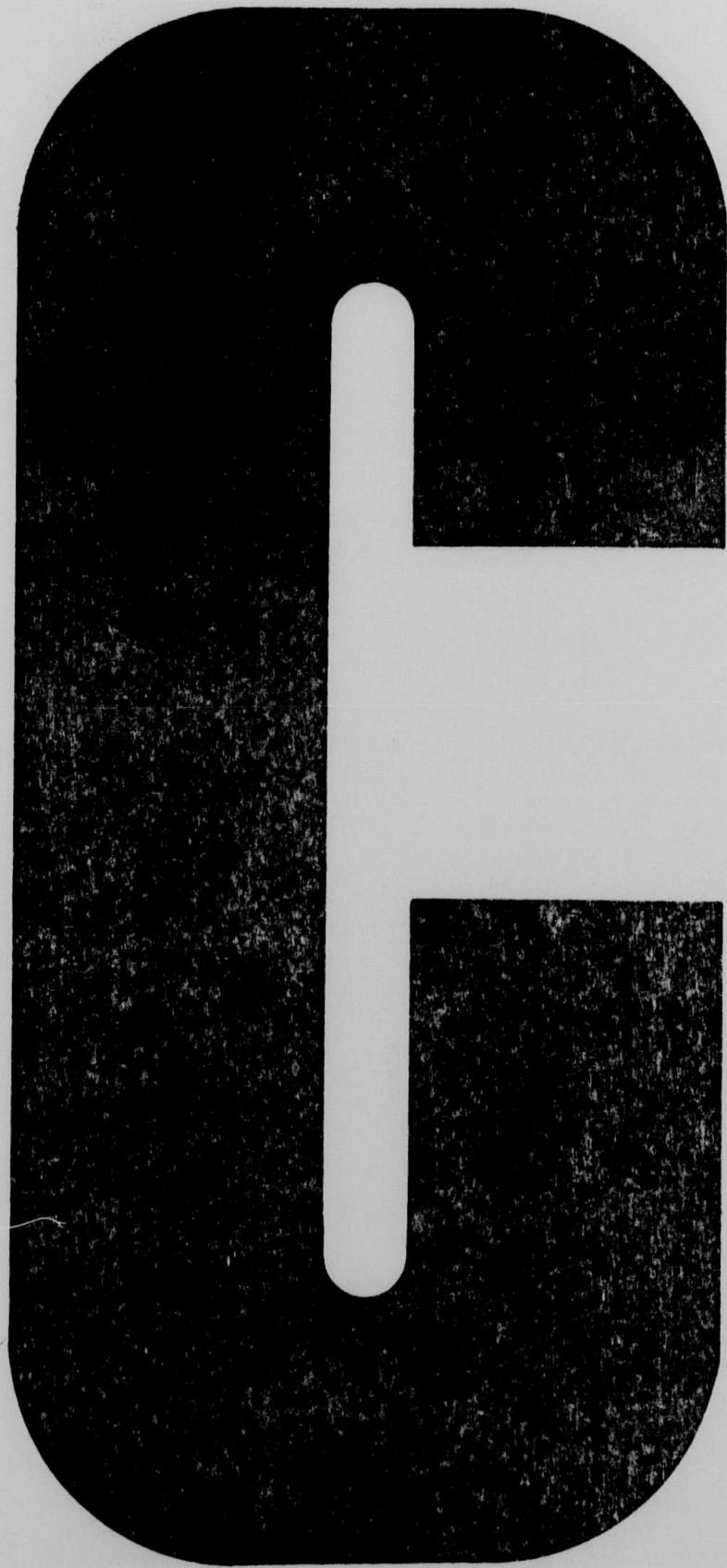


MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART  
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Canada

## **W.L.M. King Speeches Series MG 26 J5**

### **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 de discours, des textes manuscrits et imprimés des discours, des coupures de presses et des commentaires au 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 reflète 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'ils ont été transférés du Bureau du premier ministre lorsque Louis St-Laurent était en poste) comprend également des coupures de presse et des documents dactylographiés.

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MG 26  
J

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

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

1996-02-02  
7-2061

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

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

Access is Restricted.

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

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

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

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

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

Public Papers.

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

This series consists of the important correspondence both from the Prime Minister's Office and from Laurier House. The correspondence is arranged alphabetically by author within each year, with enclosures and any replies kept together. The pages of the entire series are numbered consecutively. For the correspondence up to 1921, there are both subject and author indexes. The subject index is an alphabetical list of subjects. The author index consists of index cards. The subject index is also available on microfilm reels C-4591 to C-4593. For the 1922-1950 correspondence, a detailed letter by letter index is available on the Prime Ministers CD-ROM. A microfilm conversion list for the whole series is available in the finding aid and on microfiche. Because the 1922-1932 J1 correspondence in Volumes 69-193 (reels C-2242 to C-2331) was reboxed after it was microfilmed, the volume numbers on the targets and running heads with the reels are incorrect.

Check the conversion list for the correct volume number. Also available on microfilm, reels C-1901 to C-1952, C-2242 to C-2331, C-3672 to C-3695, C-3723 to C-3751, C-4566 to C-4576, C-4860 to C-4872, C-6804 to C-6814, C-7034 to C-7060, C-9871 to C-9887, C-9166 to C-9181, C-11035 to C-11055, C-4632.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

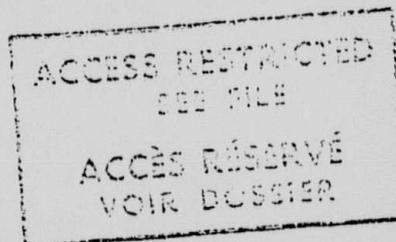
Personal Papers.

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

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

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

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



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 Canada, 1919-1925; Registrar, Combines Investigation Act, 1925-1937; Commissioner, Combines Investigation Act, 1937-1949; member of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, 1939-1950, and enforcement administrator, 1941-1946; literary executor and a trustee of the estate of W.L.M. King. The papers were presented in 1980 by Mr. A.N. McGregor.

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

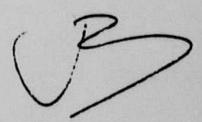
Royal Trust Estate Papers. J19 Series. Original, 1950-1960, 0.160 m. (Vol. 1-2).

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

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

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

Political Archives Section.



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

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

1996-02-02

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

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

Accès contrôlé.

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

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

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Deux matrices originales des enregistrements du Carillon 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. McGregor; 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.

JP

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62		Canada and the War, Radio address by King	8 Mar. 1940	D 37761 - D 37786	
62		Campaign Speech of Mr. King	10 Mar. 1940	D 37787 - D 37899	
62		Re: Toronto Meeting, Massey Hall	14 Mar. 1940	D 37900 - D 38029	
62		Draft Broadcasts, General Elections, 1940, Radio	Mar. 1940	D 38030 - D 38154	
62		Ottawa meeting, Auditorium	25 Mar. 1940	D 38155 - D 38175	
62		Results of Election	26 Mar. 1940	D 38176 - D 38182	
63		"The Present Outlook". Speeches outside Parliament	30 Apr. 1940	D 38183 - D 38203	
63		German Invasion of Belgium and the Netherlands, King Radio Address	10 May 1940	D 38204 - D 38216	
63		Speech of Mr. King on Suspension of House proceedings and re: The Appointment of the Hon. R.B. Hanson, as House Leader of the Conservative Party	16 May 1940	D 38217 - D 38221	
63		Speech on the Address in reply in Parliament	20 May 1940	D 38222 - D 38224	

14 march 1940

Toronto

22 Oct. 1920

Moose Jaw, Sask.

Government autocracy vs.  
Progressive of the West.

D 379004

12.iii.40

*Meaning of what for - Sup. Control*  
*Confusing for him*  
*Meaning at meeting end*

This new National Government Party.

When was it formed?

Who chose its leader?

What is its platform?

Lot of promises.

Dr. Manion doing what Stevens did.

Desert his own Party.

Create a new Party.

Write out platform himself.

Supplement platform with promises.

Chose the leader himself.

Baptize the candidates himself.

Note: what happened to Stevens.

~~*Donna Nov. after*~~  
~~*the meeting with*~~  
~~*James of the*~~

14.iii.40 **D37901**

ROYAL YORK HOTEL

	<u>Room Nos.</u>
<u>Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King</u>	1634-5-7
H.R.L. Henry, Esq.	1639
E. Handy, Esq.	1641
J.S. Nicol	1636
<u>Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe</u>	1646-50
<u>Hon. N. McL. Rogers</u>	1546-50

Massey Hall Meeting

D 37902

Reference to those present,  
public appearances in Ontario,  
and elections.

Reference to the issues in the campaign  
itself,

drawing attention to my having  
confined myself entirely to the  
matter of the war.

Reference to seeing things in truer  
light at present as we are  
getting near the election:

- (1) the dissolution;
- (2) the significance of  
National Government.

*years before coming to power*  
 Bring in reference to election in  
 war-time and choosing a war  
 government,

also Prime Minister's responsibility  
 in what he does not do as well  
 as what he does do.

*Handwritten scribble*

*Party front, doesn't need  
 memory of govt  
 controls  
 opposition  
 public service  
 Security  
 add stable me & arms govt*

①

Reference to Blair's present

D 37903

affirming with colleagues  
one of the oldest — 36 yrs  
one of the youngest:

Canadian  
representative to  
Government relations

report at being unable to make secure  
Canadian approach as  
fortunate in transition to

The course of the campaign?

1. Issues determined by circumstances
2. A year ago many issues related to domestic affairs
3. But our issue — Canada's was effort

What government can best continue to plan

organize maintain control the  
war effort of Canada

upon wisdom of doing separate  
West Canada most play. Affirming and  
extent of its contribution. Concerning  
outcome of war.

~~Administration~~  
has narrowed down by

homogeneity.

positions in the field.

series of national forums

which has been organized by the national  
de union at Kingston national

Country before party

party before Country

(has been taking place before banking all 7000 worth before)

(2)

D37904

Mr. Morrison says the following examples  
See also a. — before Conference  
See Robert Borden ~~etc.~~ in 1917

was that only these countries were  
before possibly by Sir John Borden  
Other leaders  
Specific times — which first still  
possible  
consequence

Notes and notes post-forward  
Leaders known  
Leaders known etc.

Speaker of 4 examples of 2nd  
(1) North pole — not on map  
(2) Australia —

~~The~~  
~~Conference~~

Morrison's note post-forward  
Scope of support of M.P.s.  
" " " " " " " "  
" " " " " " " "  
" " " " " " " "  
" " " " " " " "

Compare  
Conservative Convention etc  
Social Reconstruction by Stenson  
" Possible results  
(1) leader: following  
(2) no leader  
" leader no "  
What procedure

*Re Toronto  
Massey Hall  
speech*

Reference to those present

appearing with colleagues  
one of the oldest - 36 years  
one of the youngest  
candidates  
representative Liberals  
prominent citizens.

D 37905

Regret at being unable to make more  
public appearances

fortunate in lieutenants.

The issue of the campaign?

1. Issues determined by circumstances
2. A year ago, many issues  
relative to domestic affairs.
3. But one issue - Canada's War Effort

What Government can best continue to plan  
organize, maintain and direct the  
war effort of Canada.

Upon wisdom of choice depends part  
Canada will play; efficiency and  
extent of its contribution, and  
conceivably outcome of war.

Issues narrowed down by nominations.

Parties in the field.  
Liberal or National Government.  
Which best able to govern -  
which most truly national.

*Re Resolutions - Parliament of Canada  
Electoral in war time - Canada  
a Prime Minister's Responsibility*

D 37906

Dr. Manion at Kingston.  
Country before party,  
Party before country.

(Was Sir John putting party before  
country all years except before  
Confederation.)

Dr. Manion says he is following example  
of:

Sir John A. - before Confederation

Sir Robert Borden - in 1917.

Was this only time country was before  
Party by Sir John and Borden -  
other leaders.

Specific issues - make govt. itself  
possible.

- conscription.

Note how National Government formed.

Leaders known.

Policy known, etc.

Speaks of examples of England

1. National Government - not on war
2. Australia.

Manion National Government -  
how formed

Says got support of M.P.'s

Says got support of Provincial  
leaders.

Compare

Conservative Convention, etc.

Social Reconstruction by Stevens.

" Possible results:

(1) Leader and following

(2) No leader and "

(3) Leader and no following.

What guarantees.

Manion changes his views

A National Govt. not in public  
interest.

Not 4 pilots at a wheel stirring in  
different directions.

An Opposition essential.

Sir Wilfrid's attitude.

*Party Control*  
Responsibility - not monopoly

- 4 checks: (1) Opposition  
(2) Public service  
(3) Senate  
(4) Public opinion

Expert assistance

Can Govt. be formed out of groups  
that have defeated present administration.

(Manion's plan of national govt.  
implies defeating first one of parties  
he wishes to join him)

(a) capable of maintaining national  
unity

(b) making the maximum war effort.

Is it true Liberals for Party, not  
Country.

Not putting party ahead of country

1. Liberals re estimates last parliament  
vs. Manion - no support  
- cutting down estimates
2. When no election last July.
3. Announced Canada beside Britain
4. Policy presented to Parliament.
5. In war effort since.
6. In not extending term of Parl't.
7. In not having Union Govt.
8. When Lapointe etc. fought Duplessis.
9. Sought a general election instead of  
office -  
preserve constitution.

*copy with  
no office forward  
Suffly, Man*

Is Manion putting country first with Promises?

Challenge anyone my public life when Party first.

~~Have not~~  
~~am not now.~~

Would we put country first if we did what Dr. Manion proposes.

Combine New Democracy.

" C.C.F.      See Manion's own words  
" Tories  
and abandon Opposition

Create class war in times of war

Why Government ready to carry on, and are needed.

Need for a strong National Government.

The issue as I see it.

A mandate necessary.

D37910

Following is a Canadian  
Press summary of nominations by  
parties for the Dominion general  
elections:

(Ottawa Morning Citizen - March 12, 1940)

245 numbers

Liberals .....	244
National Government candidates.	213
Co-operative Commonwealth Federation ....	96
New Democracy .....	28
Others: Communists Unity United Reform Independents, <u>etc.</u> .....	91

L. W. B./G.  
10. 3. 40.

D37911

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

In connection with your Toronto speech the following suggestions are offered:

1. Analyze Dr. Manion's criticisms on the following basis:

\*.  
*Attached is statement  
of Manion's so called 9 points  
of war policy & suggested  
answers by J.W.P.*

\*.  
(a) What is his war policy? It in no way offers any alternative to the vigorous policy which has hitherto been pursued. It attempts to confuse the issue by trivialities and personalities. Such criticism at a time when the world is in agony is unworthy both of the great issue and of a great nation.

✓.  
*Attached is summary statement  
of his non-war promises  
extracted from these points.*

✓.  
(b) Take Dr. Manion's promises one by one.  
e. g., \* Abolition of the radio licenses.  
Embargo on American coal.  
The fixing of wheat prices, etc.etc.  
Emphasize that they have nothing whatever to do with the war policy. Dr. Manion has tried to make the vigorous prosecution of the war an election issue. He offers no definite criticism and no definite alternative. The only policy he is suggesting consists of a series of reckless promises, not only not connected with the war, but designed to weaken the financial position of this country which will be called upon to bear heavy burdens.

NOTE: \* Believe that extended reference to radio license in Toronto may be mistake as that was place where most opposition centred. If anything is said, however, point out:

1. License established by Conservatives.
2. Admittedly necessary for National System.
3. How does Dr. Manion propose to finance radio?
4. Does he wish radio wholly commercial?
5. Does he wish it to be paid for by taxpayers?

2.

6. Does he wish Canadian  
radio to be completely  
*dominated* ~~donated~~ by American chains?

2. Justify the calling of the election at this time on the need of disposing of internal controversial matters before further tragic events develop. Point out how the situation of the world on the day on which you speak is even far more serious, as you had expected it would be, than on the day when parliament dissolved. Explain how the reckless and unfounded criticism which is being advanced on the hustings, and would also have been advanced in parliament, has been used to weaken us in the eyes of neutral observers. Show also how your Ontario critics have provided ammunition for German broadcasters.
3. A reference to the March or Time picture might be useful. Especially as it was spontaneously projected and independently filmed by a great American newspaper. Stress the fact that the government had nothing whatever to do with the idea of the filming of the picture. Its objective treatment and impartial presentation of essential facts will be of untold benefit to the Canadian and Allied cause in neutral countries. What will American people think of favourable picture of Canada being labelled as political propaganda. Apparently some men are so politically ambitious that they are determined that the people of Ontario shall not share the national pride in the presentation of our war effort.
4. Repeat the figures of expenditure already the subject of press interview.
5. Repeat briefly main misrepresentations of Dr. Manion with respect to air training agreement. Read Lord Riverdale's farewell statement.
6. Repeat in terms of numbers of men and numbers of dollars, Canada's military, naval, air and war effort.
7. Repeat essential facts concerning the protection of consumer by War <sup>Price</sup> Board.

3.

8. Stress confidence in and justice of Canada's cause as evidenced by the fact that there is no division of opinion in Canada as evidenced by the Quebec Election. That belief in justice has been transmuted into gigantic war effort and determination to give Allies the kind of help they want.
9. Attack all those who attack Canada's war effort. Read statements from British press, American press, English public men and Columbia Broadcaster, expressing amazement at our effort and bewilderment at the criticism it has received.
10. In dealing with Dr. Manion's promises ask how ~~he~~, without consultation with his colleagues (particularly if his colleagues form a so-called National Government of divergent views) he reconciles the unconsidered and unsupported making of promises with the doctrine of collective cabinet responsibility. State that you throughout your whole life have never committed and do not propose to commit the country to promises affecting either internal or external policy without consultation and resultant agreement.
11. Stress seriousness of task and weight of burden placed upon those responsible for government in time of war. It is not enough that they shall be supported with a halfhearted vote, it is necessary <sup>to get an</sup> for a direct and unquestioned mandate. This involves an overwhelming vote to sustain the government in the dark days ahead.
12. With reference to censorship, some statement should be made. It is necessary, however, to check list of official statements by C.B.C. etc. Some suggestions will be sent to you in the morning when this material has been obtained.

L. W. B.

NOTES FOR REPLY TO MR. HANSON

Proposed to deal with main point raised:

"Canada should have a war cabinet....composed of the ablest administrators available, and with no partisan tinge."

Will not follow speech in detail--contradictory and confusing.

Examples:

Inadequate effort vs. staggering cost;

Commends opposition to inflation, but thinks inflation may come;

Charge of partisanship, as usual, made without supporting evidence. (Quote Marsh re.)

Canada faced not with failure of government but failure of opposition.

Mr. Hanson stated purpose of opposition

"not to indict the government for past failures but to help the government to present and future achievements."

Yet speech without a specific constructive suggestion;

filled with general recrimination e.g.

"the record of the past eighteen months stands at  
an all-time high in futility."

Government does not claim all wisdom, all strength and  
all loyalty;

Would welcome "ablest administrators"

Has sought them everywhere, and added many to war-  
time services.

Let Opposition give specific names of

"ablest administrators" to work out "master plan";

Names will be considered on three conditions:

1. Fitness for office;
2. Willingness to serve;
3. Ability to find seats in Parliament.

Difficult to find men without partisan affiliations with  
real experience of public affairs.

No use making shadow cabinets: want only names of men  
willing to serve.

Public life made less attractive by misinterpretation  
and unfair destructive criticism.

Re: Canada in front line

Dangerous tendency to measure war effort by  
length of casualty lists.

(Quote McNaughton re.)

"A few airmen in England....men in training in England" (Hanson)

Deliberate be-litting of efforts of thousands of  
Canadians;

Canadian Corps at front in battle of Britain;

Canadian destroyers in British waters;

Air squadrons kept down in early stages to keep  
training up;

Canadians not in Libya or in Singapore; but in  
Iceland and Britain equally exposed.

Government ready to welcome friendly help and constructive  
criticism of Opposition;

but object to deliberate campaign to discredit  
government chosen by the Canadian people to  
prosecute the war.

Onassis

37917

D

Public

bound

bound, most of the  
with 8 weeks delay  
effort to get the  
movement of 24 per cent

Coordinate my effort

with those with Paris

Work plan for me

in schedule of production

30 ring course

non requirement board

and more advisory board

Needs more cabinet

and time

Study the the Govt

greater national morale

more effort  
publicly - }

willing to prepare for any

moderate possible

product expansion

not to be

Govt denominated

What can we do to help

Govt should be reorganized

Opposition is " "

What to be done

No less other surface countries

(Recede - not on line of battle)



Personal



Wm. Lyon Mackenzie King  
Lawrier House.  
Ottawa.

D 37918

37919

## Warns Timid King Regime Aiding U.S. Isolationists

Brantford, Feb. 19—John MacCormac, Washington correspondent of the New York Times, said in an interview here that "the Dominion of Canada is in a position to play an important part as an intermediary between the United States and Great Britain, but she is very strikingly not doing it."

Once Ottawa correspondent of the Times and author of a book on international affairs entitled Canada, America's Problem, Mr. MacCormac said Canada is not using her great influence in Washington on behalf of Great Britain. "Canada is preserving a deep and impenetrable silence

at the very time when future relations between the two halves of the English-speaking world are being determined by debate over the lend-lease bill.

He said isolationists in the United States were making a talking point of that part of Canadian policy by which the statement of Britain's dollar resources in America did not include Canada's holdings. Most needed in Washington was not more Canadian representation but a change in Canadian policy. He said Ottawa had "muzzled" Canada's official representatives "to the benefit of the American isolationists rather than the interventionists."

*Read Harkle Leamy  
+ inwardly digest*

Howson



House of Commons  
Canada

- better plan re more effort
- Canadian representative force to EFTA -
- support British proposals -  
on defence second
- Permanent Joint  
Defense Board of Defense  
(Recommendation)
- by committee to be - Confidential  
Military secrets  
recourse
- not recommended
- re nature of work effort proposed
- limited to a moderate participation - utmost effort -  
American followed Canada  
by contributing services
- principle was best -
- outstanding Committee to report - for US - include  
NOT a career move
- outstanding industrial (should accompany)  
re ambassador
- re very subtle - full approval of BT Govt
- re expertise & budget (approved) - 1/2 - follow through at  
Continued  
create efforts - New countries  
pushing for  
across boundaries
- Pochon (Government of Wilson) (Committee) all of Canada

Edwards  
C.C.P.

At Clerk's D 379212,  
Conrad J. J. J.



House of Commons  
Canada

no enough attention to  
Political arm of the struggle

What are we fighting for?

Brown said

Union better way of life  
Society -

more security for  
consumers when

enjoy fruits of labour

fruits of labour must  
properly distributed?

Committee must plan

for future

Hoobrowe — So called bread

Industrial Economy

D. 37922 3/



House of Commons  
Canada

St. Waterloo

Failed to be precise - with known  
Statements not true  
not information (if have not said)

"Force the government to give us the information  
they have cleared from time to time"  
"Conceal the resolutions they have made"  
Statements not accord to fact

Understand submitted to people  
later have made

Winnipeg

1916 Sir Edward  
Camp

Force - ~~Force~~

Resources military forces of Canada  
Account for expenses - (defense)  
Canadian Military Headquarters &  
(Company)  
Military base - Chambers of Defense  
(the cabinet other than ministers  
was having been considered)

D 37923

LINCOLN -- "Half Slave, Half Free"

We are now seeing the picture on a World scale. The totalitarian states are creating a slavery of their part of the world;

if they win, they will leave only a little part of the world which is free;

if the dictators win, after the war the World will really be half slave and half free.

Previously, the United States thought they could exist as a free entity. They now understand the issue, and especially the moral issue clearly. This will be the essence of the struggle from now on; and realization of this fact is the real contribution which the United States will make.

*for speech  
on 11.9.*

D 37924

PRIME MINISTER - House of Commons,  
January 25, 1940:

"If we have to carry the grave responsibilities 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."

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... Ottawa Citizen

Date..... March 15, 1941

Subject.....

## War Cabinet For War Policy

Prime Minister Mackenzie King could well decline, for practical reasons, to appoint parliamentary under-secretaries to relieve cabinet ministers from attendance in the House of Commons under present conditions. The necessity of dealing with details of administration is obviously tending to become an intolerable burden on some of the key ministers, but members of parliament must have largely agreed with the prime minister's statement last Thursday:

... I do not believe the House would be satisfied with answers from under-secretaries with respect to questions in connection with this measure.

Parliamentary duties are making heavy demands on some cabinet ministers whose energies should be devoted entirely to the direction of war policy. At the same time, private members have duties to perform, including the closest possible scrutiny of public expenditures.

It would be no service to Canada in this war, nor to the cause of democracy, to repress the private members. They are supposed to represent public opinion. Even when members ask troublesome questions, or make inconsiderate statements, they are at least serving as the safety valves of a political democracy. It is becoming essential, however, that some cabinet ministers should be free to devote themselves entirely to the direction of war policy: they should be relieved of departmental administration responsibilities. In other words, within the government there should be a war cabinet to direct war policy.

Canada is once again confronted with the desirability of profiting by the experience of other countries. In the United States, under the constitution, the president's cabinet is made up of secretaries of state. They are appointed to serve the nation without the necessity of being elected as political representatives. Hence President Roosevelt could appoint Frank Knox, an outstanding Republican newspaper publisher, to be the

navy's administrative head in the cabinet. He could similarly appoint Henry L. Stimson, former secretary of state in a Republican cabinet, to be United States minister of war.

Canada's constitution is modelled more after British parliamentary practice. In the United Kingdom, however, Prime Minister Churchill took steps almost immediately after assuming office to appoint a war cabinet—without limitations of party politics. Experience in the last war demonstrated the necessity of this council of cabinet ministers to be concerned entirely with the direction of war policy. The need of similar action in Canada is being made apparent from day to day on Parliament Hill in Ottawa.

A Liberal member, John M. Turner of Springfield, expressed the opinion of many Canadian people last Thursday in the House when he protested against distracting politics with little or no bearing on the real work of winning the war. The member said:

... Many have spoken who do not know the first thing about tanks, aeroplanes, guns and other implements of war, and who know less about their manufacture. Yet they talk and take up the time of this committee when we have a real war on our hands and a job to do. This is not a school; it is a House of Commons where we are expected to impart knowledge to the House and to the country so that all may benefit. Many questions have been asked which mean nothing to our war effort but which have just delayed the progress of this House at this critical time. In my opinion, much of this has been done for purely political advertising purposes at the expense of the country.

On the same day the minister of munitions and supply, Mr. Howe, had to deal with allegations made on the floor of the House by a Conservative opposition member, Rodney Adamson, with reference to the placing of certain contracts. It is plainly detrimental to the Canadian war effort to have ministers like Messrs. Ralston and Howe distracted by having to answer in the House for a multiplicity of departmental responsibilities such as the details of contracts and war expenditures.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

D 37926

Subject.....

The prime minister is doubtless on sound ground in maintaining that members of parliament would hardly be satisfied with answers from parliamentary under-secretaries to questions asked on the floor of the House. At the same time, it would surely be a forward step in war leadership to free some cabinet ministers from the distractions of debate in the House as departmental political heads. The British way adopted by Lloyd George in the last war, and developed by Winston Churchill in this war for life is to have a war cabinet of about five ministers whose concern is entirely with the direction of war policy.

One member suggested last Thursday that Ralph Bell, director of aircraft production, should be given complete authority over this work. It has similarly been suggested that H. R. MacMillan, chairman of the Wartime Requirements Board, should be promoted in effect to the rank of cabinet minister. Whatever may be the opinion of parliament, or the government, on the possible advantages of promoting captains of industry to cabinet rank, it is becoming daily more apparent that the key ministers on war policy should have no other parliamentary duties to perform but to concentrate on mobilizing the whole power of the nation for the task.

A war cabinet of about five ministers is as necessary in Canada as it is in the United Kingdom. It must tend to become even more urgent. An aroused Canadian public would welcome a war cabinet concerned only with the direction of the Canadian war effort, without the distractions of party politics or departmental details, but pressing forward to produce victory out of the years of sacrifice ahead.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... Peterborough Examiner.....  
Date..... Mar. 1/41. ....  
Subject.....

D 37927

## *In This Age Of Criticism*

Mayor William Morrison of Hamilton was a speaker at the convention of the Ontario Good Roads Association in Hamilton. On an occasion of that sort a speaker has considerable latitude, and he can select any topic which seems to be of prime and general interest. Mayor Morrison had something to say about the business of criticising the Dominion Government, a habit which has become rather general. From his reported remarks we quote:

"We must cast out suspicion and carping and bitter criticism. The war is being waged on the most gigantic scale ever imagined and necessary preparations and organizations cannot be made in days or weeks—only in months. The man who destroys confidence in Canada and its leaders today is playing the game Germany has often played in other countries, of undermining confidence in administrations."

Mr. Morrison was revealing no secret when he said he was speaking "as a known Tory." He is that and has been consistently of the Conservative party. For the moment we prefer to regard him as having spoken as a Canadian citizen, and a Canadian citizen today who cannot place his political affiliation in secondary position ought to indulge in some sincere and searching form of self-examination.

Our belief is that there has been too much criticism of the Government at Ottawa; too much of it by people who are not particularly well informed; too much of it by those who "have heard" something or other and who are willing and anxious to accept what they have heard as positive and certified fact.

\* \* \*

In a time of war the Cabinet cannot reveal all it knows. They are sworn to secrecy as all cabinets are. Men who go to Ottawa as experts to take over important work and who receive pay of one dollar per year, are not free talkers. They too are sworn to secrecy. Our belief is that it would be advisable to have the political leaders of all parties kept fully informed. We believe they are to be trusted, and the fact that they were informed would have a restraining influence on many of their utterances.

There are newspapers which are fond of being critics. They delight in taking things to pieces more than they do in putting them together again and in a better way. They always seek to create the impression that something is wrong, and therefore our war effort is being held up, choked, slowed down and made of little effect and small consequence.

We are moved to wonder where these papers which profess to know so much are getting the information they profess to possess. We are certain Cabinet ministers are not taking them to one side and telling them quietly that things are not as they should be, and we are equally certain that business men and industrialists who have accepted responsible posts in war effort are not going around whispering behind the hand intimating that this, that and something else is all wrong.

\* \* \*

This paper is not opposed to criticism if it is intelligently based. We regard it as the right of free people, but we cannot deny the feeling that we are having a surfeit of it in Canada today which does not have basis in factual certainty.

Nor do we anticipate we shall secure perfection in our war effort any more than we secure perfection in government or anything else. Prime Minister Churchill has spoken of that several times. He has made it clear that before the day of final victory there will be blunders made as there have been in the past.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

D 37928

Subject.....

The real point seems to come in here: If people persist in the custom of criticism they are planting the seeds of suspicion; they are influencing others to think as they are writing or speaking; they are building up the idea that things are not going as they should be, and they are actually doing what they can to shake public confidence in the Government and also in the war effort. And that we are certain is performing a fair enough service for the enemy.

Nor can be ignore the fact that our Government is the one and only agency through which we as a people can move and act collectively. Even if there are features about it which one does not like he cannot change the Government. The people voted it into office and there it will remain until the people vote it out. Going through times such as we are encountering at present we have no other

agency of expression or action through which we can act or through which we can direct our efforts. The reasonable conclusion is that we should seek to strengthen the hands of Government. If we turn the other way and show a delight in constantly seeking to pull it to pieces then we are doing something which would bring comfort to enemies who would delight to see the people lose confidence entirely in constituted authority.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... Kingston Whig-Standard

Date..... Feb. 13/41

D 37929

Subject.....

## "War Work, Not Ward Work"

The Kingston and Portsmouth Conservative Association at its annual meeting has produced a motto, in "War Work, Not Ward Work," which deserves attention throughout the Dominion. It represents an attitude which we believe is simultaneously good patriotism and good politics. It is a sign of a spirit which, if expressed frequently enough on a nation-wide scale, might give the swiftest and surest hope of a complete regeneration of the National Conservative party, a regeneration greatly to be desired by Canadians generally who believe in the strong and efficient functioning of our party system of government.

Briefly, the situation before the Kingston and Portsmouth Conservative Association was that there was no election in sight and nothing in particular to be gained by threshing over old party straw. At the same time, in the words of W. M. Nickle, K.C., who introduced the phrase to the meeting, there was a job to be done by every Canadian who has time to devote to any organization. "Our object should be: Win the war; nothing else matters," said Mr. Nickle. "The principle and policy of the Conservative party should be: War work, yes; ward work, no."

The association, practically without discussion, re-elected its officers for another year. It is in a position to act if by any chance the need for political action arises, but otherwise the members can devote their full time and attention and organizing ability to wartime service. It would not be surprising if, as a result of this policy, the association finds that it has made many new friends and increased the enthusiasm of its old friends and members by the time it becomes necessary to participate in a political campaign.

Notes for Reply to Hon. R. B. Hanson, M.P.

Transcript of Prime Minister's remarks re:

- (1) Attitude of those who are attempting to be helpful  
but who are prejudicing the public mind.  
(See Ottawa Citizen editorial - February 21,  
reference to "utter futility").
- (2) The Press and Radio give the sensational part of the news -  
"taking the heart out of people, who are  
trying honestly to get things done".
- (3) Put it to these people:  
either take over with better men,  
or keep quiet, and let the Government go ahead.
- (4) Revived reference to "National Government",  
"Victory Government",  
"Non-partisan Government".  
(There would have been a different state of preparedness  
in U.K. if there had NOT been a "national government".)
- (5) Consider force on one side  
consent and conciliation on the other  
to combine them is to make only a lukewarm solution.

- (6) Mr. King's own view -  
Mr. Hanson's view is a dictator's view  
(Mr. King does not control the party  
people - party - ministry).
- (7) "Concentrate on essentials and give the Government  
a chance".
- (8) Present majority back of Government represents hundreds  
of thousands of Conservative votes.
- (9) Refusal to co-operate (Opposition tactic) is showing  
a party spirit in a nasty way.
- (10) Mr. King has been careful to see that the Cabinet is  
not a one-man Cabinet.  
(Example from Ottawa Journal, February 20).
- (11) Take care to do nothing to discredit confidence in  
Parliament, especially at a time of war.  
(See H. C. Green, M.P., February 20, in H, of C.)

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Mar. 15 /40.

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## '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.

#### 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 traveling 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.

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 asso-

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ciation 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.

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?

#### "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.

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 re-

cord 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 Can-

ada. 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).

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

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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 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

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?

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.

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**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

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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.

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 1933 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.

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 representatives 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

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.

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## 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. Every-

body 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, the 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

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?

In 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 poli-

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al party to its followers, and did it 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?

### 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).

### 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

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 of 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

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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 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

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—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.

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## 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 29 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

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 ex-

trême 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 of 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 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 comes 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.

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## 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 29 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

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 ex-

treme 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 of 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 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.

**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....  
Date.....  
Subject.....

## 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

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 the 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 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

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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Office of  
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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.)

**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar. 15 /40.

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

5764

D 37941

## '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.

#### 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 traveling 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.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

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Date \_\_\_\_\_

D 37942

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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.

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.

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.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

D 37943

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?

#### "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.

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 Can-

ada. 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).

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.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

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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 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.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

D37945

Name of Publication .....

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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

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 if 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?

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.

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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.

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 1933 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.

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 representatives 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. Every-

body 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, the 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

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?

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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?

In 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 poli-

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tical 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?

#### 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).

#### 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

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.

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## 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 (ap-  
plause).

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 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

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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—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.

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## 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 29 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

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."

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## 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 of 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

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

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

D37954

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

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

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

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.)

## PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... Toronto Telegram

Date..... March 15/40

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 yell-

ed 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."

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... Toronto Star  
Date..... Mar. 15/40  
Subject.....

## KING GIVES ACCOUNT OF HIS STEWARDSHIP IN STIRRING SPEECH

Canada Comes Before Party  
With Us, Premier  
Says

### TWO HALLS JAMMED

By H. R. ARMSTRONG

"Everything that we have done, or that we have not done, has been in the light of what is best for the country and not for party. 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."

This was the ringing answer delivered last night in Massey Hall by Prime Minister Mackenzie King to the charge levelled by Hon. R. J. Manion at Kingston on Wednesday night, that the Canadian premier cared only about the Liberal party and not the best interests of the Dominion.

Two great audiences of more than 5,000 jammed Massey Hall and the overflow meeting in Victoria theatre to hear and to cheer Mr. King and his colleagues, Hon. Ernest Lapointe, minister of justice, and Hon. Norman Rogers, minister of national defence.

The two throngs applauded again and again as, step by step, Mr. King traced the government's defence and war program from the time two years ago when war first threatened, up to the present moment, driving home repeatedly the point that national and not party interests had governed the administration's every move.

Mr. King told how for several years, the government had increased defence expenditures to meet Canada's needs, over opposition from within his own party and from Dr. Manion and his Conservative followers. The prime minister

recounted how, before war broke out, disregarding political considerations, he had declared that Canada would stand at the side of Britain if hostilities developed from Germany's invasion of Poland.

#### Cites War Effort

Without regard for political repercussions the government had announced its war policy to parliament and then set up non-partisan boards in many fields of war effort. Mr. King recalled. When the government was attacked for its war prosecution by Premier Duplessis in Quebec the federal cabinet ministers from that province risked their political careers to defeat the Quebec government, he reminded the applauding thousands.

"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," Mr. King declared. "The sole issue is Canada's war effort and what administration can best carry it on. That is what I have discussed and that alone. 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."

On the other hand, charged the prime minister, Dr. Manion had been stressing sectional appeals and local issues in his campaign tour of the Dominion. The Conservative leader was varying his promises in different localities to serve party purposes and not the good of the Dominion as a whole. "He is making an effort today to get away from the war effort issue altogether," charged Mr. King, "and to get people in the different constituencies thinking in terms of their local, particular questions."

#### Class War Danger

Mr. King warned that formation of a union government now, with radical parties united in opposition, would lead within two years to a class war in Canada, in addition to the war now in progress. He quoted utterances of the national government party leader to show that Dr. Manion, both before and after outbreak of war, had declared emphatically against the principle of national government.

In setting up a national government party on his own initiative, the prime minister asserted Dr. Manion was following exactly the course of Hon. H. H. Stevens five years ago in bringing the Reconstruction party into being. Like Mr. Stevens, Dr. Manion had first deserted his own party, then formed its policies and constituted himself leader. Mr. Stevens was the only Reconstruction candidate to be elected and the same thing might happen Dr. Manion.

There was never a greater misnomer than "national government" for the administration Dr. Manion was asking people to support. Mr. King asserted. Never before, anywhere in the world, had people been asked to vote for national government candidates where such a government was not even in existence, he declared, as his hearers laughed and applauded. Dr. Manion's proposed cabinet was not even a shadow government, because it had never existed to throw a shadow

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... Toronto Star

Date..... Mar. 15/40

Subject.....

D 37957

## KING GIVES ACCOUNT OF HIS STEWARDSHIP IN STIRRING SPEECH

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Says

TWO HALLS JAMMED

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# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... Toronto Star

Date..... Mar. 15/40.

Subject.....

## ***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.

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Office of  
The Prime Minister

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**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar. 15/40

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

By GREGORY CLARK

Just see what friendliness can do. The friendliest, kindest 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 kindness entire.

And it never departed for a second, a word or a phrase from kindness 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."

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D37960

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.

### 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 Torontonionian, 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.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....Toronto Star.....

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 or 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

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.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D-37962

## 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.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date.....

MAR 15 1947

Subject.....

## KING SEES PERIL OF A CLASS WAR IN UNION REGIME

Uses That Argument Against  
National Government Plan

DEFENDS PARTY SYSTEM

Prime Minister Challenges  
Manion's Right to Adopt  
His Campaign Slogan

Toronto, March 14.—(P)—A combination of all the parties to form a national government such as proposed by Conservative Leader Manion would mean abandonment of opposition and "we would find ourselves with a class war as well as national war," Prime Minister Mackenzie King declared here tonight.

"I would be the last one to say we should not bring in as advisers those able to assist us with their expert knowledge and advice but that is a different thing to bringing into the Cabinet men with opposing views," the Prime Minister said.

Political parties had their proper place in Canada's system of Government, both in the administration and in opposition, he said.

In all his public life he had always placed country before party, Mr. King said, but he questioned whether Dr. Manion could make the same claim considering the promises he was making in different parts of the country.

If the people voted for the present Government, he said, they could be assured that "Canada's war effort will be in safe hands." The proposed national government had "neither substance nor shadow."

Mr. King spoke before a crowd of about 2,500 who filled Massey Hall to capacity and an estimated 2,000 heard the address over a loud speaker system in the nearby Victoria Theatre.

No reference was made by the Prime Minister to the differences existing between himself and Premier Hepburn of Ontario, his former supporter in the House of Commons.

Hon. Harry Nixon, Ontario Provincial Secretary who resigned from the Hepburn Cabinet Monday because of the Premier's criticism of Mr. King but withdrew his resignation Tuesday, was the only Ontario Minister on the platform.

### NIXON EXPLAINS.

In a short speech Mr. Nixon said his statement to the press of reasons for his resignation was not moderated or withdrawn but, because the issue over which he resigned was purely federal and had never been discussed in Cabinet, he had agreed to Mr. Hepburn's request that he remain at his post.

Another interesting feature of the meeting was a speech by Sir William Muloch, 96-year-old former Ontario Chief Justice, who said a change of government at this time would be "madness."

Justice Minister Lapointe and Defence Minister Rogers also spoke, urging the people to vote for return of the Government which initiated Canada's war effort and which, they said, was best equipped to carry on to success.

The Prime Minister said Canada must face a war of "at least two or three years," and to make its maximum contribution the Dominion must be united. His own administration was in the best position to maintain that unity, he claimed.

Returned in 1935 with a record-breaking majority, the Liberal Party had not lost a supporter and remained united "from the Atlantic to the Pacific," Mr. King said. The administration was made up of men any one of whom was capable of leading a government, he said.

The alternative offered by Dr. Manion, the Prime Minister contended, was a "phantom government" of which he himself was the only one the people knew would be a member.

### ANSWERS MANION CLAIMS.

Quoting from Conservative campaign literature, Mr. King said Dr. Manion, by his own statement, "submerged party" in order to serve the whole country. That implied that a man could not serve his country if he served his party, Mr. King said.

"It is a condemnation of every leader of political parties since Confederation," he asserted.

Referring to Dr. Manion's claim he was following in the footsteps of Sir John A. Macdonald when he formed the National Government party, Mr. King said there was no parallel because Sir John had never deserted his party. He had remained a Conservative and had never been in a coalition government after confederation.

Mr. King referred to Dr. Manion's statement that he had initiated the National Government movement after approval by his House following and by the provincial leaders of the Conservative Party.

"When Dr. Manion had that caucus Parliament had been dissolved and his followers were just ex-members of Parliament. What authority had they to speak for their constituents?"

"Who were the provincial leaders Dr. Manion consulted? Let him name them and say what authority they had to speak for Conservatives."

"If Dr. Manion is defeated in Fort William—and I understand that is probable—who would form the national government he is proposing?"

"If I am defeated personally—which is always possible but not probable—I have 15 colleagues, any one of them capable of leading the Government. The war effort would go on without interruption and would be in safe hands."

It had been charged that the present Government was putting party ahead of country, Mr. King said.

"Were we putting party ahead of country when we ran counter to some of our own following in Parliament and asked for increased expenditures for defence?"

"Dr. Manion says we should have known there was going to be a war and should have been prepared for it. If he knew there was going to be a war, why didn't he and his followers help us put through those increased estimates which some of our followers from Quebec were opposing?"

"When we needed that help, he and his associates sat silent in the House of Commons."

Mr. King said his record proved he had put country ahead of party and worked only for the public good. But he could not say the same for Dr. Manion.

"Was he putting country ahead of party when he went across Canada making promises and bringing up purely domestic issues for purely party purposes?" he asked. "I challenge any person to say I have made a partisan appeal in any district or brought up any local issues."

"The one issue is Canada's war effort and what administration can best carry it on. Dr. Manion is trying to get away from the war issue altogether."

The war would be long and terrible and the next Parliament would be a "war Parliament" in the fullest sense of the word, Mr. King said. From the best information, war would last two or three years "and who can say what part of this world will not be terrorized?"

A maximum war effort over a period of years could be exerted only by a united country "and the present Government is in the best position to keep Canada united," he declared.

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Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN  
Date..... 1955  
Subject.....

## Mr. King Has Capacity Audience in Massey Hall, Toronto, With Overflow Filling Nearby Theater To Hear His Speech by Public Address System.

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## Proposed National Govt. Would Mean Abandonment of Opposition in House, Says Mr. King.

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### With Opposing Views.

"I would be the last one to say we should not bring in as advisers those able to assist us with their expert knowledge and advice but that is a different thing to bringing into the cabinet men with opposing views," the Prime Minister said.

Political parties had their proper place in Canada's system of government, both in the administration and in opposition.

### Country Before Party.

In all his public life he had always placed country before party, Mr. King said, but he questioned whether Dr. Manion could make the same claim considering the promises he was making in different parts of the country.

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"Is there not something of value in this to Canada at this time?"

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**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

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Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 37965

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# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL  
Date..... MARCH 15 1940  
Subject.....

## Nixon Only Ontario Minister At King Rally

TORONTO, March 14. — (CP) — Provincial Secretary Nixon was the only member of the Liberal Ontario Cabinet on the platform tonight at the opening of a Liberal rally addressed by Prime Minister King.

Mr. Nixon resigned from the Cabinet Monday because of disagreement with Premier Hepburn's attitude towards Mr. King, but the next day withdrew his resignation when assured by Mr. Hepburn that the Ontario Ministers would have freedom to do as they please in the Federal field.

The crowd, which filled Massey Hall long before the meeting time, applauded Mr. Nixon, who was accompanied by his wife.

**Officers of the Toronto Central Liberal Association said all Ontario Cabinet Ministers had been invited to sit on the platform.**

Senator A. C. Hardy, chairman, called on Mr. Nixon, who with Mrs. Nixon was sitting in the first row of the platform, for a few remarks. Before making them, Mr. Nixon shook hands with Mr. King. He thanked the crowd for its reception.

"I don't mind admitting I wasn't too sure what it would be", he said. "My wife and I drove down here from the farm to say that come what may we are behind Mackenzie King for his re-election as we have been in every election since 1921.

### Not Withdrawing Remarks.

"Maybe there is some confusion in the public mind. I have made no withdrawal or modification of the remarks I made through the press to the people of this province on Monday last.

"When I felt bound to take issue with the Prime Minister (Mr. Hepburn) on a very definite issue, I thought it only right and proper I should submit my resignation, which I did in good faith.

"The Prime Minister and Cabinet refused to accept my resignation, taking the position that the

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Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date.....MAR 15 1940

Subject.....

## King Fears Class War If Manion Wins

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Office of  
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Name of Publication.....

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Subject.....

D 37968

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The war would be long and terrible and the next Parliament would be a "war Parliament" in the fullest sense of the word. From the best information, war would last two or three years "and who can say what part of this world will not be terrorized"?

A maximum war effort over a period of years could be exerted only by a united country "and the present Government is in the best position to keep Canada united".

Justice Minister Lapointe and Defence Minister Rogers also spoke, urging the people to vote for return of the Government which initiated Canada's war effort and which, they said, was best equipped to carry it on to success.

**It would be "madness" to change governments at this stage in Canada's history, Sir William Mulock, "grand old man" of Canadian public life, declared in a brief speech.**

The 96-year-old former Chief Justice of Ontario, who induced Mr. King to enter public life nearly 40 years ago, said "only the gravity of the present situation" had induced him to take the platform.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... Toronto Telegram

Date..... Mar. 15/40.

Subject.....

## 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.

D 37970

TORONTO TELEGRAM  
March 2, 1940

Lamentations of Mr. King Far From Stimulating

The robust quality of Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill's radio speeches give them a strong tonic value in days of storm and stress. Each time he speaks, it seems that Mr. Churchill captures the spirit of Britain's dauntless seamen who hourly face the most desperate perils with a firm confidence that wins admiration of the world.

It can stir no pride in the hearts of Canadians to contrast Mr. Churchill's buoyant optimism in the face of the enemy with the rather pitiful expressions to which Mr. Mackenzie King gave utterance in his speech at Winnipeg. We quote from the Toronto Star report:

The big audience hushed as the Prime Minister told them: "The future as I see it is a very dark and very terrible one. All that has happened since September has gone, not to relieve, but to increase our anxiety."

In words more filled with foreboding than any he has publicly uttered in the past five months, Mr. King spoke of the development of hostilities against Finland, of the growing danger of war in the Balkans, Palestine and India. "Think of the possibilities which may follow if the situation goes on spreading and war continues in the Orient," he warned. "The question we must ask ourselves

is whether the British Empire, whether France,  
is going to survive."

Viewed from Berlin which, we may be sure, scans all  
speeches of Allied political leaders closely, these deliver-  
ances by Mr. King must prove anything but discouraging.  
They do not bespeak a very high spirit on the part of a  
nation that is waving farewell to its Khaki-clad crusaders  
cheerfully sailing on the King's business of war. They  
add no rosy promise of coming success to the much-plac-  
arded Liberal slogan, "Forward with Mackenzie King."

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# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date March 2/40

Subject .....

## BUILT UP NEGLECTED FORCES FROM BOTTOM, SAYS MR. KING

Preceding Conservative Regime Had "Starved" Defences, He Charges

### REPORTS ON WORK

Necessity of spending a great portion of defence department appropriations to repair deficiencies left by the Bennett government hindered needed development of Canada's air force, Prime Minister Mackenzie King told Canada in a broadcast from Winnipeg.

"Canada would have a larger air force today if we had not needed to use so much of the money appropriated for defence to repair deficiencies left by our predecessors," he charged. He noted that Hon. R. J. Manion, Conservative leader, was a member of the Bennett government, and mentioned that Dr. Manion has charged "lack of preparedness."

A non-partisan advisory war council to give added power and direction to Canada's war effort as the conflict strikes deeper into all nations engaged in it, may be formed, Premier King hinted. He said that after the election, March 26, he would expand the great non-political war organization already functioning.

#### New Coast Forts

For the militia the government established new coastal fortifications on the Pacific, with eight new batteries; set up an emergency defence plan on the Atlantic coast which went into operation at the outbreak of war in September; mechanized the militia; began to manufacture weapons and anti-aircraft searchlights and increased the manufacture of munitions.

Also for the land forces, the government acquired tanks and other mechanized vehicles, anti-tank guns, anti-aircraft guns and heavy machine-guns. It completed or enlarged barracks and training camps at Kingston, Calgary, Dundurn, Sask., and Shilo, Man.

For the air force, Mr. King recounted, the permanent force has been trebled by the organization of 12 auxiliary air squadrons. There had been 110 aircraft bought and

delivered by March, 1939, and deliveries had proceeded steadily since. Up to the same month 230 aircraft engines were delivered. Stocks of bombs, ammunition and other equipment, including motor transport vehicles and marine craft, had been secured. Air stations at Ottawa, Trenton, Vancouver and Dartmouth, N.S., had been enlarged and new air stations established at Sydney, Truro and Yarmouth in Nova Scotia; Vancouver Island, Queen Charlotte Islands and Prince Rupert, B.C.

#### Had To Build Up

"Over the protests of the Liberal opposition," Mr. King declared, "the air force had been virtually butchered by the Bennett government before we came into office. In all branches of defence we had to first make good the deplorable depletion. We had to begin at the bottom and build up.

"In 1935," Mr. King said, "the air force had no modern service planes and no bombs. The magazines and shore equipment of the navy were in a dilapidated state. The militia had no modern weapons and no mechanical equipment. Coastal defence fortifications were inadequate and there was no mechanical equipment."

For the navy, he said, the government doubled the personnel, increased reserves, established fishermen's reserves which were now doing splendid war duty, bought five new destroyers, four new mine sweepers, one training schooner, provided a new naval magazine at Esquimault, new ports of defence at Halifax and Esquimault, and additional naval barracks and docks.

#### Quotes Slashes

The Bennett government cut air force appropriations from \$6,000,000 under the preceding King administration to less than \$2,000,000 in some years. Since the present government took office in 1935, annual air force outlay had started at \$6,000,000 and increased yearly up to nearly \$30,000,00 in the last year before war started. In 1932 and 1933, he charged, the Bennett government dismissed 180 officers, 100 airmen and 125 technical civilian employees from the air force over the protest of the Liberal opposition. It also, he said, discontinued

the wireless service, curtailed the engineer services and practically stopped construction at the Trenton airport.

The big audience hushed as the prime minister told them: "The future as I see it is a very dark and very terrible one. All that has happened since September has gone, not to relieve, but to increase our anxiety. It is my responsibility as head of the government to pass not daily, but hourly, on questions of life and death. I ask any one of you if you would like to take the responsibility that rests on my shoulders?"

A situation of such growing gravity, Mr. King asserted, demanded at the head of Canadian affairs not only men in complete agreement, and of long experience, but men who had first-hand knowledge of developments before and since the outbreak of war. "The members of the present government," he said, "have been in constant contact with British and Allied authorities. I believe it is in your own interest to retain in authority those who are best informed on the country's war needs; those who have organized Canada's war efforts since its inception."

## PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... Toronto Daily Star

Date..... March 15, 1940

# KING GIVES ACCOUNT OF HIS STEWARDSHIP IN STIRRING SPEECH

Canada Comes Before Party,  
With Us, Premier  
Says

## TWO HALLS JAMMED

By H. R. ARMSTRONG

"Everything that we have done, or that we have not done, has been in the light of what is best for the country and not for party. 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."

This was the ringing answer delivered last night in Massey Hall by Prime Minister Mackenzie King to the charge levelled by Hon. R. J. Manion at Kingston on Wednesday night, that the Canadian premier cared only about the Liberal party and not the best interests of the Dominion.

Two great audiences of more than 5,000 jammed Massey Hall and the overflow meeting in Victoria theatre to hear and to cheer Mr. King and his colleagues, Hon. Ernest Lapointe, minister of justice, and Hon. Norman Rogers, minister of national defence.

The two throngs applauded again and again as, step by step, Mr. King traced the government's defence and war program from the time two years ago when war first threatened, up to the present moment, driving home repeatedly the point that national and not party interests had governed the administration's every move.

Mr. King told how for several years, the government had increased defence expenditures to meet Canada's needs, over opposition from within his own party and from Dr. Manion and his Conservative followers. The prime minister recounted how, before war broke out, disregarding political considerations, he had declared that Canada would stand at the side of Britain if hostilities developed from Germany's invasion of Poland.

### Cites War Effort

Without regard for political repercussions the government had announced its war policy to parliament and then set up non-partisan boards in many fields of war effort, Mr. King recalled. When the government was attacked for its war prosecution by Premier Duplessis in Quebec the federal cabinet ministers from that province risked their political careers to defeat the Quebec government, he reminded the applauding thousands.

"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," Mr. King declared. "The sole issue is Canada's war effort and what administration can best carry it on. That is what I have discussed and that alone. 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."

On the other hand, charged the prime minister, Dr. Manion had been stressing sectional appeals and local issues in his campaign tour of the Dominion. The Conservative leader was varying his promises in different localities to serve party purposes and not the good of the Dominion as a whole. "He is making an effort today to get away from the war effort issue altogether," charged Mr. King, "and to get people in the different constituencies thinking in terms of their local, particular questions."

### Class War Danger

Mr. King warned that formation of a union government now, with radical parties united in opposition, would lead within two years to a class war in Canada, in addition to the war now in progress. He quoted utterances of the national government party leader to show that Dr. Manion, both before and after outbreak of war, had declared emphatically against the principle of national government.

In setting up a national government party on his own initiative, the prime minister asserted Dr. Manion was following exactly the course of Hon. H. H. Stevens five years ago in bringing the Reconstruction party into being. Like Mr. Stevens, Dr. Manion had first deserted his own party, then formed its policies and constituted himself leader. Mr. Stevens was the only Reconstruction candidate to be elected and the same thing might happen Dr. Manion.

There was never a greater misnomer than "national government" for the administration Dr. Manion was asking people to support. Mr. King asserted. Never before, anywhere in the world, had people been asked to vote for national government candidates where such a government was not even in existence, he declared, as his hearers laughed and applauded. Dr. Manion's proposed cabinet was not even a shadow government, because it had never existed to throw a shadow.

D37974

Note on the Origins and Characters  
of the National Political Parties

Confederation was really the work of a coalition of both parties so far as the old Province of Canada was concerned. It is, however, noteworthy that the opposition to the idea came from the Liberal party (parti rouge) particularly in Lower Canada. In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, speaking generally, the Conservatives were the Confederation party and the Reformers the opponents of Confederation.

Sir John Macdonald's first government had the superficial appearance of a coalition, it did not, however, include George Brown, the great reform leader of Upper Canada, and it rapidly assumed a more and more exclusively Conservative character.

During the first parliament, there was no organized party of opposition and no party leader. It was only gradually as Macdonald's administration came to reveal itself more and more as the champion and mouth-piece of the financial and commercial interests that cohesive opposition developed. The leading part which Alexander Mackenzie took in the election of 1872 gave him the primacy in the opposition which led to his selection as leader and resulted in his forming,

after the "Pacific Scandal" debacle, the first Liberal government.

The opposition between Macdonald and Mackenzie gave a stamp to the two national parties which they have ever since tended to retain. The Conservative party of Macdonald was the party of the "interests", and the Liberal party of Mackenzie was the champion of the public interest and of equal rights for all.

In its early years the Liberal party suffered from two defects, one, imperfect cohesion (the fact that it had not yet developed a genuinely national sense) and two, the personal difficulties between Mackenzie and Blake. It was only when Laurier, whose political career began after Confederation and who might be termed the "Son of Confederation" became leader of the Liberal party in 1887 that the party really became a genuinely national organization.

If the Liberal party developed a national sense and became a national entity more slowly than the Conservative party, it learned more thoroughly the lesson that a national party in Canada must at all times reflect the sentiments of all sections of the country and all classes of the community.

The Conservative party has never lost its early tendency to represent the "interests" and at times has also yielded to the temptation to sacrifice

the national to sectional interests. There is, however, a place for a genuine Conservative party in Canada. People fall naturally into two categories, which are aptly described by the words: "Liberal" and "Conservative". In a democratic community those of Conservative temper and mentality are entitled to their just share of representation, and there are, doubtless, times when the health of society is served by a pause in progress and the consolidation of the gains which have been made.

Liberalism, on the other hand, stands for orderly progress as well as for freedom in the broadest sense of the term. A truly Liberal party will have room in its ranks for advocates of progress who, at times, may feel impatient at the slow rate of change. It will also have room for forward-looking individuals who, none the less, appreciate the need of maintaining what is best in the existing order. The Liberal party can only be true to itself when it keeps a nice balance between progress and stability.

Toronto  
massy Hall meeting  
March 14/40

D37977

Reference to those present

appearing with colleagues  
one of the oldest - 38 years  
one of the youngest  
candidates  
representative Liberals  
prominent citizens.

Regret at being unable to make more  
public appearances

fortunate in lieutenants.

The issue of the campaign?

1. Issues determined by circumstances
2. A year ago, many issues  
relative to domestic affairs.
3. But one issue - Canada's War Effort

What Government can best continue to plan,  
organize, maintain and direct the  
war effort of Canada.

Upon wisdom of choice depends part  
Canada will play; efficiency and  
extent of its contribution, and  
conceivably outcome of war.

Issues narrowed down by nominations.

Parties in the field.  
Liberal or National Government.  
Which best able to govern -  
which most truly national.

Toronto  
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37977

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Liberal or National Government.  
Which best able to govern -  
which most truly national.

**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

Dr. Manion at Kingston.  
 Country before party,  
 Party before country.

(Was Sir John putting party before  
 country all years except before  
 Confederation.)

Dr. Manion says he is following example  
 of:

Sir John A. - before Confederation

Sir Robert Borden - in 1917.

Was this only time country was before  
 Party by Sir John and Borden -  
 other leaders.

Specific issues - make govt. itself  
 possible.

- conscription.

Note how National Government formed.

Leaders known.

Policy known, etc.

Speaks of examples of England

1. National Government - not on war
2. Australia.

Manion National Government -  
how formed

Says got support of M.P.'s

Says got support of Provincial  
leaders.

Compare

Conservative Convention, etc.

Social Reconstruction by Stevens.

" Possible results:

(1) Leader and following

(2) No leader and "

(3) Leader and no following.

What guarantees.

Manion changes his views

A National Govt. not in public  
interest.

Not 4 pilots at a wheel stirring in  
different directions.

An Opposition essential.

Sir Wilfrid's attitude.

Responsibility - not monopoly

3 checks: (1) Opposition  
(2) Public service  
(3) Senate  
(4) Public opinion

Can Govt. be formed out of groups  
that have defeated present administration.

(Manion's plan of national govt.  
implies defeating first one of parties  
he wishes to join him)

(a) capable of maintaining national  
unity

(b) making the maximum war effort.

Is it true Liberals for Party, not  
Country.

Not putting party ahead of country

1. Liberals re estimates last parliament  
vs. Manion - no support  
- cutting down estimates
2. Why no election last July.
3. Announced Canada beside Britain
4. Policy presented to Parliament.
5. In war effort since.
6. In not extending term of Parl't.
7. In not having Union Govt.
8. When Lapointe etc. fought Duplessis.
9. Sought a general election instead of  
office -  
preserve constitution.

D37981

-5-

Is Manion putting country first with Promises?

Challenge anyone my public life when Party first.

Have not  
am not new.

Would we put country first if we did what Dr. Manion proposes.

Combine New Democracy.

" C.C.F.

" Tories

See Manion's own words

and abandon Opposition

Create class war in times of war

Why Government ready to carry on,  
and are needed.

Need for a strong National Government.

The issue as I see it.

A Mandate necessary.

D 37982

Massey Hall meeting,  
Toronto, March 14, 1940

Re: Putting Party ahead of Country

Were the Liberals doing that when they were putting through increased defence estimates, and had not the support of their own party?

Was Dr. Manion's party doing that when they gave no support to these estimates, while they were being opposed by other parties?

Was Dr. Manion's party doing that when they were cutting down the estimates for the air force in those years?

Were the Liberals doing that when we announced that if Poland were attacked and Britain went to war, we would be at the side of Britain?

Were we doing that when we presented our policy to the Commons?

Have we been doing that since we have continued on in office?

Were we doing that

When we refused to extend the term of Parliament, and form a national government while Parliament was in session, depriving the people of their rights?

" When we dissolved Parliament and sought to have this election over?

" When Duplessis' government attacked our federal policy, and Mr. Lapointe, Mr. Cardin and Mr. Power, with the approval of their colleagues took their political life in their hands, and fought for Canadian unity?

" When we dissolved Parliament, and gave the people not the Liberal Party, the chance to say who was to continue carrying on the government?

" When we wanted to preserve the constitution of the country both written and unwritten?

Re: Party and Country in terms of  
National Government

Look at the list of the parties in the House -

Would we be the party to combine with the New Democracy  
 in order to get a majority in the next House of  
 Commons?

That is what Dr. Manion is prepared to do.

Would we be doing that if we joined with the C.C.F. to carry on?

That is what Dr. Manion is prepared to do.

If not, he wishes to have a Union Government of  
 the Liberals and Conservatives only.

What does that mean?

(Quote Dr. Manion's own words)

Turning over the Opposition to combination of C.C.F.,  
 New Democracy (equals Social Credit) and miscellaneous.  
 They to be the body to succeed if the government  
 destroyed.

To join with the Liberals - do away with any effective  
 Opposition.

Create in the minds of the people suspicion in the  
 country as to government by two old political parties,  
 interested only in alliance, etc.; furthering big  
 interests, etc.; getting this country divided;  
 bringing on a class war while we are confronted with  
 Great War.

Compare Sir Wilfrid Laurier's attitude - to remain Opposition.

Next, Manion says he had consent of Caucus and provincial leaders  
 before deciding on policy.

Not a member of the Caucus was a member of Parliament.

Parliament had been dissolved.  
 They had no authority.

Some of them have not even received nominations,

Besides, do people surrender to representatives their right to change policies?

Had these members consulted their constituents?

Had Dr. Manion consulted the men who put him in office at the Conservative Convention?

He says he consulted provincial leaders?

Who are these leaders?

Who gave them the authority to speak in the name of anybody?

I presume it would be in the name of the Conservative Party.

They certainly did not get the right from the people of the province generally,

then it must have been from the Conservative Party.

Where was the meeting of the Party?

Who gave them the authority?

The whole position is an exact parallel to that of Stevens and his Reconstruction Party.

(Take in headings)

Cite example first of Borden Government,

Sir John MacDonald's Government.

Did Sir John bury the name of the Conservative Party?  
It was a co-alition of two parties that maintained their identity for a specific purpose.

Borden and his party - specific purpose - conscription.

Was Sir Wilfrid against the interests of his country when he preferred defeat to supporting a policy of conscription?

Note particularly what guarantee Dr. Manion himself will be returned.

Possibility of my defeat.

Next, what guarantee if National Government were formed that he would be accepted as the head?

Bring in re different men being offered leadership of the National Government at the time of conscription - Mulock among the number.

Quite certain Manion will never be head of a National Government.

First, manner in which he has attacked Social Credit or New Democracy, C.C.F., Liberals and myself.

Take in Manion's statement in House of Commons as to showing him documents.

Get statements regarding "no danger of war".

Put in statement regarding demand for an election last July.

Was he putting Party or country first?

Make out list of questions where Manion was putting his Party first and not the country.

Get quotation of Sir Wilfrid as to attitude of Opposition.

State why Liberal Party wishes to carry on government.

Because of the country.

Because it believes it is the only Party that can unite the country.

Look at present position to demonstrate that.

Believes it can save the country from extreme men - extreme in the one direction - not doing enough; extreme in the other - doing too much.

(Take in measures, etc.)

Because it can command following in every province.

The only government that can form a truly National Government.

Take relations with Quebec and Ontario.

Take position throughout West.

5.

Note Manion's following in Saskatchewan -  
None there - look at list.

Conclude by reference to my own public life.

Challenge anyone to say where in the 21 years I have  
been leader of my Party, I have ever put Party  
before the country.

Party - an instrument.  
- means to an end.

Means of uniting people to work together.

Therefore no harsh word in present campaign,  
though much provocation.

Similarly, government an art - not a business or a séance.

The art of getting largest number of men to work  
together for the common good.

Next, Manion putting the party before the country -

making these various promises in different localities;

diverting attention away from that of main issue:  
winning of the war.

Give main issue - and mandate for a strong government.

Have I put Party before country in present campaign by  
refraining from visiting different parts,

from making numerous public appearances, and

not allowing business of government and the war to  
drift at Ottawa.

Have I done that for the last five years, when I felt the  
demands required my presence at Ottawa.

Mention of recent visit to Saskatchewan.

Unable to visit my own constituency.

Say a word that they will get the answer from  
Saskatchewan which will let them see that  
humble citizens, early settlers and others

D 37987

6.

understand situation better than Dr. Manion -  
will not fall for a number of promises.

Dr. Manion putting country before party when he talks of  
reducing licence fees.

Run over various promises, asking that question.

Third Parties in Canada.

(A) Past and (B) Present.

There have been other parties in the federal field, each with its leader; not as many in the past as there are today.

(A) There was, for example, in the past, the Canada First Association, a movement founded by W. A. Foster, under the stimulus of Goldwin Smith. It never reached the proportions of a political party. It was led by Haycock. The last time I saw this old warrior he presided at a Liberal meeting at which I spoke in Northumberland County. Like its predecessor, it melted into the Liberal Party. While its aims were broadly Liberal, its immediate appeal was to a class - the farmer, and largely to one province (Ontario).

In 1889, the Equal Rights Association was formed. It was a movement<sup>ed</sup> by Dalton McCarthy and other Conservatives who had become disgruntled, and who, under the title "Equal Rights" were actually seeking to establish an English-speaking and Protestant ascendancy.

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They succeeded in stirring up a storm of racial and religious strife. The Equal Rights Party ran its course in \_\_\_\_\_ years. Mr. McCarthy, in time, realized the folly of this attitude and came to recognize that the tolerance for which Liberalism stood was the only permanent basis on which Canadian unity and well-being could be maintained.

In 1910-11 we had the rise of the Nationalist Party. It formed an unholy alliance with the Conservatives (whose appeal in turn was not broad enough to include Quebec) to defeat the only broadly national party of the day. Its members, subsequently, with a few notable exceptions, sacrificed their principles for the fruits of office.

Coming to more recent times, we have had, in 1921, the National Progressive Party, led for a time by Tom Crerar, who is a colleague in the present Government and, later, by Hon. Robert <sup>Foster</sup> Foster, who was a colleague in a former Government. The National Progressive Party was composed of advanced Liberals, differing little in creed from the official Liberal party. The criticism of that party is that they

-11-

appealed too much to one class, the farmers, and to one section, the West. The Progressive Party had, at one time, as many as \_\_\_\_\_ members in the House of Commons. It ran its course in \_\_\_\_\_ years.

There was also the U.F.O. (United Farmers of Ontario), and the U.F.A. (United Farmers of Alberta). Miss Macphail and others <sup>who were members</sup> merged with the C.C.F.

Included among parties which have contended for political control in the federal field, but which have since wholly disappeared, mention should be made of the Reconstruction Party. It had \_\_\_\_\_ candidates in the field in the last general elections. The Reconstruction Party was a protest movement without a well conceived program. Its leading members were disgruntled Conservatives, who resented dictatorial leadership of their party and <sup>who were</sup> irked by its reactionary tendencies. It disclosed that indignation is not a broad enough basis for a party. Mr. Harry Stevens was its leader. Of the party, he alone was returned to Parliament. He held valiantly to the post of leadership for three sessions, but having no following all that time, and with none in prospect, at the last session

he gave up the party and the post of leader to come  
and sit at Dr. Manion's right. The Reconstruction  
Party may be said to have become extinct. It <sup>was</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>terminated 6 years ago</sup> an  
extinct volcano from the start.

Third Parties in Canada.

(B) Present.

In 19\_\_\_\_, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation was formed. It was born of the beginnings of what might have become a Labour Party. It has never completely outgrown the class appeal of its parent. Its aims are generous and humanitarian. Its means are State control and regimentation, which would involve sacrifices of freedom that Canadians are not prepared to make. Mr. Woodsworth was chosen its leader at a convention in Regina in 19\_\_\_\_. He has led the party ever since. It has a membership of \_\_\_\_\_ in the present House of Commons.

The Social Credit Party, first a purely provincial party, formed by Mr. Aberhart, entered the federal arena in 19\_\_\_\_. Mr. John H. Blackmore was chosen its leader <sup>in the House of Commons</sup> in 19\_\_\_\_. He is its present leader. One could not quarrel with the aim of the Social Credit Party, which is to give prosperity to all. It would be difficult to discover a political party which had not a similar general aim. (Good intentions substituted for adequate understanding and close study of problems. Belief in magic; problems which confront Government in Canada are complicated; there are no easy solutions and panaceas. Champions of an exaggerated provincialism harmful to national unity).

Now we have another party being brought into being. It is called the "New Democracy". It is more 'new' than 'democratic'. Its formation and procedure resemble in so many particulars those of the Reconstruction Party of 1935 that it seems almost certain that its fate in the next general elections will closely resemble that of its prototype. [When the Reconstruction Party was formed it did not have a name, or a leader. Mr. Stevens gave it its name, and constituted himself its leader. It has been the same with the New Democracy Party. Until Mr. Herridge proclaimed that there was such a party, no one had heard of it, and until he constituted himself its leader, it was without one. Mr. Herridge has been a general, seeking an army. There has been no attempt to base the movement on any common principles. Its propaganda, so far, has been destructive and abusive - "sound and fury, signifying nothing".] [The Reconstruction Party was out against the two old parties, because of the displeasure of its leader with one of them. The New Democracy Party, likewise, is out against the two old parties, because, I imagine, of the displeasure of its leader with both. Stevens, so far as I am aware, only belonged to one. He has returned to it.

See  
demunciation {  
of New {  
Democracy {  
Party by {  
Coldwell and {  
C.C.F. {  
reported {  
press {  
July 25, 1939. {

Herridge, at different times, ~~pretended~~<sup>pretended</sup> an allegiance to one and then to the other, or, at least, so I have had reason to believe. I do not think he really ever belonged to any. Whether he will find it possible to return to either remains to be seen. If he does, I doubt if it will be by the door of the House of Commons. At any rate, judging by the fate of the Reconstruction Party, one has to look to something else than the number of candidates in the field to get any sort of an estimate of the probable results. There may be much trumpeting on the hustings, but Sound is a poor substitute for Substance, and an even poorer index of probable results. In the case of the Reconstruction Party, the latter, in the general elections of 1935, came as near to the vanishing point as it was possible to come, without reaching it completely. The New Democracy Party, in the next general elections, whenever they come, may surpass that record, but I doubt it will surpass any other.

The New Democracy Party has already sought to save its nominal existence by a readiness to sacrifice its identity and become merged with other third parties which will be prepared to accept it as a partner in an effort to create, among the discontented elements of the country, a United Front. This was made abundantly

clear in Mr. Herridge's statement as to his readiness to run in Prince Albert.

(Please insert here particulars from statement made, and follow with statement of Coldwell, refusing to have C.C.F. coalesce. Reported press July 25, 1939.

Follow up re combining with Aberhart.

Give brief characterization of present position of New Democracy and Social Credit alliance.)

D 37996

Massey Hall meeting,  
Toronto, March 14, 1940

Re: Putting Party ahead of Country

Were the Liberals doing that when they were putting through increased defence estimates, and had not the support of their own party?

Was Dr. Manion's party doing that when they gave no support to these estimates, while they were being opposed by other parties?

Was Dr. Manion's party doing that when they were cutting down the estimates for the air force in those years?

*Was Dr. Manion's party doing that when they gave no support to these estimates, while they were being opposed by other parties?*  
Were the Liberals doing that when we announced that if Poland were attacked and Britain went to war, we would be at the side of Britain? *Liberal Party?*

Were we doing that when we presented our policy to the Commons?

Have we been doing that since we have continued on in office?

Were we doing that

When we refused to extend the term of Parliament, and form a national government while Parliament was in session, depriving the people of their rights?

" When we dissolved Parliament and sought to have this election over?

" When Duplessis' government attacked our federal policy, and Mr. Lapointe, Mr. Cardin and Mr. Power, with the approval of their colleagues took their political life in their hands, and fought for Canadian unity?

" When we dissolved Parliament, and gave the people not the Liberal Party, the chance to say who was to continue carrying on the government?

" When we wanted to preserve the constitution of the country both written and unwritten?

Re: Party and Country in terms of  
National Government

Look at the list of the parties in the House -

Would we be <sup>leading country party</sup> the party to combine with the New Democracy in order to get a majority in the next House of Commons?

That is what Dr. Manion is prepared to do.

Would we be doing that if we joined with the C.C.F. to carry on?

That is what Dr. Manion is prepared to do.

If not, he wishes to have a Union Government of the Liberals and Conservatives only.

What does that mean?

(Quote Dr. Manion's own words)

Turning over the Opposition to combination of C.C.F., New Democracy (equals Social Credit) and miscellaneous. They to be the body to succeed if the government destroyed.

To join with the Liberals - do away with any effective Opposition.

Create in the minds of the people suspicion in the country as to government by two old political parties, interested only in alliance, etc.; furthering big interests, etc.; getting this country divided; bringing on a class war while we are confronted with Great War.

Compare Sir Wilfrid Laurier's attitude - to remain Opposition.

Next, Manion says he had consent of Caucus and provincial leaders before deciding on policy.

Not a member of the Caucus was a member of Parliament.

Parliament had been dissolved.

They had no authority.

Some of them have not even received nominations,

Besides, do people surrender to representatives their right to change policies?

Had these members consulted their constituents?

Had Dr. Manion consulted the men who put him in office at the Conservative Convention?

He says he consulted provincial leaders?

Who are these leaders?

Who gave them the authority to speak in the name of anybody?

I presume it would be in the name of the Conservative Party.

They certainly did not get the right from the people of the province generally,

then it must have been from the Conservative Party.

Where was the meeting of the Party?

Who gave them the authority?

The whole position is an exact parallel to that of Stevens and his Reconstruction Party.

(Take in headings)

Cite example first of Borden Government,

Sir John MacDonald's Government.

Did Sir John bury the name of the Conservative Party?

It was a co-alition of two parties that maintained their identity for a specific purpose.

Borden and his party - specific purpose - conscription.

Was Sir Wilfrid against the interests of his country when he preferred defeat to supporting a policy of conscription?

Note particularly what guarantee Dr. Manion himself will be returned.

Possibility of my defeat.

Next, what guarantee if National Government were formed that he would be accepted as the head?

Bring in re different men being offered leadership of the National Government at the time of conscription - Mulock among the number.

Quite certain Manion will never be head of a National Government.

First, manner in which he has attacked Social Credit or New Democracy, C.C.F., Liberals and myself.

Take in Manion's statement in House of Commons as to showing him documents.

Get statements regarding "no danger of war".

Put in statement regarding demand for an election last July.

Was he putting Party or country first?

Make out list of questions where Manion was putting his Party first and not the country.

Get quotation of Sir Wilfrid as to attitude of Opposition.

State why Liberal Party wishes to carry on government.

Because of the country.

Because it believes it is the only Party that can unite the country.

Look at present position to demonstrate that.

Believes it can save the country from extreme men - extreme in the one direction - not doing enough; extreme in the other - doing too much.

(Take in measures, etc.)

Because it can command following in every province.

The only government that can form a truly National Government.

Take relations with Quebec and Ontario.

Take position throughout West.

5.

D 38000

Note Manion's following in Saskatchewan -  
None there - look at list.

Conclude by reference to my own public life.

Challenge anyone to say where in the 21 years I have  
been leader of my Party, I have ever put Party  
before the country.

Party - an instrument.  
- means to an end.

Means of uniting people to work together.

Therefore no harsh word in present campaign,  
though much provocation.

Similarly, government an art - not a business or a science.

The art of getting largest number of men to work  
together for the common good.

Next, Manion putting the party before the country -

making these various promises in different localities;

diverting attention away from that of main issue:  
winning of the war.

Give main issue - and mandate for a strong government.

Have I put Party before country in present campaign by  
refraining from visiting different parts,

from making numerous public appearances, and

not allowing business of government and the war to  
drift at Ottawa.

Have I done that for the last five years, when I felt the  
demands required my presence at Ottawa.

Mention of recent visit to Saskatchewan.

Unable to visit my own constituency.

Say a word that they will get the answer from  
Saskatchewan which will let them see that  
humble citizens, early settlers and others

*Manion put  
party before  
country  
winning of the war*

6.

D 38001

understand situation better than Dr. Manion -  
will not fall for a number of promises.

Dr. Manion putting country before party when he talks of  
reducing licence fees.

Run over various promises, asking that question.

D 38002

March 5, 1940.

MEMORANDUM RE MASSEY HALL MEETING

Place: Massey Hall, approximately 3000, overflow meeting Metropolitan Church, seating 400-500.

Date: Evening, March 14th. Doors open 7.30 p.m. Meeting commences 8.30 p.m.

Tickets: (a) Platform, 250 for:

(1) Candidates - invitations have been sent out to many ridings. Their wives will sit in specially reserved seats.

(2) Officers of the Central Liberal Association and Toronto Liberal Women's Association.

(2a) Past Presidents Toronto Central and Toronto Women's Liberal Associations.

(3) Presidents of Toronto Ward Associations.

(4) Special Guests, i.e. persons who were given special tables at the August dinner here.

(b) General Admission.

Sound Amplification: for street outside, Massey Hall and for the gymnasium.

Music: 48th Highlanders Band.

Additional Entertainment: 7.30 to 8.30 being arranged.

Chairman: Senator A. C. Hardy.

Candidates: to be introduced by B. J. Sullivan.

Decoration for interior of Massey Hall; Plans being drafted by Robert Simpson Co., Limited.

Program: Meeting will open 7.30 with God Save the King, to 8.30 music and entertainment. 8.30 on, Mr. King, Mr. Lapointe and Mr. Rogers.

③

②

①

Observations on the Prime Minister's original  
draft for August the 8th.

Page 2.

It might be desirable to point out, in referring to world conditions, how absurd demands, like the one made yesterday by Col. Drew (see clipping attached), actually are.

PP. 7 & 8.

Some of the references, if left in their present form, to the difficulty of finding suitable Cabinet Ministers might be taken to reflect on the calibre of the Prime Minister's colleagues; a point might possibly be made of the difficulty of finding adequate representation of all sections of the country in the Cabinet of 1921, as compared with the wealth of talent resulting from the great Liberal victory of 1935, as showing increased confidence of the country in the Liberal party.

Page 10.

It is probably not possible to fix the exact course of the "Equal Rights Party", as it was never a party in any serious sense of the term.

Mr. Crerar's successor as Leader of the Progressive Party was the Honourable Robert Forke, not Foster.

Re Third Parties

It might be suggested that they have been of two kinds: those which were advanced Liberals in their outlook and which were ultimately merged into the Liberal Party, and those which were composed of disgruntled Tories and which expired after a very brief life.

D 38004

14.iii.40

TORONTO MEETING

Place: Massey Hall -  
overflow meeting Metropolitan  
Church.

Time: 8.30 p.m.

Chairman: Senator A. C. Hardy

Remarks

Order of speakers:

1. Mr. Rogers
2. Mr. Lapointe
3. Mr. King

(Candidates to be introduced by  
B. J. Sullivan)

14.111.40

D 38005

ROYAL YORK HOTEL

	<u>Room Nos.</u>
<u>Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King</u>	1634-5-7
H.R.L. Henry, Esq.	1641
E. Handy, Esq.	1639
J.S. Nicol	1636
<u>Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe</u>	1646-50
<u>Hon. N. McL. Rogers</u>	1646-50

14.111.40

Massey Hall Meeting

D 38006

Reference to those present,  
public appearances in Ontario,  
and elections.

Reference to the issues in the campaign  
itself,

drawing attention to my having  
confined myself entirely to the  
matter of the war.

Reference to seeing things in truer  
light at present as we are  
getting near the election:

- (1) the dissolution;
- (2) the significance of  
National Government.

Bring in reference to election in  
war-time and choosing a war  
government,

also Prime Minister's responsibility  
in what he does not do as well  
as what he does do.

Manney Hall meeting  
14. 11. 40

D 38007

Reference to those present

appearing with colleagues  
one of the oldest - 38 years  
one of the youngest  
candidates  
representative Liberals  
prominent citizens.

Regret at being unable to make more  
public appearances

fortunate in lieutenants.

The issue of the campaign?

1. Issues determined by circumstances
2. A year ago, many issues  
relative to domestic affairs.
3. But one issue - Canada's War Effort

What Government can best continue to plan  
organize, maintain and direct the  
war effort of Canada.

Upon wisdom of choice depends part  
Canada will play; efficiency and  
extent of its contribution, and  
conceivably out come of war.

Issues narrowed down by nominations.

Parties in the field.  
Liberal or National Government.  
Which best able to govern -  
which most truly national.

Dr. Manion at Kingston.  
Country before party,  
Party before country.

(Was Sir John putting party before  
country all years except before  
Confederation.)

Dr. Manion says he is following example  
of:

Sir John A. - before Confederation

Sir Robert Borden - in 1917.

Was this only time country was before  
Party by Sir John and Borden -  
other leaders.

Specific issues - make govt. itself  
possible.

- conscription.

Note how National Government formed.

Leaders known.

Policy known, etc.

Speaks of examples of England

1. National Government - not on war
2. Australia.

Manion National Government -  
how formed

Says got support of M.P.'s

Says got support of Provincial  
leaders.

Compare

Conservative Convention, etc.

Social Reconstruction by Stevens.

" Possible results:

(1) Leader and following

(2) No leader and "

(3) Leader and no following.

What guarantees.

Manion changes his views

A National Govt. not in public  
interest.

Not 4 pilots at a wheel stirring in  
different directions.

An Opposition essential.

Sir Wilfrid's attitude.

Responsibility - not monopoly

3 checks: (1) Opposition  
(2) Public service  
(3) Senate  
(4) Public opinion

Can Govt. be formed out of groups  
that have defeated present administration.

(Manion's plan of national govt.  
implies defeating first one of parties  
he wishes to join him)

- (a) capable of maintaining national  
unity
- (b) making the maximum war effort.

Is it true Liberals for Party, not  
Country.

Not putting party ahead of country

1. Liberals re estimates last parliament  
vs. Manion - no support  
- cutting down estimates
2. Why no election last July.
3. Announced Canada beside Britain
4. Policy presented to Parliament.
5. In war effort since.
6. In not extending term of Parl't.
7. In not having Union Govt.
8. When Lapointe etc. fought Duplessis.
9. Sought a general election instead of  
office -  
preserve constitution.q

Is Manion putting country first with Promises?

Challenge anyone my public life when Party first.

Have not *gone through country* am not new.

Would we put country first if we did what Dr. Manion proposes.

Combine New Democracy.

" C.C.F.

" Tories

See Manion's own work  
and abandon Opposition

Create class war in times of war

Why Government ready to carry on, and are needed.

Need for a strong National Government.

The issue as I see it.

A Mandate necessary.

D 38012

14.iii.40

TORONTO MEETING

Place: Massey Hall - *Victoria*  
overflow meeting Metropolitan  
Church. *Senate.*

Time: 8.30 p.m.

Chairman: Senator A. C. Hardy

Remarks

Order of speakers:

1. Mr. Rogers
2. Mr. Lapointe
3. Mr. King

(Candidates to be introduced by  
B. J. Sullivan)

Senator A.C. Hardy and Mr. John B.  
Cooper (Pres., Toronto Central  
Liberal Assn.) will call for  
Prime Minister at 8.00 p.m.

D 38013

Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe

First elected to  
House of Commons - February 1904  
(36 years ago)

Sworn in as member of P.C. -  
December 1921.  
(19 years ago)

Hon. Norman McLeod Rogers

First elected to H. of C. -  
October 1935.

Minister of Labour -

Minister of National Defence.

Hon. Senator Arthur C. Hardy

Son of Hon. Arthur S. Hardy,  
formerly Premier of Ontario.

President, Ontario Liberal Assn.  
1919 - 1932 (13 years)

Summoned to the Senate, Feb. 1922.  
Apptd. Speaker of Senate, May, 1930.  
Sworn in as member of P.C.,  
July 1930.

Outline of Speech

by

MACKENZIE KING

Montreal, March 12, 1940.

Much said in present campaign about two things:

1. The dissolution of Parliament,
2. The desirability of forming a "national" or union government.

We are today in a better position to judge, to see exactly, the true significance of each of these matters.

For most people it is always difficult to look ahead, to see what lies beyond today or tomorrow - to be other than controlled by their immediate feelings and prejudices. That is why in the present campaign you have heard so little about what, after all, is most important - how your affairs and the affairs of this country are going to be managed in the next 5 years, and so much about a lot of things that belong to the past, and will never be thought of or heard of again after the 26th of this month.

Yet, it is with the future that the new Parliament will be concerned.

Let us now consider why a new Parliament is necessary.

First of all, why do we have a Parliament at all?

That the will of the people may be carried out, since all cannot participate, we must have representation.

Since representatives (like people themselves) have different views, therefore the views of the majority must prevail.

To ascertain views of the people and of the majority, political parties are necessary.

The majority becomes the government - the minority the Opposition.

This is the way every legislature, conducts its business in a free country, under a democratic system.

This doesn't mean that the government, representing the majority, has everything its own way - a monopoly of government.

There are two all-important controls:

1. the Opposition has rights and continues to function;
2. while Government decides policy, the real work of administration of the

country's affairs is carried on by the public service, which is composed of men of all parties - advantages of a permanent civil service.

I might add a third -

3. The two Houses of Parliament:

the Senate has an equal voice with House of Commons on most matters.

There has never been a time since I have been leader of the party when the party has had a majority in the Senate: 1921-25; 1925-26; 1926-30; 1935-40.

A government in bringing forward its measures has always to take account of how they will be received

(a) by the Opposition,

(b) by the Senate.

I might add <sup>(4)</sup> the press, and all agencies that affect public opinion.

Work of government in war, as well as in peace, is carried on by Parliament as a whole. It is opinion that governs, and every Member of Parliament has utmost freedom of expression of his views.

Only one body superior to Parliament -

Only one set of persons whose views are of more importance than those of representatives of the people in Parliament, and that is the people themselves.

How rights of people to expression of their views secured by the Constitution:

1. elections to be held at least once in every five years;
2. elections to be held at any time when in opinion of those carrying on the work of government, the interests of government and of the people so demand.

The situation in January of this year.

Late Parliament elected in 1935.

Had to be an election in 1940.

Usually there is one session a year, and an election once in every four or less years -

This was true throughout Sir Wilfrid's time and has been true throughout my time at least when Liberals in office. The Conservatives have frequently held on till last minute, e.g.:

Conservative Government elected in 1891 - 1896;  
Borden " " 1911 - 1917;  
Bennett " " 1930 - 1935;

1. There had been 5 sessions of the late Parliament.
2. There had been (a) at session of 1939, expectations of a general election when session over;  
  
(b) demands for a general election in summer.
3. There had been a condemnation of the war effort of the present administration - resolution by Legislature of largest province of the Dominion.

That resolution was supported by members of both political parties in the province - by some of one party, by all of the other party.

The fact that its motive was personal, political, vindictive, or whatever it may have been; that it was condemned by many of those who supported it; that it did not represent their real views, and certainly not the views of the province, did not affect its significance:

1. in the eyes of the people in other parts of the Dominion;
  2. in the ~~eyes~~ eyes of the allied powers;
  3. in the eyes of the Germans;
- or 4. in the use that it was intended should be made of it once Parliament had met again in regular session.

The fact was it stood out on the records of the Legislature and stands there today, and will continue to stand as a condemnation of the present government until on March the 26th it is answered by the people themselves in a voice so effective that no one will ever dare quote it again, except as a condemnation of those in the Legislature who joined to give it their support.

There was only one way in which to settle that question - a question which involved the policy of the government with respect to Canada's war effort, and not only the policy of the government, but the ability and capacity of its members to administer Canada's affairs at a time of war, and that was to allow the people to speak for themselves. This was essential in the interest of the country, its war effort and the cause of the allies, at the earliest moment possible.

What would have been said if any other course had been followed:

Let us picture the situation as it would have developed as it would be today.

Remember every one knew that the Session if it went on was to be followed by a general election.

Parliament would have begun debating the Address.

Immediately a political battle would have begun in the House of Commons;

What it would have been like we now know from the speech Dr. Manion delivered on the afternoon of Thursday, January 25th. He gave then in part the material he had in readiness for Monday the 29th.

Every other party leader and speaker would have followed with speeches not meant to help win the war, but to help him and his party win at the coming election.

The government would have next introduced the Estimates.

Still later the Budget. Every item in the Estimates would have been made a target for criticism on the score that the government was going too far, or not far enough, was helping this constituency or province, while neglecting some other constituency or province. A similar effort to score political capital would have been made with respect to every tax imposed. Some interest or class or part of the country, it would have been said, was being favoured while some other interest, or class or other part was being asked to carry more than its share of the burden, and so on and so on -- not a word would have been said as to what might be necessary to win the war, everything would have been said with an eye to winning the election.

Even the slightest indication of possible oversight, or error, however completely it might owe its existence to the imagination or suspicion of a political opponent, would have been made to assume proportions of a political scandal of the first magnitude, -- and all this regardless of the effect it might have upon Canada's war effort in the eyes of our allies or of the enemy.

The government would, from day to day, have been prevented from making headway with the business of government in order that ammunition for a general election might be manufactured, printed at the public expense, and sent out in the form of speeches delivered in Parliament. At the same time, its opponents outside as well as inside Parliament would have kept firing at the administration.

Then what would have followed? We would have been told, and this in the most emphatic manner, that in continuing to carry on the work of government we were simply seeking to hang on to office - were postponing the day of dissolution because of the certainty of meeting defeat - that we had long since lost the confidence of the electorate - that the resolution of the Ontario Legislature was right, that if we had had any appreciation of our duty to the people we would have dissolved the moment that resolution was passed. When the time of dissolution finally came, the country would have been told that the government had meant to hang on to office to the last minute, that we would have probably done what a previous government had done in war time - amended the constitution, formed a union government and tried carrying on indefinitely if the combined opposition had not prevented anything of the kind and driven us at last to the country.

It is all very well for Dr. Manion and those who are supporting him on the platform and in the press to say the government should at least have met Parliament and given to Parliament an account of the way they had managed the affairs of the country; and that after Parliament had had a brief short session in which everyone would have co-operated and been glad to co-operate, we could have brought on the elections. But are you so sure matters would have worked out that way? I am perfectly sure they would not.

I come now to something which it will be easier for you to understand today than it was six weeks ago, and I ask you to keep it very much in mind during the next fortnight. Even more, I am going to ask the people of this country to have it in their minds from month to month throughout this very fateful year. It is

something which in your interests, in the interest of the allies, and particularly in the interests of Canada's war effort I myself have always to keep very much in mind.

Unless we were to violate the constitution of this country an election had to come this year. - Some say, no; that we might have amended the constitution. My reply to them is that no power is given us by the constitution to take any such step. But they say, it was done in 1916 at a time of war. - I say it should not have been done then. Parliament took from the people and to itself at that time a right it should not have taken.

The people were deprived of the right of saying, every five years, who their representatives for the next five years should be. When the same Parliament tried again, in 1917, to perpetuate itself on the ground that the war was still on, it was seen clearly that war itself was no justification for such a step. The proposal had to be abandoned, and an election was held while the war was on.

I made clear at the special war session of Parliament last September that I would countenance nothing of the sort. As between the supremacy of the government and the supremacy of Parliament, I stated I had always stood and would continue to stand for the supremacy of Parliament, but that whenever, the question was one between the supremacy of Parliament, and the supremacy of the People, I was wholly and entirely, 100 percent, for the supremacy of the people. On this basis alone can we continue to enjoy in this country free representative institutions and responsible government. Indeed, it is only on this basis that we are entitled to continue to be called a democracy.

If then an election had to come this year, was it not all to the good, altogether in your interests, in the interests of Canada's war effort, in the interests of the Allied Forces, and in the interests of our young Canadians who were enlisting in the defence forces on land, on sea and in the air, that it should be over just as soon as possible, and, if at all possible, out of the way before the German offensive commences, as it is almost certain to commence in the early spring.

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 will be able to cast their votes before crossing over to Europe; others will vote 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 will the people of Canada have been enabled, as they have during the past six weeks, to hear the issues fully discussed at a time of comparative quiet in Europe, but the government itself, whatever government it may be, will have been 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. If March 26th is passed before the whole European situation reaches its most alarming and appalling stage, we shall have reason to be thankful indeed. 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 intensified scale in Europe, and conditions in other parts of the world still more unsettled.

The obvious desirability of having the appeal at this time, and having it over just as soon as possible, is so apparent that, but for two questions, no one of intelligence would, I think, have doubted for a moment the wisdom of and the necessity for the course taken.

The first question is why have an election at all in time of war? That, I think, I have already completely answered. This war may continue for many years. It is not going to end whenever we wish it to end. It will not end until the resources of war itself - till one or other, if not all, of the participants, and the resources on which they are dependent for victory, are exhausted. Would any one wish to have a Parliament, chosen in 1935 without any reference to war, continue on indefinitely through the forties, with no chance given the people to say whom they wished to manage their affairs in so critical a period? Meanwhile, the whole parliamentary situation, and the situation throughout the country, would have steadily deteriorated. Moreover, in a war to preserve freedom, such a course would have meant the destruction of our own free institutions.

Abraham Lincoln, at the time of the great civil war, was faced with a similar situation, though one, if anything, even more difficult. The constitution of the United States called 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 never contemplated, and was not framed, to cope with a situation at a time of civil war, and that the elections, which were prescribed by the Constitution, could not be held under such circumstances. Lincoln held that failure to hold the elections would be an admission that the rebellion had succeeded; and that, in a war for freedom, America's free institutions had already been destroyed by the forces that were opposing freedom. "We cannot," he said, "have free government without elections." He held the elections. Lincoln and his government were sustained, and the world was shown that elections could be held under democratic institutions at a time of civil war and that democracy and freedom could be maintained despite the consequences of war. "The elections", said Lincoln, "demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war." "Until now", he added, "it has not been known to the world that this was a possibility." It will be possible to say the same of Canada, with respect to war, after the 26th of the present month.

The other question which naturally suggests itself is why, in the circumstances, did I wait till Parliament was called together before asking for a dissolution? The answer to that is very simple. I had given my word at the special war session of Parliament not to bring on a general election between the closing of one session and the opening of another, or, in other words, before Parliament was again called together. I said Parliament would likely be called together in January, but might be called together before that time. I did not say that Parliament would be continued in session, once it was called together. That would have meant tying the hands of the government regardless of what the public interest might demand.

What I said - I quote my exact words - they will be found in the records of the Parliamentary debates of September 12th, 1939:

"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 honorable 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 need not remind you what had taken place meanwhile. The Ontario Legislature's resolution was passed on January 18th. But for having promised to bring the Members together in January, if not before, I would have asked for dissolution on the day following the passing of the Ontario Resolution. I did the next best thing. I asked for an immediate dissolution, once members had assembled, and announced the government's intention to dissolve in the Speech from the Throne.

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 moment 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. There 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 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.

At times of political controversy, it is often difficult to see matters in their true light. The observations of impartial authorities, especially if they are known to be authorities on the British Constitution, may therefore be of value in helping us to reach a just conclusion. I think I am right in saying that there is no student of British parliamentary institutions in the British Empire whose opinions on matters of the kind is more widely sought or highly regarded than are those of Mr. Berriedale Keith, the author of many well known works on government in Great Britain and the Dominions. In a letter to "The Scotsman", in Edinburgh, published almost immediately after the dissolution of our Parliament, Mr. Berriedale Keith expressed his views in no uncertain terms. After saying that the criticism against myself, because of the dissolution, was clearly unjustified, Mr. Berriedale Keith went on to sum up the situation. He did so in the following words:

"Parliament must be dissolved this year under the Constitution; its life could be prolonged only by an Act of the Imperial Parliament; this was done in 1916, but was unpopular, and the idea was rejected in 1917; today, it is unthinkable. For it to have sat through a session of recriminations on matters of detail would have been waste of time; an early dissolution will simplify the voting of the Division overseas and allow that of the Division in preparation to be carried out in Canada. Ministers will not be plunged into the extreme toil of a Canadian election at the moment when the war in Europe may well take on activity and movement. 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."

Mr. Berriedale Keith concludes with the following words:-

( ) "The episode should be treated in its true light, the most striking vindication of democratic government in the British Commonwealth."

That, ladies and gentlemen, will, I believe, be the verdict of history upon the most important decision I have had to make in the course of my public life. It is a decision the necessity for, and the wisdom of which I have never for a moment been in doubt. It is a decision which all who believe in free representative institutions and in responsible and democratic government may well be proud. It is a decision to which I believe the widest and most definite approval will be given by the people of Canada on the 26th of this month.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Daily Star

Date March 15, 1940

Subject

**'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.

**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 me to Europe 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

**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.

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.

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.

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.

**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.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

D 38023

Subject.....

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

"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.

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?

"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.

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 Can-

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"Parties are a necessary instrument for carrying on a government under a democracy. There is no other way of doing it.—Premier King.

ada. 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).

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 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.

*Democracy*  
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*Manion*  
*You are asked to vote for a party; don't vote for a party*  
*no government; which does not exist - but what is to be formed out of parties, that are necessary to form a govt*

**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

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## 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

## "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.

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

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

## 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.

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?

It is a condemnation of every man who has ever been the head 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.

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 1933 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.

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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

#### 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.

have the right to name who their representatives shall be.

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 representatives 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

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. Every-

#### 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 of 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.

body 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, 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

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?

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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?

In 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 poli-

tical 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?

#### 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

#### 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.

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).

#### 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).

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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 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—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?

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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 29 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.

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 of 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

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.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

D 38029

## 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

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.)

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
62		Canada and the War, Radio address by King	8 Mar. 1940	D 37761 - D 37786	
62		Campaign Speech of Mr. King	10 Mar. 1940	D 37787 - D 37899	
62		Re: Toronto Meeting, Massey Hall	14 Mar. 1940	D 37900 - D 38029	
62		Draft Broadcasts, General Elections, 1940, Radio	Mar. 1940	D 38030 - D 38154	
62		Ottawa meeting, Auditorium	25 Mar. 1940	D 38155 - D 38175	
62		Results of Election	26 Mar. 1940	D 38176 - D 38182	
63		"The Present Outlook". Speeches outside Parliament	30 Apr. 1940	D 38183 - D 38203	
63		German Invasion of Belgium and the Netherlands, King Radio Address	10 May 1940	D 38204 - D 38216	
63		Speech of Mr. King on Suspension of House proceedings and re: The Appointment of the Hon. R.B. Hanson, as House Leader of the Conservative Party	16 May 1940	D 38217 - D 38221	
63		Speech on the Address in reply in Parliament	20 May 1940	D 38222 - D 38224	

DRAFT BROADCASTS

General Election

1940

MEMORANDUM  
Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa,.....

Secret

Mr Gibson

*Mr. P. Thompson's  
speech*

D  
JWP/38030

March 15th, 1940.

PRELIMINARY DRAFT BROADCAST NO. 5

This is my last broadcast to the people of Canada, as a whole, in the present election campaign. At the outset I wish to repeat a few sentences I used in my first broadcast, just six weeks ago. I say to you that never before have the Canadian people been called upon to make so serious a decision. I would earnestly suggest that before arriving at your decision, you ask yourselves these questions:

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Should not ~~this great task~~ <sup>the wartime government of Canada</sup> 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?

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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?

In his first national broadcast in the campaign, the Leader of the Opposition stated the issue in the election as he saw it. He said it was the government's war record. We met him on that issue. The government is quite prepared to be judged

on its conduct of the war.

(2) The Opposition, however, has paid little attention to what they themselves named as the issue. They have offered little serious criticism of our war effort. Instead, they have concentrated upon vague charges, unsupported by serious evidence, of patronage, favouritism and maladministration in the conduct of the government before the war started. Even if the charges had been true - and it has not been difficult to show that most of them were not, they represent only a negative and destructive approach to the problem of government in a time of world crisis.

(2) Never before in the history of Canada has an Opposition invited the people to return it to office, *by doing only an imagination* without any policy, without any programme, and, for that matter, without any hint of who the men will be in the administration they will form, if they obtain a majority. Dr. Manion has said that no Leader of the Opposition has ever announced his Cabinet before the elections - that is probably true - but in the past, every Leader of the Opposition has made it quite clear that he intended to form his government from among his own supporters. Once Nomination Day had passed, the electors only needed to look at the list

of candidates to find out what men were likely to be in the government, if the Opposition were returned to power. Dr. Manion, however, says he is not going to form his government from his own following. He says that it is not to be a Conservative Government, but a government of the best brains of all parties. Where are they? They are certainly not among his candidates. Every prominent name in the list of so-called National Government candidates, from coast to coast, is the name of a man who, in 1939, was a Conservative. At least that is true in every Province except the Province of Quebec. In Quebec many of Dr. Manion's candidates were prominent among the supporters of the former government of that Province. When we recall that Mr. Duplessis' Government was called the National Union Government, we have, perhaps, discovered the real origin of the new name of Dr. Manion's party. † It may be that among the more obscure candidates supporting Dr. Manion there are some who were not formerly Conservatives. I doubt, however, if the people of Canada will recognize among them many of the best brains in the country. We are, therefore, still in total ignorance of the men to whom Dr. Manion has invited the people of Canada to entrust their destinies for the next four or five years - years which may determine the future of our country for a

century or more to come.

I have said that the present government is willing to be judged by the people on its record in the prosecution of the war. That does not make our record the real issue in the election. The issue is neither what Dr. Manion chooses to make it, nor what I choose to make it. The issue is, and can only be, what government do the people of Canada want, for the next four years. In making their choice they will naturally examine the records of the men who are offering to serve them. I do not believe they will be satisfied to examine records alone, revealing though records sometimes are. They will want to know something about what their government proposes to do in the future, as well as what their government has done in the past. During this election much has been said about the past, little about the future, even less about the problems which will almost inevitably face our government in the next few months, and the next few years. ~~Tonight I propose to ask you to consider, with me, some of the problems we are facing now, and some of those we will have to face before many months pass.~~

On March the 26th, the people must choose the

(4) men who are to continue to plan, organize, maintain and direct the war effort of Canada, on their behalf. Upon the wisdom of their choice will depend the part Canada will play in the war, and the effect of the war upon Canada herself.

I believe we are faced with the greatest struggle the world has ever witnessed. This struggle will have a profound effect upon the history of all mankind for generations to come. Upon it will depend the continued existence of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Should we be defeated, free institutions, the world over, would perish. ~~We~~ **We** must not be defeated. This war must be won, and it will be won, by the combined power of the British Commonwealth, and of France, with the help of other freedom loving peoples. But it will only be won with sound strategy, careful planning, and efficient and resolute action.

Canada must put forth the greatest possible effort. How can this be done? It can be done only by a united Canada. If Canada is torn asunder, if we are divided by domestic quarrels, our war effort will be undermined. How can Canada's unity in the prosecution of the war be maintained? What kind of government is best able to hold this country united in war?

Much is being heard of ~~the~~ "National Government". A true national government must draw its strength from all sections of the country. The present government is, in this sense, a truly national government. It draws its strength from every section of Canada. Its strength after five years in office, had not diminished; it had increased. The government itself met the problems of war, as it had met the problems of peace, ~~It remained~~ united within itself. No differences regarding policy divided the administration. Illness and death have alone broken its ranks. I suggest that such unity of purpose can only be maintained when the policies of the government are in accord with the will of the people as a whole.

If we are returned to office, my colleagues and I will continue to be a truly representative and a truly national government, reflecting the wishes and the determination of the Canadian people as a whole. Canada entered into the war, united. Our national unity must be maintained, and our ~~national~~ government must devote itself, single-mindedly and whole-heartedly, to the prosecution of Canada's war effort.

I ask my listeners what chance any of our opponents have, even if they have a measure of success at the polls, of forming a strong and united government, representing all parts of Canada. Let us look at the list of candidates. First of all, there are some ninety odd candidates, calling themselves Independents, or bearing all sorts of unfamiliar labels. They have no coherence, no unity, no common purpose. They could not form a government. Few of them have the slightest hope even of being elected to Parliament.

Next, there are the 28 candidates of the group which, in the last Parliament, advocated Social Credit. They, like a greater and an older party, now have a new name. They call themselves the New Democracy. Alone of all the parties seeking the support of the voters, they have openly advocated conscription, although they can scarcely fail to know that even its advocacy is a menace to our unity of purpose, in the prosecution of the war. If all of them were elected, and most of them will not be, their numbers would be so small that they could have little positive influence on the deliberations of Parliament. Undoubtedly they would endeavour to distract <sup>the attention of</sup> Parliament and the government from the main business of defending our threatened institutions into

theoretical discussions of their Utopian dreams.

Then we have the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. They have only 96 candidates. They, too, cannot hope to form a government. Apart from the present government and its supporters, they are the only group with a consistent policy, clearly outlined, for the prosecution of the war. It is a very different policy from ours. What they advocate is economic assistance to the Allies, but no military help. The Canadian people, I am sure, want no such half-hearted policy in the prosecution of the war.

We come now to the official Opposition, or at least what was the official Opposition when Parliament was in existence. It is the remnant of the Conservative Party, masquerading as a National Government party. The name itself is misleading. It is hard to see how there can be a National Government Party, without first having a National Government. They might better be called the party hoping to form a Government of Conservatives to be called a National Government.

The National Government of Canada, in the proper sense of the term, is the present Liberal Government. The Liberal candidates are the candidates of the present national government, but they have not hidden their historic name and they are not ashamed of their historic principles. The Conservatives have some 213 candidates. It is ~~is~~ theoretically possible, therefore, for them to elect enough members to form a government,

but stop for a moment and think what they will have to do to achieve this. In the last Parliament they had only one Member out of 26 from the three Maritime Provinces. In Quebec they had 5 out of 65. In the 4 Western Provinces they had 7 out of 71. Even in Ontario, they had only 25 out of 82. In more than four years, although there have been many by-elections, they have made no gains. To have a bare majority, they must win more than three times the number of seats they held in the last House. To enable them to form a strong government, they must elect still more. All this, of course, might be possible if they had a well defined policy, differing from that of the present government, and a policy better calculated to serve the national interest; and if they had, among their candidates, a large number of outstanding men of national reputation and administrative experience. But I suggest that you examine again the list of candidates. Dr. Manion will not tell you who will be in his Cabinet. Try then to pick out for yourselves the men available to compose it. See if they are the men you want as Canada's wartime government. The official Opposition not only lacks men of experience and of proved ability, it lacks a policy. The Leader of the Opposition has

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travelled from coast to coast. In every locality he has left behind a promise. Nearly every promise is a promise to spend the tax-payers' money. That is not all. In nearly every case it is a promise to use the tax-payers' money for something which has nothing to do with the winning of the war. If these promises could be kept, the cost of keeping them would dissipate the resources which will be desperately needed for the great purpose before us. If the Opposition received a majority and formed a government, and if then any attempt was made to fulfil these promises, the government would have little time left to devote to our war effort. This, I am sure, is not the kind of government the people of Canada want, in this hour<sup>of</sup> peril.

In these circumstances I suggest there should be no wavering. The government best able to hold this country constant and united in the maximum war effort, is the present administration. Support should not be withheld from it because an elector does not agree with all of its peacetime policies. This is a wartime election, and it is a wartime government that is being chosen.

I believe that there is throughout the country an almost unanimous conviction that this government deserves

to be returned, and that on March the 26th it will be returned to office. We must not, however, allow ourselves to be lulled into a false sense of security. It is not the future of the Liberal party which is at stake. More is involved than assurance to Canada of good government during the desperate years ahead. The eyes of the world are upon Canada, in this election. Since the last great war, dictatorship has grown and flourished. The democracies of the world have been derided as weak and inefficient. The democratic way of life, among other things, is at stake in this war. We are sending our troops overseas to fight for democracy. In their absence, we must not let democracy go by default at home.

It is not only the right to vote which is implied in democracy. It is the duty to vote. Australia, realizing this, has made voting compulsory. In Canada, we rely upon the sober sense of responsibility of our own people to bring them to the polls on election day. On the 26th day of March the eyes of the world, democratic and totalitarian alike, will be focussed upon Canada. In this election we are making a genuine attempt to demonstrate the efficiency of democracy in wartime. This is the first democratic election anywhere in the world, since the war began.

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It must not be said by the critics of democracy that only fifty, or sixty, or even seventy per cent of our people are enough interested in preserving democracy to record their vote. They day may be wet - roads may be bad. Over-confidence may make us laggard.

This must not happen.

It is the urgent duty of every Canadian to cast his vote on the 26th day of March. The world is watching Canada. We must do more than pay lip service to democracy in these days when it is being challenged by its opposite - totalitarianism, the Gestapo, the purge, the Procrustean bed of uniformity of opinion, the denial of freedom of speech, freedom of thought and freedom of religion. Lip service is not enough. Every Canadian must exercise his privilege, his right, his duty to vote. Every Canadian must go to the polls as a part of his duty as a free citizen of a free democracy.

Democracy must be made to work, in war as in peace. The Canadian people must show the world that our system of government is no fair weather system.

The tremendous national effort which war demands of Canada can only be directed by a strong government, fortified by an unquestioned mandate from the people.

We cannot put forth our utmost war effort unless it is marshalled and guided by a government that is strong, steady, vigorous, patient, provident and experienced. The present government, I submit, has these qualities. Where among the candidates nominated to support the Leader of the Opposition will you find men to match the men who, for the last six months, have devoted all their waking hours to the planning and organization of Canada's war effort.

Many of the critics of the government fail to realize that Canada's war effort must be organized with reference to what is happening in the rest of the world. We entered this war in association with the Allied powers. Our war effort must fit into theirs. There must be a single plan to which all the Allied Powers conform. It must take account of more than what is happening on the Maginot Line. Events in every part of the world, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean, right to the Bering Straits, <sup>have</sup> ~~are~~ their influence upon Allied policy and upon the fortunes of the war. Canada cannot shape her war policy intelligently, without constant study of what is happening everywhere in the world, and without constant consultation with the Allied Powers. The present government has given such study to the problems which have arisen throughout

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the last four years. Both before the outbreak of war, and since, we have been in the closest and most constant touch with the British government. Since the war began, we have extended our direct contacts to all the sister nations of the Commonwealth, through our High Commissioners. For a number of years we have maintained a Legation in Paris. As you all know, the Minister of Mines and Resources spent nearly two months in Britain and France, in intimate contact with the Allied Governments. The information gained from his mission has been of the greatest advantage to the government in planning and developing the programme for the prosecution of the war. The people of Canada will, I am sure, hesitate long, before sacrificing a government containing men who, through long association and close personal relationships with the men who compose the governments of our Allies, are able to co-operate with them easily, smoothly and effectively. A change of government, at this stage, by the very sacrifice of this experience, would involve delay in the development of our war effort.

I wish now to say something about the problems which face the government in the prosecution of the war. The experts are agreed that it is almost certain to be

What is intended  
in the course of  
the war

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a long war.

Our contribution to the Allied cause has been based upon the two principles I have mentioned. First, the necessity of preserving unity of purpose among the Allies themselves and of fitting Canada's effort into the single allied plan of action. If we are to succeed each nation must do what it can do best and what is most needed. Secondly, our plans must be based on the expectation of a long war. The Allies must not exhaust themselves in the early stages. The allied effort must be on an increasing scale. As the war proceeds, we must speed up our action. We must not slow down.

There has been dissatisfaction in all the allied countries because there is not more evidence of action, more noise and bustle. There are always those who care little how badly a job is done, as long as it is done fast. That is not our way; it is not the allied way; it will not win the war. In a long struggle, it is the final round that counts. The ability to endure, to hold on to the end, will bring victory. We can hold on to the end, only if we put forth a steady and persistent effort; only if we are stronger each day than we were the day before; and only if we make every move count, and count to the full.

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The total military effort of which Canada is capable necessarily depends upon our resources in man power and materials. There are vital military and strategic limitations which no responsible government can afford to neglect. One general consideration applies to all countries. The size of their land forces can never safely exceed their capacity to keep them adequately provided with equipment, munitions and supplies.

In the case of Canada, we have also to take account of the necessity of transporting our troops overseas. The number we can maintain in the field is dependent on the amount of shipping which can be provided to transport and supply them, and on the number of naval vessels which can be spared to convoy the transports. The present trend of the war would indicate that the programme of ship building and of naval expansion already under way is no less important to our allies than the despatch of troops overseas, and that it may well become more so. Troops which cannot be safely transported to the theatre of war, or maintained at full strength when they arrive there, will be of no use either to our allies or ourselves.

There is a third consideration which has largely developed since the last war. It is the development of

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air power. Air power is essential to Britain and France, for the protection of their people and their industry. On their air strength depends their capacity to carry on the war successfully. In expanding Canada's effort overseas, every dollar we spend on the air arm is likely to add more to the power and strength of Britain and France than the same dollar can add when spent in any other way. We are acting, therefore, on the sound military principle of securing the greatest available strength for a given expenditure of effort, in concentrating a large part of our effort on that power from the skies, which may be decisive in the present struggle.

Modern warfare is not waged alone by the soldier, the sailor and the airman. From them it demands the willingness to sacrifice life, if need be, in defence of our freedom. Modern warfare demands, also, strength of will, steadiness of purpose, and a determination to endure on the part of the whole nation. The military front is vital, but behind it is an economic front which is vital too. A plan of campaign is essential for the economic and financial fronts. It must be a single unified plan for all the allied powers.

Canada must take and hold a large sector on the economic front of the allied powers. We have the resources. We are outside regular bombing range, but close to Europe. Canada was an important reserve of foodstuffs and munitions twenty-five years ago. She can do far more this time.

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Today we are far better equipped. Our agriculture is better organized, our industries larger and more developed, our mines have a far greater output, and our system of transport is healthier and more efficient.

The government has already called many of our ablest men of all parties and men without party affiliations to form the general staff of our economic ~~army~~. From time to time, as need arises, more will be called. Ability will be, as it has been, the only test of fitness. This is but a beginning on a front where every Canadian can serve. We cannot all be generals on the home front, but every Canadian can and should enlist as a private. We must produce more, save more, and waste less. Those are the terms of service. The cost of <sup>the</sup> war will be heavy in effort and sacrifice. Every man can do his part-- and every woman too.

I can say little that is specific about the details of our plans. They must be secret. They must, also, be flexible, if the changing conditions of war are to be met in the right way at the right time. You know something of what is immediately ahead. The Second Division will go overseas. The navy will be strengthened as rapidly as ships can be provided. The great air training programme is being speedily developed. The production of arms, equipment and munitions for our own and the allied

forces is increasing steadily. We are building ships; we are making aircraft.

The financial burden of this programme will be heavy, but our people have recently shown, by their response to the war loan, that they are ready to bear it. We are assisting Britain in the field of finance by the purchase of Canadian securities held in the United Kingdom. In this way, the British government is provided with dollars for purchases of foodstuffs and military supplies in Canada. This means a further financial burden for the Canadian people, but it is helping to win the war.

In organizing our economic life for this war, we have reached the stage today that was reached only in the third year of the last war. Our financial machinery is far superior to anything we had achieved even in 1918. In laying our plans we have kept constantly before us the grave problems to be faced in the post-war period. We know that it is possible to win a military victory and lose an economic war. The government is doing everything possible to secure equality of sacrifice in wartime, and equality of opportunity and some degree of social security in the post war period.

Our determination to put forth the utmost effort must not falter. Our united and determined effort

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is the result of our clear appreciation of the justice of our cause.

We are fighting against a power whose flagrant lawlessness and aggressions know no bounds. They went so far that it became urgently necessary to meet that force with a stronger force if freedom throughout the world were not to be destroyed, if the Christian religion were not to be suppressed, and our whole civilization set back for an indefinite period.

It should be remembered that the Allies did not want war, that they patiently and earnestly sought to avoid it, but that the menace of naked force attempting to dominate the world became so great that they were finally compelled to take up arms. The nature of the power we are fighting is indicated by its ruthless, merciless methods of warfare, its utter disregard for the truth, and its barbarous cruelty to the people in subjected territories.

The Allies did not take up arms to advance their own interests. There were no imperialistic motives. The Allies are fighting for one purpose only, to preserve their civil, religious and political freedom, the threat to which has become extremely dangerous. If the Allies were defeated, the rest of the world would soon know the reality of the danger.

The Nazi Government, by taking the position that might is right, and by boldly undertaking to establish the rule of force, at incalculable cost in human lives and unspeakable suffering, has raised an issue that must be met. Every instinct of reason, justice and mercy demands that that power be overthrown.

The overthrow of Naziism is our one single war aim. But the overthrow of Naziism, it is said, is a negative aim: a war aim, and not a peace aim. What are our peace aims?

The definition of peace aims cannot be the exclusive concern of the Canadian government. We are co-operating with our allies in the prosecution of the war, and we must co-operate with them in the definition of the kind of peace we hope to achieve. At this stage of the conflict, it is premature to attempt to specify the actual terms of a peace settlement. Peace may come under conditions very different from any we now can foresee. But of one thing I am sure: the Canadian people are agreed that, if peace is to endure, when the victory has been won, it must be a peace based upon a foundation of justice. Canada will not be satisfied with less than justice, and is not prepared to make great sacrifices to achieve a result which will merely sow the seeds of still another conflict.

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In seeking to destroy the spirit of aggression, we shall if the present administration has to do with any peace negotiations in which Canada may have a part, naturally, aim above all else, at preventing the restoration of the sense of injustice on which the spirit of aggression feeds and grows.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date.....

MAR 22 1940

Subject.....

## KING SAYS FOES RELY ON SLURS

Fears 'Abuse' Will Keep Able  
Men from Public Life

Government Chosen Will  
Have to Make Peace as Well  
as War, Premier Warns

Ottawa, March 21.—(P)—Instead of discussing public issues on their merits, Conservative Leader Manion and some of his supporters made "a deliberate effort to destroy the reputations of public men," Prime Minister Mackenzie King declared in a 30-minute Dominion election broadcast tonight.

Mr. King said substitution of "the grossest kind of personal abuse for political argument is the process which destroyed democratic government in Germany, and is all too rapidly making its evil presence felt in our own land."

In the last of his national network addresses over the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation facilities Mr. King told the voters that in Tuesday's Dominion election they would be helping to select an administration which would guide Canada through the war, and possibly represent Canada at the peace table.

With the National Government (Conservative) party the only other group with enough candidates to form a government if successful at the polls, Mr. King asked the electors to choose between an experienced administration and one made up of men "still unknown and bound together by no common principle or agreed policies."

Speaking of third groups, none of which had enough candidates to form a government, the Prime Minister said their "untried theories" should be left for discussion after the war.

"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."

### CITES QUEBEC RESULT.

Appealing for maintenance of that unity which he said his administration had brought Canada, the Prime Minister referred to the Quebec election of last October when the endorsement given the Government's war effort "gave so much heart to the British and French."

"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 significant to 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."

Dissolution of Parliament last January was dictated by his view of what would be in the best interests of Canada, in the interests of her war effort and in the interests of the Allies, Mr. King said.

"I have been only too well aware that my motives as well as my actions would be misconstrued by opponents in a political campaign. Having decided what I believed to be right I have not hesitated in acting upon that decision."

Those elected Tuesday may be in office five years, the Prime Minister said. They would certainly have the task of guiding Canada's war effort, possibly for a number of years, and might be the ones to voice Canada's opinions at the peace table.

"The five years which lie before us will be the most difficult, the most dangerous, the most exacting five years in the history of this country.

### SEEKS "LASTING PEACE."

"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."

Mr. King said he felt he reflected the thoughts of many when "I express the strongest possible resentment at the methods of political controversy adopted by Dr. Manion and a few of those who have supported him.

"There has been a deliberate effort to destroy the reputations of public men. Slandorous attacks have been directed against men who have served this country faithfully, honestly and industriously over many years."

He questioned if there was a single Canadian who believed that any member of the Government "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."

The Prime Minister said that his own public career could not last much longer and there was little in the way of "honorable recognition" he could wish for beyond what he had already received.

In resenting abuse from political opponents the Prime Minister said he was thinking not of himself but "of the consequences which will follow if honorable men, valuing their reputations, are deterred from entering Parliament rather than submit to the degraded standards of public controversy so evident in the present campaign."

Dr. Manion's campaign tour had been "strewn with promissory notes which he can never meet, with

pledges he cannot redeem," the Prime Minister said.

"In nearly every case it has been a pledge to spend the taxpayer's money on something which has nothing to do with winning the war." The cost of keeping such promises "would be an impossible drain upon resources which will be desperately needed for the great task before us."

## PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date..... MAR 22 1940

Subject.....

### Prime Minister Deplores Abuse Of Public Men

**Charges Conservatives Are  
Making "Deliberate Ef-  
fort to Destroy Reputa-  
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The Prime Minister

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# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date.....

MAR 22 1940

Subject.....

## EXPERIENCE IN TASK TOLD BY PREMIER

Other Choice Is of  
Men Still Unknown,  
Loosely Tied, Claim

DEPLORES ABUSE

Ottawa, March 21 (CP).—Instead of discussing public issues on their merits, Conservative Leader Manion and some of his supporters made "a deliberate effort to destroy the reputations of public men," Prime Minister Mackenzie King declared in a 30-minute Dominion election broadcast tonight.

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With the National Government Party the only other group with enough candidates to form a Government if successful at the polls, Mr. King asked the electors to choose between an experienced Administration and one made up of men "still unknown and bound together by no common principle or agreed policies."

### Would Leave Untried Theories.

Speaking of third groups, none of which had enough candidates to form a Government, the Prime Minister said their "untried theories" should be left for discussion after the war.

"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," he said.

Appealing for maintenance of that unity which he said his Administration had brought Canada, the Prime Minister referred to the Quebec election of last October when the endorsement of the Government's war effort "gave so much heart to the British and French."

"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," he continued.

"It will be significant to all democracies, for it will be the first vote of a free democracy cast in a war where democracy is fighting for its existence."

### Defends Dissolution.

Dissolution of Parliament last January was dictated by his view of what would be in the best interests of Canada, in the interests of her war effort and in the interests of the Allies, Mr. King said.

"I have been only too well aware that my motives as well as my actions would be misconstrued by opponents in a political campaign. Having decided what I believed to be right, I have not hesitated in acting upon that decision," he added.

Those elected Tuesday may be in office five years, the Prime Minister said. They would certainly have the task of guiding Canada's war effort, possibly for a number of years, and might be the ones to voice Canada's opinions at the peace table.

"The five years which lie before

us will be the most difficult, the most dangerous, the most exacting five years in the history of this country," he said.

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### Resents Methods Used.

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# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date.....

MAR 22 1940

D 38956

Subject.....

## Scores Gross Attacks On Public Men

### Premier King Claims Deliberate Effort Destroy Reputations

Instead of discussing public issues on their merits, Conservative Leader Manion and some of his supporters made "a deliberate effort to destroy the reputations of public men", Prime Minister Mackenzie King declared in a 30-minute Dominion election broadcast Thursday night.

Mr. King said substitution of "the grossest kind of personal abuse for political argument is the process which destroyed democratic government in Germany, and is all too rapidly making its evil presence felt in our own land."

#### Will Be War Government.

In the last of his national network addresses over the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation facilities Mr. King told the voters that in Tuesday's Dominion election they would be helping to select an administration which would guide Canada through the war, and possibly represent Canada at the peace table.

With the National Government party, the only other group with enough candidates to form a government if successful at the polls, Mr. King asked the electors to choose between an experienced ad-

ministration and one made up of men "still unknown and bound together by no common principle or agreed policies".

Speaking of third groups, none of which had enough candidates to form a government, the Prime Minister said their "untried theories" should be left for discussion after the war.

#### Would Frustrate Effort.

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"I have been only too well aware that my motives as well as my actions would be misconstrued by opponents in a political campaign. Having decided what I believed to be right I have not hesitated in acting upon that decision."

"I think that even our 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 favorable 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 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."

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"The five years which lie before us will be the most difficult, the most dangerous, the most exacting five years in the history of this country.

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#### Attack on Reputations.

"There has been a deliberate effort to destroy the reputations of public men. Slanderous attacks have been directed against

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 38557

men who have served this country faithfully, honestly and industriously over many years."

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Dr. Manion's campaign tour had been "strewn with promissory notes which he can never meet, with pledges he cannot redeem", the Prime Minister said.

"In nearly every case it has been a pledge to spend the taxpayer's money on something which has nothing to do with winning the war." The cost of keeping such promises "would be an impossible drain upon resources which will be desperately needed for the great task before us".

#### **Spendthrift Recklessness.**

Dr. Manion, the Prime Minister said, did not appear to be worrying over the promises he had made in the course of the campaign. "They do worry, however, his own followers and the newspapers who support him", Mr. King said. "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."

Dr. Manion, he continued, had asked the electors to judge the present government upon its record of performance and yet he wanted them to entrust the government of the country to the national government he proposed "upon a record of promises".

The duty of the voters, said Mr. King, was "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 wartime election, and it is a wartime 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", he declared.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN  
Date..... MAR 22 1940  
Subject.....

## Prime Minister Deplores Abuse Of Public Men

### Charges Conservatives Are Making "Deliberate Ef- fort to Destroy Reputa- tions" Faithful Servants.

Instead of discussing public issues on their merits, Conservative Leader Manion and some of his supporters made "a deliberate effort to destroy the reputations of public men," Prime Minister Mackenzie King declared in a 30-minute Dominion election broadcast last night.

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Office of  
The Prime Minister

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# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

MAR 22 1940

D 38060

Subject.....

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In resenting abuse from political opponents the Prime Minister said he was thinking not of himself but "of the consequences which will follow if honorable men, valu-

ing their reputations, are deterred from entering Parliament rather than submit to the degraded standards of public controversy so evident in the present campaign."

Dr. Manion's campaign tour had been "strewn with promissory notes which he can never meet, with pledges he cannot redeem," the Prime Minister said.

"In nearly every case it has been a pledge to spend the taxpayer's money on something which has nothing to do with winning the war." The cost of keeping such promises "would be an impossible drain upon resources which will be desperately needed for the great task before us."

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... New York Times

Date..... March 22/40

Subject.....

## PERSONALITIES IRK CANADIAN PREMIER

He Accuses Opposition Head  
of Trying to Destroy Public  
Men's Reputations

### REDUCED MAJORITY SEEN

National Government Party  
Gains Held Unlikely to  
Upset Liberal Regime

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.  
OTTAWA, March 21 — Tonight  
Premier W. L. Mackenzie King, in  
his final election broadcast from  
Ottawa, began by emphasizing the  
importance of the election inas-  
much as it was the first vote of a  
free democracy cast during a war  
in which democracy was fighting  
for its existence.

Answering criticisms directed at  
his failure to make a nationwide  
speech-making tour, he defended  
his course on the ground that with  
most of his colleagues absent in  
different parts of the country some  
one had to carry on the country's  
business and it was particularly  
vital that he himself, since he was  
Minister for External Affairs as well  
as Premier, should remain in Otta-  
wa.

He also defended the war record  
of his Ministry, which, he claimed,  
entitled it to a fresh mandate, and  
he expressed deep resentment at  
the methods of political controversy  
employed by Dr. R. J. Manion,  
leader of the Conservative Opposi-  
tion, and some of his associates  
who, instead of discussing public  
issues on their merits, had delib-  
erately tried to destroy the reputa-  
tion of public men by slanderous  
attacks.

He charged that Dr. Manion, in-  
stead of expounding policies about  
the war, had been scattering prom-  
ises about domestic questions with  
such a reckless hand that the cost  
of keeping them would entail an  
impossible drain upon resources  
which would be desperately needed  
for the grim task ahead.

During the present week there  
have been well-defined indications  
of a swing of public sentiment in  
favor of the National Government  
party, but the Liberals, while they  
admit its existence, maintain that  
it is not sufficiently serious to hold  
any danger of defeat for the gov-  
ernment.

A substantial number of voters  
are taking the view that the Mac-  
kenzie King Ministry is likely to be  
returned and that as it is by no  
means perfect it is in the national  
interest that it should not have too  
large a majority and should be con-  
fronted by a strong opposition ca-  
pable of calling it to account. So,  
in the closing week of the election  
all these factors are operating  
against the government and are  
causing some anxiety in minis-  
terial circles.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....Toronto Star.....

Date.....Mar. 23/40.....

Subject.....

## PLEA TO WITHDRAW IGNORED BY LIBERAL

Mackenzie King Asks Harry  
Cory to Stop South Hast-  
ings Campaign

### Special to The Star

Belleville, March 23.—Harry Cory, self-styled "King Liberal," has been asked by Premier King to withdraw from the federal election campaign in South Hastings and support MacLean Haig, official Liberal candidate. Cory was beaten by 40 votes at the nominating convention when Haig was chosen.

In a telegram to Mr. Cory, Mr. King said: "I would say that where two or more Liberal candidates are running in any constituency, the only candidate entitled to recognition by the government is the one recognized as the official candidate. In South Hastings, Mr. MacLean Haig is, as you are aware, the official Liberal candidate. My colleagues and I are of the view that any candidate in the present campaign who is not the official candidate of the party, if running as a Liberal, however well intended his motives may be, is thereby making more difficult the return of the government candidate by continuing in the campaign. He may even jeopardize the chances of a supporter of the government being returned. In these circumstances, we could not possibly accord recognition in any constituency to anyone other than the candidate who has been recognized from the beginning as the official candidate. If your desire is to support the present administration, I sincerely hope you may find it possible, instead of risking the defeat of Mr. Haig by dividing the Liberal support, to withdraw your candidature and have your friends join with you in making perfectly certain of his return to Parliament on Tuesday next. Such an attitude on your part would be greatly appreciated by my colleagues and myself."

Mr. Cory said his position was unchanged; that he would continue to campaign as an unofficial candidate.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....Toronto Star

Date.....Mar. 23/40

Subject.....

## PREMIER ASKS CLEAR MANDATE TO PUSH EFFORT

Government Must Be Solidly  
Supported in Eyes of  
World, He Says

### REVIEWS WAR WORK

By H. R. ARMSTRONG

Ottawa, March 23.—An appeal for a clear and unquestioned mandate "to speed the momentum of war until victory is achieved," was issued to Canadian electors by Prime Minister Mackenzie King in a nationwide broadcast. Warning his hearers that the most difficult, most dangerous and most exacting years in its history are facing the Dominion, Premier King declared: "The present government is in a better position to carry on than any newly formed administration could possibly be. But if the government's prosecution of the war is to be strong and decisive 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. It will need not only your support, but your overwhelming support to fortify it in the stormy and shattering days that are before us.

"Should this great task be entrusted by you to the present administration, we will continue to work undaunted for victory and a just and lasting peace. I pledge to your service the strength of our united labors."

In these critical days, the prime minister asserted, the government shouldn't be handed over to men practically all of whom are still unknown and who are bound together by no common principles or policies.

Reviewing the war achievements of his government, Premier King pointed out that even those who were now criticizing the government for political motives had approved of what had been done. "until the election opened up for them a vision of office and inspired them with a dream of power."

Opposition speakers had assailed the motives and characters of men who valued their personal honor above all else. "Was this necessary to the winning of the election, to say nothing of the winning of the war?" Mr. King demanded.

Mr. King charged that Dr. Manion had toured Canada, making promises which appealed to sectional interests and prejudices and which could not be kept without expenditure of public funds badly needed for war purposes.

## PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... Toronto Star  
Date..... Mar. 23/40. D 38065  
Subject.....

### ALLIES, AND THE ENEMY TOO EYEING VOTE, SAYS MR. KING

Calls for United Canada Behind Nationwide War Effort—  
Need Tried Pilot at Helm During Stormy  
Days Ahead

Ottawa, March 23.—Outcome of the Dominion election is being watched with deepest concern, not only by the Allies, but by the enemy, Premier King told Canadian electors in his latest election broadcast in the course of which he asked that they back his government, "for a united war effort by a united Canada." He spoke Thursday night over a coast-to-coast hook-up. His text:

This is the last of the nationwide 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 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.

#### Vote Touches Europe

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 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 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, 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.

#### Duty to Look Ahead

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.

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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.

#### Democratic Way

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 throughout 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.

#### Must Stay at Helm

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 strength enough 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.

#### Must Carry On

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. 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.

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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

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 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.

#### The Big Issue

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 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.

#### Examine Records

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?

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.

#### What it Means

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

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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.

#### Defines 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.

#### Resents Methods

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. Slandorous 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 honor 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 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.

#### Duty and Privilege

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

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nature of things, for many more years. Even if I desired it, there is little I could wish for in the way of honorable 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 honor, 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 honorable 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.

#### Promise For Policies

Dr. Manion has endeavored 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 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 honor 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.

#### Worries Followers

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 spend-

thrift 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.

#### Can't Be Both

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.

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## Averted Disaster

1 We have saved workers and  
2 merchants from the disaster of fall-  
3 ing international exchange, and the  
4 inflation of Canadian money. We  
5 have protected the worker and the  
6 housewife from an undue rise in  
7 the price of the necessities of life.  
8 We have equipped and sent overseas  
9 soldiers and airmen. Our second  
10 division is training in Canada. We  
11 greatly strengthened the army and  
12 the royal Canadian navy. We have  
13 played the major part in the estab-  
14 lishment of the Commonwealth air  
15 training plan. I dislike prophecies,  
16 but I suggest that, as you watch  
17 events develop, you remember my  
18 words, and the words of British  
19 statesmen, that final victory may  
20 well be shaped by that great and  
21 powerful instrument. We have pub-  
22 lished in the open light of day every  
23 contract made for the purchase of  
24 war supplies. To assist in victory,  
25 we have brought to the service of  
26 Canada outstanding men of other  
27 parties, and of no party. We have  
28 made merit the sole criterion of pro-  
29 motion in the armed forces. We  
30 have allowed no man and no group  
31 of men, however powerful, to use  
32 the national calamity for scandalous  
33 profit making.

## Recalls Last Time

If you are old enough to remember  
the last war, your own fairminded-  
ness 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 suc-  
ceeded in maintaining a united Can-  
ada. 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, vigor,  
confidence in the justice of our  
cause, and an undimmed conception  
of the realities of national unity and  
co-operation.

## Will Bear Burdens

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 pri-  
vilege, when peace comes, of helping  
humanity itself to a new hope. They  
will need not only your support, but  
your overwhelming support, to for-  
tify them and to encourage them in  
the stormy and shattering days, and  
months, and years, that are before  
us. Should this great task be en-  
trusted by you to the present ad-  
ministration, 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 labors.

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  
altar of nationhood and humanity.  
We will do our utmost to make our  
endeavors worthy of them.

When the war is over, the cause of  
peace will also need the help of Can-  
ada. It will need the united au-  
thentic voice of this nation speaking  
to all nations through a strong gov-  
ernment. 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 Canada and her  
future, guide you in the choice  
which it is yours to make.

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The Prime Minister

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## Averted Disaster

1 We have saved workers and  
2 merchants from the disaster of fall-  
3 ing international exchange, and the  
4 inflation of Canadian money. We  
5 have protected the worker and the  
6 housewife from an undue rise in  
7 the price of the necessities of life.  
8 We have equipped and sent overseas  
9 soldiers and airmen. Our second  
10 division is training in Canada. We  
11 greatly strengthened the army and  
12 the royal Canadian navy. We have  
13 played the major part in the estab-  
14 lishment of the Commonwealth air  
15 training plan. I dislike prophesies,  
16 but I suggest that, as you watch  
17 events develop, you remember my  
18 words, and the words of British  
19 statesmen, that final victory may  
20 well be shaped by that great and  
21 powerful instrument. We have pub-  
22 lished in the open light of day every  
23 contract made for the purchase of  
24 war supplies. To assist in victory,  
25 we have brought to the service of  
26 Canada outstanding men of other  
27 parties, and of no party. We have  
28 made merit the sole criterion of pro-  
29 motion in the armed forces. We  
30 have allowed no man and no group  
31 of men, however powerful, to use  
32 the national calamity for scandalous  
33 profit making.

## Recalls Last Time

1 If you are old enough to remember  
2 the last war, your own fairminded-  
3 ness will make the comparisons. If  
4 you are not old enough to remember  
5 the last war, I suggest that you ask  
6 your fathers and mothers who do.  
7 We began at the side of Britain and  
8 France in full understanding. We  
9 remain there today. We have suc-  
10 ceeded in maintaining a united Can-  
11 ada. The traditional loyalty of our  
12 French-speaking compatriots has  
13 once again inspired us with a sense  
14 of national unity. They too, stand  
15 side by side with English-speaking  
16 Canada, with Britain and with  
17 France, in defence of altar, home and  
18 the elemental rights of mankind.

1 I submit to you with humility, but  
2 also with confidence, that this is no  
3 time to refuse your continued and  
4 generous support to a government  
5 which has begun a great task. I  
6 urge upon you that this is no time  
7 to change a government which is  
8 capable of completing that task by a  
9 continuance of experience, vigor,  
10 confidence in the justice of our  
11 cause, and an undimmed conception  
12 of the realities of national unity and  
13 co-operation.

## Will Bear Burdens

1 As I have already said, the men  
2 whom you are electing will carry  
3 the responsibilities of war and peace.  
4 Theirs will be the most arduous of  
5 all duties, and the highest of all  
6 privileges. They will be charged  
7 with the duty of sustaining the war  
8 effort of a free people until victory  
9 is assured. Theirs will be the pri-  
10 vilege, when peace comes, of helping  
11 humanity itself to a new hope. They  
12 will need not only your support, but  
13 your overwhelming support, to for-  
14 tify them and to encourage them in  
15 the stormy and shattering days, and  
16 months, and years, that are before  
17 us. Should this great task be en-  
18 trusted by you to the present ad-  
19 ministration, on behalf of those who  
20 have planned Canada's effort in war,  
21 and will continue to work undaunted  
22 for victory and a just and enduring  
23 peace, I pledge to your service the  
24 strength of our united labors.

1 While the war lasts, you and I,  
2 no matter what our burdens may be,  
3 will be inspired by the knowledge  
4 that young Canadian men, like their  
5 fathers before them, are once again  
6 willing to offer life itself upon that  
7 altar of nationhood and humanity.  
8 We will do our utmost to make our  
9 endeavors worthy of them.

1 When the war is over, the cause of  
2 peace will also need the help of Can-  
3 ada. It will need the united au-  
4 thentic voice of this nation speaking  
5 to all nations through a strong gov-  
6 ernment. For the voice of Canada  
7 is the voice of the new world. It  
8 is, moreover, the voice of a young  
9 and free nation which is giving of its  
10 best in the cause of human freedom.  
11 It is the voice of generosity, good-  
12 will, reconciliation, healing and  
13 Christian brotherhood. May the duty  
14 which you owe Canada and her  
15 future, guide you in the choice  
16 which it is yours to make.

**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... Toronto Star  
Date..... Mar. 23/40.  
Subject.....

38071

## ALLIES, AND THE ENEMY TOO EYEING VOTE, SAYS MR. KING

Calls for United Canada Behind Nationwide War Effort—  
Need Tried Pilot at Helm During Stormy  
Days Ahead

Ottawa, March 23.—Outcome of the Dominion election is being watched with deepest concern, not only by the Allies, but by the enemy, Premier King told Canadian electors in his latest election broadcast in the course of which he asked that they back his government, "for a united war effort by a united Canada." He spoke Thursday night over a coast-to-coast hook-up. His text:

This is the last of the nationwide 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 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.

### Vote Touches Europe

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 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 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, 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.

### Duty to Look Ahead

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.

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Office of  
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D 88972

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.

#### Democratic Way

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 throughout 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.

#### Must Stay at Helm

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 strength enough 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.

#### Must Carry On

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. 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.

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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

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 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.

#### The Big Issue

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 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.

#### Examine Records

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?

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.

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D 38074

### What it Means

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.

### Defines 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.

### Resents Methods

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. Slandorous 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 honor 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 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.

### Duty and Privilege

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

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nature of things, for many more years. Even if I desired it, there is little I could wish for in the way of honorable 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 honor, 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 honorable 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.

#### Promise For Policies

Dr. Manion has endeavored 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 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 honor 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.

#### Worries Followers

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 spend-

thrift 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.

#### Can't Be Both

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.

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Office of  
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D 38976

## Averted Disaster

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. 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.

## Recalls Last Time

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, vigor, confidence in the justice of our cause, and an undimmed conception of the realities of national unity and co-operation.

## Will Bear Burdens

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 labors.

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 altar of nationhood and humanity. We will do our utmost to make our endeavors 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, goodwill, reconciliation, healing and Christian brotherhood. May the duty which you owe Canada and her future, guide you in the choice which it is yours to make.

23 Mar, 1940

Radio  
Address

~~[Extract]~~ Remarks of King

Re. comment of a member of  
the Conservative Party concerning  
the Minister of National Defence  
(Norman Rodgers).

D 38077

Ontario Broadcast  
March 23, 1940

3rd 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, ~~I have the closest personal associations.~~ <sup>employed at my earlier years,</sup> ~~Family associations~~ <sup>there are personal and</sup> extend over more than a century and a quarter, ~~with the political history of both~~ <sup>made</sup>

~~These associations~~ <sup>they</sup> are intimately ~~associated~~ <sup>connected</sup> with the establishment and defence of political freedom. This evening, I would like to ~~add one more to these associations~~ <sup>make clear where the</sup>

~~by enlisting your support of the present government in its~~ <sup>policy</sup> ~~of the government~~ <sup>in the present campaign</sup> ~~in its~~ <sup>in the preservation of your</sup> ~~affairs, both before and since~~ <sup>and the preservation of freedom</sup> ~~and the preservation of freedom~~ <sup>determination to preserve</sup> ~~has been the preservation and extension of freedom~~ <sup>was fought</sup> ~~at home and abroad~~

group ~~is~~<sup>are</sup> to be ~~permitted~~<sup>allowed</sup> to over-ride the will of the government which is responsible <sup>finally</sup> to the people for the management of ~~its~~<sup>their</sup> 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 <sup>duty</sup> to see that ~~at all times~~ the Constitution is upheld, not ~~the~~<sup>only</sup> written word of the Constitution ~~only~~<sup>but also in</sup> 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

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 <sup>from now on</sup> 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 been 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 intensified scale 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. There 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

*This can be returned to  
Mackay*

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

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 first 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 gathering storm. We could have permitted two political campaigns. One in 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.



the will or wish of an opposition in the House  
of Commons, or any minority & group & the  
Parliament & our side the ~~responsibility~~ <sup>will?</sup> of the  
Government which is responsible to the people  
for the management of its affairs

Let it be remembered 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 ~~the~~ upheld, and the  
<sup>of the Constitution</sup> ~~will~~ <sup>word</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>but</sup> the spirit of the  
Constitution which has regard above all  
else for the preservation of the rights of  
the people. <sup>In this Parliament as in all else,</sup> A Prime Minister is responsible  
not only for what he does, but what  
he fails to do. <sup>In advising & determining</sup> ~~It is~~ <sup>I</sup> had to consider  
not only what the <sup>situation as it might</sup> ~~consequences~~ of a ~~decision~~  
develop in consequence of denudation. I had  
equally to consider what it was what it  
become if denudation were ~~rejected~~ <sup>denied</sup> or  
~~difficult~~ <sup>of</sup> deferred. It is of this  
rather you would be hearing today if  
I had not ~~acted~~ <sup>acted</sup> taken the course of  
action I did, at the time I did.



2.

the present government declined to do so. We refused to give dictatorship its first 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 gathering storm. We could have permitted two political campaigns. One in 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. Such an arrangement would probably have pleased two groups of men. It might have pleased our political opponents. They have suggested that it would. It certainly would have pleased the Leaders of Nazi Germany. You know how quickly, in Germany, the violent condemnations and unfounded accusations have been picked up and broadcast to their people as evidence of the disunity and dissension in Canada.

On January the 25th, parliament was dissolved. The decision to dissolve parliament was reached for the most honourable of reasons: I believed the holding of

## 3.

an immediate election would be in the interest of Canada and of our allies. That interest demanded the earliest possible exercise by the Canadian people of their right to select a war parliament. It demanded the holding of an election before the spring offensive in Europe and the intensified warfare which we may then expect. It demanded that voting take place before our army in England went to France and before the Second Division left this country.

Our opponents are now asking: "Why did Mr. King lock the doors of parliament?" and this is their reply: "The only place in which the conduct of Mr. King's government in the management of Canada's war effort could be discussed - with any hope of arriving at the truth!" I am sure that most of you, after listening to the speeches of our <sup>political</sup> opponents will accept their own estimate of their own speeches. I knew that by dissolving parliament I was subjecting my colleagues and myself to attack. I knew that our opponents would be able to make a hundred irresponsible and reckless charges while we were replying carefully and accurately to one. If there was any political advantage in the

4.

dissolution of parliament it was <sup>not</sup> an advantage to the Liberal party or to the present administration. Had we kept parliament in session we could have replied fully and completely to the unfounded and irresponsible charges, but it would have required months and we were convinced that there was more important work to do in those months than wage a political campaign. The political advantage of dissolution, if there was any, was an advantage to our opponents. The Leader of the Opposition had been challenging us to hold an election for more than a year. He had stated over and over again that we had lost the confidence of the country and that we were merely clinging to office.

When parliament was dissolved we were not thinking of party advantage, nor of our personal reputations. Our sole thought was the ~~international~~ interests of Canada and the effective prosecution of the war. We considered your right to select a war parliament before the war had passed into new phases of tragedy and terror; we considered how necessary it was for the men charged with the heavy burden of government to feel the encouragement of your hands upon their shoulders. We were determined that the issues should be discussed

5.

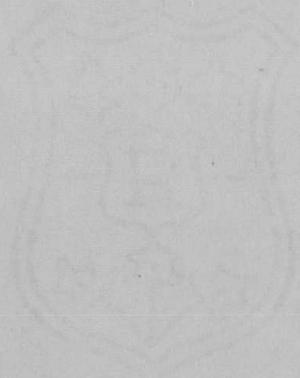
freely with the people of Canada at a time of comparative quiet on the war front of Europe. We were resolved, if possible, to spare Canada the bitterness of party strife in parliament and in the country at a time when Canadian soldiers were falling in defence of freedom and when the vigour of a united country would be necessary to bring comfort to our allies.

We thought too of the effect upon the enemy. You know what kind of broadcasts have been coming from Germany in recent weeks. You know what use the Nazi propaganda machine has made of the misrepresentations of men whose partisanship and ambition have blinded their eyes and loosened their tongues. Had we allowed this sort of thing to proceed for months, in parliament and outside, the situation would soon have been represented in Germany as one in which Canada was at war with herself. You have learned how bitter an election can become. You know how hard unity can be pressed by the ~~forces~~<sup>forces</sup> of disunion. You can imagine how much worse things would have been if our opponents had been given two or four months in parliament and another eight weeks on the hustings, ~~evidently~~ to develop and extend their attacks on Canadian unity. You will, I believe, be thankful

D 38088

6.

at the prospect of an early return to the real business:  
the winning of the war.



EARNSCLIFFE

LINEN BOND

MADE IN CANADA

DD 38089

Let us now <sup>say a few words</sup> speak of National Government: as it has  
 been discussed in the present elections. There are  
 times and seasons for all things. What we mean  
 knows when he speaks of National Government, is a  
~~union government~~ coalition, or union government. -  
 A government ~~for~~ composed of members of different  
 political parties who combine their forces to  
 achieve a joint end. There may be times when  
 this form of government may become ~~not~~ <sup>advisable</sup>  
 advisable, or even a necessity. One instance  
 would be where government and opposition were  
 so ~~strongly~~ equally divided that <sup>anything in the nature of</sup> ~~for~~ the  
 carrying on of government itself would be  
 held up ~~at~~ an impossibility. Such a  
 situation presented itself prior to Confederation  
 when ~~the two branches of the House of~~ <sup>the members of</sup> ~~the~~  
~~combined under the same act~~ had been combined  
~~under the~~ and it was found that to overcome  
 the conflicts of the representation of the ~~representatives~~  
 from the representation from each without a  
 coalition of <sup>the leaders</sup> representatives from both provinces  
 government itself could not be carried on. The  
 other consideration would be where men of opposite  
 parties ~~that~~ regard a specific measure or issue

will be the a hundred & four - January 1871 or 72

There is a right way and a wrong way to go about  
anything. <sup>and everything</sup> 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 <sup>so much ?</sup> ~~all~~ their

24  
220  
①

D 38000

② being necessary to the administration of the  
country's affairs and see no way of  
securing its adoption except by combining  
these forces in a Union Administration. Thus  
was the case with this in 1917 when the  
Union Government of Sir Robert Borden was  
formed to push through "Conscription".  
Neither of these situations ~~presented~~<sup>presented</sup>  
themselves in Canada today, how presented  
themselves or are likely to present themselves.  
On the contrary, there are aspects of Mr  
Mannion's proposal for <sup>so called</sup> national forums  
which ~~would make~~<sup>would make</sup> its adoption  
positively detrimental to the country's  
interests at this time.

2 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 from 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~~ <sup>seeking</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> carry on the government of the country.

When Sir Robert Borden invited <sup>Mr. Rowell</sup> Mr. Rowell and other Liberals to join him in forming a union government

3

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 <sup>the</sup> qualified <sup>"</sup> 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, <sup>but</sup> and who has been <sup>well</sup> conspicuous <sup>in</sup> his insolence, in the present campaign. Let me quote <sup>the</sup> 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."



5

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

D 38094

D 38095

-27-

6

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.

7

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

D 38096

8  
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.

*from  
Zuber  
9*

*from file 23*

~~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,

D38098

*HRM*  
 deceivers <sup>cross</sup> and hypocrites as the reward of their readiness  
 and their capacity to serve their country in parliament?

*10*  
 The kind of villification which has characterized  
 the campaign of <sup>some of</sup> 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 <sup>are long with</sup> 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 <sup>ever</sup> given authority ~~to~~ to administer your affairs  
 to <sup>be able to</sup> earn the co-operation <sup>and goodwill</sup> 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 <sup>at this</sup> ~~in no~~  
 uncertain way. <sup>earliest opportunity</sup>

D 38100

Re distribution

Re Dissolution

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 is to be found in the march of events since January 25th, and the nature of the campaign which our politically bankrupt opponents have waged.

(b<sup>2</sup>)

I am speaking to the people of Canada, as to whether they are interested in the welfare of the country, and to your support, and to your condemnation for action I look on your behalf - with a sense of awe.

Mr. Chas. G. Galt (L.H.)

D38101

I do not propose tonight to thresh again the straw which Dr. Manion and his associates have vainly tried to use for making bricks. I just wish to recall to you, however, these facts: We could have extended the life of parliament. The present government declined to do so. We refused to give dictatorship its first foothold by denying to the Canadian people its constitutional right to choose during the constitutional period those whom it wished to guide it through the stress of the gathering storm. We could have agreed to two political campaigns, one in parliament, the other in the country. That arrangement would probably have pleased two groups of men. It might have pleased our political opponents. They say that it would. It certainly would have pleased the leaders of Nazi Germany. You who have listened to the wild, reckless, unfounded condemnation of the steady and persistent war effort of a united country can have no doubt about that?

On the 7th day of March, the Montreal Gazette, a paper which usually supported the Conservative party in the days when it existed, had this to say:

"If Conservatives and their allies can not give the public something better than this misrepresentation, less comforting and beneficial to this country's

"enemies, they would be better out of the campaign altogether."

With that the people of Canada and our allies will probably agree.

On January 27th parliament was dissolved. It was dissolved for the best and most honourable of reasons: the interest of Canada and her allies. That interest demanded the earliest possible exercise by the Canadian people of the right to select a war parliament. It demanded the holding of an election before the spring offensive in Europe, and the intensified warfare that the offensive will bring. It demanded that the election be held before roads became impassable. It demanded that voting took place before our army in England went to France, and before the second division left this country. The decision to dissolve parliament is still attacked on the air, at public meetings, by advertisement, as some kind of political manoeuvre bringing advantages to the Liberal party. I knew that it would be so misrepresented. The plain fact is, however, that the decision was a political disadvantage to the Liberal party. It did not give to my colleagues and myself the opportunity which a continuous session of parliament would have given to ~~have answered~~ <sup>meet</sup> criticism and to make

a complete and final answer to charges however reckless or unfounded they might be. The political advantage of dissolution, if there was any, was an advantage to our opponents. I <sup>had no intention of doing so</sup> did not consider, however, what political advantage was involved; I considered only the national advantage. I considered your right to select a war ministry before the war had passed into new phases of tragedy and terror; I considered how necessary it was for men charged with the heavy burden of government in these sombre days to feel the encouragement of your hands upon their shoulders. I made up my mind that members of our defence forces now in England would be able to cast their votes before they crossed the English channel to face the enemy. I decided that soldiers now in Canada would vote in Canada under conditions that assured a fair and honest election.

In so far as this government was concerned, we determined <sup>the</sup> that issues should be fully and freely discussed with the people of Canada at a time of comparative quiet on the war-front of Europe. I determined that when Canadian soldiers were falling in the defence of freedom, the bitterness of party strife in parliament and outside should not be concentrated and extended, at the very time when the vigour of a united country was necessary to bring comfort to our allies. I thought too of the effect upon our enemy.

D 38105 5

-6-

You have heard, no doubt, some of the broadcasts from Germany in recent weeks. You know what use Herr Goebbels is making of the misrepresentations of men whose partisanship and ambition have blinded their eyes and loosened their tongues.

You have learnt how bitter an election campaign can become. You know how hard unity can be pressed by the forces of disunion. You can imagine how much worse things would have been if our opponents had been given <sup>on four</sup> two months in parliament and <sup>eight</sup> ~~six~~ weeks on the hustings, to develop and extend their attack on Canadian unity. You will, I believe, be thankful at the prospect of an early return to the business of victory.

Notes for broadcast on Thursday, March 21, 1940

(Dictated by the Prime Minister)

6

*Re dissolution*

The broadcast should contain one or more paragraphs on each of the following; developing the points mentioned.

First, justification for dissolution as seen in the light of the present campaign.

For most people it is always difficult to see far beyond the immediate present and to be controlled by other than their feelings at the moment. In affairs of the state it is always necessary to look ahead and a long way ahead.

What are the facts about dissolution?

A general election had to come this year. The Constitution so provides.

There are reasons to believe the year may witness the most appalling situation the world itself has ever known. They will demand all the resources and fortitude and courage on the part of the people; exacting attention and effort on the part of the government.

The months ahead will require a concentration of thought and effort of executive capacity, wise discernment, etc., such as has not been required of any government up to the present time.

The public mind and thought will be seized with terror.

Members of Parliament, regardless of the parties to which they belong, will be driven by stern necessity to forget all differences and to work together regardless of what their differences of view on lesser matters may be.

The situation will demand a strong government and one with no question as to the mandate given by the people to carry on Canada's war effort. This being the case, let me ask two questions:

Would it have been wise to attempt to meet such a situation with a Parliament that had run its course and was known to be doomed to die in the course of a few months?

But that is not the only important factor. Bad

enough to have a Parliament neither elected for or so constituted as to deal effectively with war conditions, but to be followed at its close by a general election.

The present election has disclosed what an amount of time it would have taken from the dissolution of Parliament till election was over to bring a new Parliament into being.

The election has disclosed how bitter, disintegrating and disrupting political forces may become in a campaign. If the present campaign had been preceded by two, three or four months of recrimination in Parliament, who will venture to say what condition Canada might have been in with a period of two more months of bitter controversy on the hustings?

But imagine the torture of mind if this situation had existed, as would have been inevitable, at the time the war was at its worst in Europe and our young men were in the fighting zones and press reports coming in daily of numbers of killed and wounded.

Not only does the written Constitution require that no Parliament shall last more than five years before the people are given a chance to elect representatives, but the unwritten Constitution places on the Prime Minister, under the British Parliamentary system, the obligation of giving the people themselves the right to pass upon great issues that have arisen subsequent to the election of a Parliament and which were not considered at the time Parliament came into existence. One of the first obligations of a Prime Minister is to see that the rights of the people in this particular are fully protected.

The late Parliament was not chosen with reference to war. It had had four sessions before the war came on. The session of 1939 was looked upon by all who were in the House of Commons as a pre-election session. There was a demand from the government supporters and the Opposition alike for a general election in the summer of 1939. No one was stronger in his demands than the Leader of the Opposition. All matters relating to the government's administration of affairs at that time had been fully considered and discussed. It was taken for granted that the Parliament had run its course.

Had the war not come in the autumn, <sup>and</sup> one would have been safe in assuming that however menacing the situation

it would have been held over at least until the spring, I would certainly have brought on an election. I declined to bring on any election in the summer, feeling that the risk of war during the summer months or early autumn was too great, but intending if the autumn months were passed, to see that an election was out of the way before another year came around, in order that the Parliament that would be returned might be a Parliament to deal with the new situations as they might arise.

Once, however, war was declared, there was only one course and one duty and that was to have Parliament summoned at once; for the government to state its policy, and being sustained by Parliament, to immediately change the economy of the nation from a peacetime to a wartime basis and organize Canada's war effort as effectively as possible; lay the groundwork of everything essential toward effective co-operation and then when matters had been so organized as to permit of their being carried on by the organization that had been built up, have the election brought on and over at a time when hostilities were apt to be as limited as they were ever likely to be, and before war in all its fury burst upon the world.

This is the course I followed. Why then should there be any complaint, any talk about the "scuttling" of Parliament? There had been five sessions of Parliament, Parliament itself instead of being an effective instrument of the people's will had "scuttled" itself. Had Parliament been continued in session this year, it is perfectly evident from the speech of the Leader of the Opposition, made on the afternoon of the opening day, that the House of Commons, instead of being a deliberative assembly, concentrating its thought on the nation's needs at the time of war, would have been a political background with forces contending for superiority in the political arena, and to a corresponding extent, destroying the nation's unity and the effectiveness of the nation's concentrated action.

Instead of being condemned for having dissolved Parliament before anything of the kind was permitted to get under way, I would today - had I allowed such a situation to develop - have been condemned as having neither the foresight, judgment or decision necessary to save what would have been described as so obvious a disaster.

It is part of the <sup>fact</sup> ~~faith~~ of one who holds the office of Prime Minister that he is held responsible not only for what he does, but for what, in the national interest, he fails to do. That is a responsibility that cannot be escaped. That was something of which I had to take full account in determining whether I should, all circumstances considered, try to have Parliament carry on, either for a part or the whole of another session, or have an old and dying Parliament carry on or a new Parliament with no uncertain mandate from the people brought into being as rapidly as circumstances would permit.

But it will be said: Why did you, in those circumstances, bring Parliament together at all? Why did you not dissolve before the Members were put to the inconvenience of coming from all parts of Canada to Ottawa?

The answer to that is very simple. I had been asked at the Special War Session of Parliament by the Leader of the Opposition to give an undertaking that an election would not be sprung on the country the moment the Special War Session was over. (See the exact date.)

I was asked to say, not only that I would not, once the Special Session was over, dissolve Parliament, but, at about what time Parliament might next be called together. I replied that I thought the usual custom would be followed of having Parliament called together sometime in the month of January. I said it might be necessary to call Parliament together sooner than that, depending on the circumstances that might arise, but that my then intention was to have Parliament called together in January.

I was careful, however, to say at that time we would be able to decide what it was most in the national interest to do. No Prime Minister would be justified at any time to bind the hands of his colleagues and himself in the matter of denying the people their right to express their views at a time of great crisis. I was careful, therefore, to make the special reservation with respect to whether Parliament would continue in Session or not, by saying that when called together the government would then be in the best position to decide what it was wisest to do.

I need not remind you of the particular circumstances that arose after Parliament had been summoned, but prior to the coming-together of the Members, which in the national interest

made an immediate appeal to the people imperative.

A resolution had been passed by the Ontario Legislature in which the Federal Government's war effort had been condemned. The resolution was introduced by a Leader of a Provincial Legislature and supported jointly by some of his Ministers, under circumstances which we now understand and which would never have been understood if this election had not been brought on when it was, and by the entire Opposition of the Ontario Legislature. That made imperative, apart altogether from the domestic situation, an immediate dissolution on international grounds, or, perhaps I should say, in the interests not only of Canada's war effort but of the effort of the Allied powers in their conflict with the enemy.

Had I allowed that condemnation of Canada's war effort by the Legislature of the largest province in this Dominion to remain unchallenged in the eyes of Germany, that country would have been justified in assuming that the government of Canada was not determined in its effort to support the British and the French, but was luke-warm and indifferent. If this impression had been followed by recriminations in Parliament and all kinds of charges and counter-charges, purely to serve political ends, before we proceeded very far, the situation would have been represented in Germany as one of Canada being at war with herself .

That was something of which on behalf of every patriotic Canadian citizen I had to take account. Had that resolution been passed before Parliament was summoned, or, indeed, in the first few weeks after the summons had been issued, I would have felt it necessary to have kept my promise not to dissolve Parliament until it had been called. I would also have felt it necessary to shorten the time in which Parliament could be brought together and have done - as I did prior to the Special Session - i.e. brought Parliament together inside of a week and acquaint the Members at once with the government's decision. As Parliament was to meet on the 25th and the resolution of the Ontario government was passed on the 18th of January, it left only the minimum time within which it would be physically possible for Members to reach Ottawa from all parts of the Dominion. I, therefore, allowed those days to pass, before acquainting Parliament and the country with the advice I had tendered the G.G. on the day following the resolution of the Ontario Legislature, namely that of an immediate dissolution being in the national interest.

Considering that by far the largest representation in the House of Commons was that of my own following, I would certainly for this, if for no other reason, have preferred sparing individual representatives the inconvenience of coming to Ottawa to learn the government's decision for a general election and would have preferred this to bringing them to Ottawa at all, had it not been that I would then have been charged of having broken a promise which I had given at the Special Session that I would not dissolve until the Members had been called together.

The charge that dissolution was brought on to save disclosures that might have affected the government's chances in a political campaign is the very opposite to the situation as my colleagues and myself viewed the necessity of an immediate dissolution.

In every way we would have welcomed the opportunity to present to the people, through Parliament, and have reported in the Parliamentary Debates, prior to a dissolution, the full statement of the government's war effort and also complete answers to any of the charges that might have been made concerning individual transactions.

We knew, only too well, how completely the situation in this regard would be misrepresented by our opponents in a political campaign. The choice, unfortunately, was not one confined merely to party advantage. It was a choice between doing something which might be misunderstood or misrepresented in a political campaign to our own disadvantage as a party or permitting Canada's position as a country engaged in war to be entirely misrepresented in the eyes of the enemy and her war effort paralyzed, as a consequence of political dissention, inside as well as outside of Parliament at a time of war.

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.

D 38113

D

Imm. of language and descent  
of women

Re Preparation

Re Promises

idea to develop an

plan

*Some of the campaign will discuss the record of the government in the prosecution of the war is the issue in this*

election. He and his associates, however, have paid little attention to the issue which they themselves have raised.

They have offered nothing but vague charges as a negative and destructive approach to the problem of government in a time of world crisis.

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D 38114

D 38115 2

Ladies and gentlemen, I have told you of the reprehensible tactics which Dr. Manion and his associates have pursued. I hope I have succeeded in the not very difficult task of pricking the bubble of national government. I have joined with you in an unsuccessful search for any policy of Dr. Manion differing from the policy of this government which looks towards a more effective prosecution of the war effort of this country.

Re preparedness Whatever criticism he has offered has been directed in the main to matters that originate prior to the war. He has tried to belittle the steady progressive preparedness which distinguished this government's deliberations and actions before the great tragedy came upon us. With total disregard for the facts he has suggested that in some way or other Canada refused offers of the British government for the establishment of an Air Training Scheme and the manufacture on a large scale of all types of aeroplanes in Canada as a part of some imaginary bargain.

Re Preparedness - In what will how to  
be done after Dec 26<sup>th</sup> if  
Govt. is changed  
Re Promises

*Issue not discussed & promised*

Dr. Manion's promises -

~~Getting away from main issue.~~ if defeated.

Getting away from main issue.

*3  
Get away from  
war effort*

Why refraining myself -

M. P's will do duty by constituency.

D 38116

JWP/MP  
16.3.40

Consolidated Preliminary Draft: Broadcast No. 5

D 381174

The Leader of the Opposition has said that the record of the government in the prosecution of the war is the issue in this election. The Opposition, however, has paid little attention to what they themselves named as the issue. They have offered little serious criticism of our war effort. Instead, they have concentrated upon vague charges, unsupported by serious evidence, of patronage, favouritism and maladministration in the conduct of the government before the war started. Even if the charges had been true - and it has not been difficult to show that most of them were not, they represent only a negative and destructive approach to the problem of government in a time of world crisis.

*Monroe program program*  
The official Opposition not only lacks men of

experience and of proved ability, it lacks a policy. The  
Leader of the Opposition has travelled from coast to coast.  
In every locality he has left behind a promise. Nearly  
every promise is a promise to spend the taxpayer's money.  
That is not all. In nearly every case it is a promise to use  
the taxpayers' money for something which has nothing to do  
with the winning of the war. If these promises could be  
kept, the cost of keeping them would dissipate the resources  
which will be desperately needed for the great purpose before  
us. If the Opposition received a majority and formed a  
government, and if then any attempt was made to fulfil these  
promises, the government would have little time left to

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D 38118

D38119

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devote to our war effort. This, I am sure, is not the kind of government the people of Canada want, in this hour of peril.

In these circumstances I suggest there should be no wavering. The government best able to hold this country constant and united in the maximum war effort, is the present administration. Support should not be withheld from it because an elector does not agree with all of its peacetime policies. This is a war-time election, and it is a war-time government that is being chosen.

There has been dissatisfaction in all the allied countries because there is not more evidence of action, more noise and bustle. There are always those who care little how badly a job is done, as long as it is done fast. That is not our way; it is not the allied way; it will not win the war. In a long struggle, it is the final

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D 38119-1

round that counts. The ability to endure, to hold on to the end, will bring victory. We can hold on to the end, only if we put forth a steady and persistent effort; only if we are stronger each day than we were the day before; and only if we make every move count, and count to the full.

The government has already called many of our ablest men of all parties and men without party affiliations to form the general staff of our economic army. From time to time, as need arises, more will be called. Ability will be, as it has been, the only test of fitness. This is but a beginning on a front where every Canadian can serve.

In organizing our economic life for this war, we have reached the stage today that was reached only in the third year of the last war. Our financial machinery is far superior to anything we had achieved even in 1918. In laying our plans we have kept constantly before us the grave problems to be faced in the post-war period. We know that it is possible to win a military victory and lose an economic war. The government is doing everything possible to secure equality of sacrifice in war-time, and equality of opportunity and some degree of social security in the post-war period.

D 38121

F

Need of strong national  
government

*Country needs a strong National (Representation Bill) to deal with war*  
It cannot be emphasized too strongly that a true National government must draw its strength from all sections of the country.

*Impossible to form a government from candidates as known*

The present government does draw its strength from every section of Canada. It is in every sense a representative government. In it English Canada and French Canada make national unity possible because they are bound together in the equitable partnership which is the realization of the dream of the Fathers of Confederation.

114  
What chance have any of our opponents of forming a strong government representative of all parts of Canada? Let us look at the list of candidates. There are some ninety odd candidates calling themselves Independents. They bear all sorts of unfamiliar labels. They have no coherence, no unity, no common purpose. They could not form a government. Few of them have the slightest hope of being elected. There are twenty-eight candidates of the group which in the last parliament advocated Social Credit. They too, all follow the latest fashion and the newest fad. They also

D 38122

have a new name. They call themselves The New Democracy. They openly advocate conscription. To advocate conscription is hardly a contribution to national unity at this time. If they were elected, they could have little influence in the deliberations of Parliament. All they would do is to endeavour to distract attention from the business of war by organizing discussions on the abstract theories of their Utopian and impractical dreams.

The Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation has ninety-six candidates. But apart from the candidates of the present government, they are the only group with a consistent policy clearly outlined for the prosecution of the war. It is not our policy, and I do not believe it is your policy either. It advocates economic assistance to the Allies, but no military help. The Canadian people will not, I am sure, endanger the cause of freedom by such a half-hearted prosecution of the war which is in direct contrast with the whole-hearted vigour advocated by the Socialist party of Great Britain.

We now come to the Conservative party which looks upon the election as a kind of fancy dress ball and parades before you in the masquerade dressed up in the make-believe of National government. It is hard to see how their party can be a national government until there is a national government. It is

just as sensible to call Dr. Manion and his associates a national government party as it is to call a man a member of parliament just because he has been nominated and before he has been elected. It is true that the Conservatives have some 230 candidates. Let us consider for a minute what it is necessary for them to do before they can elect enough members to make a government, not to mention a national government. In the last parliament, they had one member out of twenty-six of the three maritime provinces. In Quebec, they had five out of sixty-five. In the far western provinces they had seven out of seventy-one. Even in Ontario, they had only twenty-five out of eighty-two. In more than four years, although there have been many by-elections, they have made no gains. In order that they may have a majority, they must win more than three times the number of seats they had in the last house. To enable them to form a strong government, they must elect still more. To enable them to form a national government, Quebec must be fully represented.

If you will look again at their candidates and examine the prospects of Dr. Manion and his associates, I do not believe you will find in either the slightest hope of a National government representative of a united Canada.

*Re National Govt*

England and Australia re National Government,  
and Stevens.

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Re reason for not wanting men of conflicting views in  
in Government.

Government is to make views of majority prevail.

Need of opposition,  
responsibility.

D38125

Manion's promises.

Consequences of Union Government -

a class war.

57

D 38126

6

For campaign speeches

The Government of Canada can only be carried on by leaders from the provinces of Quebec and Ontario who are in complete accord, e.g. Lapointe and myself.

See speech at Quebec.

D38127

Never before in the history of Canada has an  
Opposition invited the people to return it to office, without  
any policy, without any programme, and, for that matter,  
without any hint of who the men will be in the administration  
they will form, if they obtain a majority. Dr. Manion has  
said that no Leader of the Opposition has ever announced  
his Cabinet before the elections - that is probably true -  
but in the past, every Leader of the Opposition has made it  
quite clear that he intended to form his government from  
among his own supporters. Once Nomination Day had passed,  
the electors only needed to look at the list of candidates  
to find out what men were likely to be in the government,

D38128

if the Opposition were returned to power. Dr. Manion, however, says he is not going to form his government from his own following. He says that it is not to be a Conservative government, but a government of the best brains of all parties. Where are they? They are certainly not among his candidates. Every prominent name in the list of so-called National Government candidates, from coast to coast, is the name of a man who, in 1939, was a Conservative. At least that is true in every Province except the Province of Quebec. In Quebec many of Dr. Manion's candidates were prominent among the supporters of the former government of that Province. When we recall that Dr. Duplessis' government was called the National Union government, we have, perhaps, discovered the real origin of the new name of Dr. Manion's party.

It may be that among the more obscure candidates supporting Dr. Manion there are some who were not formerly Conservatives. I doubt, however, if the people of Canada will recognize among them many of the best brains in the country. We are, therefore, still in total ignorance of the men to whom Dr. Manion has invited the people of Canada to entrust their destinies for the next four or five years - years which may determine the future of our country for a century or more to come.

The tremendous national effort which war demands  
of Canada can only be directed by a strong government,  
fortified by an unquestioned mandate from the people. We  
cannot put forth our utmost war effort unless it is  
marshalled and guided by a government that is strong,  
steady, vigorous, patient, provident and experienced.  
The people of Canada will, I am sure, hesitate long, before  
sacrificing a government containing men who, through long  
association and close personal relationships with the  
men who compose the governments of our Allies, are able  
to co-operate with them easily, smoothly and effectively.  
A change of government, at this stage, by the very  
sacrifice of this experience would involve delay in the  
development of our war effort.

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D38130

D 38131 G

Monroe has made national  
Government impossible

No, Ladies and Gentlemen, the Leader of the Opposition  
in the words of the poet is

"Wandering between two worlds, one dead

The other powerless to be born."

For the Conservative party is <sup>apparently</sup> dead. Dr. Manion slew it with  
Dr Manion has made national Government impossible, with himself  
his little arrow. The National government is powerless to be <sup>leader</sup>

born. It will be remembered only as the dream child, of one  
whose National government of the best brains remained an anony-  
mous shadow cabinet and nothing more. If Dr. Manion and his  
followers, supporting his idea of National government had any  
real desire to form it, they would first of all have done their  
utmost to remove from the minds of those whose political views  
differ from their own, any feelings of personal antipathy and  
antagonism. He has cited the instances of Sir John A. Macdonald  
and Sir Robert Borden when they formed coalition and union  
governments. They did not first strike their colours and then  
try to make a Joseph's coat of the many rags and tatters that  
remained. They sought to bury personal animosities and poli-  
tical differences. Sir Robert Borden first let the country  
know who his associates would be. He next did everything in  
his power to have the country believe that those who were  
associated with him were men of the highest character and

integrity deserving public support. When Dr. Manion talked of National government in terms of unknown, mysterious and mythical personages, instead of in terms of persons whose identity was clear and whose policies were open, he began at the wrong end of the road. He must know by now that he has made the idea of a National government an open mockery and a ludicrous delusion. It is too late now for Dr. Manion and his associates to change their tactics either towards the Conservative party whose name they have sought to obliterate, or towards the Liberal party whose name they have sought to defame.

~~Un~~fortunately, however, it is not too late for you, the people of this country, to express your opinion of his attempted strategy. You may doubt whether his political warfare inspires you with sufficient confidence to entrust him with larger issues on a more stricken<sup>?</sup> field.

*by Manion  
leader  
National  
Conservative Party*

Just let me here illustrate how absolutely ridiculous is the thought or the talk of ~~national-government~~ anything in the nature of what he calls national government under the leadership of Dr. Manion and his associates.

*with himself as leader*

There is a right way and a wrong way about going about everything. If Dr. Manion and those who are supporting his national government idea had any real desire to have a national government formed in Canada and not to score, I will not say a party victory, but a victory for themselves and their associates, they would instead of doing their utmost to antagonize those with whom they wished to co-operate in the affairs of government, have done their utmost to conciliate and to remove from the minds and breasts of those whose political views differ from their own any feelings of personal antipathy and antagonism.

Dr. Manion has cited the instances of Sir John A. MacDonald and of Sir Robert Borden in the forming of coalition or union governments, with the constituting of which they had to do, as reasons why their examples should be followed in the present crisis.

Well, let us see how far Dr. Manion himself has sought to follow the example of these leaders of the Conservative party. To begin with, they did not begin by wiping out the name "Conservative" as Dr. Manion says he himself has thought it necessary to do - "by submerging the party of which they were the head" - of not only lowering but burying its standard and

D 38134

substituting for the colours around which its members have fought with pride over generations, nondescript Joseph's coat of many colours.

They did not next seek to destroy the character of the men with whom they wished to have intimate and close associations in government. On the contrary, they sought to bury every feeling of personal animosity and political difference and to build up in the eyes of the country a feeling of worthiness and of confidence in those with whom they were to be associated for purposes of coalition.

Sir John A. MacDonald and George Brown - as the children in our schools are being taught from the authorized version of their history - cordially disliked and felt a strong antagonism towards each other; had different temperaments, different methods of approach to the public and to public questions; strong antagonism. They were continually in the heat of political conflict, saying things about each other which were hard to forget. The relations between them had become such that they did not even bow to each other in the streets. Yet when each had come to see that ~~the-government~~ ~~could-only~~ parties were so evenly balanced that the government itself could not be carried on and the difficulties could only be solved by a union or a coalition, they immediately dropped in public their political differences and concealed their personal animosity and did what they could for the sake of the country and the object for which the coalition was formed to build up, in the eyes of their own respective parties, a feeling of confidence, not of antagonism toward their former political opponents.

When Sir Robert Borden invited Mr. Rowell and other Liberals to join with him in forming a Union Government, Sir Robert Borden did not begin by saying of them, as Dr. Manion has said of me at Halifax, that they were neither mentally nor temperamentally qualified to head an administration. On the contrary, Sir Robert did everything in his power to have the country believe that those associated with him were men of the highest character and integrity and that because of this reason and the strength of their convictions, they merited all the support that the country could give them.

I say that when Dr. Manion talked of national government in terms of unknown and mythical personages, instead of in terms of persons whose personalities and policies were definitely known, he began at the wrong end of the road and

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was making the idea of national government ludicrous in the eyes of the public, but when he went a step further, as he has done all through this campaign, and sought to destroy the characters, the motives, the reputations, the ability, the capacity, and the integrity of the men with whom, if a national government is to be formed he knows would have to be partners in that government, he was destroying all possibility of any such government ever being formed with himself as its leader.

It is too late now for Dr. Manion and those associated with him to change their tactics, either towards the Conservative Party whose name they have sought to obliterate, or the Liberal party whose name they have sought to defame.

Fortunately, however, it is not too late for you, the people of this country, whose interests at a time of war are being sacrificed in this fashion, to make clear that your confidence at least was not being given in a time of war to any leader who has displayed the kind of judgment that Dr. Manion has displayed, I will not say to the nation, but to his own political forces in the course of the present campaign.

D 38137 H

Resentment at village  
- color of campaign

I want to include various references  
to myself or not mentally  
or temperamentally equal to

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*Resentment of Campaign of Unification, etc. - Represented to this*

(17)

The election campaign is almost over. I believe that I am stating what is in the minds of hundreds of thousands of my fellow countrymen and women when I express the resentment of the people of Canada at the methods of controversy which have been used by those who are today calling themselves the National Government party. Gross personal attacks have been launched against men who have served this country, in the hour of its greatest need, faithfully, honestly and industriously. You have heard in public meetings and <sup>in your own</sup> homes the strident voices of those who have assailed the motives and characters of men who value their personal honour above all else, and have done nothing to stain it. Does any Canadian in his or her own heart really believe 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

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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 <sup>or negligently</sup> would knowingly 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 last few weeks that they propose to show in the only way which is left for them ~~to show their disapproval~~, their condemnation of the attempt to substitute abuse for argument and personalities for policies. The standards of public life in Canada do not justify the national degradation of this campaign.

I have been in the <sup>performance of because</sup> service of this country for twenty-five years. <sup>and in the public service of my country a much longer time</sup> I have always considered the public service both a privilege and a duty. My own public career cannot last, in the very nature of things, for many more years. I ask you to consider what is to become of the public life of this country if every time that there is an appeal to the electors, men of honour are to be branded as crooks, liars, deceivers and hypo-

by own name established  
 - Unit of ~~Canada~~ of Country  
 whether an an address out of Canada, etc. men of serious habits  
 etc. - alone affairs of Govt to be treated as in pressing  
 in ~~business~~ etc

men, of most prominent public  
 lives  
 men of serious habits  
 as in pressing

crites, because of their readiness to serve their country in parliament? I ask my fellow citizens to take advantage of the opportunity which they will have on the 26th of March to deal with those who attempt to undermine public confidence in honest, hardworking, decent men, by an attempt to create suspicion and distrust.

My colleagues and I have studiously refrained from any attempt to assassinate the characters of those who differ with us in opinion. I honour the integrity of Mr. Woodsworth, of Mr. Coldwell, and of those who agree with them. I believe Mr. Blackmore and Mr. Herridge to be honest gentlemen, however much I may disagree with their policies. I have never had occasion to doubt the personal honour of Dr. Manion.

I have been associated with most of my colleagues for many years. <sup>Those under our direction - for we cannot take responsibility for</sup> We have, of course, made mistakes. No one would  
→ suggest that a peace-loving democracy such as ours could have turned to the making of war unless some things were left undone, unless some things were done in a manner which might have been improved. No government, at any time, is either infallible or perfect; least of all in times when dire events move so quickly that the whole economy of a nation has to undergo a complete transformation. I believe, however, that

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D 38<sup>4</sup>41

our national accomplishment is so great that the shortcomings  
affect the magnitude but little.

*The betrayal / charges of betrayal of  
of honour to public life*

Does anyone in this country, in his or her own heart, really believe that my colleagues and myself, carrying the responsibilities which we do in the name of the Canadian people, would countenance for one moment, any questionable transaction with respect to matters vitally affecting, not only our own but the nation's integrity at this time of war?

Do they think there is a single member of the Administration who, I will not say in the eyes of the country as a whole, but in the eyes of his associates in the Cabinet, would knowingly permit all those under his authority in any of the departments of the government, to attempt either to

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further his own personal interests or those of his friends, be they personal or political.

I do not believe there is, unless it be that the minds of some individuals have become so corrupted through dealings with which they themselves have become familiar that they are only able to attribute to others motives of the kind which would actuate their own behavior were they, through being in Office in a position to profit thereby. What is going to become of the public life of our country if men who value their personal honour and reputations above all else are, because of their readiness to serve their country in the halls of Parliament, to be branded every time there is an appeal to the people, as a body of crooks, of deceivers and corrupters, as hypocrites, as whited sepulchres, unfit to enjoy the society let alone the respect of decent men and women.

I ask my fellow citizens in Canada to take advantage of the opportunity they have on the 26th of this month, to register emphatically their disapproval of such a course of procedure in political campaigns which not only serves to destroy the good name and the effectiveness of any administration, but which is helping to undermine the very foundations on which rest all the standards that we desire to see maintained in our public life.

You have heard men speaking in this campaign, at meetings and over the radio; you have seen repeated in the press and there recorded for all times the kind of thing that they have been saying about the men who have been serving you as faithfully, as honestly and as industriously as it is possible for men to serve their country at a time of its greatest need. You have seen their efforts, not only to create suspicion and distrust to the utmost limit, but so to condemn the actions of others as to destroy confidence in government itself.

I ask you as a part of your duty to this country and its public men to make clear when the opportunity comes to you on the 26th, your indignation at that kind of campaigning, that hereafter there may be left to men and women of decent thought, feeling and integrity, some sense of security that they may enter into the service of their country, in its Parliament and its political organizations without being subjected to the humiliation of being branded as criminals and malefactors

and without having both their public reputations and private lives subject to blackmail in the eyes of their fellow-men, both in their own and in other lands.

This kind of thing, I submit, is uncalled for at any time, but doubly uncalled for at a time when men and women everywhere should be seeking that closer relationship of human brotherhood which begets trust in one another and the power to aid and bring comfort and assistance to minds that are filled with terror and hearts that are full of grief.

I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, how can these men who have been creating suspicion and distrust in our public life, who have been defaming the characters and the actions of my colleagues and myself, expect, were they given authority by you, to administer your affairs for the next five years, and ever expect to gain the co-operation of those who, throughout this campaign, they have been doing their utmost to destroy.

Just

Extract from The Prime Minister's Radio Address  
over Ontario provincial network - March 23, 1940:

D38145

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."

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.

(Radio address March 23, 1940 - Extract cont'd p. 2:)

D 38146

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?

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

MAR 25 1940

Subject.....

## King Scores Drew's Words About Rogers

### Toronto Reference Akin to Language Of the Nazis

Campaign methods of Conservative Leader Manion and his supporters "seeking to destroy the character and reputations of their opponents", had removed every possibility of a national government with Dr. Manion as leader, Prime Minister Mackenzie King declared in a broadcast address Saturday night.

In a 30-minute speech over an Ontario network, Mr. King suggested words used by a speaker at Dr. Manion's Toronto meeting were "singularly akin to the language and methods of those very Nazis whose system is endangering freedom the world over".

#### Reads Drew Extract.

The Prime Minister did not name the speaker but read from a report of the speech made by Lieut. Colonel George Drew, Ontario Conservative Leader, at the Toronto meeting in which Colonel Drew criticized Defence Minister Rogers.

**While declaring his conviction, which he believed was shared by his opponents, that Dr. Manion would not obtain a majority, in Tuesday's Dominion election, Mr. King pictured the possibility if the present administration were defeated and a government of Conservatives and other groups formed.**

"What kind of government would result?" Mr. King asked. "Will it be strong enough to prosecute our war effort successfully? 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."

The Prime Minister said the main objective of his government in prosecution of the war effort "has been and will continue to be the preservation and extension of freedom at home and abroad".

The proposed National Government of Dr. Manion had been rejected by Liberals and the Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation but "the New Democracy has not committed itself", Mr. King said.

#### Price of Their Support.

"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.

**"All that Dr. Manion is trying to do is to elect a party government by the device of calling it a national government."**

The Conservative Leader had spoken of coalition or union governments formed by Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Robert Borden, the Prime Minister said.

"Neither Sir John nor Sir Robert struck their party colors 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 made him the leader. They recognized that with the destruction of party identity the elements of coalition and union necessary to form a national government themselves disappeared.

"Moreover 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.

"When Sir Robert Borden invited Mr. Rowell (Hon. Newton 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'.

**"Sir Robert would not have said, nor would he have permitted any of his supporters to say, without protest, what was said in Dr. Manion's presence of the Minister of National Defence (Mr. Rogers) at his public meeting in 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'."

#### Served in Last War.

Referring to Mr. Rogers' service in the last war and the physical handicaps he suffered as a result, Mr. King described him as a man "who did not seek the Defence portfolio but accepted its burdens as a national duty".

The words to which he objected were used, Mr. King said, "by a man who is not without ambition to occupy the position now held by the honorable, courageous and able public servant whose sterling qualities and patriotic services he so contemptuously dismisses".

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date..... MAR 25 1940

Subject.....

D 38148

## Prime Minister Says Statutory Provisions Not To Be Deferred

**Mr. Mackenzie King Announces Govt. Has No Intention of Discontinuing Increases in Civil Service Salaries During the War**

**Plan for Transfer of Personnel in Service**

**Would Reduce Number Required To Be Brought Into Civil Service for Additional Wartime Work.**

"The government has no intention of deferring statutory increases during the coming year," Prime Minister Mackenzie King informed The Citizen Saturday evening. Mr. King's statement clarified the government's position on the question which has been fully discussed in recent weeks by the candidates in both Ottawa ridings in the federal election campaign which concludes with voting tomorrow.

### **\$80,000,000 Payroll.**

It is known that the government has been considering the question of the 80 million dollar annual payroll of the government service, at Ottawa and throughout Canada for all permanent and temporary employes, in relation to the heavy added government costs due to the war.

It was estimated the government hopes to make some considerable saving by transferring men and women already in the service to other special, war time work, thus making greater and more economical use of their services. This plan would reduce also the number required to be brought in from outside for added war work.

### **Added to Service.**

Already between 2,500 and 3,000 persons have been added to the government service since the war broke out last September. It has been estimated that probably as many as 6,000 more men and women will have to be employed in the ensuing fiscal year for greatly increased government war activities in many branches, particularly in the Defence Department with especial regard to the administrative side of the huge Commonwealth Air Training Plan in all parts of the country.

### **Helpful Discussions.**

The government, through Finance Minister J. L. Ralston, has had discussions recently with representatives of the organized Civil Service on problems affecting the government and the service due to the war. The government, The Citizen was told, has found these discussions helpful and has appreciated the co-operative spirit displayed by the different service representatives.

Early in January, when The Citizen discussed with Col. Ralston the reported possibility of statutory increases being deferred during war time, it was estimated, officially, that 8,500 employes in Canada would be directly affected to the extent of around \$850,000 annually in their pay.

### **Against Interference.**

Mr. King's clarifying statement as to the government's intentions means that, regardless of the Dominion-wide result of Tuesday's voting, statutory increases will not be interfered with because Hon. Dr. R. J. Manion, National government leader, at his Ottawa meeting last Wednesday night, said he opposed any interference with such increases—or with promotions—during war time.

All the five candidates in the two Ottawa ridings have made their individual position clear as being against any war time interference with statutory increases and promotions in the service. With, now both Mr. King and Dr. Manion having stated their views, as leaders, in similar vein, the question is disposed of favorably in the interests of the service, at least for the ensuing year, and, possibly, for the whole period of the war.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date..... MAR 25 1940

Subject.....

## KING SUGGESTS 'NATIONAL' USED AS MERE LABEL

Says Manion Campaign  
Has Ended Possibility  
of Any Union Ministry

DEPLORES EPITHET

(By R. A. FARQUHARSON.)  
(Staff Writer, The Globe and Mail.)

Ottawa, March 24.—In his final radio appeal to the electors on Saturday night, Prime Minister Mackenzie King attacked the sincerity of Hon. R. J. Manion's National Government campaign, labelling it a device to elect a party government under another label.

If Dr. Manion had any real desire to form a National Government, Mr. King said, he would not have expended so much time "antagonizing and villifying the very men with whom he would have to cooperate in the affairs of government."

The Premier took Dr. Manion to task particularly for permitting Colonel George Drew in his presence and without rebuke to refer to Hon. Norman Rogers "as that dyspeptic little son of Mars."

"These words," Mr. King said, "were used of a man whose physical and moral courage has triumphed over the physical handicap which is the heritage of his war service."

**Sees Resemblance to Nazis.**

Mr. King asked that the words spoken at Dr. Manion's Toronto meeting be examined with care. "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?" he asked.

Referring to Mr. Rogers' service in the last war and the physical handicaps he suffered as a result, Mr. King described him as a man "who did not seek the defense portfolio, but accepted its burdens as a national duty."

The words to which he objected were used, Mr. King said, "by a man who is not without ambition to occupy the position now held by the honorable, courageous and able public servant whose sterling qualities and patriotic services he so contemptuously dismisses."

Dr. Manion and his associates, Mr. King said, "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."

Having abandoned hope in some thirty constituencies before the election, what were Dr. Manion's chances of securing a majority in Parliament? Mr. King asked. "You know and I know and I believe Dr. Manion knows he will not secure a majority from his own candidates," the Premier declared, and then asked if a coalition of Dr. Manion's supporters with the C.C.F., the Social Credit-New Democrats and the Independents would provide "the kind of government Canada wants in wartime?"

**Doubts Its Strength.**

"What kind of government would result?" Mr. King asked. "Will it be strong enough to prosecute our war effort successfully?"

"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."

The Prime Minister said the main objective of his Government in prosecution of the war effort "has been, and will continue to be, the preservation and extension of freedom at home and abroad."

The proposed National Government of Dr. Manion had been rejected by Liberals and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, but "the New Democracy has not committed itself," Mr. King said.

"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."

**Denies Party Colors Struck.**

The Conservative Leader had spoken of Coalition or Union Governments formed by Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Robert Borden, the Prime Minister said.

"Neither Sir John nor Sir Robert struck their party colors and then tried to make a Joseph's coat of the rags and tatters that remained," he said.

"Neither of them 'submerged' as Dr. Manion says he has done the party which made him the Leader. They recognized that with the destruction of party identity the elements of coalition and union necessary to form a National Government themselves disappeared.

"Moreover, 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.

"When Sir Robert Borden invited Mr. Rowell (Hon. Newton 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.'"

**Defends Dissolution.**

The Prime Minister devoted the whole of his last half-hour on the air before the election to discussion of two points—the quick dissolution of Parliament and the National Government proposal. The address was heard only over Ontario stations and Mr. King stated that these two subjects had been discussed in Ontario "largely to the exclusion of all others."

Because of the quick dissolution "the election which preserved your rights is happily almost over," Mr. King declared. "Are we not fortunate indeed, that the men in our fighting forces have already cast their ballots, and the election will be over before the intensity of wholesale and concentrated warfare descends upon Europe?"

The return of the Government, Mr. King declared in closing, "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."

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....Toronto Star.....

Date.....Mar. 25/40.....

Subject.....

## Liberals Alienated by Conservative Campaign of Vituperation, Premier Says

### WAR VICTORY AIM

Censures George Drew for "Nazi-Like" Affront to Hon. Norman Rogers

By H. R. ARMSTRONG

Ottawa, March 25.—No matter what the outcome of the election Hon. R. J. Manion could not possibly form a really national war government, Prime Minister Mackenzie King declared in his final campaign broadcast over a network of Ontario stations.

By his campaign of abuse and vilification of the government and its supporters, the Conservative leader has alienated the Liberal party, Mr. King pointed out. If the government were defeated, he warned, Dr. Manion would have to rely on support of the C.C.F. and New Democracy parties to secure a majority in parliament.

"Can you imagine an effective government stretching all the way from genuine Conservatism to the extremity of monetary theorists?" he demanded. If the price Dr. Manion had to pay for New Democracy support was Social Credit and inflation, Mr. King stated, the resulting damage to national credit would slow up the Dominion's war effort to the danger point. But, he charged, Dr. Manion was "trying by subterfuge to elect a party government in the guise of national government."

On the other hand, the Canadian prime minister asserted, return of the present administration would everywhere be accepted as evidence of the people's desire for a united war effort by a united Canada. By re-electing the present government the Canadian people would be returning a tried and experienced administration to direct the victory drive and establish a sound peace.

#### Aim to Secure Victory

"Our citizens will then be able to forget party difference and join with the administration in the winning of the war," he assured. "At

this time all our thoughts should be concentrated on the one object of a great national effort to achieve victory, to secure peace and maintain freedom, not only in Canada, but for Britain and France and wherever tyranny and aggression have sought to extend their sway."

Mr. King rebuked Dr. Manion for not having repudiated the attack made by George Drew at Toronto, upon Hon. Norman Rogers, defence minister. He quoted Mr. Drew as saying of Mr. Rogers: "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."

"These words," admonished the prime minister, "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; of a man whose physical and moral courage has triumphed over the physical handicap which is the heritage of war service. They were used of a man who did not seek the portfolio of minister of defence but accepted its burdens as a patriotic duty."

The language of this attack was singularly akin to that of the very Nazis whose system now endangered world freedom, Mr. King asserted. "What will become of Canada if the mentality and the methods implied ever become a part of the supreme authority in our country?" he asked. "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."

#### Vindicates Democracy

Explaining his reasons for dissolution of parliament, Mr. King quoted Berriedale Keith, of Edinburgh University, regarded as one of the best known authorities on the constitution of the British Empire, as stating that the Canadian premier's action "should be regarded as the most striking vindication of democratic government, in the British Commonwealth."

Dissolution, he said, was a political disadvantage to the government. But this aspect had been disregarded because it was felt to be in the true interests of the Dominion and energetic prosecution of the war. "It should never be forgotten," he reminded, "that only by free and regular elections is democracy itself preserved."

Parliament had been dissolved, he stated, so that Canada would not lose its own democratic freedom while it was engaged in the struggle to preserve it at home and abroad.

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The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Mar. 25/40

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**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

MONTREAL GAZETTE

D 38151

Date.....

MAR 25 1940

Subject.....

## KING FORESEES HERRIDGE BLOC AS MANION ALLY

Says Both Liberals and C.C.F.  
Spurn 'National' Regime

### INFLATION BOGEY RAISED

Premier Fears Opponents  
Would Tamper With Nation's  
Credit If Elected

Ottawa, March 24.—(P)—Campaign methods of Conservative Leader Manion and his supporters "seeking to destroy the character and reputations of their opponents," had removed every possibility of a National Government with Dr. Manion as leader, Prime Minister Mackenzie King declared in a broadcast address Saturday night.

In a 30-minute speech over an Ontario network, Mr. King suggested words used by a speaker at Dr. Manion's Toronto meeting were "singularly akin to the language and methods of those very Nazis whose system is endangering freedom the world over."

The Prime Minister did not name the speaker but read from a report of the speech made by Lieut.-Col. George Drew, Ontario Conservative leader, at the Toronto meeting in which Col. Drew criticized Defence Minister Rogers.

While declaring his conviction, which he believed was shared by his opponents, that Dr. Manion would not obtain a majority in Tuesday's Dominion election, Mr. King pictured the possibility if the present administration were defeated and a Government of Conservatives and other groups formed.

"What kind of Government would result?" Mr. King asked. "Would it be strong enough to prosecute our war effort successfully?"

"And how would all this look to the outside world? How would it be viewed in Germany? The Government which had taken Canada unaided into the war would have been defeated."

The Prime Minister said the main objective of his Government in prosecution of the war effort "has been and will continue to be the preservation and extension of freedom at home and abroad."

#### HINTS HERRIDGE TIE-UP.

The proposed National Government of Dr. Manion had been rejected by Liberals and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation but "the New Democracy has not committed itself," Mr. King said.

"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.

"All that Dr. Manion is trying to do is to elect a party government by the device of calling it a National Government."

The Conservative leader had spoken of coalition or union governments formed by Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Robert Borden, the Prime Minister said.

"Neither Sir John nor Sir Robert struck their party colors 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 made him the leader. They recognized that with the destruction of party identity the elements of coalition and union necessary to form a National Government themselves disappeared.

"Moreover 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.

"When Sir Robert Borden invited Mr. Rowell (Hon. Newton

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.'

"Sir Robert would not have said, nor would he have permitted any of his supporters to say, without protest, what was said in Dr. Manion's presence of the Minister of National Defence (Mr. Rogers) at his public meeting in 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.'"

Referring to Mr. Rogers' service in the last war and the physical handicaps he suffered as a result, Mr. King described him as a man "who did not seek the defence portfolio but accepted its burdens as a national duty."

The words to which he objected were used, Mr. King said, "by a man who is not without ambition to occupy the position now held by the honorable, courageous and able public servant whose sterling qualities and patriotic services he so contemptuously dismisses."

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The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date.....

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"Neither Sir John nor Sir Robert struck their party colors and then tried to make a Joseph's coat of the rags and tatters that remained."

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"Moreover 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."

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**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN D 38152

Date..... MAR 25 1940

Subject.....

## No Possibility Nat. Govt. With Manion Leader

### Assertion of Prime Minister, Who Says Conservatives Seek to Destroy Opponents' Reputations.

Campaign methods of Conservative Leader Manion and his supporters "seeking to destroy the character and reputations of their opponents," had removed every possibility of a National government with Dr. Manion as leader, Prime Minister Mackenzie King declared in a broadcast address Saturday night.

#### Akin to Nazi Methods.

In a 30-minute speech over an Ontario network, Mr. King suggested words used by a speaker at Dr. Manion's Toronto meeting were "singularly akin to the language and methods of those very Nazis whose system is endangering freedom the world over."

The Prime Minister did not name the speaker but read from a report of the speech made by Lieut.-Col. George Drew, Ontario Conservative leader, at the Toronto meeting in which Col. Drew criticized Defence Minister Rogers.

While declaring his conviction, which he believed was shared by his opponents, that Dr. Manion would not obtain a majority, in Tuesday's Dominion election, Mr. King pictured the possibility if the present administration were defeated and a government of Conservatives and other groups formed.

"What kind of government would result?" Mr. King asked. "Will it be strong enough to prosecute our war effort successfully?"

#### To Outside World.

"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."

The Prime Minister said the main objective of his government in prosecution of the war effort "has been and will continue to be the preservation and extension of freedom at home and abroad."

The proposed National government of Dr. Manion had been rejected by Liberals and the Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation but "the New Democracy has not committed itself," Mr. King said.

"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.

"All that Dr. Manion is trying to do is to elect a party government by the device of calling it a National government."

The Conservative leader had

spoken of coalition or union governments formed by Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Robert Borden, the Prime Minister said.

"Neither Sir John nor Sir Robert struck their party colors and then tried to make a Joseph's coat of the rags and tatters the remained.

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"Sir Robert would not have said, nor would he have permitted any of his supporters to say, without protest, what was said in Dr. Manion's presence of the minister of national defence (Mr. Rogers) at his public meeting in Toronto.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

38133

Subject.....

### Aa National Party.

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# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram

Date Mar. 25/49

D 38154

Subject .....

## KING ASSERTS LIBERAL WIN MEANS UNITY

**Claims Citizens Will Forget  
Party Differences After  
Election and "Join in Win-  
ning the War"**

Ottawa, March 25—Prime Minister Mackenzie King said in a political speech here that the return of the present Government in tomorrow's Dominion election "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 unity of the nation in its war effort," he said in a 30-minute broadcast Saturday night over an Ontario network.

"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."

The Prime Minister was critical of Conservative Leader Manion's plan for National Government and declared "all that Dr. Manion is trying to do is to elect a party government by the device of calling it a National Government."

If the Conservative leader and those supporting him 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."

Campaign methods of the Conservatives "seeking to destroy the character and reputations of their opponents" had removed every possibility of a National Government with Dr. Manion as leader, Mr. King continued.

Mr. King said he did not know where Dr. Manion would find his allies for any National Government because the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation had repudiated any such alliance and the New Democracy had not committed itself.

The Prime Minister defended his decision to have Parliament dissolved last January and said that 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.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel/Bobine
62		Canada and the War, Radio address by King	8 Mar. 1940	D 37761 - D 37786	
62		Campaign Speech of Mr. King	10 Mar. 1940	D 37787 - D 37899	
62		Re: Toronto Meeting, Massey Hall	14 Mar. 1940	D 37900 - D 38029	
62		Draft Broadcasts, General Elections, 1940, Radio	Mar. 1940	D 38030 - D 38154	
62		Ottawa meeting, Auditorium	25 Mar. 1940	D 38155 - D 38175	
62		Results of Election	26 Mar. 1940	D 38176 - D 38182	
63		"The Present Outlook". Speeches outside Parliament	30 Apr. 1940	D 38183 - D 38203	
63		German Invasion of Belgium and the Netherlands, King Radio Address	10 May 1940	D 38204 - D 38216	
63		Speech of Mr. King on Suspension of House proceedings and re: The Appointment of the Hon. R.B. Hanson, as House Leader of the Conservative Party	16 May 1940	D 38217 - D 38221	
63		Speech on the Address in reply in Parliament	20 May 1940	D 38222 - D 38224	

C.P.

Ottawa meeting,  
Auditorium, 25.iii.40

Privilege to address fellow-citizens.

Many reasons given why Canada's war effort should be entrusted to a different government.

- (1) Not married.
- (2) Have house in country.
- (3) Dr. Manion has made innumerable speeches - travelled thousands of miles.
- (4) Non-co-operation with Manion.

Re: Dissolution

D 38155

Hammy Hill's statement.

Grattan O'Leary's statement.

C.F.

Extract from Canadian Press report in  
The Ottawa Citizen of March 25, 1940,  
of Col. Drew's speech in Windsor, Ont.,  
March 24th:

Col. Drew described Defence  
Minister Rogers as a "dyspeptic little  
son of Mars" and said: "I'm in no way  
sorry for those words -- they describe  
the minister better than any I could  
think of."

D38156

D38157

Ottawa meeting,  
Auditorium, March 25, 1940

Privilege to address fellow-citizens.

Resident Ottawa - 40 years.

Many changes in Ottawa in that time.

Am proud to feel I have had a share in bringing  
some of them about.

As well-known to most as Pat is to children on Sandy Hill.

Many reasons given why Canada's war effort should be entrusted  
to a different government.

(1) I am not married or father to a large family.

Plead guilty in this case to  
putting party before country.

(2) That I have a home in the country which I go to  
occasionally.

Cottage at Kingsmere - 40 years.

Kingsmere - 12 miles.  
Chequers - 30 "  
Hawarden - 270 miles.

Duncan MacTavish also cottage at Kingsmere.

Cairine Wilson - house at Rockliffe.

Day will come when Kingsmere as much a suburb  
of Canada's Capital as Rockliffe is to  
present Capital.

Better if some public men talked less and  
saw a little more of the country.

(3) Dr. Manion has made innumerable speeches -  
travelled thousands of miles.

I am blamed for not following example.

Have not regarded political meetings as  
vaudeville performances, or

general election as marathon - long  
distance race.

I have to think about what will happen  
the day after tomorrow.

My voice in better shape tonight  
than Manion's and I am in better shape  
to deal with problems of government.

What would have been said if I had left the  
Capital in these times -  
party before country,

and did not care what happened about the war.

Note: both myself and party have been handicapped  
but believe people understand.

(4) Non-co-operation with Manion.

It takes two to co-operate.

Not have motives misconstrued and  
actions misrepresented.

See statement in House of Commons.

Re: DISSOLUTION

Things that opponents condemn me for, I think I  
should be praised for.

Hammy Hill's statement.  
Grattan O'Leary's statement.

Ottawa Speech

City - resided last 40 years.

1. Dissolution

Ontario Legislature - what said

How matters would have gone on in Parliament.

Manion's speech - effect on war effort

Estimates

Budget.

2. National Government

How formed

Compare with Sir John and Sir Robert

" " Stevens

Need to show colours

Need to work together

(throw into river)

Drew again

Word for Rogers

3. Task of P.M.

Brunt of the wounds - Lincoln

What would happen if I had met with Manion's wish

(National Government)

Party before country

D 38159

Ottawa Speech

City - resided last 40 years.

1. Dissolution

Ontario Legislature - what said

How matters would have gone on in Parliament.

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(National Government)

Party before country

**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

Party before country  
 returning to old parties  
 united with financial interests  
 Effect on war effort.

Liberals: Conservatives  
 versus C.C.F., Social Credit, Independents.

Class war

Note: Ottawa may help to determine result

4. What the situation will be on Wednesday

(a) if govt. returned by a good majority

" I am defeated

" govt. not returned

(b) if Manion and other groups

his party in majority

with other groups

1. if Manion defeated

2. if Manion called on to form a govt.

get his Ministers (out of Nat. Govt.)

otherwise -- effect on war effort

10 days -

the election of Ministers

7 or 8 weeks

(what if Ministers defeated?)

Effect on war effort

get familiar with

get ready for Parliament

How Manion govt. likely to work in Parliament:

effect on war effort

parties nearly divided

Party govt. best for Canada and all classes.

5. Election over - the real issue

Victory. Peace. Freedom.

thought we had all 3

only a partial victory

National War Memorial

King - enduring peace, enduring freedom

this is the record of moral progress

With both we will have victory

Our memorial will serve for both -

1914 - 1918

add dates 1939 -

The heart of Canada.

(See King's address)

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... Toronto Star

Date..... Mar. 26/40

Subject.....

## MANION WIN WOULD MEAN CRUCIAL DELAY, IS WARNING

May Take Weeks to Get All Ministers Seats, and Summon  
House—Cabinet Composition Still a Mystery  
—Answers Criticism

Ottawa, March 26.—After an eight weeks' campaign the public was still completely in the dark as to the identity of the men Hon. R. J. Manion would choose for his cabinet, or what policies the so-called "National government" would pursue were the present government to be defeated. Prime Minister Mackenzie King told a cheering audience that packed the large Hockey Auditorium here last night. His text follows.

In the course of my public life, about which you have heard a good deal on both sides during the present election campaign, there have been many incidents which it is a great pleasure for me to recall, but I doubt whether there is any which will linger in my memory quite so long as this great gathering this evening, and the generous welcome which you have so kindly given me and the remarks that have been made with reference to myself and those who are supporting me in the campaign.

During the last few weeks I have heard so much and have read so much about myself that I have begun to wonder what sort of a fellow I am. In that regard I can only say that it is a great relief to me at the close of the campaign to be once again addressing my fellow-citizens in the city in which I have lived for 40 years.

Mr. MacTavish has been kind enough to make some reference to my having been a citizen of Ottawa for a good many years. I should hardly believe it myself, if I did not know it as a matter of fact, but the fact is that 40 years have gone by since I first came to Ottawa to enter the public service here. In those 40 years I have come to know a great many of the citizens of the capital, some intimately and others whose acquaintance I should like to have cultivated to a greater extent than I have done; and to most of you I am fairly well known, almost as well known as my good old dog Pat is known to so many of the children around Sandy Hill.

### Extraordinary Arguments

A good many reasons have been given you in the course of this campaign as to why the government should be changed. Some of these reasons, I must say, strike me as most extraordinary.

One of the reasons given as to why I should not continue in office, and why Dr. Manion should succeed me, is that I am not a married man and have not a large family. That may be a great loss to the country, but I should like to know just how that is going to affect the winning of the war.

Another reason is that I happen to have a house in the country. Well, so I have . . . I have had it for 40 years. It is said that I go to the country in the summer and spend an occasional week-end there. That is true, for occasionally I do get away from the capital for a short time. But surely that is an extraordinary reason why you should change the government. In England, some benevolent gentlemen have made provision for a country estate known as Chequers, for the sole purpose of affording the prime minister of Great Britain a country residence, no matter who that prime minister may happen to be.

It is not so very long ago that Rockcliffe, where our good friend Senator Wilson lives, seemed to be a

long way out of the capital. I believe the day will come when Kingsmere will be as close a suburb of this great capital as Rockcliffe is.

Another argument was put forward by Dr. Manion in his concluding address the other evening. Dr. Manion has made I do not know how many speeches, and has travelled I do not know how many thousands of miles. It is complained that I have not gone around the country addressing a large number of meet-

### Radio Better Way

I have taken the view that the problems facing the country today, and the grave issues that are at stake, could be presented to the Canadian people more advantageously by being stated quietly over the radio, so that they might be heard from one end of Canada to the other.

But one very soon learns in politics that no matter what you do, your opponents will tell you you ought to have done the opposite. In the cabinet of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, when his colleagues spoke about any particular attitude to some question or other and said: "If you do so and so your opponents will say that you ought to have done something else." Sir Wilfrid would reply: "Yes, and if you did the opposite they would tell you that you ought to have done so and so; therefore it will be so and so, no matter what happens."

Now, supposing that instead of remaining as much as I possibly could at the seat of government here in Ottawa—for which my opponents today are condemning me—I had gone about the country addressing meetings everywhere. My opponents would have said that instead of attending to the country's business I was putting party before country and travelling from Vancouver to Halifax addressing political meetings.

### Duty Came First

It has been a great handicap to me personally, and perhaps I am guilty of a little vanity when I say that it may have been a handicap to some of my good friends who are candidates, that I have not been able to appear before their electors and speak for them. I have felt, however, that no matter what the consequences might be my duty was to be in the capital. I am not so sure, after all, that we are not all better off. I rather think my voice is in a better shape at this moment than Dr. Manion's; I am in better shape all round, I believe, and being in good shape counts for a great deal when one has to conduct the nation's business.

What possible bearing will the number of speeches that Dr. Manion has made, and the number of miles that he has travelled across the country, have upon the outcome of the war?

A criticism has been made that I have not co-operated with Dr. Manion as fully as I should have done. It is said that Dr. Manion was willing to co-operate and I should have responded. Well, it takes two to co-operate.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

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The Prime Minister

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Date.....

Subject.....

I have here a statement made by Dr. Manion in parliament on March 7, 1939. Appreciating the seriousness of the situation, I felt that it was my duty to call in not only Dr. Manion, but the leaders of the other parties, and to show them some of the dispatches coming to the government—communications from the prime minister of

Great Britain—which indicated the condition was grave indeed. I showed these dispatches to Dr. Manion and the others, because I felt that they were as serious as anything could be, and this is what Dr. Manion said shortly after:

"When I heard the right honorable gentleman even bring up the phantom of war . . ."

I ask you to keep in mind the fact that Dr. Manion says that we should have been prepared for this war three years ago.

A voice: Five years ago.

Mr. Mackenzie King: Someone says five years ago and Dr. Manion was suggesting that we should have had a general election last June or July. I do not know what the condition of the country would have been if I had listened to the leader of the opposition then. Let me quote what he said on March 7:

"When I heard the right honorable gentleman even bring up the phantom of war, as he did the other day, to frighten the people, I suppose without any more basis for it than there is a basis for very much that the right honorable gentleman says . . . I doubt whether the right honorable gentleman the other day, when he stood up in this House and implied or made a statement to the effect that we are possibly on the verge of war, had anything at all in the back of his head except the idea of evading the question put to him as to whether he favored the giving of contracts on that basis."

#### How Can You Co-operate?

Now, how can you co-operate with a man when, after you have shown him documents of a grave nature indicating the possibility of war, and after you have spoken earnestly in parliament urging upon your fellow members the importance of being careful in one's utterances in view of the gravity of the situation, and after you have confided in him—that man turns around and says that when you made a statement to the effect that we were on the verge of war you had in the back of your head only the idea of evading a question put to you? Again, he makes this statement:

"His tactics are to draw a red herring across the trail. That is what he did the other day with regard to this supposedly terribly critical world situation—a situation no more critical than it has been for months and months . . ."

#### Accused of Drawing Herring

In other words, when I was telling this country that we were on the verge of war and advising that we should be careful in whatever we did to ensure that our acts should not be misinterpreted, then I am told by one to whom I showed confidential documents that I am drawing a red herring across the trail. Again I quote:

"He called me in one day and showed me some of the dispatches. . . . I know his tactics: He wanted to be able to stand up in this House and say that on one occasion he called me in. That is his slippery way. I know his tactics, his slippery tactics."

I ask you, ladies and gentlemen: How can you do much in the way of co-operation with anyone who will so misinterpret and misrepresent both your motives and your acts?

Some of my best friends are among the leading Conservatives in this city, and one of my best friends is "Hammie" Hill. On Saturday night last there was a great Conservative gathering in which Hammie, as president, took his part and gave a nice address. I want to be as kind to him as he was to me. I quote from the Ottawa Journal of this morning, March 25, reporting what Mr. Hill said:

"On the subject of the closing of parliament, Mr. King had given a very nice address on constitutional law, but he had said nothing on the specific point of his having closed parliament after opening it. . . . Mr. King had completely ignored the point that he had called parliament together and promised Dr. Manion and the opposition there would be another session."

Mr. Hill is right on one point and wrong on the other. I had said that I would call parliament together; but he is wrong when he says I promised that there would be another session. The best proof of that is to be found in the words I used in parliament, when I was asked by Dr. Manion whether I intended to dissolve parliament immediately, or call another session before an election.

#### Had to be Careful

"I realized the importance of being particularly careful not to bind a government with respect to its right to appeal to the people at any moment, and so I intimated to him that it was my intention to have parliament called again in January, and that it might possibly be necessary to have parliament called before that. I said parliament might be called in January, when we would be in a position to consider developments that might ensue meanwhile. And what did ensue? The legislature of Ontario passed a resolution condemning the war effort of the present administration—the legislature of the largest province in the Dominion—and that resolution was introduced by the premier of that province, we know now for what reason, and it was supported by some of his ministers and by the leader of the opposition and every member of the opposition.

#### Could Not Ignore Challenge

Was not that a circumstance of which account should be taken? Suppose I had ignored that resolution, what would be said today? Everywhere throughout this country it would have been said that I cared more for hanging on to office than I did for the country. It would have been said that I had refused to allow the people to determine what government they could trust.

But altogether apart from that, there were strong reasons why an immediate election should be held. Another gentleman who spoke at the Conservative meeting the other evening is a personal friend of mine, although he pitches into me a good deal. I refer to Grattan O'Leary. Mr. O'Leary was condemning the fact that parliament had been summarily closed on Jan. 25. Now, Mr. O'Leary on Jan. 24 spoke in Vancouver, and the Canadian Press reports: "He told the Vancouver board of trade last night that there would be 'grave injury to this country if we did not have

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**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

Name of Publication.....

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a general election at the earliest possible time." That was on Jan. 24.

**Different Views**

It was after the Ontario legislature had condemned the action of the present government in its war effort, but it was before parliament met. Mr. O'Leary said that there would be grave injury to this country if we did not have a general election at the earliest possible time. I made it the earliest possible time and now Mr. O'Leary says that I was wrong.

He said more than that, and this is rather interesting, too. He said the present war might be a long one—that Canada needs a strong government and a strong opposition. Well, today he is supporting national government, which would do away with all opposition. What do you make of that?

He went a step further. I want to thank him for this, and I hope the Journal will publish it broadcast tomorrow morning. He said, "We must make a change in the government." I do not want the Journal to stop there; I want them to publish the whole statement. This is what follows: "But by that I don't mean turning the present government out of office."

**To Get His Wish**

Could anything be kinder than that, or truer? "We must make a change in the government, but by that I do not mean turning the present government out of office. We need a new and fresh parliament with a strong opposition." Well, he is going to get his new and fresh parliament. I am not going to say anything on how strong the opposition is going to be.

Since the election came on there has been an advocacy of not a strong opposition, not a strong government, but a national government. None of us know its policy or name of the members; none of us know anything about it.

Let me now say a word about national government. I know there are lots of people who feel—and it is natural that they should feel so—that if we can bring about a condition where all men and women would think alike, and would act alike, that that would be an ideal state of existence. While I believe in the ideal, I do not think you will find it this side of heaven, because people do not think alike, and they do not act alike. Some people have strong, broad, humanitarian instincts; others act differently. You have men who are radical; others who are very conservative. Then

you have a large body of men and women who weigh a situation in the light of its needs, sometimes inclining in one direction, sometimes in the other, but prepared to take the sensible attitude in regard to each situation as it arises.

**Would Be Only One Party**

Now, national government—what they mean is union government, or coalition—would mean doing away with all parties and you would have this one party going ahead and doing all that was necessary for the state.

There may be occasions when something in the nature of a coalition or union government may be necessary. You have heard a great deal of what Sir John Macdonald and Sir Robert Borden did. You are told that Sir John Macdonald joined with George Brown and others of that day. What was the reason then? The parties were so evenly divided in the old Canada before Confederation that this was the situation: On one side of the Speaker you had a large number of men from Ontario, for the most part Protestant and English speaking; you had on the other side a large number from Quebec, Roman Catholic and French speaking. They were so evenly balanced that government was impossible altogether. The wise men in the groups said "We cannot carry on government at all unless some of us are broad enough to get together and iron out these differences and form a government to carry on." We have no such situation in Canada today, and I do not think we are likely to have. There never was a government in this country where French and Catholic and English and Protestant stood together in such complete unanimity of thought and feeling.

**Country Came First**

You hear Dr. Manion say I am putting party before country. Well, from the day of Confederation to the day of his death Sir John Macdonald was leader of the Conservative party, and not a member of any coalition.

Do you mean to tell me that Sir John Macdonald during all those years put party before country because he was heading a party administration? He realized that if you are going to have government by the majority of the people you have to have a party which will express the views of the majority.

That is the only way in which you can carry on democratic government, and the way in which Sir John Macdonald carried on. He had a great body of the people behind him; he was leading a party, but he was leading the country, and I must say this: He was thinking of the country more than he was thinking of the party.

**Conscription Issue**

Now, let us come to Sir Robert Borden's Union government of the last war. Mind you, this was three years after the war had started. We did not start with certain policies definitely defined. The point came where it was thought

advisable to have conscription put through. There were men in both parties, Liberal and Conservative, who believed in conscription. There were some in the Liberal party and some in the Conservative party who did not; but those who believed in conscription felt so strongly that they supported Sir Robert Borden. I was acquainted with certain Liberals who joined him, and they joined him on that specific issue.

If you examine the national government proposed today you will notice the differences immediately. They leave out of account altogether the fact that the whole strength of a national government depends upon the men composing it and the following they can carry. Sir John Macdonald's government as a coalition would have been no good if Sir John could not carry his following with him, and if he had not had opposed to him the men at the head of the Liberal party at the time.

**Knew Who Was With Borden**

That also applies to Sir Robert Borden. When Sir Robert formed his government you knew who his ministers were. You knew who the Liberals were whom he took into the government before it was formed. They had a definite policy and you knew what it was.

Is there a man or woman in this audience tonight, after eight weeks of campaigning and on the very eve of the election, who knows who will compose Dr. Manion's national government?

They want you to vote for something you do not know anything about. We have had one or two instances of that kind. Let me mention one familiar to you because some of you got fooled on it last election. It was thought by one who is Dr. Manion's closest lieutenant today, but whom he very much disavowed at that time, that we ought to have a new party, so Mr. Stevens formed what was called the Reconstruction party.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

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This is how he did it, and you will see how close it is to what Dr. Manion did. He said: "First of all we will submerge the party we are connected with." Dr. Manion said, in order to form a national government the first thing he felt was necessary was to submerge the Conservative party. These are his own words.

His platform did not meet the needs all over the country, so he began to add promises. He said he would do this in Halifax, this in Saint John, this in Ottawa, and so on to Vancouver. Then came the day of the election. Next morning they found so far as the Reconstruction party was concerned there was only one person elected, and that was Harry Stevens.

#### Answers Questioner

Well, now, I do not say it will happen, but it might happen to Dr. Manion tomorrow. I will not say all his candidates will be beaten, but I think he should not be the only one left; I think he ought to be the first to go. I am going to ask you to consider the condition if Dr. Manion is defeated tomorrow.

A voice: What about yourself?

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King: My friend, I will answer you at once. If Dr. Manion is defeated tomorrow there is no head to his party; there is not a man pledged to carry on a single policy or a single promise that he has made. (Applause).

A voice: What about yourself?

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King: Wait a moment, my friend. If I am beaten tomorrow there are 15 men in my government, any one of whom is capable of being prime minister. Where will you get a better one than Colonel Ralston? What I have said of Colonel Ralston applies equally well to my colleagues.

#### Won't Lose An Hour

What will happen on Wednesday morning? Some one has been kind enough to say I may be back again. If I am, we will go right on with the war effort with all our might and main. We will thank God with all our hearts that the general election is over and our concentrated effort can be given to winning the war. Not an hour will be lost.

We already know what the plans are; we have been in full communication with the British government. We know what they want to have done; we are familiar with what has already happened, in association with men and women who have been many years in the public service.

Don't ever run away with the idea that the government is the only body that carries on the war. Except for the great service rendered by the public servants of this country, no government could carry on today. These men and women know what has to be done.

#### Promises Can Fail

Suppose Dr. Manion is defeated—that might happen. I have been defeated once or twice myself in the position of leadership, but not in as critical a time as the present, fortunately. But take the position of Dr. Manion who has made all kinds of promises. He is the only one who has undertaken to carry them out. No one man in this country backed up these promises. The Conservative party would not honor them because they would ruin this country so it would be impossible to carry on the war effort at all.

Suppose the followers of Dr. Manion, some C.C.F. members and others, bring about a situation where the majority are opposed to the

present government but where members of the present government are in the majority of the main opposition party. Are we going to be faced with an opposition stronger than the government, with no leader at the head? My duty would be to resign. How is the situation going to be readjusted?

Suppose Dr. Manion is returned. Suppose a lot of people had been voting blindly, because this national government is an extraordinary thing—I do not think any leader of a party ever had the nerve to call the party a government before it was one. That is what Dr. Manion is doing. You are voting for two governments, the Mackenzie King government and the national government. The Mackenzie King government is a real government, but the national government is "N.G."—no government. So your choice is between the two.

If Dr. Manion came in his first duty would be to form a government. He would have to find his ministers. Unless they are going to be chosen from his own candidates today, he is going to have another problem on his hands. If you have been looking over the list of candidates, do you think you could pick out enough to make a government?

#### Would Be Long Delay

If he cannot find them there, he has to look around to find the ministers to fill the different portfolios. The present government carries on until the new government is formed, eight or 10 days. Unless his ministers are already in the House of Commons he has to have by-elections. Are you going to gamble on this situation? It would take another seven or eight weeks to elect these ministers before any parliament could meet. What kind of a condition is this country going to be in? That is what comes of Dr. Manion starting the wrong way.

#### What Then? He Asks

Then, if there is to be a ministry elected, what then?

Just imagine the situation, a new group of men trying to take hold of the affairs of this country and deal with them in a time of war such as we are in at the moment. There is the position facing the voter tomorrow, friends. That is the choice you are making. And, I want to impress this upon you, every man or woman who casts his or her ballot is voting for one of two things for a continuance of this government which is known and which is ready to go on with its war effort; or else to leave the future of this country in the position, not only in its own eyes, but also in the eyes of the people of Britain and France, where we will still have to skirmish around for months before we can get a government formed and secure support for it throughout the length and breadth of the country.

The National government surely may get a certain number elected, the Social Crediters may get a certain number elected, and the independents may get a certain number elected; and these groups combined will make up the opposition. What sort of a position are we going to be in to carry on the war if parliament is composed of groups of that kind and they are anywhere evenly balanced? The only way in which the present government can deal with the war situation is to have so strong a majority behind its work that no matter how strong the opposition may be we may be able to carry on in accordance with the will and the wish of the Canadian people.

That is why I am asking for a strong support. There is only one way in which Canada can speak with a voice that will help this great cause; there is only one way

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in which she can speak an unmistakable promise to Britain and France tomorrow, saying "we are united," and that is by supporting the government that brought the country into the war, and brought it in united, and will enable it to carry on its war effort in the manner in which it is now being prosecuted (applause).

### Verdict in Germany

Let me ask you, ladies and gentlemen, what will be the interpretation of tomorrow's verdict in Germany if by any chance this present administration should be defeated. They know we have been a united country. They know we have been a united people. They know we have been having a political battle here. They are watching to see what the people say. I tell you that there was nothing that happened after the opening of the war which gave more heart and courage to Britain and to France than what took place in the province of Quebec when those who opposed Canada's war efforts were thrown out of office and another government went in. And I believe that the same thing will be true

tomorrow if you return the present administration, and I ask every one of you to give us your support. I leave it to you, ladies and gentlemen, to think over very carefully tonight the significance of your vote tomorrow.

### War Only Beginning

You are making history at a time when history is being made in a manner that is going to change the whole future of this world. There never has been and there never will be again, a war such as the present war, and which is likely to be—as Mr. Ralston told you tonight—anything but a short war. Don't imagine it is going to be a short war. Don't imagine the war is going to stop just because we wish it to. I am afraid it has only begun. Up to the present there has been fighting on the sea. Up to the present there has begun to be fighting in the air. We have yet to witness the terrible concentration that will come when fighting has begun on land as well.

And we have all these forces, on the sea, in the air, and on the land, combined with all their power against oppression and against aggression.

I would not ask you for this support if I did not honestly believe that a united war effort in this country can only be attained—I want to say, can only be attained—can only be attained by a united country. And I would not ask that if I did not also believe that this country can be kept united under its present government, constituted as it is today, better than it can be under an unknown administration that might be formed at any time.

### Tribute of Confidence

May I say this word, and I say it with a good deal of pride? In the last parliament I had around me 16 colleagues, every one of whom—excepting one, who has been taken away by death, and two who have had to leave on account of business and whose places have been refilled—every one of whom is in this present contest; no one of whom has asked for a post or a position somewhere before the election for fear he might be defeated at the polls. I say no prime minister of this country has ever had a finer tribute paid to him than that.

When the parliament met following the last general election I had behind me as supporters the largest following that any leader of government ever had in the House of Commons of Canada. That was an honor. But let me point to another thing. Before the parliament was over, and this was after five years; before parliament was dissolved the majority I had at my back was larger than the one I had when I came into office; a united party from coast to coast. That is why I say to you tonight I believe we should stand together through the years. Not only that, everyone who was a member of my government is loyal.

I believe, ladies and gentlemen,

we have given the strongest reason why we deserve your support, when we give you that example of the loyalty which we have. May I say this further, that our representation comes from every part of Canada; it comes from every province of Canada; it comes from men of different faiths, or different religions and different economic interests; it is a composite of Canada itself. Talk about a national government, it is a national government in itself in the true sense of the word; and that government is pledged to give you its whole-hearted, earnest, vigorous effort in the prosecution of this war, as Colonel Ralston says, to the utmost of our ability, and the utmost of our strength.

Ask yourself, how can I best by my vote help to bring about an enduring peace? Cast your vote for the party that you believe in these days will be able most effectively to bring aid to the side of Britain and of France, and bring to the world itself in large measure that victory which will lead to a new and enduring peace and freedom.

Mr. King at Ottawa.

Mar. 25/40.

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# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... Toronto Telegram

Date..... Mar. 26/40

Subject.....

## PROUD TO LEAD LIBERAL PARTY IN WAR EFFORT

### "Will Thank God and Carry On" if Returned, Mackenzie King States in Final Appeal

Ottawa, March 26—Prime Minister Mackenzie King said here in his final campaign appeal that if victory comes to the Liberal party in to-day's Dominion election, "We will thank God and go ahead to prosecute the war effort with might and main."

Return of the administration with a strong majority would be a message to the enemy that Canada was united in the struggle and determined to support the government in its main objective of "victory, peace and freedom," he declared last night at a meeting in the Auditorium.

Finance Minister Ralston, who spoke at the same meeting, said the administration was pledged to prosecute the war to the limit of Canada's ability.

"It must not be a question of how much we will give, but how much can we give," Col. Ralston said. For the first fiscal year of the war he estimated the cost in money would be \$500,000,000.

#### ASKS STRONG MAJORITY.

In the last three general elections, Mr. King concluded his campaign in this city where he has lived 40 years. He maintained that tradition last night and pleaded for a strong majority so that there might be no interruption in the war effort.

The Prime Minister said he had "never dreamed it would fall to my lot to lead Canada into a great war." But he was proud that when the moment came his past record had been such that he could lead virtually the entire House of Commons, Liberal and Conservative, into the war effort as a united body.

Those he had asked to form a government when he was returned to power in 1935 had remained at his side except those called away by death or ill-health, Mr. King said.

#### MINISTERS REMAIN.

When the election was called none of his Ministers had asked for appointments to other posts fearing either their own defeat or the defeat of the party.

"No finer tribute was ever paid a prime minister," Mr. King said. He was confident the government would be given "an emphatic majority," but he pictured the situation if the result were otherwise.

If Conservative Leader Manion and enough of his supporters to form a government were elected the task of forming a government would take time. Dr. Manion had not indicated that any of the National Government candidates would be considered for his cabinet, the prime minister said.

#### ANSWERS HECKLER.

When Mr. King told the audience that defeat of Dr. Manion was "a possibility," a heckler shouted, "How about yourself?"

"I will answer that right now," the Prime Minister retorted "If I am defeated there are 15 men in my cabinet, any one of them capable of leading the government and carrying out its policies.

"If Dr. Manion is defeated there is not a single one to carry out the promises he has made all across this country."

His own defeat was always a possibility, the Prime Minister said. "I have been defeated before but never at such a critical time as the present."

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Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... Toronto Telegram.....

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**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....Toronto Star.....

Date.....Mar. 26/40.....

Subject.....

## VIGOROUS, CONFIDENT PREMIER KING PLEDGES HIS LIFE TO CANADA

Ottawa Makes Welkin Ring as  
Prime Minister Gives  
Final Word

### IT'S WIN THE WAR

By H. R. ARMSTRONG

Ottawa, March 26.—"From the moment we are again endorsed by the Canadian people, we will go right on with the war effort of this country with all our might and main. We will thank God with all our hearts the election is over and that we can concentrate on carrying on the war."

With this dramatic utterance Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King of Canada last night delivered his final word in the campaign to a crowd of 7,000 who braved the bitter winter night to jam the Ottawa hockey auditorium, the same hall which a few nights ago was slightly more than half filled to hear the federal Conservative leader.

It was a friendly, demonstrative, utterly approving throng the Liberal chieftain faced.

As he made point after point they cheered and whistled and stamped their feet and applauded as though the home team were scoring an overtime goal. With ice under the temporary floor the place was as cold as a refrigerator. But the freezing atmosphere could not chill the ardor of support accorded the prime minister.

#### King in Fine Fettle

On the eve of the voting, Mr. King himself was in fine fettle, more vigorous and more confident than at any time in the long cam-

paign. Dr. Manion had chided him for not running all over Canada to election meetings. No matter what the political consequences, said the prime minister, he has remained at the capital to attend to the war. An election at this juncture, he said, was not a beauty contest nor a competition in endurance in travelling over Canada.

"My voice is stronger now and I am in better form in every way than Dr. Manion," he said smilingly. "That means a great deal when, the day after tomorrow, I once again can give my whole attention to the grave affairs of state."

#### Would Be Chaotic

Were the present government to be defeated, Canada's war effort would be disorganized for weeks while Hon. R. J. Manion skirmished about to form a cabinet and then sought to have his ministers elected to parliament, Premier King warned.

The present government, he said, backed in parliament by representation from every province, by members of different religions and nationalities, was a truly national government.

"It is pledged," affirmed Mr. King, "to give you its whole-hearted, earnest, vigorous effort in the prosecution of the war to the utmost of this nation's ability and strength."

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# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

D 38169

Name of Publication.....OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL.....

Date.....MAR 26 1940.....

Subject.....

## Candidates At Rally Make Last Appeals

### Large Audience Cheers Appearance Of Prime Minister

Prime Minister King urged support of official Liberal candidates in the two Ottawa ridings, Hull, and Carleton County, in the wind-up address of his election campaign at the Auditorium on Monday night.

A gathering of 7,500, according to an estimate given out by Clare Brunton, manager of the Auditorium, heard the Prime Minister, and Hon. J. L. Ralston, Minister of Finance, in their final appeals for support of the Liberal party at the polls today.

The rally was in support of George J. McIlraith, candidate in West Ottawa; and J. Albert Pinard, candidate in East Ottawa.

#### Appearance Cheered.

The Prime Minister, accompanied by Col. Ralston, A. Gordon McDougall, K.C., president of the West Ottawa Liberals, and Jean T. Richard, president of the East Ottawa Liberals, entered the Auditorium at 8.15. They were piped to the platform as the crowd stood and cheered. Mr. King and Col. Ralston were received on the platform by Duncan K. MacTavish, K.C., who was joint chairman at the meeting with Senator Cairine Wilson.

Before and after the addresses selections were played by the Governor General's Foot Guards band.

Mr. McIlraith and Mr. Pinard addressed the meeting and were followed by Col. Ralston, the Prime Minister, W. J. Egan and Mr. Richard.

#### Calls on Mr. Pinard.

Duncan MacTavish opened the meeting and called on Mr. Pinard to deliver his address. He spoke in both French and English.

He said the present Government had been very considerate to the Civil Service and conditions would continue that way if Mr. King and his Liberal administration was returned to power.

Mr. King had restored the Civil Service pay cuts and he could say he had no intention of interfering with promotions or deferring statutory increases during wartime.

Mr. Pinard said if the electors of East Ottawa returned him as their member he would continue to look after the interests of the riding to the best of his ability.

He warned the people against the danger of casting a ballot for the independent "as it will seriously endanger the candidate who has the official endorsement of the Liberal party".

He resented the tactics of "personal abuse" which had been used by Dr. Manion and his supporters during the campaign.

#### Introduces Mr. McIlraith.

In introducing Mr. McIlraith, Senator Wilson said he had been closely identified with Liberal organizations and had served with distinction on the executive of four national organizations of the party.

In Mr. McIlraith Ottawa West would have a most valuable representative, for he was a young man "of splendid character and conscientious in the discharge of any duty".

"The Civil Service is a very important feature of Ottawa life and members of the service may be assured that our candidate will have an understanding and sympathetic grasp of their problems", said the Senator.

#### Grimly United.

Mr. McIlraith said he had stressed the fact there was one issue before the people and that was winning the war. All other political questions were of importance only as they related to the war efforts of the Canadian people. Canadian men and women were grimly united as never before to the end that our righteous cause would triumph, that Canada might achieve a victorious and enduring peace.

The people had to decide whether they were going to support the present Government which brought Canada unitedly into the war, or whether they were going to entrust this task to other hands.

"I have come to the conclusion that Canada's answer tomorrow at the polls will be surprisingly unanimous. I believe that the Canadian people will say to Mackenzie King and his Government 'well done', I believe the voters will say, 'continue as you have started, bring this war, which has been forced upon us, to a victorious finish, carry on in future, in the same courageous manner that has characterized your war efforts to the present time'."

Mr. McIlraith said he had kept personalities out of the local campaign. He had appealed to reason rather than passion.

"I must, however, point out that our opponents have failed entirely to appreciate the destructive nature of some of their platform utterances. There has been speech after speech and criticism after criticism, from the National party leaders, which could not help but give comfort to our country's enemies, and tend to shatter Canadian unity."

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### Thanks Mr. King.

W. J. Egan thanked the Prime Minister for his speech made "with malice towards none, and with no bitterness whatsoever".

He referred to the "proven sincerity, ability and honesty of purpose with which you carry on and go forward with the dignity due to Canada and your high office.

"What a record of foresight, effort, and consequent results one can extol in respect of your devotedness to Ottawa as the Capital City of Canada! The past bespeaks well all that you have in mind for the city's future."

He urged the electors to go to the polls early and vote for the official Liberal candidates, "so that Canada will continue to go forward with the Prime Minister of today, tomorrow and the next five years".

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Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL.....

Date.....MAR 26 1940.....

Subject.....

## Says Change Would Delay War Effort

### King Claims Liberal Victory Needed to Strengthen Nation

"What will be the interpretation of tomorrow's contest in Germany if by any chance this administration is defeated?" Prime Minister Mackenzie King demanded as he addressed 7,500 Ottawa people at Monday night's rally in the Auditorium.

He contended the results of the voting, if they favored his party, would give more strength to the nation, while if they did not, they would weaken the Canadian war effort.

#### Would Mean Delay.

A change in governments would mean inevitable delay at a critical time, whereas, if he were endorsed, "not an hour will be lost in carrying on our war effort."

"You are making history at a time when history is being made that will change the whole world", said the Prime Minister.

"Don't imagine this will be a short war. Don't imagine it will end just because we wish it to. I am afraid it has only just begun."

In such times as these a government needed every bit of support it could muster to lead through to victory and a better day. He appealed to the people of Canada to support the administration which had taken them into the war, which had taken them into the war united, which had definite policies that were in keeping with the wishes of the Mother Country.

#### Strikes at Critics.

Mr. King, in a fighting mood, struck at his critics as he concluded his campaign by speaking in behalf of the Liberal candidates of East and West Ottawa, J. Albert Pinard and George J. McIlraith.

Suppose Dr. Manion is defeated tomorrow, said Mr. King, there will be no head to his party, not a man pledged to carry out a single policy of his or a single promise he has made.

"What about yourself", interjected a heckler at this point.

"Yes", replied Mr. King, "about myself. If I am beaten tomorrow there are 15 men in my Government any one of whom can be Prime Minister. If you want a new Prime Minister where could you get a better one than in Colonel Ralston. And what I say of Colonel Ralston I can say of my colleagues all around. They are men of great political experience and any one of them is capable of carrying on the Government of this country."

#### Will Go Right On.

Mr. King pledged himself that if the Liberals were returned to power they would "go right on with the war effort with all our might and main. Thank God that when the election is over we can put all our heart into the great question of the war and winning of it.

"We already know what the plans are. We have been in full communication with the British Government and we know what they want done."

He appealed to them to think in terms of country, not party.

Replying to those who had criticized him for not travelling more to address meetings in the campaign, Mr. King asked if Dr. Manion considered political meetings as vaudeville performances or an election campaign as a marathon "where we are testing either our capacity for speaking or running about".

He contended that if he had left Ottawa to address meetings he would have been criticized just the same on that score. "At this time of war I wanted to be as much as

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possible at the seat of government here. Think what they would have said after I claimed the war was so serious if I had started running about all over the country.

### A Great Handicap.

"I know it has been a great handicap to me personally and perhaps I am vain enough to think it has been a handicap also to the Liberal candidates, but I felt it was my duty at this time of stress and storm of world affairs to be at the Capital of Canada as long as I was Prime Minister."

Dr. Manion had "submerged" the party which chose him as its leader. He had given all kinds of promises through the country with nothing to back them up. "The whole thing hangs on him. . . ." The promises were such that they would ruin the country if an attempt were made to carry them out.

"I don't think anybody else has had the nerve to call his party a government until it was one. The Mackenzie King Government is a positive one, anyway, which the National Government so-called is not. The National Government is "N.G.—standing for no government".

The Prime Minister likened Dr. Manion's "National Government" movement to the Reconstruction movement fathered by Hon. Harry Stevens in the last general election.

Mr. Stevens had started with a title, added candidates. Then he had had to think up a platform of promises. After the ballots had been counted, the only thing left of his whole party was Mr. Stevens himself. Mr. King was not suggesting that this would happen to Dr. Manion, although it might. Nor was he suggesting that it should happen to Dr. Manion. He thought Dr. Manion should be the first of his party to go.

### Would Be Byelections.

If the National Government leader could not make up a cabinet from among his followers who were elected, and had to go

outside the House of Commons, there would have to be byelections. It took just as long to call a byelection as a general election. Thus there would be an additional delay of eight or nine weeks before Parliament could meet.

Urging that support be given to the official Liberal candidates rather than those running on an independent ticket, Mr. King declared that he understood a telegram he had sent to Aurele Chartrand, independent Liberal in Ottawa East, was being circulated "by the thousands" to give the impression that he himself was behind the candidate. This, however, was not the case.

### Reply To Chartrand.

"I believe in fair play so I am going to say this. Mr. Chartrand sent me a telegram congratulating me on my radio address last Thursday and I appreciated that. I sent him the following telegram in reply:

"I thank you warmly for the kind words of your telegram with reference to my radio address on Thursday night. Please accept for yourself and for the members of your family my best of wishes for the Easter season."

"I want to repeat those wishes for the Easter season", Mr. King went on, "but so far as my wishes for the election are concerned I want each of my friends to support Mr. Pinard."

The Prime Minister paid tribute also to Alphonse Fournier, Liberal candidate in Hull, describing him as "one of the best members we ever had in the Parliament of Canada". He expressed the hope everyone would realize there was a danger in the Hull riding because there were three candidates running "all of whom are professing to be more or less interested in public welfare. I want my friends in Hull to support Mr. Fournier and I hope my friends in Carleton County will give me a

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supporter in the person of Mr. Arkell".

Mr. King had a word of praise for Mr. McLraith and urged support for him in West Ottawa.

#### Quotes Mr. Hill.

"Some of my best friends are among the leading Conservatives and one of the best is 'Hammy' Hill. We are just about as close as two men can be, but when he gets to the speaking of politics he goes very far astray." The Liberal leader proceeded to quote from The Journal of Monday remarks made by H. P. Hill, K.C., at the Conservative rally in the Little Theatre.

He contended Mr. Hill was in error in declaring that when he called Parliament he had promised there would be another session. Mr. King quoted his own remarks in Hansard of September 12. "It is my intention to have Parliament called again in January. It may possibly be necessary to have Parliament called before that. At that time we will be in a position to consider what steps may be most necessary in regard to developments which may ensue meanwhile."

He contended he had been particularly careful in expressing himself in regard to the calling of Parliament.

Dealing with criticisms of his closing of Parliament Mr. King recalled that just six or eight days before Parliament came together the Ontario Legislature had passed a resolution introduced by Premier Hepburn condemning the Dominion Government's war effort.

#### Strong Reason for Election.

"Supposing I had ignored that resolution. What would have happened with a resolution like that hanging over the head of the administration. It would have been said that all I cared about was hanging on to office. But quite apart from that there were very strong reasons why there should be an immediate election.

"Mr. Grattan O'Leary is another good friend of mine, though he pitches in to me, I think, harder than anyone in the city. Mr.

O'Leary was condemning the fact that Parliament had not been given a chance to discuss matters and had made several speeches on the same subject. I asked His Excellency to dissolve Parliament on January 25. Mr. O'Leary was speaking in Vancouver on January 24 and here is what The Canadian Press reports him to have said:

"Mr. Grattan O'Leary, associate editor of The Ottawa Journal, told the Vancouver Board of Trade last night there would be grave injury to this country if we do not have a general election at the earliest possible time.

#### Made It Earliest Possible.

"Well the earliest possible, as far as I could see, was January 25 and I made it the earliest possible time. And now Mr. O'Leary says I was wrong. Supposing I had carried on, what would we have had today in The Journal?—A quotation of Mr. O'Leary's own statement?"

The Liberal leader went on to quote a further portion of the report: "Warning that the present war may be a long one to all indications Mr. O'Leary said Canada needs a strong government to prosecute the war and a strong opposition."

"Today", said Mr. King, "he is supporting National government, which would do away with all opposition. This was before he knew that Dr. Manion was going to advocate National government. But he went a step further. I want to thank him for this and I hope The Journal may put it in broad type tomorrow morning."

The Prime Minister then read a further excerpt from Mr. O'Leary's remarks: "We must make a change in the Government but by that I don't mean turning the present Government out of office."

"Could anything be kinder than that or anything easier", asked Mr. King. "What we need is a new and fresh Parliament with a strong opposition."

"Well he is going to get his new and fresh Parliament, but just how strong the Opposition is going to be I am not going to say anything."

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Since the election had come on they heard no longer of a strong Government and a strong Opposition, but of a National Government. "None of us know its policy, nor the names of its members nor anything about it. But that is what Mr. O'Leary and The Journal are supporting today."

Declaring that in speaking of National Government Dr. Manion really had in mind Union Government or Coalition, Mr. King said previous coalitions were in quite a different category. Sir John A. Macdonald had formed a coalition government because of the very even balance between French speaking Roman Catholics on the one hand and English speaking Protestants on the other. In the time of Sir Robert Borden the coalition had been formed on the specific issue of conscription, an issue on which both Liberals and Conservatives disagreed among themselves.

#### Heartening Result.

Nothing that happened after the beginning of the war had so heartened Britain and France and given so much dismay to Germany as the result of the Quebec election "when those who opposed Canada's war effort were turned out of office and another government put in, and if I didn't believe the same would be true tomorrow I would not for one moment ask for your support".

Mr. King made humorous reference to the criticism of his opponents that he had a Summer residence at Kingsmere, declaring he was not alone in this as the British Prime Minister spent his week-ends at Chequers in the country and Gladstone had also maintained a home in the country.

He paid high tribute to the public service for its co-operation in the country's war effort.

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## *His Duties Kept Him in Ottawa During Campaign, King Asserts*

Ottawa, March 25.—(P)—Political meetings are not "vaudeville performances" and "a general election campaign is not a marathon race," Prime Minister Mackenzie King told a political meeting here tonight, replying to opposition criticism that he had failed to make a Dominion election campaign tour.

If he had made a coast-to-coast tour he would have been criticized similarly, Mr. King said. Conservative Leader Manion would have accused him of neglecting his duties in Ottawa for party reasons, Mr. King said.

The Prime Minister spoke to an audience of 6,500 in the Auditorium. He was preceded by Finance Minister Ralston.

Other speakers included Senator Cairine Wilson of Ottawa and the Ottawa Liberal candidates, J. H. Pinard and George McIlraith. Hon. Paul Leduc, Ontario Minister of Mines, was on the platform.

It was the fourth occasion on which Mr. King concluded a Dominion election campaign with a mass meeting in Ottawa on the eve of polling day.

While it had not been possible for him to know personally as many people as he would like, Mr. King said, "I am sure I am as familiar to you as my dog Pat is to the children of Sandy Hill," where the Prime Minister's home is located.

"Dr. Manion is criticizing me because I am not a married man and I have not a large family. If that is a loss to the country then I must plead guilty to putting party before country.

"He criticizes me for having a home in the country 12 miles from Ottawa, which I have owned for 40 years. Are these any reasons for defeating the administration?"

At a time like the present the Prime Minister said he felt his place was in Ottawa and that he could better place the issues before the people by "talking quietly to them over the radio, which I have done as opportunity offered." Dr. Manion had told of the large number of meetings he had addressed and the thousands of miles he had travelled.

"Well I think my voice is in better shape than Dr. Manion's and that I am in better shape all around."

A clear mind and sound condition would be essential for any person in a position of responsibility at this time, he said.

All members of the Dominion Government are whole-heartedly behind the national war effort, Finance Minister Ralston told the meeting.

"There is not a single Government member pulling his punches

in the prosecution of this war," Col. Ralston said.

Once Parliament had ratified the Government's decision to participate in the war at the side of Great Britain, not a major measure for the efficient prosecution of the war had been neglected, the Finance Minister said, detailing steps taken not only in a military way, but also in financial and economic preparation for a successful fight.

Col. Ralston, who spoke following brief addresses by J. Albert Pinard, Liberal candidate in Ottawa East, and George McIlraith, Liberal candidate in Ottawa West, declared that Canada was fully united to prosecute the war, and that the credit for that fact "is due to Mr. Mackenzie King."

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel/Bobine
62		Canada and the War, Radio address by King	8 Mar. 1940	D 37761 - D 37786	
62		Campaign Speech of Mr. King	10 Mar. 1940	D 37787 - D 37899	
62		Re: Toronto Meeting, Massey Hall	14 Mar. 1940	D 37900 - D 38029	
62		Draft Broadcasts, General Elections, 1940, Radio	Mar. 1940	D 38030 - D 38154	
62		Ottawa meeting, Auditorium	25 Mar. 1940	D 38155 - D 38175	
62		Results of Election	26 Mar. 1940	D 38176 - D 38182	
63		"The Present Outlook". Speeches outside Parliament	30 Apr. 1940	D 38183 - D 38203	
63		German Invasion of Belgium and the Netherlands, King Radio Address	10 May 1940	D 38204 - D 38216	
63		Speech of Mr. King on Suspension of House proceedings and re: The Appointment of the Hon. R.B. Hanson, as House Leader of the Conservative Party	16 May 1940	D 38217 - D 38221	
63		Speech on the Address in reply in Parliament	20 May 1940	D 38222 - D 38224	

~~26~~ 26 March 1940

Radio

Results of election

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... OTTAWA MORNING NEWS  
Date..... MAR 27 1940  
Subject.....

## Prime Minister Voices Thanks To The People

### Mr. King Urges Differences Now Be Forgotten in Common Effort for Free- dom and Victory.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King last night broadcast a message to the people of Canada thanking them for support given his administration in the Dominion election and promising that "the government to which you have committed the greatest of all trusts will do its utmost to be worthy of them, of you and of Canada."

#### In Common Cause.

Mr. King said the result of voting expressed "disapproval" which if permitted to gain foothold in our Dominion or in any of its provinces, would soon destroy the free institutions of government and the accepted standards of our public life.

The Prime Minister suggested that with the elections over differences of the campaign be forgotten in a common effort to attain victory, peace and freedom.

Quoting the victory speech made by Abraham Lincoln after the Civil War election in the United States, Mr. King said "it adds nothing to my satisfaction that any other man may be disappointed or pained by the results. It is no pleasure to me to triumph over anyone but I give thanks to the Almighty for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free government and the rights of humanity."

(Following is text of the Prime Minister's speech:

From the beginning of the campaign to this hour, I have never doubted that on the day of polling, the people of Canada would make clear that the interests of our country would be best served by continuing in office the present administration. For the evidence of your continued confidence, support, and encouragement, I give you, on behalf of my colleagues and myself, our humble and heartfelt thanks.

I am sure that tonight there is in the hearts and the minds of the citizens of Canada, as there is in my heart and mind, a sense of immense relief that today a new Parliament, fresh from the people, has been brought into being, to cope with the tremendous problems which face our country at this time of war. I doubt if any of you will ever realize what it means to me tonight, with the responsibilities which, since the outbreak of war, have been mine, to know that the votes of all our soldiers, sailors and airmen, whether across the seas, on the seas, or in Canada have been safely recorded and this year's general election completely over before war has broken in all its fury upon Europe. You will never know how relieved and, may I add, how proud I feel, that the Canadian people have shown to other parts of the British Empire, and to other countries, that it has been possible for Canada to carry through a general election at a time of war, without impairing the united war effort of a united country. For all of this, I am deeply grateful to you.

#### Highest Possible Service.

I believe that all who have given the present administration their support today have rendered the highest possible service to our country at this time. Not to our country alone, but also to Britain and France, and to those small nations whose freedom has been destroyed, threatened or imperilled by the most relentless, cruel and brutal of foes. This great service does not belong to the present alone or to these countries alone. It is a contribution to the future of the world itself. I hope that the men and women who have given the government their support today will find their reward in the part which they have thus played in the making of history, and the safeguarding of liberty.

#### The Great Issue.

You have seen with clear eyes that the great issue before us has in reality been the only issue which matters. It has been the war effort of a free people fighting to maintain freedom. I have personally tried to look beyond the present into the dark and threatening years that lie before us. I have asked you to do the same. The result of this election is proof that you, yourselves, have felt that a vigorous and united war effort of a united Canada is necessary above all things not only effectively to aid Britain and France in their struggle to preserve freedom in Europe but essential as well to preserve true freedom in our own land.

#### To City of Kingston.

By your votes, you have expressed once, and I trust for all time, your disapproval of methods of political campaigning which if permitted to gain a foothold in our Dominion or in any of its provinces, would soon destroy the free institutions of government and the accepted standards of our public life. I would particularly like to extend my congratulations to the city of Kingston with its historic military associations. It has honored itself and Canada by ensuring to this country the services of a great minister of national defence whose character, ability and integrity have risen triumphant over a concentrated sequence of unwarranted attacks.

During the present campaign, as you are all well aware, I have done my best to avoid personalities, and to refrain from any form of attack which might leave be-

hind it, bitter memories or wounds which it might be hard to heal. I have done this, not only because such conduct is, I believe, foreign to my nature, but because I have felt that the labors and the sacrifices which will be necessary before victory is assured, will need the co-operative good-will of us all.

#### Quotes Lincoln.

I can find no words which better express my feelings tonight than those uttered by Abraham Lincoln when his party was returned victorious at a time of Civil War.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 38177

"While I am deeply sensible to the high compliment of a re-election, and duly grateful, as I trust, to Almighty God for having directed my countrymen to a right conclusion, as I think, for their own good, it adds nothing to my satisfaction that any other man may be disappointed or pained by the results.

"I am thankful to God for this approval of the people; but, while deeply grateful for this mark of their confidence in me, if I know my heart, my gratitude is free from any taint of personal triumph. I do not impugn the motives of any one opposed to me. It is no pleasure to me to triumph over any one, but I give thanks to the Almighty for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free government and the rights of humanity."

Now that the elections are over, I ask my fellow citizens in all parts of this broad land forgetting the differences of the past to join their strength together in the fight for victory, peace and freedom.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have no doubt that the faith and fire within everyone of us are pledged to the great cause which has called our soldiers, our sailors and our airmen to the service of their country. The government to which you have committed the greatest of all trusts will do its utmost to be worthy of them, of you and of Canada.

## PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... Toronto Star.....

Date..... March 27/40.....

D 38178

Subject.....

# KING ASKS ALL TO JOIN IN FIGHT FOR VICTORY PEACE AND FREEDOM

Glad Electors See Clearly  
War Effort Only Issue  
That Matters

## BIG RESPONSIBILITY

Ottawa, March 27.—Premier King heard the election returns at his home, historic Laurier house. Several times during the evening he expressed to the few friends there his joy at the mounting evidence that it is not necessary to suppress free institutions while the country is fighting to defend them.

At 10.30, when return of the government was assured, he spoke over the air as follows:

From the beginning of the campaign to this hour, I have never doubted that on the day of polling the people of Canada would make clear that the interests of our country would be best served by continuing in office the present administration. For the evidence of your continued confidence, support and encouragement, I give you, on behalf of my colleagues and myself, our humble and heartfelt thanks.

### Tremendous Problems Ahead

I am sure that tonight there is in the hearts and the minds of the citizens of Canada, as there is in my heart and mind, a sense of immense relief that today a new parliament, fresh from the people, has been brought into being to cope with the tremendous problems which face our country at this time of war. I doubt if any of you will ever realize what it means to me tonight, with the responsibilities which, since the outbreak of war, have been mine, to know that the

votes of all our soldiers, sailors and airmen, whether across the seas, on the seas or in Canada, have been safely recorded and this year's general election completely over before war has broken in all its fury upon Europe.

You will never know how relieved and, may I add, how proud I feel, that the Canadian people have shown to other parts of the British Empire, and to other countries, that it has been possible for Canada to carry through a general election at a time of war, without impairing the united war effort of a united country. For all of this I am deeply grateful to you.

I believe that all who have given the present administration their support today have rendered the highest possible service to our country at this time, not to our country alone, but also to Britain and France, and to those small nations whose freedom has been destroyed, threatened or imperilled by the most relentless, cruel and brutal of foes. This great service does not belong to the present alone or to these countries alone. It is a contribution to the future of the world itself. I hope that the men and women who have given the government their support today will find their reward in the part which they have thus played in the making of history and the safeguarding of liberty.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... **D 38179**

Date.....

Subject.....

### Only One Issue

You have seen with clear eyes that the great issue before us has in reality been the only issue which matters. It has been the war effort of a free people fighting to maintain freedom. I have personally tried to look beyond the present into the dark and threatening years that lie before us. I have asked you to do the same. The result of this election is proof that you yourselves have felt that a vigorous and united war effort of a united Canada is necessary above all things not only effectively to aid Britain and France in their struggle to preserve freedom in Europe, but essential as well to preserve true freedom in our own land.

By your votes you have expressed once, and I trust for all time, your disapproval of methods of political campaigning which, if permitted to gain a foothold in our Dominion or in any of its provinces, would soon destroy the free institutions of government and the accepted standards of our public life. I would particularly like to extend my congratulations to the city of Kingston with its historic military associations. It has honored itself and Canada by ensuring to this country the services of a great minister of national defence whose character, ability and integrity have risen triumphant over a concentrated sequence of unwarranted attacks.

During the present campaign, as you are all well aware, I have done my best to avoid personalities and to refrain from any form of attack which might leave behind it bitter memories or wounds which it might be hard to heal. I have done this not only because such conduct is, I believe, foreign to my nature, but because I have felt that the labors and the sacrifices which will be necessary before victory is assured will need the co-operative good-will of us all.

### Quotes Lincoln

I can find no words which better express my feelings tonight than those uttered by Abraham Lincoln when his party was returned victorious at a time of Civil War:

"While I am deeply sensible to the high compliment of a re-election and duly grateful, as I trust, to Almighty God for having directed my countrymen to a right conclusion, as I think, for their own good, it adds nothing to my satisfaction that any other man may be disappointed or pained by the results.

"I am thankful to God for this approval of the people; but, while deeply grateful for this mark of their confidence in me, if I know my heart, my gratitude is free from any taint of personal triumph. I do not impugn the motives of anyone opposed to me. It is no pleasure to me to triumph over anyone, but I give thanks to the Almighty for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free government and the rights of humanity."

Now that the elections are over, I ask my fellow citizens in all parts of this broad land, forgetting the differences of the past, to join their strength together in the fight for victory, peace and freedom.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have no doubt that the faith and fire within everyone of us are pledged to the great cause which has called our soldiers, our sailors and our airmen to the service of their country. The government to which you have committed the greatest of all trusts will do its utmost to be worthy of them, of you and of Canada.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... Montreal Star

Date..... Mar. 27/40

Subject.....

## Premier Expresses Thanks— Manion Has No Complaints

OTTAWA, March 27 — (C.P.) — Premier Mackenzie King last night broadcast a message to the nation thanking them for support given his Administration in the Dominion election and promising that "the Government to which you have committed the greatest of all trusts will do its utmost to be worthy of them, of you and of Canada."

Conservative Leader Manion, who suffered personal defeat in Fort William and whose national government party and candidates made little headway against the flood of Liberal votes, followed the Prime Minister on the air, accepting the verdict of the people and declaring he had "no complaint" to make over the result.

Both leaders spoke over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Dr. Manion said he hoped the Liberal administration would carry on to the end that Canada and the Empire would "not only attain success in the war but in the after-war as well."

Mr. King said the result of voting expressed "disapproval of methods of political campaigning which if permitted to gain foothold in our Dominion or in any of its provinces, would soon destroy the free institutions of Government and the accepted standards of our public life."

The Prime Minister suggested that with the elections over differences of the campaign be forgotten in a common effort to attain victory, peace and freedom.

Quoting the victory speech made by Abraham Lincoln after the Civil War election in the United States, Mr. King said: "It adds nothing to my satisfaction that any other man may be disappointed or pained by the results. It is no pleasure to me to triumph over anyone but I give thanks to the Almighty for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free Government and the rights of humanity."

\* \* \*

### TEXT OF SPEECH

Following is text of the Prime Minister's speech:

"From the beginning of the campaign to this hour, I have never doubted that on the day of polling, the people of Canada would make clear that the interests of our country would be best served by continuing in office the present administration. For the evidence of your continued confidence, support and encouragement, I give you, on behalf of my colleagues and myself, our humble and heartfelt thanks.

"I am sure that tonight there is in the hearts and the minds of the citizens of Canada, as there is in my heart and mind, a sense of immense relief that today a new Parliament, fresh from the people, has been brought into being to cope with the tremendous problems which face our country at this time of war.

"I doubt if any of you will ever realize what it means to me tonight, with the responsibilities which, since the outbreak of war, have been mine, to know what the votes of all our soldiers, sailors, and airmen, whether across the seas, on the seas or in Canada have been safely recorded and this year's general election completely over before war has broken in all its fury upon Europe.

"You will never know how relieved and, may I add, how proud I feel, that the Canadian people have shown to other parts of the British Empire, and to the countries, that it has been possible for Canada to carry through a general election at a time of war, without impairing the united war effort of a united country. For all of this, I am deeply grateful to you.

"I believe that all who have given the present Administration their support today have rendered the highest possible service to our country at this time. Not to our country alone, but also to Britain and France, and to those small nations whose freedom has been destroyed, threatened or imperilled by the most relentless cruel and brutal of foes.

"This great service does not belong to the present alone or to these countries alone. It is a contribution to the future of the world itself. I hope that the men

and women who have given the Government their support today will find their reward in the part which they have thus played in the making of history, and the safeguarding of liberty.

"You have seen with clear eyes that the great issues before us has in reality been the only issues which matter. It has been the war effort of a free people fighting to maintain freedom. I have personally tried to look beyond the present into the dark and threatening years that lie before us. I have asked you to do the same. The result of this election is proof that you, yourselves, have felt that a vigorous and united war effort of a united Canada is necessary above all things not only effectively to aid Britain and France in their struggle to preserve freedom in Europe but essential as well to preserve true freedom in our own land.

"By your votes you have expressed once, and I trust for all time, your disapproval of methods of political campaigning which if permitted to gain a foothold in our Dominion or in any of its provinces would soon destroy the free institutions of Government and the accepted standards of our public life. I would particularly like to extend my congratulations to the city of Kingston with its historic military associations. It has honored itself and Canada by ensuring to this country the services of a great Minister of National Defence whose character, ability and integrity have risen triumphant over a concentrated sequence of unwarranted attacks.

"During the present campaign, as you are all well aware, I have done my best to avoid personalities, and to refrain from any form of attack which might leave behind it, bitter memories or wounds which it might be hard to heal. I have done this, not only because such conduct is, I believe foreign to my nature, but because I have felt that the labors and the sacrifices which will be necessary before victory is assured, will need the co-operative good-will of us all.

"I can find no words which better express my feelings tonight than those uttered by Abraham Lincoln when his party was returned victorious at a time of Civil War.

"While I am deeply sensible to the high compliment of a reelection, and duly grateful, as I trust, to Almighty God, for having directed my countrymen to a right conclusion, as I think, for their own good, it adds nothing to my satisfaction that any other man may be disappointed or pained by the results.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

I am thankful to God for this approval of the people; but, while deeply grateful for this mark of their confidence in me, if I know my heart, my gratitude is free from any taint of personal triumph. I do not impugn the motives of any one opposed to me. It is no pleasure to me to triumph over any one, but I give thanks to the Almighty for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free government and the rights of humanity.

"Now that the elections are over, I ask my fellow citizens in all parts of this broad land forgetting the differences of the past to join their strength together in the fight for victory, peace and freedom.

"Ladies and Gentlemen, I have no doubt that the faith and fire within everyone of us are pledged to the great cause which has called our soldiers, our sailors and our airmen to the service of their country. The Government to which you have committed the greatest of all trusts will do the utmost to be worthy of them, of you and of Canada."

### Dr. Manion Has No Complaints

Following is text of Dr. Manion's speech:

"The people have spoken and therefore I have very little to say. After all we live in a democracy, thank God, and while there are flaws in the method of obtaining the vote, at the same

time once that vote has been taken, being law-abiding citizens we accept it.

"The electors of Canada have decided to continue as they are. That is their right.

"As I have spoken for over six weeks and Mr. King for about six days and, as apparently we have convinced the electors in inverse proportion to the time in which we spoke, it would certainly appear to be a very broad hint to me to say but little tonight and I shall.

"The responsibility continues to be Mr. King's—not only to carry on our war effort but to prepare for the after-war. That is the decision of the people and I have no complaint.

"It is my earnest hope that Mr. King and his Government will so carry on their duties that our country and our Empire will not only attain success in the war but in the after-war as well.

"I should like to thank very sincerely all those friends and supporters throughout Canada who worked so hard in behalf of my ideas. I deeply appreciate their efforts.

"And may this Canada that we all love go on from success to success until finally it attains that great destiny which surely awaits it."

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication... Toronto Telegram

Date... Mar. 27/40

Subject.....

## Will Try To Be Worthy Of Nation's Confidence Declares Premier King

Ottawa, March 27—Prime Minister Mackenzie King last night broadcast a message to the people of Canada thanking them for support given his administration in the Dominion election and promising that "the government to which you have committed the greatest of all trusts will do its utmost to be worthy of them, of you, and of Canada."

The Premier spoke over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

The Prime Minister suggested that with the elections over differences of the campaign be forgotten in a common effort to attain victory, peace and freedom.

### TEXT OF SPEECH

Following is text of the Prime Minister's speech:

"From the beginning of the campaign to this hour, I have never doubted that on the day of polling, the people of Canada would make clear that the interests of our country would be best served by continuing in office the present administration. For the evidence of your continued confidence, support and encouragement, I give you, on behalf of my colleagues and myself, our humble and heartfelt thanks.

"I am sure that to-night there is in the hearts and the minds of the citizens of Canada, as there is in my heart and mind, a sense of immense relief that to-day a new parliament, fresh from the people, has been brought into being to cope with the tremendous problems which face our country at this time of war.

"I doubt if any of you will ever realize what it means to me to-night, with the responsibilities which, since the outbreak of war, have been mine to know that the votes of all our soldiers, sailors and airmen, whether across the seas, on the seas, or in Canada, have been safely recorded and this year's general election completely over before war has broken in all its fury upon Europe.

### WAR EFFORT UNIMPAIRED

"You will never know how relieved and, may I add, how proud I feel that the Canadian people have shown to other parts of the British Empire, and to other countries, that it has been possible for Canada to carry through a general election at a time of war, without impairing the united war effort of a united country. For all of this, I am deeply grateful to you.

"I believe that all who have given the present administration their support to-day have rendered the highest possible service to our country at this time. Not to our country alone, but also to Britain and France, and to those small nations whose freedom has been destroyed, threatened or imperilled by the most relentless, cruel and brutal of foes.

"This great service does not belong to the present alone or to these countries alone. It is a contribution to the future of the world itself. I hope that the men and women who have given the government their support to-day will find their reward in the part which they have thus played in the making of history, and the safeguarding of liberty.

### LAUDS ROGERS

"You have seen with clear eyes that the great issues before us have in reality been the only issues which matter. It has been the war effort of a free people fighting to maintain freedom. I have personally tried to look beyond the present into the dark and threatening years that lie before us.

"I have asked you to do the same. The result of this election is proof that you, yourselves, have felt that a vigorous and united war effort of a united Canada is necessary above all things, not only effectively to aid Britain and France in their struggle to preserve freedom in Europe but essential as well to preserve true freedom in our own land.

"By your votes you have ex-

pressed once, and I trust for all time, your disapproval of methods of political campaigning which if permitted to gain a foothold in our Dominion or in any of its provinces, would soon destroy the free institutions of government and the accepted standards of our public life.

"I would particularly like to extend my congratulations to the city of Kingston with its historic military associations. It has honored itself and Canada by ensuring to this country the services of a great minister of national defense, whose character, ability and integrity have risen triumphant over a concentrated sequence of unwarranted attacks.

### LINCOLN QUOTED

"During the present campaign, as you are all well aware, I have done my best to avoid personalities, and to refrain from any form of attack which might leave behind it bitter memories or wounds which it might be hard to heal. I have done this, not only because such conduct is, I believe, foreign to my nature, but because I have felt that the labors and the sacrifices which will be necessary before victory is assured, will need the co-operative good-will of us all.

"I can find no words which better express my feelings to-night than those uttered by Abraham Lincoln when his party was returned victorious at a time of civil war.

"While I am deeply sensible to the high compliment of a re-election, and duly grateful, as I trust, to Almighty God for having directed my countrymen to a right conclusion, as I think, for their own good, it adds nothing to my satisfaction that any other man may be disappointed or pained by the results.

"I am thankful to God for this approval of the people; but, while deeply grateful for this mark of their confidence in me, if I know my heart, my gratitude is free from any taint of personal triumph. I do not impugn the motives of any one opposed to me. It is no pleasure to me to triumph over anyone, but I give thanks to the Almighty for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free government and the rights of humanity."

### FORGET DIFFERENCES

"Now that the elections are over I ask my fellow citizens in all parts of this broad land, forgetting the differences of the past to join their strength together in the fight for victory, peace and freedom.

"Ladies and gentlemen, I have no doubt that the faith and fire within every one of us are pledged to the great cause which has called our soldiers, our sailors and our airmen to the service of their country. The government to which you have committed the greatest of all trusts will do the utmost to be worthy of them, of you, and of Canada."

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KING, William Lyon Mackenzie: Speeches Series

MG 26, J 5, Volume 63, pages D 38183 - D 38924

30 April 1940

"The Present Outlook "

*W. Brewster  
Government  
For use in  
performing  
duties*

*Jay*

*Opening Speech*

*Secret*

THE PRESENT OUTLOOK

April 30, 1940

D 38183

The imminent failure of the present Allied attempt to dislodge Germany from Norway, compels serious consideration. We can no longer shut our eyes to the fact that the war has steadily gone against us since September, and that, with present forces, policies and objectives, there is no certainty or even likelihood that it will soon turn for the better. The Poland which France and Britain guaranteed has been conquered, divided, crushed; Finland defeated after heroic resistance, the small Baltic states occupied by Russian forces, and Denmark taken over in a day without a gun being fired. Now nine-tenths of the populated area, ports, railways and industrial establishments of Norway are in German hands. Britain and France face the possibility of a second Gallipoli, which would damage their prestige and give the enemy new bases for direct attack. Guaranteed countries like Rumania are calling Nazi sympathizers back to favour. Most threatening of immediate effects is the danger that Mussolini, that "Knight in shining (black)mail", may decide that Germany is winning all along the line and that he must go in at once if there is to be any loot left.

D 38184

The Allies of course have factors of great potential strength: united peoples, a great and righteous cause, the resilience of democracy; wealth to buy and industrial equipment to produce the arms of war; overwhelming naval strength, enforcing a blockade which is seriously though not fatally hampering German trade and production; military forces drawing to equality, and growing strength in the air, though unfortunately not yet near the equality or superiority with Germany that has been seen just around the corner every year since 1936. They have one potential dependable ally, Turkey. They still have the sympathy of the small neutrals, tempered by growing doubts as to whether their protection may not be more dangerous than helpful to a small power. They have not only the sympathy of the United States people, but the backing of the Administration and full access to American aircraft and military equipment resources. Japan is unfriendly, but not in a position to take hostile action. Russia is again on the fence, even making dubious approaches to Britain, based on her desire to prevent either side being defeated too soon.

D 38185

In this balance of forces, there is no guarantee of early or decisive attainment of the objectives which Britain and France sought in entering the war. The Allies have no cards today they have not had the past six months, and there is little change in the team who are playing them. If peace were made today on the status quo, Hitler would have won hands down. How can this be? What are the reasons of <sup>enemy</sup> strength or of Allied weakness?

The reasons of enemy strength are clear: a populous and vigorous people still on the make, with great industry and organizing capacity; freed from external debt by forgiveness or repudiation, and from internal debt by inflation; stirred by bitter memories of defeat and reviving dreams of dominance over the lesser breeds - this German people have come under control of a ruthless, dynamic and half-mad group who have persuaded, promised, terrorized them into accepting, as the price of internal stability and external conquest, domination by a police and military machine, and devotion of the bulk of the nation's manpower and wealth to the sole object of imposing Germany's will by force.

The sources of Allied weakness are to be found partly in policy and to a less extent in execution.

In spite of the overwhelming victory of the Allies in the last war, it was apparent that a people of 70,000,000 would not long be a negligible factor in world affairs. The question was, what policy was to be adopted toward Germany? Many policies were tried; none were carried out with effectiveness. There was/a see-saw between France and Britain: France seeking security by disarming her neighbour and building military alliances; Britain slowly reverting to her traditional principle of rebuilding a balance of power. Through the golden or gilded twenties, there was enough prosperity and hope for all; no serious clash arose. But the economic depression of the thirties gave sharpness to the rising conflict of new ideologies. and in Germany in particular enabled Nazi demagogues to turn economic unrest into nationalist fervour. The British governments of the day, rather a futile lot and preoccupied by their own troubles, failed to see the danger. They refused, or acquiesced in French refusal, to grant the democratic leaders of Germany a reasonable approach to equality of armament; and accordingly soon faced a Nazi regime which took many times more than their predecessors had vainly begged.

D 38187

Faced by a rearming and expanding Nazi Germany, several policies were possible. Germany might have been invaded and disarmed; but public opinion in the whole English-speaking world was against that. The attempt might have been made, and was made, to turn the League of Nations into an alliance of states obliged to impose military or economic sanctions against an aggressor country; but the Manchurian and Chaco experience showed that England was not prepared to accept this role, the Ethiopian incident showed that France was not, and the present war, that small neutrals are not - as Canada had from the first believed they would not.

*But as Canada through  
Honourable Tompkins and  
later Bradwell were  
urging to show a  
clear example of  
Eden.  
1-8-40*

The policy actually adopted by the United Kingdom in the thirties was "to avoid making commitments in advance, to prevent the organization of Europe into two or three opposing camps, to refrain from aid or intervention in any area or dispute not of immediate and vital concern to her own interests, and to try to localize or draw a ring around any conflict that did break out". In the latter half of the thirties this policy was supplemented by an extensive rearmament programme. In other words, detachment, appeasement, rearmament. The policy was a realistic one, and with more energy might

*Failure =  
the results of  
Admiral's policy  
combined with  
the policy of  
the League of Nations  
rearmament.*

D 38138

have succeeded. Italy might have been detached from Germany by timely concessions and a show of friendliness. *True*  
A superiority in the air could have been secured by better organization of the vast resources available. *True*  
But there was a tired and funbling note in all the MacDonalld-Baldwin period, and later, in the Spanish conflict of Eden-Chamberlain days, British interests and prestige were needlessly and disastrously thrown away. A large section of British public opinion opposed this policy when it found its most dubious expression in the Munich settlement. Six months later the occupation of Prague turned the scale. There was a strong case

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\* In a memorandum of the 10th May the reasons for this sudden shift of policy were stated to have been:

- (a) a widespread dislike of the internal and external policies of the Axis powers - their arrogance, intolerance, brutality - and a feeling that war itself would not be worse than constant tension;
- (b) the fear that if Germany remained unchecked in Eastern Europe, she would become a menace to Western Europe and the United Kingdom itself;
- (c) an uneasy sense among the people of the United Kingdom of vanishing power and prestige;
- (d) pique on the part of Mr. Chamberlain who saw crumbling his Munich triumph and his forecasts of "peace in our time";
- (e) revolt of the Foreign Office against control by No. 10 Downing Street and Horace Wilson;
- (f) the backseat driving from Washington.

for distrust of Hitler's policies and promises; a strong case for taking steps to safeguard Western Europe against his ambitions, whether by heightened armament, dependable alliances or adjustment of European grievances. Unfortunately, in the sharp reaction from appeasement, the British Government plunged suddenly and blindly and without notice or discussion into a policy of challenging Hitler in Eastern Europe and offering guarantees to any and every Eastern European state that would join an anti-German bloc.

That policy was fundamentally unsound. There was "little prospect of building up a stable and dependable alliance from the states of Eastern Europe, divided by race and religion, backward industrially, socially feudal or bolshevist, with not a morally reliable statesman at the helm in a single case". Given the map of Europe and the Maginot-Siegfried lines, Britain and France could give little help if an alliance were formed, and would receive less. "The candidates for the new collective security were sought in the hedges and byways of Europe, selected not according to their moral steadfastness or their military strength but according to the dangers of their position and in some cases their inability to help themselves or anyone else. To

D 38190

challenge Germany in her strongest and Britain's weakest front and to rely on fickle Beck for stability, Carol for moral fervour and Stalin and Metaxal for support of democracy, is another Charge of the Light Brigade". Only in one way could this Eastern policy have had any chance of success - by securing in advance the firm support of Russia. But "by making sudden public and far-reaching commitments which it could not implement except by Russia's aid, without securing or even discussing any such assurance in advance, the British Government put itself at Russia's mercy". These are not post-fact conclusions; the comments quoted were made in April and July. By August it was apparent that most of the small Eastern powers feared Russia as much as Germany, and that Russia was taking advantage of the Anglo-French blunder to make better terms with Germany and encourage the Western powers to destroy one another while she remained aloof and gained in strength.

*appalling*

"The fact is", as was observed early in the summer of 1939, "that the advocates of the New Policy have over-estimated the power and prestige of Britain (and France) in the present day world. They have failed to recognize the change in the world centres of material power in the past generation, or the decline of their former prestige and accepted leadership. They have consequently extended their forces and their diplomacy too thin, 'exposed too

wide a surface' ". The result was to line Europe up into "two military camps, to take publicly positions from which there could be no retreat and little room for compromise or negotiation".

*Certainly*  
Was there any alternative to accepting Hitler's domination on the one hand, or challenging him in Eastern Europe on the other? There clearly was: "a stiffening of the course followed up to Munich, rapid and effective re-arming, co-operation with France in the defence of Western Europe", leaving Germany and Russia to balance and hold each other in Eastern Europe, and making every effort to co-operate with the United States."

The New Policy of March, 1939, failed to avert war in Europe. It failed to protect Poland or the Baltic or Scandinavian states.

In execution, the British and French peoples have shown determination and made great efforts and great sacrifices. They have kept war out of their own lands. They control the oceans. They are meeting a measure of success in blockading Germany. Turkey remains faithful. But they have not yet attained superiority in the air, and unfortunately recent events have shown that air power exercised from nearby bases can challenge and perhaps block sea power.

D 38192

In the operation of the war, the one serious and unexpected weakness has been the inability of the British and French navies to prevent the German Armada occupying the whole south and west coast of Norway. The sea is bigger than appears on the map and fog and storm make scouting difficult, but no satisfactory explanation has yet been given why Allied intelligence services could give no warning or the overwhelming Allied sea power could not interfere with the long lines of war ships and transports occupying 800 miles of open sea with clockwork precision and completeness. Such information as is available indicates that many warnings of the operation were given in the days immediately preceding. Once installed on the coast, with land guns set up and bases for the swarms of bombers, it was of course tremendously difficult to dislodge them, whatever bravery and energy might be shown.

*It was Norway's  
refusal to allow  
British a fair  
chance in time.*

The fact that the Eastern European policy has been proved in fact as futile as was contended last year, does not mean that we can <sup>not</sup> escape its consequences. The fact that defeat has come in Poland and Finland and Norway does not mean that the war is lost. It does mean that redoubled effort will have to be made. We cannot afford any more mistakes, cannot afford delay or muddling through or wishful thinking. The Allies have now no margin of strength to play with.

So far as Canada is concerned, it would appear essential to take stock of what progress we have actually made both for home defence and overseas service. As one means to that end, regular and frequent meetings of the War Cabinet, and explicit and precise progress reports by the Defence heads, will doubtless be desired. There will be public demands for "more action", disparaging comparisons of Canada's effort with Britain's or Australia's<sup>\*</sup>. In this connection addresses by the Prime Minister and leading Ministers in Parliament or on the radio will be welcomed: it is as important, for public morale, to let the people know and where possible see what is being done as it is to do things.

The most promising factor in the situation, particularly from the Canadian standpoint, is that recent events may make the United States public realize what the Administration has realized for months, that they cannot permit a totalitarian victory. So long as it seemed probable that Britain and France would win, the people of the United States quite naturally did not feel called on to intervene.

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Detailed information as to Australia and New Zealand military and financial effort is being prepared.

Now that the horrible spectre of German-Russian-Italian victory has raised its head, public opinion will change accordingly. True, the United States is already giving in many respects as much help as if it were in the war, but its further diplomatic and financial and naval and perhaps air support are powerful potentialities. Our task is twofold: to make effective our own share, and to speed in every practical and discreet way the co-operation of the United States.

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057.

D 38195

Re: Speech on the Address

*book of commentaries*  
See Peak's Commentaries re Industry and Humanity,  
regarding nature of present war - humanity versus  
animality.

# The New York Times

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ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935.

Published Every Day in the Year by  
THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY.

ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER,  
President and Publisher.  
JULIUS OCHS ADLER,  
Vice President and General Manager.  
GODFREY N. NELSON, Secretary.

SUNDAY, APRIL 14, 1940.

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## WATCH ON THE NORTH

Germany's blow against Scandinavia has already sent its reverberations around the world. The mastery of Scandinavia is only a part of what is at stake today in the furious battles around Norway. The whole world watches breathlessly, and with good reason; for Allied power and German are now at grips for the first time in a life-and-death struggle. The warring nations are not alone in believing that their existence depends upon the outcome. Every neutral nation within striking distance of German power suddenly finds itself desperately threatened. Every other neutral, no matter how far from Europe or how determined to stay out of this war, must reassess its position in the light of the success or failure of the German drive.

Germany has now shown that she will not hesitate to crush any neutral in her path if by so doing she feels she is gaining strategic advantages. Hitler did not hesitate to trample upon Denmark, which had only recently signed a non-aggression pact with him and given him not the slightest ground for offense. He was cold-blooded enough to plan an attack upon peaceful Norway. He can have no scruples now against attacking any nation which he thinks can be overwhelmed by the might of the German military machine. Norway was so "strict and severe" in her neutrality, in Mr. Churchill's words, that she handicapped and angered the Allies; yet Norway is suffering more terribly today than Austria or Czecho-Slovakia, which always were pawns in the power-political game.

Germany's surviving neutral neighbors now confront the agonizing choice of submitting to a foreign tyranny whenever Germany gives the order, as Denmark submitted, or of resisting, in the full knowledge that resistance will make them battlefields. The only questions are when and where the next blow will strike. Sweden is plainly terrified; her Premier has talked bravely of refusing to let any foreign troops cross Swedish territory, but Sweden is a prisoner of geography and her own weakness. The Netherlands have canceled army leaves and have rushed all available troops to the German frontier. Belgium and Switzerland, overwhelmingly pro-Ally in public sentiment, see the war edging ominously closer toward them. The Balkans find it more and more difficult to resist German economic demands;

But Italy does not want to get into this war if she can satisfy some of her ambitions without it. She is vulnerable on land and sea, and her leaders know it, just as London and Paris know it.

Yet Italy's policy will be influenced by the success or failure of the German drive into Scandinavia. If the Germans can consolidate their control of the whole Norwegian coast, Italy may well feel that Germany is on the road to winning the war. The same considerations will inevitably affect Russia, which has shown no great eagerness until now to enter the war as a military ally of Germany. It can be argued that German victories in the North will alarm Russia and lead her to patch up her relations with the Allies. But this is the way of wishful thinking, not the way of *Realpolitik*. The Allies and their friends must always reckon with the probability that German victories will drive Russia into closer and closer alignment with the Nazi Reich.

In such circumstances our own position in America can hardly look as comfortable as it did before the Germans went into Scandinavia. For us, it is far more than a question of Greenland and Iceland. To consider the Scandinavian war as a matter of distant outposts near our hemisphere is to bury our heads in the sands of unreality. What we in the United States are witnessing is the most serious threat yet attempted against British sea power and the very existence of Britain and France as world empires. The attack that has obliterated Denmark and brought the swastika as far north as Narvik, 1,000 miles from Berlin, is in reality a drive for supreme power in Europe. Upon the amount of unexpended energy behind that drive, upon the courage and skill of Allied resistance, the future way of life of millions may well depend at this moment.

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Very different is the position of Italy and Russia, the only powerful "non-belligerents" in Europe. They, at least, are in no danger of a sudden onslaught from Germany, and they can keep some freedom of choice about going to war. It might be expected, in view of the past technique of the Berlin-Rome Axis, that Italy would hurry to make trouble for the Allies now that they are seriously occupied in Scandinavia.

comfortable as it did before the Germans went into Scandinavia. For us, it is far more than a question of Greenland and Iceland. To consider the Scandinavian war as a matter of distant outposts near our hemisphere is to bury our heads in the sands of unreality. What we in the United States are witnessing is the most serious threat yet attempted against British sea power and the very existence of Britain and France as world empires. The attack that has obliterated Denmark and brought the swastika as far north as Narvik, 1,000 miles from Berlin, is in reality a drive for supreme power in Europe. Upon the amount of unexpended energy behind that drive, upon the courage and skill of Allied resistance, the future way of life of millions may well depend at this moment.

Material for  
Speech or address  
1st Session - 1940 Part 7

EXTRACT: From letter from A. F. Macdonald,  
Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa  
April 4, 1940

D 38197

But noteworthy as was this overwhelming expression of public approval, perhaps the Election was of still greater significance, looking to the future, in the impressive demonstration it gave of the smooth and efficient functioning of a democracy in time of war. From the very beginning, at the formal entry into war upon the authority of Parliament, through all the subsequent stages down to the taking of the vote of the forces at home and overseas, there was no disturbance or impairment of the orderly constitutional processes. And when the Election was over Canada settled down, quietly reinforced in her unity of purpose and pledged anew to the business at home and the great task facing her. This was surely, as you intimated in your address on election night, an object lesson in national unity and in national determination, not alone to our Allies but to all the world. And for this happy issue which is of such high promise for the future my firm conviction is that your own wise, steadfast and patient statesmanship during the years of your leadership was chiefly responsible.

10 May 1940

Radio

German invasion of Belgium  
+ Netherlands

14  
Fellow Canadians:  
~~Let us fight~~

May 10/40  
Radio address  
by P. M.

D 38198

In the dark, early hours of this morning, the powers of evil unloosed their ruthless force against the two small peaceful and peace-loving nations of the Netherlands and Belgium. Their countries are today the battle ground of Europe, and of the world. To these new victims of relentless tyranny and violence, Canada not only offers its profound sympathy, but pledges its unwavering support. Once again within the space of twenty-five years, the little land of Belgium is ravaged, and its brave men and women called upon to face far greater horrors than those which they withstood and vanquished in the days of 1914. They will withstand and vanquish them again.

With pride, we re-join the Belgian people in the comradeship of arms, sanctified by the memory of common sacrifices.

For one hundred years the people of the Netherlands have known peace. The history of their rise to freedom is the history of heroic resistance to tyrants. We, in Canada, know how much they have contributed to the strength, the peaceful progress and the idealism of the North American continent. They too have joined the brotherhood of free nations, fighting for freedom.

No words could adequately condemn the treachery and the barbarism which have marked the successive outrages of Nazi Germany. They serve only to exalt the Allied cause, and to strengthen the determination of each one of us to end this evil thing forever, and to keep inviolate the inner sanctuaries of the hearts and minds of men. No one knows where the next blow may fall, but every neutral country must at least now be persuaded that there is no limit to the Nazi lust of conquest, and no chance for the survival of civilization unless Nazi Germany is vanquished.

While it is the duty of each one of us to look at the hard and cruel facts with realistic eyes, there is every reason for renewed confidence in the final outcome of the struggle. The campaign in Norway, while it was a shock to self-satisfaction, was a spur to speedier and greater effort. To-day's news, although terrible, has shown that stouthearted nations, however small, are prepared and ready to resist. Every attack upon still another country, every extension of battle front, brings to Nazi aggressors a new military danger.

Six months after the last war began, the position of the allied cause was no less hazardous. It was still more

hazardous six months before it ended. Today, not only the allied powers, but all free peoples see more clearly than they did then, the strength of the enemy, the significance of the cause, and the human rights that are imperilled. || The greatest battle in the greatest war for the greatest cause has begun. The storm has gathered; it is for us to gather our strength. | Your government has pledged itself to steadfastness and vigour. It will keep that pledge. | We are in continuous consultation with ~~our~~ <sup>our</sup> allies, <sup>powers</sup> and we have already made preparations for further measures to help to meet the growing intensity of the conflict. || I am sure that each one of you will keep a calm and courageous heart. I know, too, that no effort of hand ~~and~~ of head will be spared until victory is achieved. || We may expect news of dire and dreadful events. Let us always remember that endurance is one of the greatest of all virtues, and it is the last battle that decides the struggle.

Tonight, my fellow citizens, there stand by my side the Minister of Belgium to Canada, and a representative of the Minister of the Netherlands to Canada. They will speak to you in a few minutes. On your behalf, and in the name of the government of Canada, I say to them, that we have confidence in ourselves and in our allies, and not least in their two heroic lands who today have ~~taken~~ <sup>joined the company of nations that are defending in</sup> arms ~~in~~ the cause of human freedom.

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While it is the duty of each one of us to look at the hard and cruel facts with realistic eyes, there is every reason for renewed confidence in the final outcome of the struggle. The campaign in Norway, while it was a shock to self-satisfaction, was a spur to speedier and greater effort. Today's news, although terrible, has shown that stouthearted nations, however small, are prepared and ready to resist. Every attack upon still another country, every extension of battle front brings to Nazi aggressors a new military danger.

Six months after the last war began, the position of the allied cause was no less hazardous. It was still more hazardous six months before it ended. Today, not only the allied powers, but all free peoples see more clearly than they did then, the strength of the enemy, the significance of the cause, and the human rights that are imperilled. The greatest battle in the greatest war for the greatest cause has begun. The storm has gathered; it is for us to gather our strength. Your government has pledged itself to steadfastness and vigour. It will keep that pledge. We are in continuous consultation with the allied powers and we have already made preparations for further measures to help to meet the growing intensity of the conflict

I am sure that each one of you will keep a calm and courageous heart. I know too that no effort of hand or head will be spared until victory is achieved. We may expect news of dire and dreadful events. Let us always remember that endurance is one of the greatest of all virtues, and it is the last battle that decides the struggle.

Tonight, my fellow citizens, there stand by my side the Minister of Belgium to Canada, and a representative of the Minister of the Netherlands to Canada. They will speak to you in a few minutes. On your behalf, and in the name of the government of Canada, I say to them that we have confidence in ourselves and in our allies, and not least in their two heroic lands who today have joined the company of nations that are defending in arms the cause of human freedom.

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63		Speech on the Address in reply in Parliament	20 May 1940	D 38222 - D 38224	

In the dark, early hours of this morning, the powers of evil unleashed their ruthless force against the two small peaceful and peace-loving nations of the Netherlands and Belgium. Their countries are today the battle ground of Europe and of the world. To these new victims of relentless tyranny and violence, Canada not only offers its profound sympathy, but pledges its unwavering support. Once again within the space of twenty-five years, the little land of Belgium is ravaged, and its brave men and women called upon to face far greater horrors than those which they withstood and vanquished in the days of 1914. They will withstand and vanquish them again.

With pride we re-join the Belgian people in the comradeship of arms, sanctified by the memory of common sacrifices.

For one hundred years the people of the Netherlands have known peace. The history of their rise to freedom is the history of heroic resistance to tyrants. We, in Canada, know how much they have contributed to the strength, the peaceful progress and the idealism of the North American continent. They too have joined the brotherhood of free nations, fighting for freedom.

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# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram

Date May 11/40

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## KING PLEDGES CANADA'S AID TO LOW LANDS

**"Dominion Already Made  
Preparations to Help Meet  
Nazi Outrages," Says  
Prime Minister**

Ottawa, May 11—Pledging Canada's "unwavering support" to the Netherlands and Belgium, Prime Minister Mackenzie King, in a broadcast last night over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, said "the greatest battle in the greatest war for the greatest cause has begun."

In the strongest language, Mr. King condemned German violation of the low countries. "No words could adequately condemn the treachery and barbarism which have marked the successive outrages of Nazi Germany," he said.

"No one knows where the next blow may fall but every neutral country must at least now be persuaded that there is no limit to the Nazi lust of conquest and no chance for the survival of civilization unless Nazi Germany is vanquished."

The Prime Minister said the Canadian Government is in continuous consultation with the Allied powers "and we have already made preparations for further measures to help to meet the growing intensity of the conflict."

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date..... MAY 1 1 1940

Subject.....

## “Unwavering Support” Of Canada Is Pledged To Belgium, Holland

**Prime Minister King Declares “The Greatest Battle in The Greatest War for the Greatest Cause Has Begun.” Condemns German Violation of Low Countries in Strongest Language. Envoys of Invaded Nations Also Deliver Messages.**

Pledging Canada's “unwavering support” to The Netherlands and Belgium, Prime Minister Mackenzie King, in a broadcast last night over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, said “the greatest battle in the greatest war for the greatest cause has begun.”

In the strongest language, Mr. King condemned German violation of the low countries. “No words could adequately condemn the treachery and barbarisms which have marked the successive outrages of Nazi Germany,” he said.

“No one knows where the next blow may fall but every neutral country must at least now be persuaded that there is no limit to the Nazi lust of conquest and no chance for the survival of civilization unless Nazi Germany is vanquished.”

### Have Made Preparations.

The Prime Minister said the Canadian government is in continuous consultation with the Allied powers “and we have already made preparations for further measures to help to meet the growing intensity of the conflict.”

Baron Robert Silvercruys, Belgian minister to Canada, also spoke on the broadcast and said that no nation can claim a cleaner record of honesty than Belgium and

that the German pretext for the invasion, to the effect that neutrality had not been preserved “is but an insult added to a grave injury.”

For us Belgians, the hour of trial has come. The loyalty which we displayed as an independent and neutral nation, we shall now demonstrate anew on a field where Belgian determination, courage and constancy will have a renewed vigor.”

A message by F. E. H. Groenman, Netherlands minister to Canada, who was en route to Ottawa at the time of the broadcast, was read on his behalf. The minister said the German invasion was a sign of weakness on the part of the Nazis.

### Mr. King's Message.

Following is text of Mr. King's message:—

“In the dark, early hours of this morning, the powers of evil unloosed their ruthless force against the two small peaceful and peace-loving nations of The Netherlands and Belgium. Their countries are today the battle ground of Europe and of the world.

“To these new victims of relentless tyranny and violence, Canada not only offers its profound sympathy, but pledges its unwavering support. Once again within the space of 25 years, the little land of Belgium is ravaged, and its brave men and women called upon to face greater horrors than those which they withstood and vanquished in the days of 1914. They will withstand and vanquish them again.

### Of Common Sacrifices.

“With pride we rejoin the Belgian people in the comradeship of arms, sanctified by the memory of common sacrifices.

“For 100 years the people of The Netherlands have known peace. The history of their rise to freedom is the history of heroic resistance to tyrants. We, in Canada, know how much they have contributed to the strength, the peaceful progress and the idealism of the North American continent. They too have joined the brotherhood of free nations, fighting for freedom.

“No words could adequately condemn the treachery and the barbarism which have marked the successive outrages of Nazi Germany. They serve only to exalt the Allied cause and to strengthen the determination of each one of us to end this evil thing forever, and to keep inviolate the inner sanctuaries of the hearts and minds of men.

### No Limit to Nazi Lust.

“No one knows where the next blow may fall, but every neutral country must at least now be persuaded that there is no limit to the Nazi lust of conquest, and no chance for the survival of civilization

unless Nazi Germany is vanquished.

“While it is the duty of each one of us to look at the hard and cruel facts with realistic eyes, there is every reason for renewed confidence in the final outcome of the struggle. The campaign in Norway, while it was a shock to self-satisfaction, was a spur to speedier and greater effort.

“Today's news, although terrible, has shown that stouthearted nations, however small, are prepared and ready to resist. Every attack upon still another country, every extension of battle front brings to Nazi aggressors a new military danger.

### Significance of Cause.

“Six months after the last war began, the position of the Allied cause was no less hazardous. It was still more hazardous six months before it ended. Today, not only the Allied powers, but all free peoples see more clearly than they did then, the strength of the enemy, the significance of the cause, and the human rights that are imperilled.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 38209

"The greatest battle in the greatest war for the greatest cause has begun. The storm has gathered; it is for us to gather our strength. Your government has pledged itself to steadfastness and vigor. It will keep that pledge. We are in continuous consultation with the Allied powers, and we have already made preparations for further measures to help to meet the growing intensity of the conflict.

**Spare No Effort.**

"I am sure that each one of you will keep a calm and courageous heart. I know too that no effort of hand and of head will be spared until victory is achieved. We may expect news of dire and dreadful events. Let us always remember that endurance is one of the greatest of all virtues, and it is the last battle that decides the struggle.

"Tonight, my fellow citizens, there stand by my side the minister of Belgium to Canada and a representative of the minister of The Netherlands to Canada. They will speak to you in a few minutes. On your behalf, and in the name of the government of Canada, I say to them that we have confidence in ourselves and in our allies, and not least in their two heroic lands which today have joined the company of nations that is defending in arms the cause of human freedom."

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D 38210 May 10, 1940  
R-901  
v. 4

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Traduction française du discours du premier ministre  
le 10 mai 1940

file

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R-101

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Ce matin, pendant qu'il faisait encore nuit, les puissances du mal se sont déchaînées contre deux petits peuples pacifiques et amis de la paix, les Pays-Bas et la Belgique. Leur territoire est maintenant le champ de bataille de l'Europe, et du monde. A ces nouvelles victimes d'une tyrannie et d'une violence implacable, le Canada non seulement apporte sa profonde sympathie mais jure son aide résolue. Encore fois, en un quart de siècle, la petite patrie belge est ravagée, et tous ses enfants doivent faire face à des horreurs encore plus monstrueuses que celles qu'ils eurent à combattre et qu'ils ont vaincues en 1914. Ils y résisteront et les vaincront encore une fois.

C'est avec orgueil que nous embrassons le peuple belge dans cette camaraderie sacrée, sanctifiée par le souvenir des sacrifices endurés en commun.

Pendant plus de cent ans, les habitants des Pays-Bas ont connu la paix. L'histoire de leur ascension vers la liberté est celle de la résistance héroïque aux tyrans. Nous savons, au Canada, quelle a été leur contribution à la puissance, au progrès dans la paix, et à l'idéal du continent nord-américain. Eux aussi, ont pris place dans l'association des nations libres, combattant pour leur

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1940



liberté. Les mots manquent pour condamner la trahison et le barbarisme qui ont marqué la suite des déprédations de l'Allemagne nazie. Elles ne peuvent que rehausser la cause des Alliés et renforcer la résolution qui anime chacun de nous de mettre fin à cette horreur à jamais et de conserver intacts les sanctuaires du cœur et de l'esprit humains. On ne sait sur qui tombera le prochain coup mais tous les pays neutres doivent maintenant être convaincus qu'il n'existe pas de limite à l'appétit de conquêtes des nazis, que la civilisation ne peut survivre si l'Allemagne nazie n'est vaincue.

C'est notre devoir à tous d'envisager avec réalisme les faits, aussi brutaux et cruels qu'ils soient, mais tout milite en faveur d'une confiance accrue dans l'issue favorable du conflit. La campagne de Norvège, un rude coup à la complaisance, a été le coup d'éperon qui fait bondir dans un effort plus grand, plus rapide. Les nouvelles de la journée, quoique terribles, ont prouvé que les peuples courageux, si petits soient-ils, sont préparés et prêts à la résistance. Toute attaque contre d'autres pays, tout agrandissement des champs de bataille accroît le danger militaire auquel les agresseurs nazis doivent faire face.

Six mois après le début de la dernière guerre, la situation des alliés était non moins difficile. Elle s'était encore aggravée six mois avant la victoire. Aujourd'hui, non seulement les alliés, mais tous les peuples libres voient encore plus clairement qu'alors la force de l'ennemi, l'importance de notre cause, et le péril que courent les droits de l'humanité. La bataille suprême pour la cause la plus haute, est engagée dans une guerre plus grande encore.

L'orage menace, c'est à nous de préparer nos forces. Votre gouvernement a donné sa parole d'être ferme et vigoureux. Il tiendra sa promesse. Il est en communication constante avec nos alliés et il a déjà préparé des mesures qui permettront de subir l'ardeur nouvelle du conflit. Je suis sûr que tous, vous gardez un cœur calme et résolu. Je sais aussi qu'aucun effort ne sera épargné tant que la victoire n'aura pas été achevée. Nous devons nous attendre à des événements cruels, terribles. Rappelons-nous toujours que la patience est la plus grande de toutes les vertus et que c'est la dernière bataille qui décide de la victoire.

Ce soir, mes compatriotes, j'ai à mes côtés le Ministre de Belgique, et un ~~xx~~ représentant du Ministre des Pays-Bas au Canada. Ils vous adresseront la parole

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dans un instant. En votre nom, et en celui du gouvernement canadien, je leur dis que nous avons confiance en nous-mêmes et en nos alliés, en leurs peuples de héros qui, aujourd'hui ont pris les armes pour la cause de la liberté dans le monde.

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62		Re: Toronto Meeting, Massey Hall	14 Mar. 1940	D 37900 - D 38029	
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63		Speech of Mr. King on Suspension of House proceedings and re: The Appointment of the Hon. R.B. Hanson, as House Leader of the Conservative Party	16 May 1940	D 38217 - D 38221	
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16 May, 1940

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Speech of Mr. King on  
suspension of House proceedings  
and concerning the appoint-  
ment of the Hon. R. B. Hanson  
as House leader of The Conservative  
Party.

May 16, 1940

Re: Hanson

D 38217

Suspension of proceedings -  
not adjournment.

Congratulations to M.P. York-Sunbury.

- (1) Confidence of followers.
- (2) Position of Leader of Opposition.

Choice no surprise.

Parliamentary record:  
long,  
large parliamentary  
experience,  
one of 2 M.P.'s in  
Government of Bennett.

My knowledge of position of  
Leader of Opposition.

Understanding sympathy in  
responsibilities and anxieties.

" " "  
to all in present Parliament.

Need help - as free nations  
as Britain and France.

Effective co-operation.

Functions of Opposition:

(Leader, salaried officer)

Constructive criticism.

Safeguard against hasty and  
ill-conceived action.

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Will reciprocate all co-operation  
given.

May 16, 1940

D 38219

HONOURABLE R. B. HANSON

To adjourn the House with a view to having it sit again today would necessitate, under its rules, a formal motion requiring twenty-four hours' notice. I am, therefore, proposing that the House suspend its sittings until three o'clock. Before, however, this action is taken, I should like to avail myself of the earliest opportunity to extend to my Honourable friend the member for York Sanbury, my very sincere congratulations and equally the congratulations of all honourable members on this side of the House upon the confidence which has been expressed in him by his fellow members in choosing him as leader of their party in the House of Commons, and on his assumption of office today of the position of leader of the Opposition.

May I say that I am not surprised that he should have been selected for the position which he now holds. My honourable friend, though he was not a member of the last Parliament, is, in point of service, one of the oldest members of the House of Commons having been returned to this House in the by-election of May 1921 and again at the general elections of 1921, '25, '26 and 1930.

My honourable friend has had a large parliamentary experience. I think I am right when I say that he is one of the

Carl Row  
35 RT - 4/2/72

D 38220

*had held a portfolio in*  
two members of his party who ~~have been members of a~~  
previous administration, he having filled for a year  
the office of Minister of Trade and Commerce in the  
administration of the Rt. Hon. R. B. Bennett.

The other member is my honourable friend from  
Yale, Mr. Grote Stirling who was Minister of <sup>Nationalist</sup> Defence  
in ~~1954~~ the same administration. He has been  
Chairman of important Parliamentary committees; is a  
forceful debater, and is as familiar as anyone in the  
House with the general procedure.

May I say to my honourable friend that perhaps  
better than anyone else, I have a knowledge of what may  
be expected of him in the position of leader of the  
Opposition. He has my understanding sympathy alike  
in his responsibilities and his anxieties.

I should like at once to say that in the  
present Parliament, responsibilities and anxieties are  
certain to be greater for all of us than they have been  
for members in any previous time. We shall all need the  
help that we are capable of giving each other just as  
the free nations of the world ~~as~~ those that until  
yesterday were free, are in need of each other's help,  
and as Britain and France and the different parts of

the British Commonwealth of Nations are in need of all in the way of effective co-operation it is possible for each to give the others.

I shall not expect from the new leader of the Opposition the measure of approval of the Government's actions which might be expected of one of my own party nor would I wish anything of the kind. All that I would ask is that such criticism as there may be of the Government's policies and actions may be made as constructive as possible, and, if I might be permitted to say so, in times like the present, made with as little in the way of recrimination as possible.

I, myself, shall do all I can to reciprocate in fullest measure whatever may be accorded the Government in the way of co-operation not only on the part of the Opposition but on the part of all groups in the House.

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Unemployment  
~~Monetary~~ Policy

20 May, 1940

House of Commons

Speech on the  
Address in Reply

Call - Unemployment Insurance  
212

Speech on Address.

Section 6: Unemployment Insurance

D 88222

Historical:

An aim of Liberal party since  
1921;

Attempt to secure co-operation  
of provinces in necessary  
constitutional amendment  
1937-38;

3 provinces, Alberta, New Brunswick  
and Quebec, not prepared to  
co-operate;

Policy of Government unchanged;

No immediate action to avoid  
creating friction with  
provinces.

Renewal of suggestion to provinces (1940):

Jan. 16: letters addressed to  
Premiers of Alberta, New  
Brunswick and Quebec;

- Jan. 25: Premier of New Brunswick expressed agreement of provincial government to necessary amendment;
- Feb. 24: Premier of Quebec sought elucidation of proposal;
- Apr. 10: Details of the case for a constitutional amendment outlined to Premier of Quebec;
- May 13: Premier of Quebec gave assent of provincial government to amendment;

Advantages of Unemployment Insurance  
in wartime:

Rising employment anticipated  
-- will enable fund to be  
created;

Check on consumption of non-  
essentials -- will aid in  
preventing rise of prices;

Preparation for labour adjust-  
ments in post-war recons-  
truction period.

Long-range effects:

Increases security of insured  
workmen;

Eases financial burden on  
Provinces and Municipalities;

Promotes industrial stability;

Lessens human suffering.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
63		Canada's War Effort. Speeches in Parliament	20 May 1940	D 38225 - D 38241	
63		Fall of Paris - Radio Broadcast	June 1940	D 38242 - D 38247	
63		Progress of War, Aid to British, Statement in Parliament	4 June 1940	D 38248 - D 38249	
63		Radio Broadcast on War Events	7 June 1940	D 38250 - D 38391	
63		Declaration of War on Italy. Speeches in Parliament	10 June 1940	D 38392 - D 38395	
63		Radio Broadcast re: Italy	10 June 1940	D 38396 - D 38407	
63		Address to Earl of Athlone, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	13 May 1940	D 38408 - D 38424	
63		France's Peace Appeal. Speeches in Parliament	17 June 1940	D 38425 - D 38427	
63		War Plans. Speeches in Parliament	18 June 1940	D 38428 - D 38443	
63		Message to Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	24 June 1940	D 38444 - D 38445	

D 38225

Unrevised Hansard  
May 20, 1940  
Page 43 et seq

CANADA'S WAR EFFORT

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING  
(Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, my hon. friend the leader of the opposition (Mr. Hanson) in concluding his remarks referred to the extremely grave situation which all free countries are facing, we in Canada in common with those great and brave countries, Britain and France and other nations formerly neutral, that have suffered so severely in the course of recent months. On Friday last my hon. friend asked me a question, to which I replied. The question related to the situation as it was at the time. When I had replied, indicating how very critical it was, my hon. friend said that he wished to assure me at once that he and his party desired to give all the cooperation they possibly could to the government, to support them in any action which they might be ready to take, and to assist in every way in the face of a common peril. My hon. friend concluded his remarks this afternoon in much the same strain. I had rather expected, I should perhaps say I had rather hoped, that in rising to reply to him to-day on the first day of the debate on the address, my remarks might be wholly congratulatory on his attitude and in the nature of renewed thanks on the part of the government to him and those associated with him for the cooperation which they had offered and which we believed they were prepared to give in full measure. I do wish to thank my hon. friend for what he has said in regard to the cooperation that is intended. I wish also to congratulate him on some of the remarks he made this afternoon. I am pleased indeed to find that in the discharge of the new duties that have fallen upon him he is full of the old vigour which he displayed in previous years and is now in a position where he may be able to contribute more and more to the public life of this country, as he has just said was his motive in wishing to be returned to parliament. I am sure all hon. members hope he may have that opportunity for many years to come. But I had expected that the offer of cooperation which my hon. friend gave would not be followed quite so quickly by a return to the political battles that were fought prior to and during the last general election. I did hope, in the light of the solemnity of this hour, that when he rose to speak he would say that all had better forget the battles that had taken place—

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Mr. HARRIS (Danforth): He said that.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: —accept the verdict the Canadian people pronounced so emphatically at the last general election, and from now on act, as far as it might be possible so to do, as of one mind in this House of Commons, giving to each other all the assistance we possibly can.

May I say I had fully expected my hon. friend would make a very brief speech this afternoon, that he would come immediately to the point, which is the one of chief concern in the mind of the Canadian people, and to which he referred as such, namely that the country is anxious to know, respecting Canada's war effort, what the government has done, what it is doing and what it proposes to do. That I think is the one question which the people of Canada are asking, and to which they are entitled to have an early and complete reply. They know in large part but they do not know all. Of necessity we have been obliged to wait until parliament met to make a comprehensive statement. Here alone questions respecting matters of national importance can be answered with authority as they arise. However, I am not going to take exception, beyond what I have just said, to the attitude of my hon. friend. I will only say that if the situation was grave on Friday last, it is if anything graver to-day. I hope, in the light of that knowledge, hon. members may not find it necessary to go back and forth over and over ground that was traversed time and again in the recent campaign, but will devote themselves primarily to a consideration of what at this moment, and from this time on, may be of greatest service in meeting the present situation.

I had thought that I would be able to give to the house before six o'clock this evening a statement with respect to what the government has done, what it is doing and what it proposes to do, that would immediately give to the people of our country that sense of security with respect to the government's actions and intentions which all of them wish to have and are entitled to have. Owing to the length of the speech which my hon. friend has made, it is not now possible for me to make that statement before six o'clock. I suppose my hon. friend will expect, and the house may expect, that I should first of all deal with some of the matters he has brought up in the course of his discussion, and that I should also comment on the different paragraphs in the speech from the throne to which he has referred. If I take up a short time prior to six o'clock in reviewing the ground he has run over, instead of immediately bringing forward the statement I have here prepared, it will be in order that I may not be open to the charge of having omitted reference to anything that has been said, but, instead, to endeavour to cover, however briefly, points which my hon. friend has raised.

First of all may I say to him with respect to his opening remarks as to the anxiety that exists in the minds of himself and others con-

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

cerning the situation overseas, that this anxiety is not confined to any man, to any party, to any group; it is an anxiety which not only extends over this entire country, but is deeply felt in all parts of the world, particularly in those parts which hitherto have regarded themselves as free. I hope no hon. member on either side of the house will assume that any other member, no matter in what quarter of the house he may be seated, is any less anxious, any less sincere, any less loyal with respect to the part which this country should take in the present crisis than he himself may be.

My hon. friend has spoken of this war as a righteous war, a war in which there can be no question as to the justice of our cause. With that I think we are all in agreement. He has referred in appreciative terms to the speeches delivered on Friday last by the mover and the seconder of the address. I should like to thank him for what he has said of and to these newly elected, young members. The hon. gentleman referred to the speech of the seconder of the address as being a courageous and brave speech. It was courageous and brave, but I think my hon. friend rather spoiled the effect of his remark when he said that the courageous part of the speech which he quoted was received with applause only by members of his group and not by other parties in this house. May I say to him and to the seconder that with every word used by the hon. member for Vancouver North (Mr. Sinclair), we on this side are in complete agreement.

At the beginning of this new parliament, Mr. Speaker, I should like to say how much we welcome to the membership of this house so many young men, most of them returned for the first time. As the leader of the opposition has said, they are the ones who will have to deal with the problems of the future, and the future they face would appear to be more difficult than any period heretofore faced by the members of any previous parliament of this country. It is fortunate for them and for Canada that in their earlier years, before becoming members of this house, so many of them gave earnest study and thoughtful consideration to the problems of our country. I doubt if we could have had a better example of the good effect of the many clubs which have been formed in Canada for the purpose of directing the time and attention of their members to a study of political problems than that which was evidenced by the speeches made by the mover and the seconder of the address. The hon. members who moved and seconded the address have given careful study to political problems for many years. They have accustomed themselves to public speaking, and have come

~~force. But why not more, say twenty-five per cent? Do experience and mature judgment mean nothing?~~

These are some of the things I am thinking about. There may be a good answer. I do not think any government which has in its ranks the Minister of Finance and the Minister of National Defence would have any prejudice against members of the Canadian expeditionary force; in fact, one would suppose the opposite to be the truth. I wish to do them justice. But why are not more of these men being taken on? They are asking this question, and we too must have the courage to ask it. The empire training scheme must be brought to the maximum of speed. We must have an intensified scheme of recruiting for reinforcement of our overseas division, and we must mobilize our industrial equipment.

Mr. Speaker, I apologize to this house for having detained it so long. During the past few days and over the weekend our hearts have been heavy with anxiety. We know that the first big push, the first big battle, is on. It is not ended yet. The forces of barbarism are stronger than we had any conception of. But I am glad to think the battle is not yet lost. At this moment there is no indication that the momentum of the enemy push is slowing up, not to speak of being stopped. But I have supreme confidence in the ability of the British and allied arms to withstand the shock. Stability will be established. But do not imagine that this is the end. Rather it is but the beginning of new and more severe aggressive action on the part of the enemy. The next drive may be the invasion of England herself, the first in ten centuries; and when that happens, then, my friends, this war will be that much nearer to us, and the event will carry with it to us an increasing anxiety and a correspondingly increasing obligation. Shall we rise to the occasion with our supreme effort? We must. We shall not falter. I was heartened yesterday in listening to the speech of Mr. Churchill. He is a man of stout heart. As I listened to him I recalled that England has been in many wars. She has won and lost many battles, but I am proud to think that England has always won the last battle. It is our hope and trust that she will do so in this war also.

This party which I have the honour to represent for the time being is prepared to help to the utmost. I cannot make that statement too strong. But we want to know and to be shown what is going on. The government must demonstrate to the people of Canada that the trust reposed in the government has not been betrayed, that the mandate given will be carried out to the utmost. I am not thinking in terms of party; I am

~~Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING~~

(Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, my hon. friend the leader of the opposition (Mr. Hanson) in concluding his remarks referred to the extremely grave situation which all free countries are facing, we in Canada in common with those great and brave countries, Britain and France and other nations formerly neutral, that have suffered so severely in the course of recent months. On Friday last my hon. friend asked me a question, to which I replied. The question related to the situation as it was at the time. When I had replied, indicating how very critical it was, my hon. friend said that he wished to assure me at once that he and his party desired to give all the cooperation they possibly could to the government, to support them in any action which they might be ready to take, and to assist in every way in the face of a common peril. My hon. friend concluded his remarks this afternoon in much the same strain. I had rather expected, I should perhaps say I had rather hoped, that in rising to reply to him to-day on the first day of the debate on the address my remarks might be wholly congratulatory on his attitude and in the nature of renewed thanks on the part of the government to him and those associated with him for the cooperation which they had offered and which we believed they were prepared to give in full measure. I do wish to thank my hon. friend for what he has said in regard to the cooperation that is intended. I wish also to congratulate him on some of the remarks he made this afternoon. I am pleased indeed to find that in the discharge of the new duties that have fallen upon him he is full of the old vigour which he displayed in previous years and is now in a position where he may be able to contribute more and more to the public life of this country, as he has just said was his motive in wishing to be returned to parliament. I am sure all hon. members hope he may have that opportunity for many years to come. But I had expected that the offer of cooperation which my hon. friend gave would not be followed quite so quickly by a return to the political battles that were fought prior to and during the last general election. I did hope, in the light of the solemnity of this hour, that when he rose to speak he would say that all had better forget the battles that had taken place—

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Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, my hon. friend the leader of the opposition (Mr. Hanson) in concluding his remarks referred to the extremely grave situation which all free countries are facing, we in Canada in common with those great and brave countries, Britain and France and other nations formerly neutral, that have suffered so severely in the course of recent months. On Friday last my hon. friend asked me a question, to which I replied. The question related to the situation as it was at the time. When I had replied, indicating how very critical it was, my hon. friend said that he wished to assure me at once that he and his party desired to give all the cooperation they possibly could to the government, to support them in any action which they might be ready to take, and to assist in every way in the face of a common peril. My hon. friend concluded his remarks this afternoon in much the same strain. I had rather expected, I should perhaps say I had rather hoped, that in rising to reply to him to-day on the first day of the debate on the address, my remarks might be wholly congratulatory on his attitude and in the nature of renewed thanks on the part of the government to him and those associated with him for the cooperation which they had offered and which we believed they were prepared to give in full measure. I do wish to thank my hon. friend for what he has said in regard to the cooperation that is intended. I wish also to congratulate him on some of the remarks he made this afternoon. I am pleased indeed to find that in the discharge of the new duties that have fallen upon him he is full of the old vigour which he displayed in previous years and is now in a position where he may be able to contribute more and more to the public life of this country, as he has just said was his motive in wishing to be returned to parliament. I am sure all hon. members hope he may have that opportunity for many years to come. But I had expected that the offer of cooperation which my hon. friend gave would not be followed quite so quickly by a return to the political battles that were fought prior to and during the last general election. I did hope, in the light of the solemnity of this hour, that when he rose to speak he would say that all had better forget the battles that had taken place—

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Mr. MACKENZIE KING: —accept the verdict the Canadian people pronounced so emphatically at the last general election, and from now on act, as far as it might be possible so to do, as of one mind in this House of Commons, giving to each other all the assistance we possibly can.

**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

into parliament not unacquainted with public affairs but already trained in thought and with judgment matured with respect to many of the great questions of the day.

I should like to express to the mover of the address, the hon. member from Lotbinière (Mr. Lapointe), my very warm congratulations upon the exceptionally admirable speech which he delivered. Like the leader of the opposition, I was impressed by the degree of confidence with which he spoke—and this is equally true of the seconder of the address—and the ability of each to hold the unbroken attention of the house. Few if any maiden speeches have been more suited to better the occasion than the speeches to which we listened on Friday last. I can hardly say whether my pleasure as I listened to the hon. member for Lotbinière was greater at his very obvious achievement, than was my pleasure in having the honour of sitting at the side of his distinguished father and sharing the pride he must have felt as he listened to one of his own family address this House of Commons of which he has been a member for so many years. As the leader of the opposition has said, there has been but one previous occasion on which father and son have sat in the same parliament as members of this house. My hon. friend referred to the gentleman who, as head of the Conservative party, held a very distinguished place. I should like to mention the great distinction which belongs to the right hon. the Minister of Justice (Mr. Lapointe, Quebec East) who to-day in point of membership is the oldest member of this house, and who in the affairs of Canada has played a part second to none in furthering the unity of our country. It must be a source of deep pride to him, as it is to all of us, that he has been privileged to hear his son speak words which must have brought to him the assurance that all he has so faithfully struggled and fought for in the course of his parliamentary and public life in the interests of the Canadian people is, God willing, certain to be carried on through years to come by the one who bears his name and who, I believe, will share his fame.

May I also congratulate most warmly the seconder of the address. His words were evidence of the careful training he has had, in part, at Princeton university and, in part, at Oxford university. May I say to him that he has given to parliament at this time of grave crisis in the world's affairs an assurance of the service which from this time on may be expected from him in the public life of our country.

The leader of the opposition took exception to the reference in the speech from the throne to the advisability of making an immediate

study of post-war problems. I have been in parliament for some little time, and I think I know something of the way in which criticism is apt to shape itself. I am afraid that if there had been no reference of the kind in the throne speech, the first word we would have heard from my hon. friend would have been that it had altogether omitted one of the most important matters to be considered at this time, namely preparing as soon as possible to meet not only those great problems which will arise when the war is over but also those problems which are arising already in consequence of the war. I hope hon. members will feel that one of their supreme duties is to make a study of those very questions as speedily and as thoroughly as possible. Surely no one imagines that Canada's war effort will suffer in the least because a study of other questions is also undertaken. In this particular the government is doing what it has sought to do all along, to look forward continually to the situations that are likely to arise in the future.

My hon. friend mentioned the visit to Canada of Their Majesties the King and Queen. He drew attention to the fact that the present speech from the throne does not contain any special reference to that visit. If my hon. friend had been in the house at the time he would have found in the speech from the throne at the opening of the session of 1939, in terms which I am sure he would be the first to appreciate, a reference to the intended visit of their majesties. These were the words:

The announcement that Their Majesty's King George VI and Queen Elizabeth have graciously decided to visit Canada in the months of May and June has been received with rejoicing throughout the dominion. The honour of welcoming their king and queen, in person, on their own soil, is a privilege which will be shared with enthusiasm and pride by all His Majesty's Canadian subjects. The visit will be the first paid by the reigning sovereign to any of his self-governing dominions. It will be the first time a British king and queen have been in North America. It is deeply gratifying that their majesties' tour will embrace all the provinces of Canada.

Then follows a reference to the intended visit of their majesties to the United States. In the speech from the throne made at the conclusion of that session there was again a reference to the visit of their majesties, which placed on record one of the most memorable features of the entire visit, namely the meeting of His Majesty the King with the members of the two houses of parliament. It was in the following words:

In bringing to a close a session in which, for the first time, the king has been present in person in the parliament of Canada, I desire to express the gratification of my government at the universal and heartfelt rejoicing of a united people who are being honoured by the

visit of their sovereign. . . . It was a source of satisfaction to my government that his majesty was able to give the royal assent in person to the bill respecting the Canada-United States trade agreement.

In addition to these references to their majesties visit which appears in previous speeches from the throne there will be found repeated references in *Hansard* by myself and others to that memorable occasion. It is a pleasing coincidence that it was just a year ago this very weekend Their Majesties the King and Queen were in this capital city. If I recollect correctly, it was just a year ago to-night the members of both houses of parliament had the great honour of having the king and queen as their guests at a parliamentary dinner. I agree with my hon. friend when he says that the visit of the king and queen to Canada was one of the happiest events in the whole of our history, happy in the rejoicing it occasioned in all parts of the dominion and, above all, happy in that it served to reveal the affectionate regard in which their majesties are held by their Canadian subjects and the loyalty of the Canadian people to the crown. Further, it helped to reveal the unity of the Canadian people under the crown.

My hon. friend has been good enough to speak in kindly terms of such part as I may have had in extending on behalf of the Canadian people an invitation to their majesties to visit Canada. In doing that, I was but taking advantage of one of the high privileges which belongs to the responsible position I now hold and which I had been privileged to hold in some previous years. I believe it was in 1923 or 1926, when I was attending an imperial conference, that, through His Majesty King George V, I extended an invitation to have the Duke and Duchess of York visit Canada at an early opportunity. I now recall that that invitation was extended shortly after the occasion of their marriage. On a later occasion while in England on other business I repeated the invitation, and at the time of the coronation, when the responsibility was that of their majesties themselves, I pointed out how delighted the Canadian people would be should their majesties find it possible to visit our dominion. At that time I received from the king the assurance that the first opportunity their majesties might have to leave England on an extended tour would in all probability be given over to a visit to our country. When Lord Tweedsmuir subsequently went to England for a brief stay, His Excellency carried with him from the government a renewal of the invitation, the acceptance of which was definitely given for the following year. As I have stated pre-

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viously, no words of mine could begin to express all that the royal visit meant at the time or what it continues to mean at this time, when it is the desire of members of the British commonwealth of nations to show their united strength under the British crown.

My hon. friend has referred to the loss our country sustained in the passing of Lord Tweedsmuir. At different times I have publicly expressed the sense of that loss, as I believe it was felt by all our people. I would add only this, that I believe no sovereign ever entrusted a great mission to a more faithful servant and that no prime minister ever had a more helpful counsellor or a truer friend than I had in the years it was my privilege to share with His Excellency in the affairs of the public life of our country.

May I add that with the leader of the opposition I am pleased to join in expressing the great pleasure it has given the people of Canada to know that Lord Athlone and the Princess Alice will shortly be in our midst. Their close relationship to the royal family will still further serve to keep fresh in our minds many memories which will always be cherished of the visit of the king and queen. With a knowledge of the part played by Lord Athlone in the years during which he was Governor General of South Africa I think we may regard ourselves as very fortunate that one who has so intimate a knowledge of constitutional matters and has had such a wide experience in public administration is to be the successor of our late Governor General.

My hon. friend has spoken about the general election. I had intended at this time to omit altogether any reference to that subject. Anything I now have to say in that connection will be exceedingly brief, because I have no desire to revive past political controversies. What I would like to say however is that, irrespective of party, we have reason to feel a definite pride in the strength of our democratic institutions when we reflect that in a time of war it was possible for Canada to carry through a general election, and in so doing to preserve inviolate the right of the people, within stated periods of time, to select anew their representatives in the parliament of the country. By many during the campaign, and to some degree this afternoon by the leader of the opposition, I have been censured for having brought about the dissolution of parliament at the time it was done. I ask hon. members this question: In the light of what has since occurred, is there a single hon. member who does not feel that it is a very fortunate thing that at this time of concentrated warfare we have a new parliament, assembled here with an emphatic mandate

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from the country to carry on Canada's war effort to the utmost of our might and power? Can any one imagine in what condition this country would be if we had continued with the old parliament, a parliament which at the very opening of its last session, despite the existence of war, began its duties in a spirit of party controversy? What would have been the condition to-day if partisan discussion had been continued in parliament for months, and the election been longer delayed? Imagine the confusion we would have if a general election were taking place at this time!

When I asked for dissolution I said it was the duty of a prime minister to take all circumstances into consideration and to have regard for what was likely to happen, as well as for all that had happened. I shall not repeat the immediate reasons which brought on the election, but I would remind hon. members that I said I thought it was advisable that the election should be over before concentrated warfare began in Europe. I said it would be advisable to have the election over before the great offensive which I believed would pretty certainly come in the Spring. I pointed out that our soldiers overseas should have the opportunity of casting their ballots if possible before going to the front, and that those in Canada should be permitted to vote before going overseas.

A prime minister at all times must shoulder heavy responsibility and that responsibility is particularly heavy in a time of war. He has a very special responsibility with respect to a dissolution of parliament. He has to advise as to what is most in the interests of the nation. If he fails so to do, he must bear the consequences of that failure. If I had the whole matter to do over again, in the light of what has since happened, I would, if anything, do it more readily than I did the last time. I know my hon. friends opposite were disappointed. My hon. friend said that when he heard the radio announcement he felt he would like to have assassinated me. I have no doubt he felt that way, and I think there were a large number in his party who felt the same way. But I was not thinking of him or of the Conservative party at the time when I advised dissolution. I was thinking of what

was most in the interests of Canada at a time of war, and what the people of this country would expect. All circumstances considered, I think I have been pretty well justified in that action by the verdict which the people of Canada have given with respect to it.

My hon. friend has spoken about unemployment insurance and has said that he thinks the time difficult for us to carry through such a measure at the present session. He said that we ought to know, or at least he would like to inquire as to what would be the probable response of the provinces with respect to this proposal. He mentioned that for many years we have been seeking to get through an unemployment insurance measure, but may I remind my hon. friend that the present administration or rather a Liberal administration many years ago introduced an unemployment insurance act. It was a Liberal administration that put that act upon the statutes and it has been there ever since. It was a Liberal administration that increased the scope of the act as originally passed.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): That was the Old Age Pensions Act.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The Old Age Pensions Act.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury). That is a horse of another colour.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: We placed the Old Age Pensions Act upon the statutes. I beg my hon. friend's pardon. What I had in mind was social legislation generally. The Old Age Pensions Act was the first step in meeting the situation which arises from unemployment. Elderly people are the first to suffer lack of employment. What we as a party have been seeking ever since is authority to enact a federal measure which would make unemployment insurance applicable to the whole dominion. It has been felt, and rightly I think, that until we had reason to believe that the provinces generally were prepared to give that authority to this federal parliament, the government would not be right in proceeding with such a measure.

I am sure the members of the house will be pleased to know that the government has received the assurance of practically all the

provinces that they will be prepared to support the administration in seeking an amendment to the British North America Act which will enable us forthwith to introduce an unemployment insurance act in this house. I am perhaps expressing the matter in too technical terms when I say that they approve an amendment to the British North America Act. What the provinces generally have approved is the enactment of the federal government of a national unemployment insurance scheme. This assurance has come from the provinces of Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia. I have a letter received this week from the Premier of Alberta, the only province whose name I have not mentioned. It expresses the view that the government of Alberta would like to have the report of the dominion-provincial relations commission or a copy of the bill itself before expressing a final opinion. However, there is not in Premier Aberhart's letter any statement which would lead one to believe that if such a measure were introduced in this house, exception would be taken to it by the members from that particular province.

May I say that the government feels that with the backing of all the provinces I have mentioned—the letters will be tabled later on—we are justified in taking this step at this time. We feel moreover that it is desirable to take the earliest possible opportunity to introduce the measure now that assurance has been given so generally by the provinces. A time of war, when there is much in the way of employment in heavy industry, offers perhaps the best of all opportunities to begin a measure of this kind. Contributions will come in more readily at such a time. Then, if unemployment comes, as it may once the war is over, there will be upon the statutes a law under which men will be able to obtain their allowances.

My hon. friend has spoken of the defence of Canada regulations and has said that he hoped this would not be a case of merely sending the matter to a committee. He hoped that something more would be done in reference to the question than just putting it to one side. I think he said that the government ought to have a policy in connection with a matter of that kind. The policy, I may say, is already there, it is laid down in the regulations. This afternoon the Minister of Justice explained what the policy was. I may add that during the course of the campaign the government was asked repeatedly to refer the defence of Canada regulations to a committee of parliament. An undertaking to that

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effect was given. I have answered many communications which have been received complaining of the regulations in some particulars with the assurance that if the present administration were in office when parliament met we would see that the defence of Canada regulations were referred to a committee of the house so that hon. members might have a chance of expressing their views and opinions with respect thereto and of making to the house such recommendations as they might deem advisable.

I see I have come to the part of the address of my hon. friend where he began to speak more particularly of the war effort of the government. Also I notice it is just six o'clock. If I have passed over other points which the leader of the opposition raised, I hope he will forgive me for so doing. This evening after recess I shall begin immediately to answer what I believe to be the questions which are of most concern not only to my hon. friend but to other hon. members of this house, and to the people of Canada, namely, what the government's war effort has been, what it is at the present time, and what we intend it to be.

At six o'clock the house took recess.

#### After Recess

The house resumed at eight o'clock.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: As I intimated this afternoon before adjournment, I intend to speak as briefly as possible on any matter other than that of Canada's effort in the present war. This is no time in which to review at length the state of the world. Swiftly moving events of the gravest importance to the future not only of this country but of the whole human family speak for themselves with compelling eloquence. No speech of mine could add aught to what already is all too well known. It is no time either for self-justification, or vilification, or for ancient controversies. I realize to the full, as other hon. members also realize, that the temper of the government, the house and the people and the crisis of the hour demand action and not argument; deeds and not words.

The character of the enemies of the human race against whom we and our allies are arrayed has been unmasked in all its barbarity and violence.

Within a period of eight months the tyrants of Germany have become the masters of Poland, Denmark, a great part of Norway, Holland, and the chief cities of Belgium. By

weight of men and equipment they have brought devastation to the weak and the unoffending. Within the last few days their armed forces have made a deep incursion on the soil of France, and the German Reich is now preparing new attacks upon Britain from the lands which nazi brutality has violated. Words of passion and indignation will effect nothing. Knowing what the enemy has been and is doing, we must consider what we are doing and what we can do to meet him.

My purpose, therefore, to-night is to review as concisely as possible what Canada has done and is doing, and to indicate what further action the government has taken or proposes to take to meet the danger which threatens our allies and ourselves.

Some of the measures which have been taken and will be taken cannot, for reasons which will be obvious, be divulged at all at this time. Some must necessarily remain but partially indicated. Within the limits imposed by military necessity there will be no secrecy.

The greatest crisis in the history of the British commonwealth is not the occasion for partisan congratulations or for partisan criticism. We are concerned not with the past but with the present and the uncertain clouded future. The task which is ours is a task for all Canada, not for any section or group of Canadians. It needs and will need the utmost vigour and whole-hearted assistance on the part of each and every one of us.

It has not been a simple matter for this country to move from an economy of peace to an economy of war, just as it has not been easy for the democracies of Europe who once hoped for peace, to make preparations against an autocracy that has consistently hoped for war and planned it.

The record of the war effort of this country and an outline of the plans which we have initiated and proposed to initiate will be unfolded. Vainglorious justification is as foreign to the spirit of this solemn hour, as is carping and hysterical criticism. All I ask is that, as this house surveys the government's record and the government's plans, the record and the plans be placed in their proper perspective and examined and assessed as a whole.

The world has greatly changed since 1914. Canada has changed with it. Our national status has changed. Our political responsibility has changed. Our financial position has changed. Our industrial capacity has changed. The problems of local defence and overseas activity have been revolutionized by the new range, effectiveness and destructive power of aircraft, submarines, mechanized weapons and military equipment. The machine of war more than ever dominates

the man at war. Military power can no longer be resolved in terms of the number of men enlisted.

The final result of all these factors of change, the rise of air power and the elimination of distance, cannot yet, of course, be accurately determined. They have remarkably increased the necessary emphasis upon home defence. They have made clearer than ever the tremendous importance of our eastern Atlantic ports for the conveying of military and other supplies to Britain and France.

They have been responsible for the great significance it has been necessary to attach to air development—not only in connection with our own Royal Canadian Air Force, but also in regard to the commonwealth air training plan, in which we have such a vital part and place.

When you examine the expenditures made, and learn the appropriations proposed, in connection with the Royal Canadian Navy and the air force, you will be more than ever impressed by the differences between the waging of war in 1914 and the waging of war in 1940.

The world, perhaps, and Canada with it, has been slow to appreciate the extent and the meaning of these changes.

When we consider, also, the difference in the alignment of forces in this war, the possibilities of the spread of conflict in all directions of the compass, and our national duties for defence and cooperation with our allies not only on our eastern shores but in the Pacific as well, you will have some idea of the manner in which Canadian defence problems have been enlarged and intensified.

I shall proceed now, Mr. Speaker, to a brief review of what has been done and planned to date. I shall give the bare, plain facts in brief outline. Full details will be supplied by my colleagues as the session continues.

A country's war effort, while by no means wholly dependent upon its financial capacity, is nevertheless definitely limited by and subject to financial considerations of which too full and careful an account cannot be taken. Appropriations for and expenditures on war account are at least one index of its nature and extent. I shall begin this review, therefore, with a brief financial statement and a mention of some of the financial considerations of which the government has been obliged to take account.

First of all may I say that our financial situation is radically different from our situation in 1914. Then we were able to borrow money outside of Canada, both in the United

Kingdom and in the United States. To-day we are prohibited by the neutrality legislation of the United States from access to their security markets. To-day not only are we unable to borrow in the United Kingdom, but one of the most important parts of our war effort has been, and will continue to be, our ability to repatriate our securities. It has been and will be our duty to provide Britain with a proportion of the dollar exchange she requires in order that she may purchase certain essential agricultural and industrial supplies on this continent.

The actual money which has been paid out of the treasury on war account in the first eight months of the present war has been more than double the amount paid out in the first eight months of the last war. On the 19th of February, the Minister of Finance made public his estimate that, for the fiscal year of 1940-41, we shall require for war expenditure alone, at least \$500,000,000. The developments that are taking place and the additional activities and commitments which are proposed, and to which I shall refer in a few moments, have necessitated the revision of this estimate to at least \$700,000,000.

In the happening of certain other events and in the making of further commitments, to which no reference can be made at the present time, the figure of \$700,000,000 will be subject to a further revision upwards. In other words, our present estimate is that we shall be spending nearly two million dollars a day on Canada's war effort in the present fiscal year. Let it be clearly understood that that represents war expenditure only. For all purposes—war expenditure, plus the ordinary expenditure for the public services of Canada—the estimate will be over one billion dollars in the present fiscal year. I am just told by the Minister of Finance (Mr. Ralston) that the figure is not merely over one billion dollars, it is over 1100 million dollars. In other words, for all purposes, we shall be spending from now on an average of more than three million dollars a day. In the fiscal year of 1915-16, the total war expenditure on all accounts was \$166,000,000.

The reasons for the increased costs brought upon us by the growing necessity of the situation I have already referred to. In the last war there was no Canadian air force, nor air training plan. In this year we estimate for naval expenditure alone more than \$100,000,000. In the corresponding period of the last war, the estimate was \$3,000,000. Our estimated naval expenditure in this first year, therefore, is over thirty times what it was in the similar

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period for the last war. The estimated naval expenditures for the present fiscal year are more than three times the total naval expenditure for the whole of the last war.

The needs of modern war, also, have almost doubled the cost per man of maintaining a division in the field.

In connection with supply, the total contracts let to the 15th day of May, amounted to \$275,000,000. Of these amounts, \$200,000,000 have been placed on behalf of the government of Canada, and \$75,000,000 on behalf of the allied governments. With the exception of amounts totalling about \$50,000,000, all contracts have been let in Canada.

Twenty shipyards are engaged in the production of 90 vessels of war. Production is well in advance of the scheduled time. There are under construction 82 aerodromes, 175 construction projects, including coastal fortifications, submarine defences and hangars. There are on order 9,000 motor vehicles, at a cost of \$14,000,000, 3,000 of which have already been delivered overseas.

War munitions are being manufactured at a cost of \$80,000,000.

One large explosive plant is under construction. A second is in the course of organization.

Industry is working at full speed to meet the future requirements of clothing, boots and personal equipment. The production of small arms munitions is being expanded as rapidly as equipment can be installed.

The Department of Munitions and Supply, with the assistance of the war-time prices and trade board, has taken every available step to protect sources of outside supply, and ensure against a shortage of raw materials. In addition to this, constant study is given to the possibilities of the increased use of Canadian materials in the production of supplies for ourselves and our allies.

I now propose to give the house particulars of the present position in relation to the Canadian navy, the Canadian active service force and the militia, the Royal Canadian Air Force and the air training plan. I do not need to remind the house that modern warfare demands extensive and intensive training, that modern military and naval equipment cannot be built in the space of a few weeks, however strong may be the manufacturing and industrial resources on which this construction depends.

As at May 10, 1940, the personnel of the Royal Canadian Navy consisted of 952 officers, 5,662 ratings. These numbers include 125 Canadian officers and 100 ratings who are serving in the British navy. That personnel is being increased by recruitment, and will be

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increased as rapidly as ships come into service. There is a provision in the estimates for the current fiscal year for the increase in our navy personnel to a total of 1,450 officers and 10,000 ratings by March 31, 1941. There will be, of course, a progressive increase from this time to that.

In addition to our 7 destroyers, we have in commission 15 minesweepers, 6 anti-submarine vessels, 15 fishermen's reserve vessels, and 51 other auxiliary vessels. The conversion of 3 high speed merchant ships to light cruisers will be completed shortly. A number of other vessels have been acquired and are now being armed for patrol duty. There are under construction 90 additional vessels, which include 54 patrol vessels and 18 minesweepers.

The Royal Canadian Navy, apart from its patrol duties on our own coasts, is assisting actively in the coastal defence of Newfoundland, and is cooperating with the British and French navies in the Caribbean area. It is also taking an active and important share in the convoy duty so essential if the military supplies and foodstuffs required by the allies are to cross the ocean in security.

I have already referred to the estimate of over \$100,000,000 for the Royal Canadian Navy in the current fiscal year.

I now give you the essential facts with reference to the Royal Canadian Air Force. The figures which I shall quote are separate and distinct from the developments and projects of the commonwealth air training plan.

As at May 10 of the year, we had 1,389 officers, 10,926 airmen, or 12,315 of all ranks. Their disposition is divided between army cooperation, home defence, and the Royal Air Force contribution to the Canadian share of the instructional staff of the air training plan. In cooperation with the army, we have one squadron overseas; we have a second squadron completing its training in Canada. Provisions have been made for the continuous training of reinforcements for both squadrons in our army cooperation school. For home defence, we have 9 squadrons in our present establishment, and will have 12 squadrons when our establishment is completed.

In the Canadian active service force, the personnel as at the 10th of May, 1940, was as follows: The first division is overseas, and its strength has been enlarged by the necessary ancillary troops. The number of troops in the first division and its ancillaries is 23,438. At Canadian military headquarters there are 240 officers and men. The total of men overseas is therefore 23,678.

We have in training for overseas service a second division with its ancillary troops amounting to 24,645. We have under mobilization other troops under the following headings:

Depots and training centres . . . . .	16,282
Troops engaged in coastal defence and anti-aircraft work . . . . .	9,036
Troops engaged in guarding vulnerable points . . . . .	1,665
Other troops in Canada . . . . .	6,223

The total personnel in the Canadian active service force as of May 10 is 81,519.

In addition to the active service force the non-permanent active militia has been organized into eleven territorial regiments for the purpose of providing reinforcements for the Canadian active service force units overseas. Apart from troops overseas and troops engaged in home defence our troops are assisting in the defence of strategic areas in Newfoundland, and further assignments of duties are contemplated in the Atlantic area.

In the three services there were as of May 10 more than 100,000 men on active service. In addition organization has been provided for the reinforcement of the Canadian active service force and for the recruitment as rapidly as ships can be put into commission of the personnel of the Royal Canadian Navy. Recruitment of the Royal Canadian Air Force is intimately associated with the British commonwealth air training plan to which I shall now refer.

The British commonwealth air training plan is not an exclusively Canadian undertaking. As the name implies, it is a joint plan in which the four governments, those of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, are all concerned. The plan originated with the British government. The preliminary work on the scheme was done by the United Kingdom air ministry. Canada cannot alter the plan at her own exclusive discretion, nor without regard for the essential factors of the adequate training of men to meet the demands of modern aerial warfare.

Neither the commonwealth air training plan nor any other air training plan can turn out trained pilots, observers and gunners immediately after its inception. The immediate requirements of the United Kingdom air force were and still are being met by the training establishments in the United Kingdom, which were in full operation at the outbreak of war. The joint training plan was established for the purpose of maintaining the progressive supply of trained pilots and airmen, and increasing it steadily until the allied air force had attained decisive superiority over the enemy in the air. It was felt that the plan

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had to be orderly and free from confusion. It is worked out so that all stages of training are inter-related, and the training itself is on a progressively increasing scale. It is impossible to make arbitrary changes in the plan without disrupting its efficiency, and without consultation with the other members of the commonwealth partnership on which it is based.

I can illustrate the magnitude of the plan in no better way than by giving the house a list of the number of establishments required for its full operation. They are:

- 4 training commands, situated respectively at Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Regina.
- 2 manning depots.
- 20 Royal Canadian Air Force recruiting centres.
- 3 initial training schools.
- 26 elementary flying training schools.
- 16 service flying training schools.
- 10 air observers' schools.
- 10 bombing and gunnery schools.
- 2 air navigation schools.
- 4 wireless schools.
- 4 repair depots.
- 4 equipment depots.

There are also several other important units, such as a technical training school, an air armament school, a central flying school, and so forth. In other words, there will be a total of 110 separate formations and units in existence when the plan is operating at full capacity.

To illustrate the progress which has already been made, I should like to place on *Hansard* a list of the units which have so far been established. They are:

- Training command headquarters, Toronto.
- Air armament school, Trenton.
- Central flying school, Trenton.
- Air navigation school, Trenton.
- Service flying training school, Camp Borden.
- Equipment and accounting training school, St. Thomas.
- Manning depot, Toronto.
- Technical training school, St. Thomas.
- Initial training school, Toronto.
- Equipment depot, Ottawa, now being moved to Toronto.
- Equipment depot, Winnipeg.
- Wireless school, Montreal.
- Training command headquarters, Montreal.
- School of aeronautical engineering, Montreal.
- Repair depot, Trenton.
- School of administration, Trenton.
- Training command headquarters, Winnipeg.
- Manning depot, Brandon.
- Aircraft inspectors' school, Toronto.
- Training command headquarters, Regina.
- Twenty recruiting centres throughout the country.

New units are being established almost every week according to the program fixed in the plan itself.

It was estimated at the time the agreement was reached between the four governments that the total cost of the plan for the three

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years agreed upon would be about six hundred millions, of which the estimated Canadian share is three hundred and fifty millions.

Apart from pupils, about forty thousand officers, airmen and civilians will be employed when it is fully developed. Many thousands of pilots, air observers and air gunners will be trained each year on a progressively increasing scale.

I am aware that a growing feeling of impatience has become manifest in certain sections of the country with reference to what is believed to be the slow progress made by the British commonwealth air training plan and the fact that its contribution is not one of immediate effectiveness at this critical hour. We recognize that these sentiments spring from a very natural desire to carry at this moment a greater share of the load which is being carried by the mother country and our allies across the seas. But we do believe that they are perhaps coloured by lack of understanding of the magnitude of this undertaking, and particularly of the objectives which it is called upon to fulfil. If such a misunderstanding exists it is probably due to the fact that the public has not gained a full appreciation of the size of this project, the greatest individual effort which this dominion has ever made.

It seems to me important that I should recall to you that the British commonwealth air training plan, as I have mentioned, was based upon a request made to the governments of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, on September 26, by the government of the United Kingdom. In other words, this plan was not that of Australia, New Zealand or Canada, but was one worked out in the United Kingdom, and was proposed by them to be carried out in Canada, to provide an ever-increasing flow of trained pilots, air observers and air gunners to supplement the supply of Royal Air Force personnel available for manning additional aircraft when these were obtained through the expansion of her aircraft and equipment program and her purchases of these from abroad. It is, I am sure, superfluous for me to say that the alternative, of sending a lesser number of airmen overseas at an earlier date, rather than greatly increased numbers at a later date, was discussed by the governments concerned, but the United Kingdom government felt very definitely that in view of her aircraft manufacturing schedules the present arrangements were those best calculated to serve her purposes.

I might say to hon. members that I have in my hand at the moment a copy of the summary of the memorandum of agreement be-

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tween the governments of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, relating to the training of pilots and aircraft crews in Canada and their subsequent service. One of the terms of the agreement as to costs and expenses is as follows:

The share of the cost of the scheme to be borne by the government of the United Kingdom will take the form of contributions in kind, to be delivered at such times and in such numbers as may be required for the efficient carrying out of the scheme.

I draw attention to that particular clause in the agreement because there seems to be the impression in Canada that under the agreement this country was to supply the aircraft, engines and so on needed for the carrying out of the scheme.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): May I ask if that agreement has been made public?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Yes, it was made public the night it was signed, December 17; or rather I have just been informed that a summary was made public.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): May I ask if it has been tabled? We do not seem to have it.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I recall the negotiations very clearly. This being an agreement between the different governments, at the time it was thought inadvisable to have the agreement in full made public. The essential features were set forth in a summary, which was then published. In regard to tabling a copy of the agreement itself, I would need to get the consent of the different governments concerned.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I think that is quite all right, but I should like to see it if possible.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I will see that my hon. friend gets a copy, in any event, but before giving it to the public at large I would wish to get the consent to which I have referred. What I particularly desire to point out is that under the agreement the Canadian government undertook the administration of the scheme; it undertook to make provision for all the buildings and the like. There was also an undertaking as to the actual cost in cash, the proportion to be paid by the different countries, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. By far the greatest proportion of that cost was assumed by Canada. Great Britain's contribution—because this is a scheme which includes all four countries—did not take the form of money; it took the form I have just mentioned, a contribution in kind to be

delivered at such times and in such numbers as may be required for the efficient carrying out of the scheme.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I suppose that would mean equipment?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: It means aircraft; yes.

Following upon the events of recent weeks, only a few days ago we asked the United Kingdom government whether that government would wish to see the schedules of the joint air training plan modified. The United Kingdom has stated in reply that at the present time the efficient prosecution of the war can best be achieved by adhering to the plans laid down for the air training scheme and by accelerating them to the utmost where practicable. After consultation with the British Air Mission it was agreed that the way to accelerate the plan would be the adoption of measures to expedite the purchase and manufacture of equipment, the preparation of aerodromes, hangars and buildings in advance of the schedule requirements. In accordance with this view certain special powers to act on its own authority have been conferred on the Department of Munitions and Supply for this purpose. I think I am right in saying—and the Minister of Munitions and Supply (Mr. Howe) will correct me if I am not—that as far as the construction of buildings and the like under Canada's obligation is concerned, already we are ahead of what the schedule requires. The minister assures me that I am correct.

The house will remember that the technical administration of the plan is committed to the Royal Canadian Air Force, and I cannot stress too strongly the admirable way in which Air Vice-Marshal Croil and his staff have carried out their heavy responsibilities. The government felt that it would be greatly aided in having the benefit of men with experience in business organization to supervise the administration, under the minister. From early in the war we have had the advantage of the services of Colonel K. S. Maclachlan, a prominent business executive, acting as deputy minister for navy and air; and under Colonel Maclachlan's regime the plan has proceeded at full pace in accordance with the program specified at its inception, which was in accordance with the timing as worked out by the United Kingdom air staff.

It was felt, however, as the plan developed, that in view of the great magnitude of the undertaking and of the many problems which it involved, a special deputy minister for air should be appointed whose chief responsibility would be to further the execution of

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the British commonwealth air training plan, and that this work should be undertaken by one whose energies and powers of organization were beyond question, who would concentrate his entire activities on the air side of our war effort. I was glad to be able to announce on April 11 that Mr. James S. Duncan, another outstanding business executive, had placed his time at the disposal of the government for a period. Since the day of his appointment Mr. Duncan has been applying himself to this momentous task with tireless energy and a realistic approach to its many problems. I believe that Mr. Duncan would be the first to say that he is receiving and has received the fullest cooperation of the government and of the officials of the departments concerned in the important work which he is doing; and I am glad to be able to announce that, in close cooperation with the Royal Canadian Air Force, the Minister of National Defence and the government as a whole, certain plans are in hand which, while respecting the United Kingdom's desire to leave intact the British commonwealth air training plan will, within the limitations of the present situation, envisage the speeding up of Canada's air contribution to the allied cause.

In order that Canada's contribution in this branch of our war effort may be made as complete and as expeditious as possible, the government has decided to ask parliament to make provision for the appointment of an additional minister of the crown to be known as Minister of National Defence for Air, who will give his undivided time and attention to air activities and in particular to a close supervision of the commonwealth air training plan.

Mr. HOMUTH: Why wait until now?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I will answer that question. The government's final decision in this matter has awaited the return to Canada from the United Kingdom of the Minister of National Defence (Mr. Rogers), who has given the creation of a special ministry for air his full approval. I may say to my hon. friend that while the Minister of National Defence was in England he engaged in interviews with the heads of the various branches of the department of defence, and naturally the government awaited his return before taking a step which would involve any part of the work of his own department.

Mr. HOMUTH: Is he getting some engines for the machines we already have?

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Mr. MACKENZIE KING: If my hon. friend is as interested in Canada's war effort as a whole as I believe the rest of the house is, he will refrain from interrupting until I have completed what I have to say. I might just ask my hon. friend if his interruption was intended to be a helpful one or to be an embarrassment.

Mr. HOMUTH: It was intended to be helpful.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Was it?

Mr. HOMUTH: Quite.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Then my hon. friend will be quite prepared, I am sure, to wait until later for an answer from the minister himself.

I do not propose to-day to refer to the organization of agriculture, the war-time prices and trade board and the large number of collateral enterprises and committees which have been instituted by the government in its preparation of the economy of Canada for the war needs of ourselves and our allies. Suffice it to say that the government's record on the economic front is not less impressive than that on the military front, and not less important. At the moment it is primarily as to the military effort that the country desires to be informed.

The dynamic forces which have changed the war situation in Europe within recent days; the unprecedented threat to the allied powers and ourselves, must be met at once by immediate action. Production must be accelerated to its limit. Training must be intensified. But however imperative the need, once we have determined—as we have—to meet actual and threatened events to the utmost of our strength and capacity, we must see to it that what is done shall be efficient, persistent and designed to guarantee that action which we believe will contribute most to the defence and triumph of the allied cause. The government proposes that there shall be devoted to the Department of Munitions and Supply the sole, exclusive and full-time services of a minister of the crown. His responsibility will be to correlate production activities, and to speed up in every manner possible the output of essential military and other material. For this purpose there will be conferred upon the Department of Munitions and Supply certain special powers which would not be accorded in normal times, to enable it to expedite the provision of equipment of materials of war for the armed forces.

Hon. members will notice that in developing Canada's war effort the government has proceeded step by step. With respect to the

Department of Munitions and Supply it will be recalled that that department took over the work of the war supply board. The war supply board, in turn, had taken over what was formerly the defence purchasing board which had been formed before the war commenced. The development has been from the purchasing board to the war supply board, and then came the provision for a Department of Munitions and Supply. As hon. members know, since it was brought into being by proclamation, the department has been in charge of the Minister of Transport (Mr. Howe). The Minister of Transport has not only a full knowledge of the transportation problems in the economy of this country, but from the beginning had exercised supervision over the work of the war supply board. The minister and the government felt that there would be an advantage for a time at least in having the two departments administered by the one minister, in view of the correlation of their activities. He has since said, and we agree with him, that the time has now come when the time of one minister should be given exclusively to the work of a Department of Munitions and Supply. In this connection may I pause for a moment to say how exceptionally fortunate the government regards itself in being able to secure the most valuable services of Mr. Wallace Campbell of Windsor, who devoted his time and energy, to the utmost of his strength and ability, to the work of the war supply board during the time he was at its head. Mr. Campbell has generously undertaken to continue an association, in an advisory capacity, in connection with war supplies and the Department of Munitions and Supply is taking advantage of his expert knowledge to gain such counsel and advice from him as is further needed at the present time.

The government has reiterated to the government of the United Kingdom its confidence in the productive capacity of Canadian plants as an alternative source of supply, relatively free from the danger of any enemy action. Canadian manufacturers have expressed their readiness to undertake to the limit of their capacity the production of all such supplies as can be manufactured in this country. The government has undertaken to assist in the organization of the fullest use of the resources of Canadian industry, as and when the British government indicates its wishes.

This afternoon my hon. friend referred to the fact that some productive plants were not working at the present time at full capacity. He seemed to feel that there had been some lag in the placing of orders. My hon. friend, and I assume other hon. members in the

house, will understand that orders are being placed by Canada for requirements needed by Canada itself, and that orders come from the United Kingdom for supplies desired by the United Kingdom. United Kingdom supplies are ordered not from Canada alone but from all parts of the world, and the placing of orders in Canada by the British Government has been a matter which has required very careful consideration on their part. No doubt there are many orders which some interested parties in Canada would like to have seen placed prior to this time; but in these matters, as in all else, the situation has been governed by what has been considered possible and advisable on the part of the government of the United Kingdom.

To turn to another phase of the matter, the government has taken all possible steps to prevent sabotage and subversive activity, by propaganda or otherwise, against the allied cause. Our efficient Royal Canadian Mounted Police and other branches of the government concerned are fully aware of the situation, and have taken action wherever warranted. I wish, however, in this connection, to make two appeals. I appeal to all citizens of foreign extraction to remember that they are living in a land which is fighting to maintain the freedom which they now enjoy, and the possibilities of international goodwill which enabled them to settle in our midst. I appeal, also, to all members of the public to refrain from persecution and panic action against harmless and law-abiding people who share our life and in most instances our common citizenship.

In view of the critical turn of events in Europe within the last few days, and in the light of information obtained by the Minister of National Defence on his recent visit to England, the government has decided to take the following additional measures to strengthen our armed forces, and to enlarge our contribution to the allied cause. These decisions, and those which I have already mentioned, are being translated into action. They are all in addition to the work which has been done and planned in the military, naval and air spheres of action, and on the economic front.

We have decided to advance the date of the dispatch overseas of the second division of the Canadian active service force.

We have decided to advance the date of the dispatch of such further reinforcements of the first division as have not already proceeded overseas.

We have decided to push forward the recruiting of reinforcements for the second division of the Canadian active service force, which will follow that division overseas at the earliest possible date.

There will be formed a Canadian corps in the field in accordance with arrangements which have been discussed with the British War Office.

Besides the two divisions and their ancillary units, the corps will include the necessary additional corps troops and will involve the dispatch overseas of several thousand men beyond those which I have already mentioned.

We shall undertake the raising of a third division, to be available for such service as may be required in Canada or overseas.

We have assigned, at the request of the United Kingdom government, certain naval and military formations to active duty in the Caribbean and North Atlantic areas.

There will be dispatched overseas, as soon as possible, No. 112 army cooperation squadron to act as a reserve for No. 110 cooperation squadron now overseas.

As already mentioned, we shall adopt every feasible method of accelerating the output of pilots and air crews from Canada for service in the field, at the earliest possible date.

Steps have been taken in order to advance beyond the agreed and predetermined schedule the preparation of aerodromes and hangars, and the like.

Mr. Speaker, this reviews in brief some of the details of the action the government has taken to meet the critical needs of the hour. The national interest prevents my disclosing some further details in connection with these items or from referring to other developments the government has already begun.

May I pause here for a moment to say to hon. members that I am sure the review I have already made will be sufficient to indicate the force of what I am about to say. With a world situation such as our own and other countries must face to-day, it is necessary for the government to take account not only of the happenings of the immediate moment but of possible happenings during the period through which this war may run. The situation is vastly different from what it has been heretofore. As I said in my remarks at the outset, during the last war we had Japan as an ally, we had Russia as an ally, we had Italy as an ally and we had practically no problem on the Pacific coast. For some considerable time the United States also was an active ally and, as I have said, there was no problem to be considered in connection with the Pacific ocean.

In connection with the Atlantic coast there was very little to be considered. At that time the British navy undertook the protection of our Atlantic coast and we were actually being protected by the British navy

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

in our immediate coastal waters. Our navy was a tiny affair, I believe of two ships, the *Rainbow* and the *Niobe*. These ships were taken over by the British navy and became part of that navy. In this war our navy is a unit which is serving actively on the Atlantic coast and it is rendering most valuable assistance to the British navy itself.

We know the developments in the war up to date, but we do not know what they are going to be to-morrow. We do not know what they are going to be a week or a month or a year hence. We have, therefore, to consider not only what we can do in the way of cooperation overseas but also the possible happenings with respect to Canada itself. This is one of the things that I hope hon. members will keep in mind. We have to see around all the sides of this situation and view it in relation not only to the Canada that we knew in the last war but to the Canada that is a nation to-day.

One hardly dares to suggest the thought, but should our enemy triumph in this particular struggle it is not France, it is not England, it is not Holland, it is not Belgium, it is not Norway, it is not Poland and it is not Czechoslovakia that they would seek as a prize of war; what the enemy are looking for is great new areas of development. That is what underlies this struggle for world domination and we cannot afford to ignore at this time every conceivable possibility with relation to each part of the British commonwealth of nations.

The urgent appropriations with which this house will be called upon to deal, the various measures to be introduced by the government, many of which are on the order paper, will command the earnest attention of each one of us. I appeal to all members to avoid time-wasting procedure and to purge the order paper of items which cannot by any stretch of the imagination be considered a contribution to the solution of our problems. Above all, I know I shall not ask in vain that the time of hard pressed ministers of the crown and of hard working civil servants should not be diverted from their many tasks to deal with matters which are not essential.

It is the opinion of the government that the circumstances of the hour require that the urgent matter of the prosecution of the war and of Canada's part therein calls for the most immediate and thorough discussion. We do not desire to remove and do not propose to curtail unduly any of the privileges of hon. members, but the government believes that in the present emergency government business should have the right of way over the

debate on the address. It is therefore suggested that the debate on the address be shortened by arrangement between the whips. If such an arrangement is not found to be possible, I may propose that the debate be adjourned.

In making statements of that kind I shall have to ask hon. members to realize that they are not made with any view of enabling the government to avoid criticism or to take away from any hon. member a privilege which should be his, but rather because something is known of how exceedingly grave the situation is at this very time. I believe that all hon. members will feel as I do, that the more quickly we can begin consideration of the bill of the Minister of Finance (Mr. Ralston) which has to do with war appropriations, and which measure will enable the fullest discussion of everything pertaining to the war and the war effort of Canada, the better it will be in all respects and the more action of that kind will be approved by the country. So I am going to suggest that a step of that kind be taken and I hope that the house will give its approval.

As I have said, it appears to my colleagues and myself that all matters pertaining to the war can be more appropriately discussed during the consideration of the resolution providing the moneys required to support Canada's war effort. This resolution is already on the order paper and might, if the house were agreeable, be proceeded with to-morrow or on Wednesday. In view of the crisis, however, the government will be obliged to proceed with the war appropriations not later than Wednesday, and will take such steps to that end as may be necessary under the rules. I propose to discuss procedure with my hon. friend opposite and with other hon. gentlemen who are leading groups in this house. The procedure which I believe to be best designed to meet the dominant needs of the critical situation is as follows.

There should be a general debate on the resolution. We can then refer the appropriation bill to a committee or committees of the House of Commons in order that there may be disclosed to the members of those committees information which would not probably be in the public interest to place on the pages of *Hansard* or to broadcast in debate to the House of Commons. I propose to ascertain the views of the leaders of the house with respect to these committees. It may be that a separate committee surveying the work of each of the fighting services would be preferable to one dealing with defence matters generally. It is I am sure unnecessary for me to advance the hope and the desire, for

I am sure that hon. members share both, that the personnel of these committees be selected with the utmost care.

I should like to emphasize that the setting up of these committees will not preclude in any way any member from debating any subject to which he may desire to call the attention of the house and the country, and I give my assurance to hon. members that the constitution of such committees will not be used as a pretext for concealing any information which it is in the public interest to disclose. While officers of the department and of the service will attend the committees when required, it would be a great disservice to the country at this time if members were to keep officers from their regular important public duties unless it is absolutely necessary.

I have sought to pass in brief review the main facts in connection with the war effort of this country. Everything that we have done has been done with the full approval of our allies and after complete consultation with them. We have done, and planned to do, the things which they have deemed most essential to the triumph of their cause and ours. I have told you what can now be told of the prompt and additional measures we have already taken to assist the cause to which we have pledged our honour. As circumstances permit, more will be disclosed.

I need scarcely say that hysteria and panic will add nothing but confusion to the performance of a task that is long and difficult. Munitions and implements of war cannot be forged overnight. The duration and intensity of war have alike to be taken into account. Similarly, the sailors, soldiers and airmen required to meet fresh situations as they arise in all quarters of the globe cannot all be trained at once. No one is more conscious than my colleagues and I of the necessity of vigour of action, patience of heart, and steadfastness of soul. We have acted and shall continue to act to the limit of our wisdom and knowledge and power.

I know that the government can rely upon the support of all sides of this house as long as it does all that is humanly possible to carry out its duty to the people of Canada. To assist us we shall need and, I believe, we shall receive the unwavering resolution and the full cooperation of every true man and woman in this country. If this war is lost, and tyranny triumphs, our world with its gift of freedom, and its promise of happiness for all men and women, will be lost in utter darkness. No sacrifice is too great to prevent that calamity.

The gallant youth of this country will soon be marching through the fires which

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have been devouring nations as well as armies overseas. They will be true to the imperishable traditions of their fathers. Everything that we can do, every help that we can give, every contribution that we can make, every comfort, great or small, that we must surrender, is as a grain of sand compared with the treasure which they offer on the altar of humanity.

Those of us who have heard the calm, brave words of Prime Minister Churchill and Prime Minister Renaud do not doubt that the two great races from which this land derives its sinew and its strength will keep the torn flag flying on the battlements of freedom. They have faced, and we have faced with them, perils almost as great, situations almost as grave, in the days that have gone. We, and they, have remained unshaken and triumphant. It is my faith that we shall remain unshaken and triumphant again. The end of the war will find the people of Canada, where the beginning of the war found us: standing, united at the side of Britain and of France.

Mr. Speaker, I should like, if I might be permitted, before the house adjourns this evening, to read a message which I sent this morning to the Prime Minister of Great Britain with reference to the speech which he made last evening, and I shall give that to the house at the conclusion of these proceedings.

~~Mr. M. J. GOLDWELL (Rosetown-Biggan):~~  
Mr. Speaker, in rising to participate in this first debate of a new and what may be a fateful parliament, I do so with considerable regret that the hon. member for Winnipeg North Centre (Mr. Woodsworth), our leader, is unable to speak for the group with which we are associated. I know that hon. members on all sides of the house sincerely hope that he will be restored to health in a short time.

We wish to congratulate you, Mr. Speaker, upon your election to the high and ancient office which we are sure you will occupy with that dignity and impartiality which we appreciated in your predecessor.

To the mover and the seconder of the resolution we extend our congratulations, particularly to the hon. member for Lotbiniere (Mr. Lapointe), whose distinguished father must have been proud of his son's maiden speech in this House of Commons.

We are meeting to-day under the shadow of a great crisis. I want to say at once to the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) that we in this group are prepared to facilitate in every particular the business of this house.

~~From the Labour party of Great Britain and~~  
[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

~~of the parts of the British commonwealth, the~~  
Cooperative Commonwealth Federation is essentially a peace party. We hate war with a passionate hatred because all history teaches us that, in the words of the Prime Minister spoken in this house in March of last year, war settles nothing. We know that the men who bleed and die will leave behind them only mourners who, when the conflict ceases, will pay for the struggle in tears and in treasure. Because of this, when we believed there was yet time, we advocated national and international policies which we are convinced would have promoted peace and prevented war.

We watched with growing misgivings the march of Fascism and the rising menace of the Nazi movement in Germany. We said that those who were encouraging these movements would bring mankind to the very brink of disaster. Nearly three years ago Mr. Heaps, then Cooperative Commonwealth Federation member for Winnipeg North, moved in this house a resolution asking our government to approach the President of the United States with a suggestion that he consider the advisability of calling a world conference in an endeavour to secure a peaceful settlement of international disputes. Subsequently, when the sky darkened still more, we urged our own government to initiate the calling of the League of Nations assembly to stop the threatened crisis. Whenever opportunities arose, we tried to focus attention on the international situation and the growing danger to Canada. We have made mistakes, as any body of people dealing with difficult situations are bound to do; but we have always held that freedom is the foundation of life and of human happiness.

We have watched the suppression of freedom in other countries. One by one and often together, freedom of thought, freedom of association, freedom of religion, freedom of speech have disappeared as dictatorships have become more powerful. We dreaded war because we knew that when it came our basic freedom would be endangered in our own dominion. Nor were we wrong in that assumption, for the defence of Canada regulations have in our opinion gone beyond the point warranted by an outbreak of war. We readily admit that when a nation is at war, actions against the safety of the state must be prevented or punished as the case may be, but we insist that every man shall have the right to plead guilty or not guilty before a competent authority in open court. Under section 21 of the defence regulations it is possible for this basic right of British citizenship to be taken away.

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**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
63		Canada's War Effort. Speeches in Parliament	20 May 1940	D 38225 - D 38241	
63		Fall of Paris - Radio Broadcast	June 1940	D 38242 - D 38247	
63		Progress of War, Aid to British, Statement in Parliament	4 June 1940	D 38248 - D 38249	
63		Radio Broadcast on War Events	7 June 1940	D 38250 - D 38391	
63		Declaration of War on Italy. Speeches in Parliament	10 June 1940	D 38392 - D 38395	
63		Radio Broadcast re: Italy	10 June 1940	D 38396 - D 38407	
63		Address to Earl of Athlone, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	13 May 1940	D 38408 - D 38424	
63		France's Peace Appeal. Speeches in Parliament	17 June 1940	D 38425 - D 38427	
63		War Plans. Speeches in Parliament	18 June 1940	D 38428 - D 38443	
63		Message to Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	24 June 1940	D 38444 - D 38445	

June 1940

Radio

Fall of Paris

First Draft: Broadcast

I speak to you tonight in a dark hour for freedom and civilization. Though the clouds are black, we must not despair. Today Paris, the heart of France has fallen to the enemy. But as the Premier of France said yesterday, "the soul of France is not conquered". It will never be conquered. The spirit of France will live on. It will animate the allied forces. For France, as Monsieur Reynaud said, "the day of resurrection will come."

Nowhere is the agony of France felt more keenly than in Canada. Nowhere will the response to her suffering be more immediate or more complete. In her hour of greatest need, her Premier could yet utter words of hope.

"Despite our reverses", he said, "the power of the democracies remains immense. We have the right to hope that the day is approaching when all that power will be thrown into the scale. That is why we maintain hope in our hearts. That is why, too, we have determined that France shall keep a free Government; and for that reason we have left Paris."

The battle of France has been a miracle of human endurance. It has been a battle of men against machines; a struggle of humanity against inhumanity. The battle has been lost; but the cause of inhumanity has not triumphed. Humanity cannot fail.

The determination and courage of the French resistance has never been surpassed. Our determination and our courage must equal theirs. Our faith must never waver; our strength must be gathered swiftly and steadily.

The grim resolve of France to fight on whether or not her territory is overrun; the decision to maintain a French government free from the Nazi grasp; the readiness, if need be, to direct resistance from across the seas is but another evidence of the solidarity and unity of purpose of our British and French motherlands. It is an echo of the words of Mr. Churchill to which I referred a week ago. It is yet another call to Canada to accept greater and higher responsibility. I declared, in your name, what was in every Canadian heart, that this nation will proudly accept its new responsibility.

The reverses to the Allied armies have served but to increase our resolve to hold the bridge between the old world and the new. Over that bridge everyday and every month will pass an increasing flow of the machines and munitions of war. The reserves of democracy are almost inexhaustible; the reserves of tyranny are being rapidly exhausted. We cannot doubt that, in the end, if we work hard and mobilize our reserves, the forces of democracy will far surpass the forces of tyranny.

We shall need all our material resources, but, even more, we shall need all our moral resources. The agony of France, the peril of Britain, the foul treachery of Italy, the evil might of Germany, will not dispirit us; they will be rather the stern call of duty, the grim challenge to redoubled effort.

More than ever to-day we need stout hearts and, above all, cool heads. The tragic events must be kept in perspective. The gains of Germany in two short months have been immense and spectacular: there is a grave danger that we may come to regard the Nazi power as invincible. The Nazis are not invincible: they will be overcome. Their losses have already been terrific. In the battle of France deep and long lasting injury has been inflicted upon the enemy. With every day that has passed the striking power of the Nazis has weakened; their staying power has been weakened even more.

All Canada echoes the brave words of Britain's message to France. Let me repeat those significant words:

"We shall never turn from the conflict until..... civilization is free from the nightmare of Naziism. That this day will dawn we are more sure than ever. It may dawn sooner than we now have the right to expect."

However long the night, however late the dawn, there can be no permanent black-out of freedom.

FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

TO

Mr. Gibson

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Pls. keep as stock answer  
for that kind of thing.

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Pls. let Mr. Pickersgill  
know. done JAG

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38246

D 38247

CHURCHILL, Rt. Hon. Winston

Except from statement in the House of Commons, London, June 25, 1940.

Ottawa Morning Journal  
June 26, 1940

Such are the salient points in this lamentable but memorable episode. The House will not expect me to say anything about the future. The situation at the present time is so uncertain and obscure that it would be contrary to the public interest for me to attempt to pronounce upon it.

**But I may well have more to say in further statements next week.** In the meantime the House will continue to extend full confidence to His Majesty's government and will believe that neither patience nor resolution will be lacking in the measures they may take for the safety of the country. (Loud cheers).

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4 June 1940

H of C

Progress of war - aid  
to Britain

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... Montreal Gazette

Date..... June 5, 1940

Subject.....

## KING REVEALS NEW AID TO BRITAIN

Ottawa, June 4—(P)—Following is the text of the statement made by Prime Minister Mackenzie King in the Commons today on the war:

During recent weeks the world has witnessed lightning war in all its fury and frightfulness. It is difficult to believe it was only 25 days ago that Holland and Belgium were invaded. We vividly recall the immediate heroic resistance of these two nations to the terrific onslaught of the Germans. We know how magnificently Britain and France responded to their appeal for aid. We have seen the German forces employing the full might of concentrated warfare and with incredible losses to their own manpower and equipment crush Holland and Belgium and invade a portion of France.

The unexpected rapidity with which Nazi Germany wrought her work of destruction was due to the most carefully prepared plans for invasion, to sudden action at an hour of her own choosing and to the volume and power of her armaments. It was due as well to inability to co-ordinate in advance on adequate plans of defence with the neutral countries, because of the over-scrupulous and excessive care with which they sought to safeguard their neutrality.

We would perhaps do well to keep in mind that in addition to all this the quick success of the invasion was due less to the unforeseen suddenness of the attack itself than to wholly unexpected incidents in meeting the situation.

The all but incredible means whereby the enemy effected a breach in the Allied lines was announced to the world by Premier Reynaud, of France, on May 21. Its consequences were being met by the most determined resistance when, on May 28, to the consternation of the forces in the field, and equally to the people of Belgium themselves, the King of the Belgians capitulated, and obliged his troops to lay down their arms. The already vulnerable position of the Allied armies was thereby rendered even more perilous.

### SITUATION DESPERATE.

Seldom if ever, and certainly never in modern times, has a military force been so beset by its enemies. Open to long sustained mass attack from three sides, and from above, with the enemy employing in fiendish fashion the most powerful weapons of modern mechanized warfare, the situation for a day or two appeared more desperate than any with which either Britain or France had, at any time, been faced.

The restoration of the morale of forces thus threatened with annihilation, and the evacuation of the armies thus entrapped and surrounded has been the outstanding feature of the past week. We now have before us the full account of how these results have been achieved. The story is one of the great epics of history.

If there was cause for grave alarm in the rapidity and rapacity with which the Nazi forces made the headway they did, there is, in what has been subsequently witnessed of the combined actions of the Allied armies, navies and air forces, even greater cause for belief in the ultimate victory of the Allied arms.

If there is one thing above another which the Battle of Flanders has demonstrated, it is that in what the Allied powers have displayed of effective co-operation, initiative and resource, valor and tenacity, in these most critical of all days, we have grounds for believing that, as

time goes on, they will be found more than equal to any act of circumstances and conditions that may hereafter arise.

During the period of time to which I have been referring, it is obvious that for military reasons it was not possible for the Government to make any statement with respect to the disposition of Canadian military, naval and air forces brought about as a means of affording more effective co-operation with those of the Allied forces overseas.

### CANADIANS READY TO GO.

I am now in position to make a statement, which of necessity must be general in its terms, but which will, I am sure, be welcomed by this House and by our country as evidencing the carefully planned co-operation there has been, at every stage, between the Canadian and Allied Governments.

First of all a word with regard to the Canadian troops overseas. The Minister of National Defence (Hon. Norman Rogers) has already given to Parliament a statement with respect to the use it was intended to make of the Canadian troops in Norway, of their being in readiness for embarkation from Scotland, and of the circumstances which occasioned a change in the original plan. One reason for the change of plans has since become apparent in what has taken place on the Continent.

Since the invasion of Holland and Belgium, on more than one occasion our Canadian troops have been at embarkation ports, under orders to join the British Expeditionary Force and the French armies in their desperate struggle in northern France and Belgium. On the most recent occasion General McNaughton (Major-General A. G. L. McNaughton, General Officer Commanding the First Division), accompanied by selected officers of his staff, carried out a personal reconnaissance of the battle area, and on his return rendered a most valuable report to the chief of the Imperial General Staff and to the War Cabinet. That the Canadians were not dispatched was due entirely to the conclusion reached by the chiefs of staff.

As the possibility of the invasion of the United Kingdom itself has become more apparent, Canadian military forces in England are being employed in the way in which it is believed will best serve in the defence of England's shores, or in the reconstitution of a fresh field force in France. The invasion of Holland, Belgium and France and the possible invasion of the United Kingdom has necessitated other means and methods for co-operation between our own and the British military forces. To mention only one by way of example:

### TROOPS IN WEST INDIES.

We were asked by the British Government if we could arrange to have some of our troops sent to the West Indies area in order to free for service elsewhere some of the British regular forces stationed in that area. The request was immediately met. A contingent of Canadian troops was sent to the West Indies, conveyed part of the way by the Royal Canadian Navy. This Canadian contingent is now on active service there. Of other dispositions requested and being met, I am not free to speak at present.

The House has already been informed of the assistance given in the present emergency by the Royal Canadian Air Force to the Royal Air Force in Britain,

through the despatch and safe arrival of the advance party of a second army co-operation squadron. In order to speed up the supply of air personnel for active service, arrangements are in hand to dispatch overseas a fighter squadron, equipped with aircraft. A number of pilots recently graduated from Camp Borden, who were intended as instructors for the training plan, are also proceeding overseas.

To help meet the urgent requirement of planes, the Government made available to the Royal Air Force part of the equipment which was in use, or on order, for our own air force, or in connection with the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan.

This equipment included fighter planes now being used for home defence. Further fighters being manufactured in Canada for the Canadian Government were diverted to the use of the United Kingdom Government, also certain engines immediately available for dispatch overseas, and, as well, some Blenheim bombers which were in England ready to be shipped to Canada, and additional bombers which were on the sea en route to Canada, and which were sent back to the United Kingdom.

### BRITAIN GRATEFUL

As the House is well aware, the filling of orders of this kind takes a long time. Some of the orders which are being filled at the present moment will increase the number available as referred to in what I have just stated. I have in my hand a communication received just recently from the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs in which he makes mention of the fact that a number of aircraft—I shall not specify the particular craft or the number—due for delivery in Canada were en route at the time. I quote:

"Our urgent need for all operational aircraft was made known to the Canadian Government. We learn that the Canadian authorities have turned around the ship containing these aircraft and I wish to express the thanks of the United Kingdom government for this very helpful action. May we assume the Canadian Government will be prepared also to forego for the time being the delivery — (at this point Mr. King interrupted the quotation to say "of a certain number of aircraft" so as not to disclose the exact number, apparently contained in the communication)—. "Such decision would be gratefully appreciated."

I may say to the House that the Government ordered the ship containing the aircraft to be turned back without waiting for a request from the British Government, and the communication which I have just read is one expressing the warm appreciation of the British Government of that voluntary action on our part.

I come now to the special assistance which the Royal Canadian Navy has been able to give and is giving at the moment, not off the coasts of Canada but in British waters. As a result of co-operation with the Royal Navy a re-arrangement of forces has been put into effect whereby certain Canadian destroyers are now serving with the Royal Navy in United Kingdom waters.

Their place has been taken by certain units of the Royal Navy assigned to service protecting our Atlantic seaboard. This re-arrangement will, it is believed, have the advantage of making certain operations more effective. The House will readily understand the reasons why no further particulars can be disclosed at the present time.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... Montreal Gazette

Date..... June 5, 1940

D 38249

Subject.....

## MESSAGE TO NAVY.

I should like to read to the House the message which I sent to the senior officer commanding the Canadian destroyers shortly after they had left our shores:

"In this hour when the skill, the strength, and the will-power of the combined Allied forces are so greatly needed to cope with the diabolical warfare of a wholly unscrupulous and brutal foe, Canada will be proud indeed when she learns that, as the enemy pursues his endeavors to invade the British Isles, destroyers of the Royal Canadian Navy have crossed the Atlantic to be in immediate association with the Royal Navy in the United Kingdom waters.

"I send to you and to the men under your command the proud assurance that the Government has every confidence that, in your resolute hands, the honor of the Royal Canadian Navy, the traditions which it has inherited, and which it has created, are safe and sure. This confidence will be shared with equal pride by all of Canada once the Canadian people become aware of the presence of Canadian destroyers in British waters.

"You will be supported in your

noble mission by the continued and utmost co-operation of all branches of the defence forces of Canada and by the single purpose of the Canadian people in this war. Wherever duty may call you, our thoughts and prayers will be with you all.

"W. L. Mackenzie King."

In conclusion, may I say that what I have today set forth does not represent the extent of commitments which during the present emergency Canada has sought to meet in compliance with special requests from the British Government. With respect to all three defence services there are other commitments concerning which it is not yet possible to make announcement, but which have been or are in process of being carried out.

Before I take my seat may I say just a word with regard to the report that the Vimy Memorial had been destroyed. I have been in communication with our High Commissioner in London and the word I have received from him is that neither the War Office nor the Air Ministry have any information regarding the Vimy Memorial, that the Air Ministry have been investigating the matter, but up to the present time no word has been received which would confirm the report that the memorial had been destroyed.

(This completed the formal statement but later in the afternoon, the Prime Minister made additional comment, the text of which follows.)

Mr. Speaker, may I just add this word of information which I asked for before I came into the House. The particular aircraft that were returned in the manner I have described when they were on their way to Canada were ordered in April, 1939. It was not until this week that it has been possible to get that order filled and as I say it was turned back to assist the British in this immediate crisis.

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63		Progress of War, Aid to British, Statement in Parliament	4 June 1940	D 38248 - D 38249	
63		Radio Broadcast on War Events	7 June 1940	D 38250 - D 38391	
63		Declaration of War on Italy. Speeches in Parliament	10 June 1940	D 38392 - D 38395	
63		Radio Broadcast re: Italy	10 June 1940	D 38396 - D 38407	
63		Address to Earl of Athlone, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	13 May 1940	D 38408 - D 38424	
63		France's Peace Appeal. Speeches in Parliament	17 June 1940	D 38425 - D 38427	
63		War Plans. Speeches in Parliament	18 June 1940	D 38428 - D 38443	
63		Message to Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	24 June 1940	D 38444 - D 38445	

7 June 1940

Radia

27 Sept. 1920

Victoria, B.C.

"Restoration of Parliamentary Fovernment"

Broadcast by the Prime Minister

D [REDACTED]  
June 7, 1940

Fellow Canadians:

I speak to you tonight in the midst of the most crowded weeks in human history.

Barely a month has passed since Holland and Belgium were first ravaged by lightning warfare in all its fury and frightfulness.

Every succeeding day since the first heroic resistance of those little lands of peace, has brought new shocks, new problems, and new duties to those in whose hands has been placed the task of defending freedom.

The brutal domination of Holland, the tragic surrender of Belgium, the invasion of France, the capture of the channel ports, have happened in such quick succession that the world has hardly had time to breathe. Today, Britain, no longer <sup>an</sup> island, <sup>security</sup> prepares to meet the invader across the narrow sea. At this very hour, the greatest of all battles in ~~the~~ history ~~of the world~~ is being waged within 70 miles of the city of Paris. On its outcome may depend the future of France. ] [As the world has been shaken to its foundations by the swift march of terrible events, nearly every emotion in the heart of each one of us has been profoundly stirred. Hate for the inhuman oppressor, pity for the helpless and the homeless, pride for the

brotherhood of the brave

D 38251

-2-

brotherhood of the brave who have honoured the lands of  
Britain and France that gave them birth.

One crisis has not passed before another has  
arisen in its place. Peril has been heaped upon peril.  
Who <sup>will say</sup> ~~knows~~ on what new horizon destruction may <sup>us</sup> loom tomorrow?

Public Restlessness

Is it any wonder that you, my fellow citizens, have in these days been <sup>concerned and</sup> impatient ~~and restless~~, full of questionings and doubts. You would not be men and women if you had not been <sup>thus</sup> harassed and distracted.

No one could have British or French blood in his veins and know, as we in Canada know, what Britain and France mean to ~~this~~ <sup>the</sup> cause of free men, without having his nature stirred to its very depths by all these things.

You have rightly been asking what has been done, and is being done, to help the cause to which we have freely pledged our honour and our strength. It is only natural that you should be worried <sup>about</sup> ~~about~~ aeroplanes and equipment, and our fighting forces. It is only natural, too, that you should be anxious about our internal security, ~~about spies and saboteurs.~~

I intend tonight to speak of these things.

I do not propose to apologize for democracy nor to direct my attention to criticisms. We cannot have the one without the other.

My purpose <sup>rather</sup> ~~tonight~~ is to endeavour to help you if I can ~~amid all~~, amid all these swift changes in the scene

in Europe,

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in Europe, ~~to~~ to see the conflict in its true perspective, and with ~~it~~ <sup>the conflict</sup> in its true ~~perspective~~ <sup>pers-</sup>pective, the war effort of our own country. Unless we are to abandon altogether the basis upon which we have proceeded from the outset, our war effort must be kept properly related in time, nature and place, to that of ~~our~~ <sup>the</sup> allied ~~powers~~ <sup>powers</sup>.

We must never forget that freely, and as one people, we entered this war. ~~The effectiveness of our war effort depends, more than all else, upon our ability to maintain the unity of the Canadian people.~~ <sup>to</sup> As one nation we ranged ourselves on the side of freedom. As one nation we fight today, and as one nation we will fight to the end.

And this, may I say, and say it with all the emphasis at my command, that any man, be his motive political, personal, or what it may, who attempts by destructive criticism deliberately to destroy public confidence, and the determination and unity of us all, by belittling or misrepresenting the war effort of this country, is an enemy of the State, and of the very cause which he professes to advance. The people of Canada have expressed, in an unmistakable way, their confidence in the present administration to conduct Canada's war effort, in accordance with policies known to them, and of which they have approved. In Parliament,

the administration has

but

the administration has the 100% support of its nation-wide following. To seek even so much as to create ~~an~~ <sup>the</sup> impression, that <sup>the</sup> is not the case, at a moment when inter-imperial and international co-operation is more necessary to the winning of the war than it has been at any time, is to help undermine confidence in the government of Canada, not in the eyes of the people of Canada alone, but in the minds ~~of~~ <sup>and</sup> hearts of the people of the United Kingdom and of other parts of the British Commonwealth, in France, ~~and~~ <sup>in the</sup> ~~United States and~~ in other ~~powerful~~ countries anxious to lend what help they can to Canada and the allied powers in ~~their~~ <sup>the</sup> hour of ~~their~~ special need.

Burch

to make the greatest possible contribution at the beginning, was also planned so that, from month to month, man-power would grow, <sup>production would grow,</sup> until at the critical <sup>output of</sup> time when accumulated strength became the decisive <sup>munitions</sup> factor, it would be available to ensure victory. <sup>+ supply would grow,</sup>

The Third period is that of the Blitzkreig -- lightning war, as it is expressed in English. It accords with the plan which Hitler has all along had in mind. Save by those possessed of gangster instincts, its possibility could never have been conceived. It aims to bring, one by one, under the iron heel of Nazi Germany, nation after nation, whether neutral or belligerent, by methods of terrorism and barbarism unparalleled in warfare throughout the ages. <sup>the element</sup> This cleverest of surprises is all-important. The process was under way before the invasion of Poland. It began with the invasion of Austria and Czecho-Slovakia. It resulted in the destruction of Poland; it has been only too manifest in the conquest of Denmark and Norway, of Holland and Belgium. It is now seeking by lightning strokes to conquer France and Britain.

These two countries have been taken by surprise; not so much by sudden attack upon themselves -- sudden attack was expected at the commencement of the war. The surprise has come by the swiftness, the magnitude

and the ferocity

The Three Periods:

To help you gain <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ true perspective, may I remind you that the war itself did not commence ~~before~~ <sup>until</sup> September last. ~~So far as Canada is concerned,~~ <sup>Nine</sup> months have not yet passed since Parliament authorized expenditures ~~for actual hostilities, and for the purpose of~~ <sup>in that war,</sup> avowedly for purposes of war, and in particular for ~~purposes of~~ co-operation by Canada with the allied powers in the theatres of war in Europe.

As regards the war, there are three periods <sup>which may be considered</sup> which ~~are~~ separate and distinct, ~~and which we do well to keep in mind in their relation the one to the other.~~ There was the first period of what I might call the shadow of war, during which time there was still a hope for peace. Within that period the democratic nations worked for peace. While they worked for peace, they also prepared for war. ~~Their preparations for war had to depend upon the parliamentary popular support which they could secure to that end. They worked for peace longer than their enemies.~~ If they had not worked for peace, they would have been accused of precipitating war, not only by the present enemies of democracy, but also by their own people. They prepared for war later and more slowly than their enemies. Their final preparations had

*Handwritten note:*  
 Many  
 don't  
 understand

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necessarily to await the hour that would gain for them  
the sanction of their parliaments.

The Second Period - War.

That hour came to Canada with the calling of the special session of our parliament. <sup>But long before the war began the second</sup> The very strength of <sup>period</sup> democracy in peace time became in some measure a handicap in war-time, and in preparations for war-time. When the shadow had deepened, the storm broke and war began, Britain and France believed that the war would be long. They still believe that they were right in that belief. They planned for at least a three year war; four years were mentioned as a possibility. <sup>doubtless known</sup> Hitler knew that he could only win a short war. <sup>Britain and France</sup> They knew that they could only win a long war. They asked us to join with them in planning for a long war. Our first effort, therefore, while designed to make the greatest possible contribution at the beginning, was also planned so that, from month to month, man power would grow, production would grow, output of munitions and supply would grow, until at the critical time when accumulated strength became the decisive factor, it would be available to ensure victory.

The Third Period -- The Blitzkrieg:

*The Third Period is that of the Blitzkrieg. Lightning war*  
It accords with the plan which Hitler has all

along had in his mind, ~~but which~~, *save for* those possessed  
of gangster instincts, *it is possible* could never have been conceived ~~as~~

~~as a possibility~~, ~~short of seeing its accomplishment before~~  
~~one's very eyes.~~ *It is*, *one by one*, to bring under the

iron heel of Nazi Germany, nation after nation, whether  
neutral or belligerent, by methods of terrorism and

barbarism unparalleled in warfare throughout the ages.

The ~~plan~~ *surprise* was well under way before the invasion of Poland.

It began with the invasion of Austria and Czecho-Slovakia.

It resulted in the destruction of Poland; it has been only too  
manifest in the conquest of Denmark and Norway, of Holland

and Belgium, ~~and is now seeking to accomplish its ends~~  
~~by similar methods aimed at the conquest of France and~~

Britain. These two countries have been taken by surprise,

not so much by the sudden attack upon themselves, ~~but~~  
by what has preceded the attacks, ~~by~~ the swiftness of

the several invasions, ~~by~~ the suddenness, the magnitude  
and the ferocity of the attacks. No part of the world

has been shocked by these tragic happenings more than  
this continent. The loyalty of <sup>neutral</sup> little nations to inter-

national law became the weapon with which a treacherous  
enemy struck at their hearts. They have been sacrificed

on the altar

*The element of surprise is all important*

*as it is prepared in English*

*is it an outstanding feature*

*think that would have*

on the altar of their own neutrality.

The lightning war in Europe has forced Britain and France to view the <sup>new</sup> situation in a different perspective. Their plans, and with them our plans, have had to be changed, and quickened in the light of new and appalling developments. Contributions of men, machines and material have had to be hastened. Daily improvisations have become necessary and have been made. The movements of men and ships have had to be <sup>altered</sup> changed. Large additional sums of money have had to be found.

It is, I <sup>hear</sup> ~~am~~, only too true that the magnitude and speed of action, the immensity of the changes in the military situation, and the unparalleled horrors of the conflict have all but destroyed our sense of time. It is difficult to realize that a month has not yet elapsed since Holland and Belgium were invaded. The heroic resistance of these small nations to the German onslaught, and the magnificent response of Britain and France to their appeal for aid were absorbing the attention of the people of Canada when, just a week later, our new Parliament met.

As we watched the spectacle of the German forces crushing Holland and Belgium under the full might of concentrated warfare, <sup>it was not until the invasion that</sup> an unparalleled intensity of feeling <sup>developed</sup> throughout the country. There <sup>developed equally naturally</sup> was a ~~natural~~ tendency to measure our Canadian war effort in terms, not of long range and carefully laid plans, but in terms of the terrible emergency of the moment. The unexpected rapidity with which the Nazi forces carried out their destructive advance, ~~particularly after they had effected, by means almost incredible, a breach in the Allied lines,~~ <sup>and this by the cooperation of the Belgian King and his army,</sup> naturally increased the tension and added <sup>an</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>of natural</sup> impatient desire for <sup>additional</sup> immediate action.

In the history of the world there has probably been no greater crisis than that brought about by the over-running of Holland and Belgium and the invasion of France. It is not to be wondered at that public feeling should be stirred to its depths. No one with British or French blood in his veins could fail to be <sup>so</sup> stirred.

The dramatic events in Europe <sup>returned to</sup> ~~not only~~ obscured what Canada had done and was doing to prosecute the war; they also enhanced the difficulty of presenting to Parliament and the people a clear picture of our war effort.

~~We met with an insistent demand that the government should "speed up" our war effort to meet the new situation.~~

At ~~the same~~ <sup>not very</sup> time the government itself was throwing its full energy into adapting our organization and adjusting our plans to conform to the swiftly changing scene in Europe. It was impossible to decide upon changes of plans until accurate information could be secured from the battle front. When decisions were reached, some of them, for military reasons, could not be announced immediately. Some have not been, and can not yet be made public. ~~Enough, however, I believe, has now been disclosed for the public to realize how speedily and how effectively the government has acted in this terrible crisis.~~

I should like to stress ~~one point,~~ <sup>last</sup> everything that has been done recently, has been accomplished ~~swiftly~~ <sup>swiftly</sup> and smoothly

*in the time it has*  
and smoothly ~~only~~ because the foundations of our war effort were well and truly laid. ~~The government had long ago anticipated the possibility of the need arising for the action which has since been taken.~~ Many of the measures recently announced could not have been taken earlier, because the circumstances did not then call for emergency action of the character recently undertaken. ~~That is not to say that our war effort was not being prosecuted vigorously before May 10th.~~ It is only to say that our effort, based, as it was, upon the best information available, was being developed in order to meet the demands of a long war. We ~~cannot~~ *must* ~~offer~~ *we cannot* to jump to the hasty conclusion that, because of the unexpected magnitude of the allied military reverses, the ~~allied powers do not still face the prospect of a long war.~~ Terrible risks must be taken to meet the present crisis - and Canada is sharing those risks - but we must beware of adding to necessary risks, the needless risk of abandoning plans to face a long and bitter struggle in which staying power will, in the end, be decisive.

To allow our passionate feeling to degenerate into unreasoning hysteria would be fatal to Canada's war effort and a grave injury to the allied cause.

What we have done.

You have heard something in the last few days of what has been done to meet the terrible emergency. It could only be disclosed in instalments, and sometimes not at all. Many things must still remain secret. All disclosures must be made at a time when they suit the allied needs. I could not tell Parliament and people, ~~for example, of the narrow margin by which our first~~ <sup>for example, of the fact that several units of the</sup> Division overseas escaped the fate of their comrades in arms, ~~prior to the Dunkirk evacuation,~~ <sup>of the evacuation of Dunkirk</sup> until the story of ~~that~~ <sup>the</sup> epic achievement was made known to the world. I could not tell of the despatch of our destroyers to England, until after they had arrived in British waters.

~~When we were seeking to meet the proper and insistent demand that the government should speed up the war effort, we were, of course, doing everything in our power to adjust and carry out our plans in consultation with our allies.~~ <sup>have been and still are</sup> Unfortunately, we ~~were~~ precluded from saying a word of what we had been asked to do, and of what, in fact, we had done and were doing.

It may help to bring home to you all, a fuller appreciation of what has actually been accomplished if I summarize some of the results in terms of men, equipment

and supply.

*of the  
preparations  
for our  
troops to  
embark  
for France!*

and supply. ~~This I shall seek to do, albeit in terms  
all too brief.~~

*I should like*  
~~Let~~ me, however, first, <sup>u</sup> give you this solemn  
assurance. We offered to the allies, in the name of the  
people of Canada, all the additional assistance in our  
power to help them to deal with the <sup>recent</sup> emergencies ~~of the~~  
~~times~~. We have made no restrictions. What we could do  
and have done, what we can produce, what we can manufacture,  
has been placed at their disposal to the utmost limit of  
our capacity and strength. They have asked us to do a  
number of things. We have sought to do each one of them  
promptly, completely, and without qualification. We have,  
on our own account, made additional offers and suggestions.  
Many of them have been accepted.

~~ARMY~~

In the Army, when Belgium and Holland were invaded, we had 81,519 men of all ranks. We had one Division, with its ancillary troops, trained and ~~fully~~ equipped with motorized units on active service in England. Twenty-three thousand young Canadians were ready for embarkation to Norway or to Flanders whenever the word came from the Allied High Command. ~~More than 32,000 troops were, at the beginning of May, on active service in Canada.~~

~~Eleven territorial regiments had been organized to provide reinforcements for our units overseas.~~

A second Division of men, with ~~the~~ necessary auxiliaries, amounting in all to 24,000, were completing their Canadian training.

Strategic areas in Newfoundland were defended by this country's soldiers.

When the "Blitzkrieg", Hitler's lightening war, began, we advanced the date of the despatch of our second Division. We did likewise with all reinforcements for the first Division, who had not proceeded to England. We

speeded the recruiting

speeded the recruiting of reinforcements for the second Division. We undertook the formation of a Canadian corps in the field and provided the necessary corps troops. We decided to raise a third Division. The units have been announced, and recruiting has begun.

We formed a Veterans' Home Guard for the defence of our internal security, and have authorized the establishment of additional veterans' reserves. We undertook to raise rifle battalions for a fourth Division. We have established a special training course for officers and veteran officers.

Canadian soldiers are today also on active duty in the West Indies and the North Atlantic.

~~NAVY~~

In the Navy, we began the month of May with 6,614 officers and ratings, including 125 officers and 100 ratings serving in the British Navy.

We had 94 vessels in commission.

We had 90 vessels under construction.

Our ships operated on both coasts, in West Indian waters, and convoyed ships from our shores and protected our harbours.

Since the course of the war changed, with the shock of un contemplated suddenness, we have ordered the recruitment of 4,900 additional men. Every shipyard now works to capacity. And today, by one of those strange changes of fate and fortune, our destroyers, willingly repaying a small part of an ancient debt, are helping to guard the shores of Britain, and watch with increasing vigilance for those who would violate her island freedom. I bade them Godspeed when they left with the same pride with which you and the people of Britain greeted their arrival.

<sup>an</sup>  
~~The~~ Navy is a young navy. It has inherited great traditions; it is helping to create them.

AIR FORCE

The Royal Canadian Air Force had no existence during the last war. At the beginning of May, it had a strength of 12,315 men. We had nine squadrons for home defence, one army cooperation squadron overseas, another completing its training in Canada, and reinforcements continuously preparing for active service in the Army Cooperation School.

The Commonwealth Air Training Plan was proceeding in magnitude, training, and time in accordance with <sup>the</sup> predetermined plan.

The Nazis struck with all their power. Their swift advance was made possible by their numerical superiority in the air.

We immediately sent overseas No. 112 Army Cooperation Squadron. We called up for immediate service 5,000 recruits for the Royal Canadian Air Force.

We appointed a Minister to devote his entire time and attention to National Defence for Air. We undertook to despatch overseas a fighter squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Force.

We have hastened the construction of air fields and hangars a year earlier than the time fixed under the Commonwealth Plan.

We have sent overseas a number of pilots recently graduated from Camp Borden, who were intended to be used as instructors. Many of our own aeroplanes were sent to Britain. Aeroplanes of British manufacture, ordered five months before the outbreak of war, for our own Air Force, and which were <sup>in the month of war</sup> ~~only then~~ on their way out to Canada, were <sup>on our own initiative</sup> stopped in mid-ocean and returned to Britain ~~as a voluntary offering~~.

It has been stated that the Commonwealth Air Training Plan will be abandoned or postponed because of these changes. This is not true. It will yet be a decisive instrument of victory.

MONEY and MATERIALS

Of money, I will say no more than that the present appropriation for war purposes alone is \$2,000,000 a day, an amount which will ~~certainly~~ <sup>necessarily</sup> have to be increased as we continue to seek to meet exceptional needs.

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa, .....

*Mr. Pickens*

*to House*

*This document from Regina  
it will be to the  
front. will you please?*

First draft

Mr Turnbull

~~222~~  
WAR SUPPLY

JWP/PM

D 38272

~~U.S.~~ the 10th of May, when the blitzkrieg began, orders had been placed for <sup>\$</sup>225 millions worth of equipment, material and munitions for the Canadian army, navy and air force. The purchases ranged from clothing and personal equipment to aircraft and ships. Every shipyard in Canada was working at fully capacity. The textile and clothing industries were also fully occupied. The production of munitions was being rapidly expanded, and aircraft production <sup>was</sup> rising steadily.

(A)

~~The terrific intensity of the warfare of the last month has created unexpectedly heavy demands upon British stocks of supplies and equipment. These demands, in turn, have not only forced the British to suspend the delivery of aircraft for the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, but they have made it necessary for the British to secure additional aircraft from Canada which was available for immediate use. This, in turn, has created a difficult problem for Canada. The problem has been met energetically, both by the acceleration of aircraft production in Canada, and by the securing of other sources of supply, so that the training plan, instead of being slowed down can actually be speeded up.~~

22a

The blitzkrieg has ~~also~~ created new problems of supply ~~for the army.~~ ~~The Canadian Active Service Force overseas forms an integral part of the British army.~~ ~~The same supply lines are used and efficiency demands, where possible, that similar equipment, particularly mechanical equipment, be used.~~ Plans made in the early months of the war provided for the production by Canada of certain lines of equipment and by Britain of others, each to meet the needs of the other in certain respects. Changed circumstances ~~will make~~ <sup>have made</sup> it necessary for Canada to produce many things, even at greater cost, which it was expected would be supplied by Britain. In some cases it ~~will be~~ <sup>has been</sup> necessary to abandon the practice of using British specifications, if production is to be carried on speedily enough to meet emergent needs. The Department of Munitions and Supply is grappling vigorously with these new problems. ~~The Minister, Mr.~~

111

(B)

Howe, announced in the House of Commons, last night, that immediate steps were being taken to organize the production of tanks. The spectacular use of tanks has focused attention upon them. <sup>In this connection, as in all else</sup> We should ~~not~~ <sup>be careful to</sup> lose our sense of proportion. Tanks are tremendously important, but they are by no means the only important item of military equipment. It may well prove for a long time to come that Canadian production of other lines and in other directions will provide more

I cannot speak for myself I have just been meeting for news of conditions and labour in Europe and from the factories, which means a day, 7 days a week.

assistance to the Allied cause. One of these lines is mechanical transport. Canadian industry is already well equipped to produce this kind of equipment, and some thousands of mechanical vehicles have already been delivered overseas. They are being turned out daily, and the British government has been informed <sup>and</sup> that further manufacturing capacity is available to increase production immediately <sup>as well as in ~~the~~ other</sup> in this important branches of supply.

MS. Suggest ~~continued~~ supply of 2000 ~~evolved~~ aeroplanes by the end of this year should be stressed.

WAR SUPPLY

By the 10th of May, when the blitzkrieg began, orders had been placed for \$225 <sup>000,000</sup> ~~millions~~ worth of equipment, material and munitions for the Canadian army, navy and air force. The purchases ranged from clothing and personal equipment to aircraft and ships. Every shipyard in Canada was working at full capacity. The textile and clothing industries were also fully occupied. The production of munitions was being rapidly expanded, and aircraft production was rising steadily.

The blitzkrieg has created new problems of supply. Plans made in the early months of the war provided for the production by Canada of certain lines of equipment and by Britain of others, each to meet the needs of the other in certain respects. Changed circumstances have made it necessary for Canada to produce many things, even at greater cost, which it was expected would be supplied by Britain. In some cases it has been necessary to abandon the practice of using British specifications, if production is to be carried on speedily enough to meet emergent needs. The Department of Munitions and Supply is grappling vigorously with the <sup>new</sup> problems.

CONCLUSION

, I have told you these things because it is difficult amid all the news and distractions of war for anyone in Canada to obtain a clear picture at one time of what is being done to meet the situation.

The government is devoting all its energy, and marshalling all resources to meet the threat to our liberty. We need your confidence. We need the constructive help of every Canadian. In steadfastness and courage remains the hope of human liberty. Panic, dissension, disunity, are the only enemies that can defeat us. All is not dark in the skies above us. The first series of enemy gains will not end this war, any more than it ended other wars in which the British and French peoples have fought side by side. The enemy's tactics, his weapons, his strength are now known. They surprised us. They will not defeat us.

In the light of all that is known of the situation as it is shaping itself in Europe today, I feel I would not be doing my full duty at this time, if I did not speak of other dangers which threaten.

I began by distinguishing three phases of the war. It is difficult to believe that we are not at this moment at the beginning of a fourth phase. Our attention from the

outset has been directed to Germany as the sole enemy, and to her effort to destroy Britain and France. The coming phase will witness operations in entirely new theatres of war. It will most certainly be marked by conflict between nations that thus far have escaped or avoided hostilities. How sudden or how extensive these new developments may be, no one can say. What I wish to make clear is, that, if at any moment we learn that fresh hostilities have broken out, on however terrible a scale, there is no reason why fresh fears should occasion undue alarm. We shall have, of course, to assess anew what may be necessary on our part to meet the demands of the new situation. New events will demand new measures, but we will do well to continue to keep the situation as a whole, in its true perspective.

While not under-estimating the dangers that threaten from other coasts and other seas, <sup>let us</sup> ~~we will do well~~ to remember that against the perils of the present and the future are arrayed a new realization on the part of all free peoples of the nature of the conflict, and <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ new determination to spare no effort and no sacrifice in the indomitable will to conquer. If democracy lacked foresight and audacity in the past, as <sup>the Premier of France</sup> ~~Premier Renaud~~ said yesterday, those days are over.

The German territorial advances contain within themselves elements of weakness. Economic blockade and contraband control can, and will, now, be exercised with increasing and more effective pressure. Disregard for the strength and the ruthlessness of the enemy, lack of preparation to meet the demands of modern mechanized warfare, the suspense of waiting for an enemy who shrinks from no violation of right, and no manifestation of terror, all these things have passed away. Discipline has come to us all, not from without but from within. Wanton brutality has transformed isolation of outlook and neutrality of heart into mere empty words. The treachery that stabbed the neutral nations killed neutrality itself with the same fell blow.

If new enemies oppose us, we may be sure that old and new friends will arise to help us. The world-wide significance of the conflict is being realized in every land. You know how earnestly and vigorously the President of the United States has spoken in the name of humanity. There has been mobilized in the cause of freedom, the conscience of the civilized world, and tyranny will long remember the power of that conscience, and the final effect of the world's condemnation upon the forces of evil.

Canada is called upon to accept a greater and higher responsibility. It was framed in living words by Mr. Churchill in his speech to the British House of Commons on Tuesday last. This nation with all the strength of its youth, the wealth of its resources, and the idealism of its freedom, will proudly accept its new responsibility. We are the bridge between the old world and the new; the bridge which joins the new freedom of the North American Continent with the ancient freedom of Britain which gave it birth. We will stand resolute to defend its approaches and its abutments.

From the harbour of Dunkerque and <sup>from</sup> ~~in~~ the citadel the bravest of Calais/men in the world battled their way home to fight once again for liberty and goodness and mercy.

To the making of Canada have come the same chivalry of France and the same gallantry of Britain which fashioned the glory of that triumph of heroism. I speak the heart and mind of our country when I say that every fort in Canada will be another Calais, and every harbour will be another Dunkirk, before the men and women of our land allow the light and the life of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the ~~pioneers~~ <sup>pioneers</sup> of evil, or yield <sup>their liberties</sup> to the tyranny of Nazi brutality.

CONCLUSIONS

I have told you these things because it is difficult amid all the news and distractions of war for anyone in Canada to obtain a clear picture at one time of what is being done to meet the situation.

The government is devoting all its energy, and marshalling all resources to meet the threat to our liberty. We need your confidence. We need the constructive help of every Canadian. In steadfastness and courage remains the hope of human liberty. Panic, dissension, disunity, are the only enemies that can defeat us. All is not dark in the skies above us. The first series of enemy gains will not end this war, any more than it ended other wars in which the British and French peoples have fought side by side. The enemy's tactics, his weapons, his strength are now known. They surprised us. They will not defeat us.

In the light of all that is known of the situation as it is shaping itself in Europe today, I feel I would not be doing my full duty at this time, if I did not speak of other dangers which threaten.

I began by distinguishing three phases of the war. It is difficult to believe that we are not at this moment at the beginning of a fourth phase. Our attention from the

outset has been directed to Germany as the sole enemy, and to her effort to destroy Britain and France. The coming phase will witness operations in entirely new theatres of war. It will most certainly be marked by conflict between nations that thus far have escaped or avoided hostilities. How sudden or how extensive these new developments may be, no one can say. What I wish to make clear is that, if at any moment we learn that fresh hostilities have broken out, on however terrible a scale, there is no reason why fresh fears should occasion undue alarm. We shall have, of course, to assess anew what may be necessary on our part to meet the demands of the new situation. New events will demand new measures, but we will do well to continue to keep the situation as a whole in its true perspective.

While not under-estimating the dangers that threaten from other coasts and other seas, we will do well to remember that against the perils of the present and the future are arrayed a new realization on the part of all free peoples of the nature of the conflict, and the new determination to spare no effort and no sacrifice in the indomitable will to conquer. If democracy lacked foresight and audacity in the past, as Premier Renaud said yesterday, those days are over.

The German territorial advances contain within themselves elements of weakness. Economic blockade and contraband control can, and will, now be exercised with increasing and more effective pressure. Disregard for the strength and the ruthlessness of the enemy, lack of preparation to meet the demands of modern mechanized warfare, the suspense of waiting for an enemy who shrinks from no violation of right, and no manifestation of terror, all these things have passed away. Discipline has come to us all, not from without but from within. Wanton brutality has transformed isolation of outlook and neutrality of heart into mere empty words. The treachery that stabbed the neutral nations killed neutrality itself with the same fell blow.

If now enemies oppose us we may be sure that old and new friends will arise to help us. The world-wide significance of the conflict is being realized in every land. You know how earnestly and vigorously the President of the United States has spoken in the name of humanity. There has been mobilized in the cause of freedom, the conscience of the civilized world, and tyranny will long remember the power of that conscience, and the final effect of the world's condemnation upon the forces of evil.

Canada is called upon to accept a greater and higher responsibility. It was framed in living words by Mr. Churchill in his speech to the British House of Commons on Tuesday last. This nation with all the strength of its youth, the wealth of its resources and the idealism of its freedom, will proudly accept its new responsibility. We are the bridge between the old world and the new; the bridge which joins the new freedom of Britain which gave it birth. We will stand resolute to defend its approaches and its abutments.

From the harbour of Dunkerque and in the citadel  
the bravest  
of Calais/men in the world battled their way home to fight  
once again for liberty and goodness and mercy.

To the making of Canada have come the same chivalry of France and the same gallantry of Britain which fashioned the glory of that triumph of heroism. I speak the heart and mind of our country when I say that every fort in Canada will be another Calais and every harbour will be another Dunkirk before the men and women of our land allow the light and the life of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the pioneers of evil or yield to the tyranny of Nazi brutality.

First Draft

J.W.P.  
6.6.40.

38284

The Part of Canada in New Phases of ~~the~~ Warfare

*notes for broadcast*

The war has already passed through several phases: the Polish campaign, the submarine campaign, the menace of magnetic mines, the campaign in Norway, and the recent crushing of Holland and Belgium. At the moment our attention is focused on the great battle raging in north-eastern France. The next phase may be an attempt to invade England. It may be a campaign in the Mediterranean or in the Balkans. No one can say in what direction new outbreaks may come nor how far afield hostilities may spread. We have already seen how different warfare is today from warfare a quarter of a century ago; how rapidly the scene can change; how suddenly a terrible crisis can develop. In the face of the appalling uncertainties of the present it is essential that we view the whole conflict in its true perspective.

In the earlier phases of the war Canada had undertaken, apart from the measures for our own defence, to support the Allied cause in Europe to the utmost of our strength. The measures undertaken to that end, some of which I have outlined to you this evening, are unprecedented in their scale and have involved great risks for our own country. We shall continue to take great risks and to make great sacrifices, but we must be prepared, if need be, to face new situations involving far wider responsibilities than Canada has ever before assumed. We must not lose hope that

the Allied powers will stop the German advance in Europe, but we must be prepared, if necessary, to take up the challenge which Mr. Churchill threw down. We must be ready to carry on the struggle regardless of where war may spread; we must use our position as a bridge between the old world and the new; a bridge which must be held by, and for, the forces of freedom in this new world, in resisting the threat of tyranny and slavery from the old. Canada has served before as a bridge between the great free nations of the old world and the new; a bridge which has facilitated their co-operation. That bridge was never needed more than it will be in the months and the years before us.

Canada must also prepare herself, as the war enters upon new phases, to readjust her policies and her plans to meet new needs. We cannot allow all our effort to be directed to one spot at one time. We must be ready as a nation to meet threats from whatever direction they may come; to act more and more on our own responsibility as a people; to rely more and more on our own energy, and initiative, and resources. We must be prepared, even if other parts of the Commonwealth should temporarily be engulfed, to stand firm and keep the symbol of freedom aloft. We must cherish our unity as a nation and use the happy position which geography has given us to

gather our strength, first, to preserve liberty at home, and, next, to take our full share in regaining freedom for the world.

Our economic power must be increased, our resources mobilized and our utmost energy exerted. But above all we must maintain our courage in the face of adversity, our love of freedom and our faith in Canada.

First Draft

J.W.P.  
6.6.40.

D 38287

The Part of Canada in New Phases of ~~the~~ Warfare

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Our economic power must be increased, our resources mobilized and our utmost energy exerted. But above all we must maintain our courage in the face of adversity, our love of freedom and our faith in Canada.

First Draft

J. W. P.  
5.6.40.

D 38290

Need of Unity in the Crisis

I should like to remind you of the spirit in which Canada entered upon the present struggle. We took up the grim task solemnly with determination and with a unity of purpose unsurpassed in our history. The unity of the country was reflected in the unanimity of Parliament. That unity was not the result of the moment. It was the fruit of long and careful preparation in advance to meet the test of war, if it came.

We need that unity even more today than we needed it last September. Canada's war effort must remain the united effort of the whole Canadian people. Sectional, partisan and personal interests must give way to the national interest. The vast majority of Canadians, regardless of race, creed, or class are ready and eager to contribute their full share to a united national effort. We need all our energies for the prosecution of this struggle; we have none to spare for internal dissention. The government is devoting all its energy to the mobilization, in the most effective manner, of our resources. We need the help of every Canadian.

First Draft

D 38291

J.W.P.  
5.6.40

Need of Confidence

~~Sentiment~~

No words are too strong to condemn the action of those who, at such a time, have sought to exploit the intense feelings of our people to secure personal or party ends. I regret that such attempts have not been entirely lacking. Even before the government had the opportunity to place its record before Parliament, or to announce what measures were being taken to meet the emergent situation, a campaign was begun by some of the same men who were repudiated by the people of Canada to undermine confidence in the government and particularly in myself.

The government has now had the opportunity of placing its war record before Parliament. We have informed Parliament of such of the emergency measures taken since May 10th as can safely be disclosed without advantage to the enemy. I intend briefly to review that record and to recount those measures to you.

First however a word about the importance of maintaining confidence. At no time in our history was there greater need of confidence in the administration of our country. The present administration recently received the greatest vote of confidence ever given to

any government

any government in our history. No charge has been made, no argument advanced since we received that mandate which was not used in the campaign. This is no time to revive dead issues. Attempts to shake confidence for the sake of political change or to serve personal ambitions are nothing more nor less than attempts to sabotage Canada's war effort. It is the constant purpose of the Nazi propagandists to undermine confidence in the administrations of the allied powers and those who lend themselves to those efforts are, consciously or unconsciously, furthering the purpose of the enemy.

Broadcast by the Prime Minister

June 7, 1940

Fellow Canadians:

I speak to you to-night in the midst of the most crowded weeks in human history. Barely a month has passed since Holland and Belgium were first ravaged by lightning warfare in all its fury and frightfulness. Every succeeding day since their first heroic resistance has brought new shocks, new problems, and new duties to those in whose hands has been placed the task of defending freedom.

The brutal domination of Holland, the tragic surrender of Belgium, the invasion of France, the capture of the channel ports, have happened in such quick succession that the world has hardly had time to breathe. Today, Britain, no longer in island security, prepares to meet the invader across the narrow sea. At this very hour, the greatest of all battles in history is being waged within 70 miles of the city of Paris. On its outcome may depend the future of France.

As the world has been shaken to its foundations by the swift march of terrible events, nearly every emotion in the heart of each one of us has been profoundly stirred. Hate for the inhuman oppressor, pity for the helpless and

the homeless

the homeless, pride for the brotherhood of the brave who have honoured the lands of Britain and France that gave them birth.

One crisis has not passed before another has arisen in its place. Peril has been heaped upon peril. Who will say on what new horizon destruction may not loom tomorrow?

Is it any wonder that you, my fellow citizens, have in these days been concerned and impatient, full of questionings and doubts. You would not be men and women if you had not been thus harassed and distracted. No one could have British or French blood in his veins and know, as we in Canada know, what Britain and France mean to the cause of free men, without having his nature stirred to its very depths by all these things.

You have rightly been asking what has been done, and is being done, to help the cause to which we have freely pledged our honour and our strength. It is only natural that you should be worried about our fighting forces, about aeroplanes and equipment. It is only natural, too, that you should be anxious about our internal security.

I intend tonight to speak of these things. I

do not propose

do not propose to apologize for democracy nor to direct my attention to criticisms. We cannot have the one without the other. My purpose rather is to endeavour to help you if I can, amid all these swift changes in the scene in Europe to see the conflict in its true perspective, and with the conflict in its true perspective, the war effort of our own country. Unless we are to abandon altogether the basis upon which we have proceeded from the outset, our war effort must be kept properly related in time, nature and place, to that of the allied powers.

We must never forget that freely, and as one people, we entered this war. As one nation we ranged ourselves on the side of freedom. As one nation we fight today, and as one nation we will fight to the end.

To help you gain a true perspective, may I remind you that the war itself did not commence until September last. Nine months have not yet passed ~~also~~ since Parliament authorized expenditures for active participation in the war, and in particular for co-operation <sup>by</sup> in Canada with the allied powers in the theatres of war in Europe.

As regards the war, there are three periods which may be considered as separate and distinct. There

was the first period

was the first period; ~~of~~ what I might call the shadow of war, during which time there was still a hope for peace. Within that period the democratic nations worked for peace. While they worked for peace, they also prepared for war. If they had not worked for peace, they would have been accused of precipitating war, not only by the present enemies of democracy, but also by their own people. They prepared for war later and more slowly than their enemies. Their final preparations had necessarily to await the hour that would gain for them the sanction of their parliaments. That hour came to Canada with the calling of the special session of our parliament.

There begins the second period. The very strength of democracy in peace time became in some measure a handicap in war-time, and in preparations for war-time. When the shadow had deepened, the storm broke and war began, Britain and France believed <sup>at that time</sup> that the war would be long. They still believe that they were right in that belief. They planned for at least a three-year war; four years were mentioned as a possibility. Hitler doubtless knows that he can only win a short war. Britain and France knew that they could only win a long war. They asked us to join with them in planning for a long war. Our

6 first effort, therefore, while designed to make the greatest possible contribution at the beginning, was also planned so that, from month to month, man-power would ~~grow~~ grow, until at the critical time when accumulated strength became the decisive factor, it would be available to ensure victory.

The Third period is that of the Blitzkrieg -- lightning war, as it is expressed in English. It accords with the plan which Hitler has all along had in mind. Save by those possessed of gangster instincts, its possibility could never have been conceived. It aims to bring, one by one, under the iron heel of Nazi Germany, nation after nation, whether neutral or belligerent, by methods of terrorism and barbarism unparalleled in warfare throughout the ages. This ~~element~~ <sup>element</sup> of surprises is all-important. The process was under way before the invasion of Poland. It began with the invasion of Austria and Czechoslovakia. It resulted in the destruction of Poland; it has been only too manifest in the conquest of Denmark and Norway, of Holland and Belgium. It is now seeking by lightning strokes to conquer France and Britain.

7 These two countries have been taken by surprise; not so much by sudden attack upon themselves -- sudden attack was expected at the commencement of the war. The surprise has come by the swiftness, the magnitude and the ferocity of

the events that preceded them. No part of the world has been shocked by these tragic happenings more than this continent. The loyalty of neutral nations to international law became the weapon with which a treacherous enemy struck at their hearts. They had been sacrificed on the altar of their own neutrality.

The lightning war in Europe has forced Britain and France to view the whole situation in a different perspective. Their plans, and with them, our plans, have had to be changed, and quickened in the light of new and appalling developments. Contributions of men, machines and material have had to be hastened. Daily improvisations have become necessary and have been made. The movements of men and ships have had to be altered. Large additional sums of money have had to be found.

It is, I fear, only too true that the magnitude and speed of action, the immensity of the changes in the military situation, and the unparalleled horrors of the conflict have all but destroyed our sense of time. It is difficult to realize that a month has not yet elapsed since Holland and Belgium were invaded. The heroic resistance of these small nations to the German onslaught, and the magnificent response of Britain and France to

their appeal for aid were absorbing the attention of the people of Canada when, just a week later, our new parliament met.

As we watched the spectacle of the German forces crushing Holland and Belgium under the full might of concentrated warfare, it was inevitable that an unparalleled intensity of feeling should develop throughout the country. There developed equally naturally a tendency to measure our Canadian war effort in terms, not of long-range and carefully laid plans, but in terms of the terrible emergency of the moment. The unexpected rapidity with which the Nazi forces carried out their destructive advance naturally increased the tension and added to an impatient if natural desire for additional immediate action.

The dramatic events in Europe seemed to obscure what Canada had done, and was doing to prosecute the war; they also enhanced the difficulty of presenting to Parliament and the people a clear picture of our war effort.

As was to be expected, there was an insistent demand that the government should "speed up" its war effort to meet the new situation. At that very time, the government itself was throwing its full energy into adapting our organization and adjusting our plans to

conform to

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conform to the swiftly changing scene in Europe. It was impossible to decide upon changes of plans until accurate information could be secured from the battle front. When decisions were reached, some of them, for military reasons, could not be announced immediately. Some have not been, and can not yet be made public.

I should like to stress that everything that has been done recently has been accomplished in the time it has because ~~that~~ the foundations of our war effort were well and truly laid. Many of the measures recently announced could not have been taken earlier, because the circumstances did not then call for emergency action of the character recently undertaken. Terrible risks must be taken to meet the present crisis - and Canada is sharing those risks - but we must beware of adding to necessary risks, the needless risk of abandoning plans to face a long and bitter struggle in which staying power will, in the end, be decisive. To allow our passionate feeling to degenerate into unreasoning hysteria would be fatal to Canada's war effort and a grave injury to the allied cause. You have heard something in the last few days of what has been done to meet the terrible emergency. It could only be disclosed in instalments, and sometimes not at all. Many things must still remain secret. All disclosures must be

made at a time

made at a time when they suit the allied needs. I could not tell Parliament and people, for example, of General McNaughton's visit to the front and of the preparation for our troops to embark for France, until the story of the epic achievement of the evacuation of Dunkirk was made known to the world. I could not tell of the despatch of our destroyers to England, until after they had arrived in British waters. Unfortunately, we have been and still are often precluded from saying a word of what we had been asked to do, and of what, in fact, we had done and were doing.

It may help to bring home to you all, a fuller appreciation of what has actually been accomplished if I summarize some of the results in terms of men, equipment and supply.

I should like, however, first to give you this solemn assurance. We offered to the allies, in the name of the people of Canada, all the additional assistance in our power to help them to deal with the recent emergency. We have made no restrictions. What we could do and have done, what we can produce, what we can manufacture, has been placed at their disposal to the utmost limit of our capacity and strength. They have asked us to do a number of things. We have sought to do each one of them promptly, completely, and without qualification. We have, on our own account, made additional offers and suggestions. Many of them have been accepted.

In the Army

In the Army, when Belgium and Holland were invaded, we had 81,519 men of all ranks. We had one Division, with its ancillary troops, trained and equipped with motorized units on active service in England. Twenty-three thousand young Canadians were ready for embarkation to Norway or to Flanders whenever the word came from the Allied High Command.

A second Division of men, with necessary auxiliaries, amounting in all to 24,000 men, were completing their Canadian training.

Strategic areas in Newfoundland were defended by this country's soldiers.

When the "Blitzkrieg", Hitler's lightning war began, we advanced the date of the despatch of our second Division. We did likewise with all reinforcements for the first Division, who had not proceeded to England. We speeded the recruiting of reinforcements for the second Division. We undertook the formation of a Canadian corps in the field and provided the necessary corps troops. We decided to raise a third Division. The units have been announced, and recruiting has begun.

We formed a Veterans' Home Guard for the defence of our internal security, and have authorized the establishment of additional veterans' reserves. We undertook to raise rifle battalions for a fourth Division. We have established a special training course for officers, and veteran officers.

Canadian soldiers are today also on active duty in the West Indies and the North Atlantic.

In the Navy, we began the month of May with 6,614 officers and ratings, including 125 officers and 100 ratings serving in the British Navy.

We had 94 vessels in commission.

We had 90 vessels under construction.

Our ships operated on both coasts, in West Indian waters, and convoyed ships from our shores and protected our harbours.

Since the course of the war changed, with the shock of un contemplated suddenness, we have ordered the recruitment of 4,900 additional men. Every shipyard now works to capacity. And today, by one of those strange changes of fate and fortune, our destroyers, willingly

repaying a small part of an ancient debt, are helping to guard the shores of Britain, and watch with increasing vigilance for those who would violate her island freedom. I bade them Godspeed when they left with the same pride with which you and the people of Britain greeted their arrival.

Our Navy is a young navy. It has inherited great traditions; it is helping to create them.

18  
/

The Royal Canadian Air Force had no existence during the last war. At the beginning of May, it had a strength of 12,315 men. We had nine squadrons for home defence, one army cooperation squadron overseas, another completing its training in Canada, and reinforcements continuously preparing for active service in the Army Cooperation School.'

The Commonwealth Air Training Plan was proceeding in magnitude, training, and time in accordance with the predetermined plan.

The Nazis struck with all their power. Their swift advance was made possible by their numerical superiority in the air. We immediately sent overseas No. 112 Army Cooperation Squadron. We called up for immediate service 5,000 recruits for the Royal Canadian Air Force. We undertook to despatch overseas a fighter squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Force. We appointed a Minister to devote his entire time and attention to National Defence for Air.

We have hastened the construction of air fields and hangars a year earlier than the time fixed under the Commonwealth plan.

- 14 -

We have sent overseas a number of pilots recently graduated from Camp Borden, who were intended to be used as instructors. Many of our own aeroplanes were sent to Britain. Aeroplanes of British manufacture, ordered five months before the outbreak of war, for our own Air Force, and which in the month of ~~war~~<sup>May</sup> were on their way out of Canada, were, on our own instructions, stopped in mid-ocean and returned to Britain.

It has been stated that the Commonwealth Air Training Plan will be abandoned or postponed because of these changes. This is not true. It will yet be a decisive instrument of victory.

Of money, I will say no more than that the present appropriation for war purposes alone is \$2,000,000 a day, an amount which will necessarily be increased as we continue to seek to meet exceptional needs.

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa, 10/6/40

Lanoue Home

This belongs with the  
Prime Minister's papers  
on the broadcast last  
Friday SWP

D38307

ROYAL CANADIAN AIR FORCE

Situation as at May 10th:

A personnel strength of 12,315 all ranks.

A home defence establishment of nine squadrons.

One army co-operation squadron overseas, another completing training in Canada, with reinforcements being trained continuously in the Army Co-operation School.

Air Training Plan

Development proceeding according to schedule.

Aircraft being received and personnel enlisted as planned.

Some twenty units, called for under the plan, established and in operation, including the four training command headquarters, the two manning depots, eleven schools and three equipment and repair depots.

Some twenty recruiting centres in operation throughout the country.

Emergency measures adopted since May 10:

Immediate despatch overseas of Number 112 Army Co-operation Squadron.

The calling up for service immediately of some 5,000 recruits for the R.C.A.F., providing them with basic

training before their absorption into the training scheme itself.

Undertook to despatch overseas very shortly a fighter squadron of the R.C.A.F.

Immediate despatch overseas of a number of pilots recently graduated from Camp Borden who were intended as instructors for the training plan.

Sent overseas certain aircraft of the R.C.A.F. in Canada and returned certain aircraft being sent to Canada by the United Kingdom and diverted to the R.A.F. certain other planes being manufactured in Canada for the R.C.A.F.

Established a separate Minister of National Defence for Air.

Appointed Air Vice Marshal Croil to be Inspector General of Air Forces, and Air Commodore Breadner Chief of Air Staff.

D 38309

May 31, 1940

Re: Radio broadcast

To stress the need of Canadian unity again.

I believe that under all this froth, the  
great body of the people are standing for unity.

I am prepared to go on.

---

You cannot grow "wheat" when you sow the seeds  
of "tares".

PRESS CLIPPINGS

38310

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date JUN 8 1940

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

**Mackenzie King  
Speaks**

Following are excerpts from Prime Minister Mackenzie King's speech over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation last night:

If new enemies oppose us we may be sure that old and new friends will arise to help us. The world-wide significance of the conflict is being realized in every land. You know how earnestly and vigorously the President of the United States has spoken in the name of humanity.

Every fort in Canada will be another Calais, and every harbor will be another Dunkerque, before the men and women of our land allow the light and the life of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the powers of evil, or yield their liberties to the tyranny of Nazi brutality.

Canada is called upon to accept a greater and higher responsibility. It was framed in living words by Mr. Churchill in his speech to the British House of Commons Tuesday last.

All is not dark in the skies above us. The first series of enemy gains will not end this war any more than it ended other wars in which British and French fought side by side.

Panic, disunity, dissension are the only enemies that can defeat us.

It (the Commonwealth air training plan) will yet be a decisive instrument of victory.

The coming phase (of the war) will witness operations in entirely new theaters of war. It will most certainly be marked by conflicts between nations that thus far have escaped or avoided hostilities.

The treachery that stabbed the neutral nations killed neutrality itself with the same fell blow.

To allow our passionate feelings to degenerate into unreasoning hysteria would be fatal to Canada's war effort and a grave injury to the Allied cause.

Strategic areas in Newfoundland were defended by this country's soldiers. . . .

Canadian soldiers are today . . . on active duty in the West Indies and North Atlantic.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

38311

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date JUN 8 1940

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

**KING PREDICTS  
AID OF 'FRIENDS'  
IF ITALY JOINS**

Recalls Roosevelt's Pronounce-  
ments 'in Name of Humanity'

ECHOES CHURCHILL CRY

Premier Says Canada Ac-  
cepts New Responsibilities  
and Will Never Surrender

(Gazette Resident Correspondent.)

Ottawa, June 7.—"If new enemies oppose us we may be sure that old and new friends will arise to help us," declared Prime Minister Mackenzie King tonight in a radio address broadcast across Canada.

Mr. King pictured the fresh challenge to the resources of the democracies that might come with the addition of another foe, although he made no mention of Italy by name. Then he referred to Prime Minister Churchill's prediction that the New World would carry on the battle if the Allies met with reverses and said, "Canada is called upon to accept a greater and higher responsibility, and this nation with all the strength of its youth, the wealth of its resources and the idealism of its freedom will proudly accept its new responsibility."

"The worldwide significance" of the present war is being realized in every land, the Prime Minister said. He recalled how "earnestly and vigorously the President of the United States has spoken in the name of humanity." Against Hitler, Mr. King declared, the conscience of the civilized world is becoming arrayed and he added that "tyranny will long remember the power of that conscience."

VOWS NO SURRENDER.

The Prime Minister hurled proud defiance at the enemy. He reminded his listeners of the deeds of "the bravest men in the world" at Dunkerque and Calais and added:

"I speak the heart and mind of our country when I say that every port in Canada will be another Calais and every harbor another Dunkerque before the men and women of our land allow the light and the life of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the powers of evil or yield their liberties to the tyranny of Nazi brutality."

Mr. King warned his hearers that "at this very hour the greatest of all battles in history is being waged within 70 miles of the city of Paris, and on its outcome may depend the future of France," but he reminded them that the element of surprise had now been spent and there should be no longer any real cause for alarm.

Because of the swiftness of enemy movements it had been necessary for the Allied forces to change their plans as swiftly. "Daily improvisations have become necessary and have been made," he said. "The movements of men and ships have had to be altered. Large additional sums of money have had to be found."

It was natural, the Prime Minister admitted, that there should be a demand from Canadians that this country's war effort be speeded but he said that at the very time of these demands "the Government itself was throwing its full energy into adapting our organization and adjusting our plans to conform to the swiftly changing scene in Europe. Some decisions that were reached have been revealed, some have not been and cannot be yet made public."

ALLIES ALTER PLANS.

Mr. King explained that the Allies had prepared for a long war and that Canada's preparations in the early stages of the conflict had been integrated with those of Britain and France. Hitler, however, had laid his plans for a short war and when the blitzkrieg began with the invasion of the Low Countries the Allied schedules had to be altered.

Canada had changed its plans as quickly as possible, he assured the nation, and had taken steps to speed the contribution of men, materials and machines.

"Many of the measures recently announced could not have been taken earlier," Mr. King declared, "because the circumstances did not then call for emergency action of the character recently undertaken."

Terrible risks must be taken to meet the present crisis and Canada is sharing those risks. But we must beware of adding to necessary risks the needless risk of abandoning plans to face a long and bitter struggle in which staying power will in the end be decisive."

"We offered to the Allies, in the name of Canada, all the additional assistance in our power to help them to deal with the present emergency," Mr. King assured the people. "We have made no restrictions. What we could do and have done, what we can produce, what we can manufacture has been placed at their disposal to the utmost limit of our capacity and strength. They have asked us to do a number of things. We have sought to do each of them promptly, completely and without qualification. We have, on our account, made additional offers and suggestions. Many of them have been accepted."

Mr. King then reviewed the expansion of the military, naval and air efforts, and, referring to the Commonwealth Air Training Plan, said, "We have hastened the construction of air fields and hangars a year earlier than the time fixed under the plan." He denied reports that the training plan would be abandoned or postponed because of these changes. "It will yet be a decisive instrument of victory," he said.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 38312

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date JUN 8 1940

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## Pointed Phrases In King Speech

If new enemies oppose us we may be sure that old and new friends will arise to help us. The world-wide significance of the conflict is being realized in every land. You know how earnestly and vigorously the President of the United States has spoken in the name of humanity.

Every fort in Canada will be another Calais, and every harbor will be another Dunkerque, before the men and women of our land allow the light and the life of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the powers of evil, or yield their liberties to the tyranny of Nazi brutality.

**Canada is called upon to accept a greater and higher responsibility. It was framed in living words by Mr. Churchill in his speech to the British House of Commons Tuesday last.**

All is not dark in the skies above us. The first series of enemy gains will not end this war any more than it ended other wars in which British and French fought side by side.

Panic, disunity, dissension are the only enemies that can defeat us.

**It (the Commonwealth Air Training Plan) will yet be a decisive instrument of victory.**

The coming phase (of the war) will witness operations in entirely new theatres of war. It will most certainly be marked by conflicts between nations that thus far have escaped or avoided hostilities.

The treachery that stabbed the neutral nations killed neutrality itself with the same fell blow.

**To allow our passionate feelings to degenerate into unreasoning hysteria would be fatal to Canada's war effort and a grave injury to the Allied cause.**

Strategic areas in Newfoundland were defended by this country's soldiers. . . .

Canadian soldiers are today . . . on active duty in the West Indies and North Atlantic.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

38313

Office of  
Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date June 8/40

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## EVERY FORT TO BE CALAIS MR. KING SAYS OF CANADA

War Effort Quickened Long  
Before Public Demand,  
Says Premier

### NEW FOE, NEW ALLY

By H. R. ARMSTRONG

Ottawa, June 8.—"Every fort in Canada will be another Calais and every harbor another Dunkirk before the men and women of our land allow the life of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the powers of evil or yield their liberties to the tyranny of Nazi brutality." So, in ringing tones, did Prime Minister Mackenzie King conclude a broadcast to the Canadian people last night.

Other nations will soon be in the war, the prime minister said, "but if new enemies oppose us we may be sure that old and new friends will arise to help us." He reminded how "earnestly and vigorously" President Roosevelt recently spoke in the name of humanity on the issues of war.

"Wanton brutality has transformed isolation of outlook and neutrality in thought into mere empty words," the prime minister said. "The treachery that stabbed neutral nations killed neutrality itself in the same foul blow.

"Everything the Allies had asked, Canada had done promptly, completely and without reserve. The Canadian government, beyond that, has made additional offers and suggestions, many of which had been accepted and are being carried out," he said.

Even before the public began to demand it, the government had well under way the enlargement of the Dominion effort, he said.

Denying that, in giving urgent air aid to Britain now, the Empire air plan had been abandoned, the prime minister predicted the project would be "a decisive instrument of victory."

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Star

D 38314

Date June 8/40

Subject

## *Text of Premier King's Speech On War Effort of Dominion*

OTTAWA, June 8—(C.P.)—Following is text of Premier Mackenzie King's speech last night over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation:

Fellow Canadians:

I speak to you tonight in the midst of the most crowded weeks in human history. Barely a month has passed since Holland and Belgium were first ravaged by lightning warfare in all its fury and frightfulness. Every succeeding day since their first heroic resistance has brought new shocks, new problems, and new duties to those in whose hands has been placed the task of defending freedom.

The brutal domination of Holland, the tragic surrender of Belgium, the invasion of France, the capture of the Channel ports, have happened in such quick succession that the world has hardly had time to breathe. Today, Britain, no longer in island security, prepares to meet the invader across the narrow sea. At this very hour, the greatest of all battles in history is being waged within 70 miles of the city of Paris. On its outcome may depend the future of France.

As the world has been shaken to its foundations by the swift march of terrible events, nearly every emotion in the heart of each one of us has been profoundly stirred. Hate for the inhuman oppressor, pity for the helpless and the homeless, pride for the brotherhood of the brave who have honored the lands of Britain and France that gave their birth.

One crisis had not passed before another has arisen in its place. Peril has been heaped upon peril. Who will say on what new horizon destruction may not loom tomorrow?

Is it any wonder that you, my fellow citizens, have in these days been concerned and impatient, full of questionings and doubts? You would not be men and women if you had not been thus harassed and distracted.

### Queries Answered

You have rightly been asking what has been done, and is being done, to help the cause to which we have freely pledged our honor and our strength. It is only natural that you should be worried about our fighting forces, about airplanes and equipment. It is only natural, too, that you should be anxious about our internal security.

I intend tonight to speak of these things. I do not propose to apologize for democracy nor to direct my attention to criticisms. We cannot have the one without the other. My purpose rather is to endeavor to help you if I can, amid all these swift changes in the scene in Europe to see the conflict in its true perspective, and with the conflict in its true perspective, the war effort of our own country. Unless we are to abandon altogether the basis

upon which we have proceeded from the outset, our war effort must be kept properly related in time, nature and place, to that of the Allied powers.

We must never forget that freely, and as one people, we entered this war. As one nation we ranged ourselves on the side of freedom. As one nation we fight today, and as one nation we will fight to the end.

To help you gain a true perspective, may I remind you that the war itself did not commence until September last. Nine months have not yet passed since Parliament authorized expenditures for active participation in the war, and in particular for co-operation in Canada with the Allied powers in the theatres of war in Europe.

As regards the war, there are three periods which may be considered as separate and distinct. There was the first period of what I might call the shadow of war, during which time there was still a hope for peace.

While they worked for peace, they also prepared for war. If they had not worked for peace, they would have been accused of precipitating war, not only by the present enemies of democracy, but also by their own people.

They prepared for war later and more slowly than their enemies. Their final preparations had necessarily to await the hour that would gain for them the sanction of their parliaments.

That hour came to Canada with the calling of the special session of our Parliament.

### Long War Planned

There begins the second period. The very strength of democracy in peace time became in some measure a handicap in war-time, and in preparations for war-time. When the shadow had deepened, the storm broke and war began, Britain and France believed that the war would be long. They still believe that they were right in that belief. They planned for at least a three-year war; four years were mentioned as a possibility. Hitler doubtless knows that he can only win a short war. Britain and France knew that they could only win a long war. They asked us to join with them in planning for a long war. Our first effort, therefore, while designed to make the greatest possible contribution at the beginning, was also planned so that, from month to month, man-power would grow, production would grow, output of munitions and supplies would grow, until at the critical time when accumulated strength became the decisive factor, it would be available to ensure victory.

The third period is that of the blitzkrieg—lightning war, as it is expressed in English. It accords with the plan which Hitler had all along in mind. Save by those possessed of gangster instincts, its possibility could never have been conceived.

It aims to bring, one by one, under the iron heel of Nazi Germany, nation after nation, whether neutral or belligerent, by methods of terrorism and barbarism unparalleled in warfare throughout the ages. This element of surprise is all-important. The process was under way before the invasion of Poland. It began with the invasion of Austria and Czecho-Slovakia. It resulted in the destruction of Poland; it has been only too manifest in the conquest of Denmark and Norway, of Holland and Belgium. It is now seeking by lightning strokes to conquer France and Britain.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Star

38314

Date June 8/40

Subject

## Text of Premier King's Speech On War Effort of Dominion

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Today, Britain, no longer in  
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sea. At this very hour, the  
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is being waged within 70 miles  
of the city of Paris. On its out-  
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France.

As the world has been shaken  
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That hour came to Canada with  
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**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

38315

Office of

The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

These two countries have been taken by surprise; not so much by sudden attack upon themselves—sudden attack was expected at the commencement of the war. The surprise has come by the swiftness, the magnitude and the ferocity of the events that preceded them. No part of the world has been shocked by these tragic happenings more than this continent. The loyalty of neutral nations to international law became the weapon with which a treacherous enemy struck at their hearts. They had been sacrificed on the altar of their own neutrality.

### Perspective Changed

The lightning war in Europe has forced Britain and France to view the whole situation in a different perspective. Their plans, and with them, our plans, have had to be changed, and quickened in the light of new and appalling developments. Contributions of men, machines and material have had to be hastened. Daily improvisations have become necessary and have been made. The movements of men and ships have had to be altered. Large additional sums of money have had to be found.

It is, I fear, only too true that the magnitude and speed of action, the immensity of the changes in the military situation, and the unparalleled horrors of the conflict have all but destroyed our sense of time. It is difficult to realize that a month has not yet elapsed since Holland and Belgium were invaded. The heroic resistance of these small nations to the German onslaught, and the magnificent response of Britain and France to their appeal for aid were absorbing the attention of the people of Canada when, just a week later, our new Parliament met.

As we watched the spectacle of the German forces crushing Holland and Belgium under the full might of concentrated warfare, it was inevitable that an unparalleled intensity of feeling should develop throughout the country. There developed equally naturally a tendency to measure our Canadian war effort in terms, not of long-range and carefully laid plans, but in terms of the terrible emergency of the moment. The unexpected rapidity with which the Nazi forces carried out their destructive advance naturally increased the tension and added to an impatient if natural desire for additional immediate action.

The dramatic events in Europe seemed to obscure what Canada had done, and was doing to prosecute the war; they also enhanced the difficulty of presenting to Parliament and the people a clear picture of our war effort.

As was to be expected, there was an insistent demand that the Government should "speed up" its war effort to meet the new situation. At that very time, the Government itself was throwing

its full energy into adapting our organization and adjusting our plans to conform to the swiftly changing scene in Europe. It was impossible to decide upon changes of plans until accurate information could be secured from the battle front. When decisions were reached, some of them, for military reasons, could not be announced immediately. Some have not been, and can not yet be made public.

### Secrecy Necessary

I should like to stress that everything that has been done recently has been accomplished in the time it has because the foundations of our war effort were well and truly laid. Many of the measures recently announced could not have been taken earlier, because the circumstances did not then call for emergency action of the character recently undertaken. Terrible risks must be taken to meet the present crisis—and Canada is sharing those risks—but we must beware of adding to necessary risks, the needless risk of abandoning plans to face a long and bitter struggle in which staying power will, in the end, be decisive.

To allow our passionate feeling to degenerate into unreasoning hysteria would be fatal to Canada's war effort and a grave injury to the Allied cause. You have heard something in the last few days of what has been done to meet the terrible emergency. It could only be disclosed in instalments, and sometimes not at all. Many things must still remain secret. All disclosures must be made at a time when they suit the Allied needs. I could not tell Parliament and people, for example, of General McNaughton's visit to the front and of the preparation for our troops to embark for France, until the story of the epic achievement of the evacuation of Dunkirk was made known to the world. I could not tell of the dispatch of our destroyers to England, until after they had arrived in British waters. Unfortunately, we have been and still are often precluded from saying a word or what we had been

asked to do, and of what, in fact, we had done and were doing.

It may help to bring home to you all, a fuller appreciation of what has actually been accomplished if I summarize some of the results in terms of men, equipment and supply.

I should like, however, first to give you this solemn assurance. We offered to the Allies, in the name of the people of Canada, all the additional assistance in our power to help them to deal with the recent emergency. We have made no restrictions. What we could do and have done, what we can produce, what we can manufacture, has been placed at their disposal to the utmost limit of our capacity and strength. They have asked us to do a number of things. We have sought to do each one of them promptly, completely, and without qualification. We have, on our own account, made additional offers and suggestions. Many of them have been accepted.

### Army Increased

In the army, when Belgium and Holland were invaded, we had 81,519 men of all ranks. We had one division, with its ancillary troops, trained and equipped with motorized units on active service in England. Twenty-three thousand young Canadians were ready for embarkation to Norway or to Flanders whenever the word came from the Allied High Command.

A 2nd Division of men, with necessary auxiliaries, amounting in all to 24,000 men, were completing their Canadian training.

Strategic areas in Newfoundland were defended by this country's soldiers.

When the "blitzkrieg," Hitler's lightning war began, we advanced the date of the dispatch of our 2nd Division. We did likewise with all reinforcements for the 1st Division, who had not proceeded to England. We speeded the reinforcements for the 2nd Division. We undertook the formation of a Canadian Corps in the field and provided the necessary corps troops. We decided to raise a 3rd Division. The units have been announced and recruiting has begun.

We formed a veteran's Home Guard for the defence of our internal security, and have authorized the establishment of additional veteran units. We undertook to raise rifle battalions for a 4th Division. We have established a special training course for officers and veteran officers.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of

38315 The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

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It may help to bring home to you all, a fuller appreciation of what has actually been accomplished if I summarize some of the results in terms of men, equipment and supply.

I should like, however, first to give you this solemn assurance. We offered to the Allies, in the name of the people of Canada, all the additional assistance in our power to help them to deal with the recent emergency. We have made no restrictions. What we could do and have done, what we can produce, what we can manufacture, has been placed at their disposal to the utmost limit of our capacity and strength. They have asked us to do a number of things. We have sought to do each one of them promptly, completely, and without qualification. We have, on our own account, made additional offers and suggestions. Many of them have been accepted.

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**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of

38316 The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

Canadian soldiers are today also on active duty in the West Indies and the North Atlantic.

In the Navy, we began the month of May with 6,614 officers and ratings, including 125 officers and ratings, including 125 officers and ratings serving in the British Navy. We had 94 vessels in commission.

We had 90 vessels under construction.

## Both Coasts Guarded

Our ships operated on both coasts, in West Indian waters, and convoyed ships from our shores and protected our harbors.

Since the course of the war changed, with the shock of un- contemplated suddenness, we have ordered the recruitment of 4,900 additional men. Every shipyard now works to capacity. And today, by one of those strange changes of fate and fortune, our destroyers, willingly repaying a small part of an ancient debt, are helping to guard the shores of Britain, and watch with increasing vigilance for those who would violate her island freedom. I bade them Godspeed when they left with the same pride with which you and the people of Britain greeted their arrival.

Our Navy is a young navy. It has inherited great traditions; it is helping to create them.

The Royal Canadian Air Force had no existence during the last war. At the beginning of May, it had a strength of 12,315 men. We had nine squadrons for home defence, one army co-operation squadron overseas, another completing its training in Canada, and reinforcements continuously

preparing for active service in the Army co-operation school.

The Commonwealth Air Training plan was proceeding in magnitude, training, and time in accordance with the predetermined plan.

The Nazis struck with all their power. Their swift advance was made possible by their numerical superiority in the air. We immediately sent overseas No. 112 Army Co-operation Squadron. We called up for immediate service 5,000 recruits for the Royal Canadian Air Force. We undertook to dispatch overseas a fighter squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Force. We appointed a Minister to devote his entire time and attention to national defence for air.

## Program

We have hastened the construction of air fields and hangars a year earlier than the time fixed under the Commonwealth plan.

We have sent overseas a number of pilots recently graduated from Camp Borden, who were intended to be used as instructors. Many of our own airplanes were sent to Britain. Airplanes of British manufacture, ordered five months before the outbreak of war, for our own Air Force, and which in the month of war were on their way out to Canada, were, on our own instructions, stopped in mid-ocean and returned to Britain.

It has been stated that the Commonwealth Air training plan will be abandoned or postponed because of these changes. This is not true. It will yet be a decisive instrument of victory.

Of money, I will say no more than that the present appropriation for war purposes alone is \$2,000,000 a day, an amount which will necessarily be increased as we continue to seek to meet exceptional needs.

I have told you these things because it is difficult amid all the news and distractions of war, for anyone in Canada to obtain a clear picture at one time of what is being done to meet the situation.

The Government is devoting all its energy, and marshalling all resources to meet the threat to our liberty. We need your confidence. We need the constructive help of every Canadian. In steadfastness and courage remains the hope of human liberty. Panic, dissension, disunity, are the only enemies that can defeat us.

## Confidence Voiced

All is not dark in the skies above us. The first series of enemy gains will not end this war, any more than it ended other wars in which the British and French peoples have fought side by side. The enemy's tactics, his weapons, his strength are now known. They surprised us. They will not defeat us.

In the light of all that is known of the situation as it is shaping itself in Europe today, I feel I would not be doing my full duty at this time, if I did not speak of other dangers which threaten.

I began by distinguishing three phases of the war. It is difficult to believe that we are not at this moment at the beginning of a fourth phase. Our attention from the outset has been directed to Germany as the sole enemy, and to her effort to destroy Britain and France.

The coming phase will witness operations in entirely new theatres of war. It will most certainly be marked by conflict between nations that thus far have escaped or avoided hostilities. How sudden or how extensive these new developments may be, no one can say.

What I wish to make clear is, that if at any moment we learn that fresh hostilities have broken out, on however terrible a scale, there is no reason why fresh fears should occasion undue alarm. We shall have, of course, to assess anew what may be necessary on our part to meet the demands of the new situation. New events will demand new measures, but we will do well to continue to keep the situation as a whole, in its true perspective.

## New Determination

While not under-estimating the dangers that threaten from other coasts and other seas, let us remember that against the perils of the present and the future are arrayed a new realization on the part of all free peoples of the nature of the conflict, and a new determination to spare no effort and no sacrifice in the indomitable will to conquer. If democracy lacked foresight and audacity in the past, as the Premier of France said yesterday, those days are over.

The German territorial advances contain within themselves elements of weakness. Economic blockade and contraband control can, and will, now be exercised with increasing and more effective pressure. Disregard for the strength and the ruthlessness of the enemy, lack of preparation to meet the demands of modern mechanized warfare, the suspense of waiting for an enemy who shrinks from no violation of right, and no manifestation of terror, all these things have passed away.

Discipline has come to us all, not from without, but from within. Wanton brutality has transformed isolation of outlook, and neutrality of heart, into mere empty words. The treachery that stabbed the neutral nations killed neutrality itself with the same fell blow.

If new enemies oppose us, we may be sure that old and new friends will arise to help us. The world-wide significance of the conflict is being realized in every land. You know how earnestly

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of

38316 The Prime Minister

Name of Publication

Date

Subject

Canadian soldiers are today also on active duty in the West Indies and the North Atlantic.

In the Navy, we began the month of May with 6,614 officers and ratings, including 125 officers and ratings, including 125 officers and 100 ratings serving in the British Navy.

We had 94 vessels in commission.

We had 90 vessels under construction.

## Both Coasts Guarded

Our ships operated on both coasts, in West Indian waters, and convoyed ships from our shores and protected our harbors.

Since the course of the war changed, with the shock of un-contemplated suddenness, we have ordered the recruitment of 4,900 additional men. Every shipyard now works to capacity. And today, by one of those strange changes of fate and fortune, our destroyers, willingly repaying a small part of an ancient debt, are helping to guard the shores of Britain, and watch with increasing vigilance for those who would violate her island freedom. I bade them Godspeed when they left with the same pride with which you and the people of Britain greeted their arrival.

Our Navy is a young navy. It has inherited great traditions; it is helping to create them.

The Royal Canadian Air Force had no existence during the last war. At the beginning of May, it had a strength of 12,315 men. We had nine squadrons for home defence, one army co-operation squadron overseas, another completing its training in Canada, and reinforcements continuously

preparing for active service in the Army co-operation school.

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The Nazis struck with all their power. Their swift advance was made possible by their numerical superiority in the air. We immediately sent overseas No. 112 Army Co-operation Squadron. We called up for immediate service 5,000 recruits for the Royal Canadian Air Force. We undertook to dispatch overseas a fighter squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Force. We appointed a Minister to devote his entire time and attention to national defence for air.

## Program Specified

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It has been stated that the Commonwealth Air training plan will be abandoned or postponed because of these changes. This is not true. It will yet be a decisive instrument of victory.

Of money, I will say no more than that the present appropriation for war purposes alone is \$2,000,000 a day, an amount which will necessarily be increased as we continue to seek to meet exceptional needs.

I have told you these things because it is difficult amid all the news and distractions of war, for anyone in Canada to obtain a clear picture at one time of what is being done to meet the situation.

The Government is devoting all its energy, and marshalling all resources to meet the threat to our liberty. We need your confidence. We need the constructive help of every Canadian. In steadfastness and courage remains the hope of human liberty. Panic, dissension, disunity, are the only enemies that can defeat us.

## Confidence Voiced

All is not dark in the skies above us. The first series of enemy gains will not end this war, any more than it ended other wars in which the British and French peoples have fought side by side. The enemy's tactics, his weapons, his strength are now known. They surprised us. They will not defeat us.

In the light of all that is known of the situation as it is shaping itself in Europe today, I feel I would not be doing my full duty at this time, if I did not speak of other dangers which threaten.

I began by distinguishing three phases of the war. It is difficult to believe that we are not at this moment at the beginning of a fourth phase. Our attention from the outset has been directed to Germany as the sole enemy, and to her effort to destroy Britain and France.

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**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

D 38317

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

and vigorously the President of the United States has spoken in the name of humanity. There has been mobilized in the cause of freedom, the conscience of the civilized world, and tyranny will long remember the power of that conscience, and the final effect of the world's condemnation upon the forces of evil.

### Higher Responsibility

Canada is called upon to accept a greater and higher responsibility. It was framed in living words by Mr. Churchill in his speech to the British House of Commons on Tuesday last. This nation with all the strength of its youth, the wealth of its resources, and the idealism of its freedom, will proudly accept its new responsibility. We are the bridge between the Old World and the New; the bridge which joins the new freedom of the North American Continent with the ancient freedom of Britain which gave it birth. We will stand resolute to defend its approaches and its abutments.

From the harbor of Dunkirk and from the citadel of Calais the bravest men in the world battled their way home to fight again for liberty and goodness and mercy.

To the making of Canada have come the same chivalry of France and the same gallantry of British which fashioned the glory of that triumph of heroism. I speak the heart and mind of our country when I say that every fort in Canada will be another Calais, and every harbor will be another Dunkirk, before the men and women of our land allow the light and the life of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the powers of evil, or yield their liberties to the tyranny of Nazi brutality.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

D 38318

Date JUN 8 1940

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## TEXT OF PRIME MINISTER KING'S

### BROADCAST

Ottawa, June 7.—(P)—Following is text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's speech tonight over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation:

Fellow Canadians:

I speak to you tonight in the midst of the most crowded weeks in human history. Barely a month has passed since Holland and Belgium were first ravaged by lightning warfare in all its fury and frightfulness. Every succeeding day since their first heroic resistance has brought new shocks, new problems, and new duties to those in whose hands has been placed the task of defending freedom.

The brutal domination of Holland, the tragic surrender of Belgium, the invasion of France, the capture of the Channel ports, have happened in such quick succession that the world has hardly had time to breathe. Today, Britain, no longer in island security, prepares to meet the invader across the narrow sea. At this very hour, the greatest of all battles in history is being waged within 70 miles of the city of Paris. On its outcome may depend the future of France.

As the world has been shaken to its foundations by the swift march of terrible events, nearly every emotion in the heart of each one of us has been profoundly stirred. Hate for the inhuman oppressor, pity for the helpless and the homeless, pride for the brotherhood of the brave who have honored the lands of Britain and France that gave them birth.

#### CRISES MULTIPLY.

One crisis has not passed before another has arisen in its place. Peril has been heaped upon peril. Who will say on what new horizon destruction may not loom tomorrow?

Is it any wonder that you, my fellow citizens, have in these days been concerned and impatient, full of questionings and doubts. You would not be men and women if you had not been thus harassed and distracted. No one could have British or French blood in his veins and know, as we in Canada know, what Britain and France mean to the cause of free men, without having his nature stirred to its depths by all these things.

You have rightly been asking what has been done, and is being done, to help the cause to which we have freely pledged our honor and our strength. It is only natural that you should be worried about our fighting forces, about airplanes and equipment. It is only natural, too, that you should be anxious about our internal security.

I intend tonight to speak of these things. I do not propose to apologize for democracy nor to direct my attention to criticisms. We cannot have the one without the other. My purpose rather is to endeavour to help you if I can, amid all these swift changes in the scene in Europe to see the conflict in its true perspective, and with the conflict in its true perspective, the war effort of our own country. Unless we are to abandon altogether the basis upon which we have proceeded from the outset, our war effort must be kept properly related in time, nature and place, to that of the Allied powers.

We must never forget that freely, and as one people, we entered this war. As one nation we ranged ourselves on the side of freedom. As one nation we fight today, and as one nation we will fight to the end.

#### TRACES DEVELOPMENTS.

To help you gain a true perspective, may I remind you that the war itself did not commence until September last. Nine months have not yet passed since Parliament authorized expenditures for active participation in the war, and in particular for co-operation in Canada with the Allied powers in the theatres of war in Europe.

As regards the war, there are three periods which may be considered as separate and distinct. There was the first period of what I might call the shadow of war, during which time there was still a hope for peace.

While they worked for peace, they also prepared for war. If they had not worked for peace, they would have been accused of precipitating war, not only by the present enemies of democracy, but also by their own people.

They prepared for war later and more slowly than their enemies. Their final preparations had necessarily to await the hour that would gain for them the sanction of their Parliaments. That hour came to Canada with the calling of the special session of our Parliament.

There begins the second period. The very strength of democracy in peace time became in some measure a handicap in war time, and in preparations for war time. When the shadow had deepened, the storm broke and war began. Britain and France believed that the war would be long. They still believe that they were right in that belief. They planned for at least a three-year war; four years were mentioned as a possibility. Hitler doubtless knows that he can only win a short war. Britain and France knew that they could only win a long war. They asked us to join with them in planning for a long war.

Our first effort, therefore, while designed to make the greatest possible contribution at the beginning, was also planned so that, from month to month, manpower would grow, production would grow, output of munitions and supplies would grow, until at the critical time when accumulated strength became the decisive factor, it would be available to ensure victory.

#### BLITZKRIEG BEGINS.

The third period is that of the blitzkrieg — lightning war, as it is expressed in English. It accords with the plan which Hitler had all along had in mind. Save by those possessed of gangster instincts, its possibility could never have been conceived.

It aims to bring, one by one, under the iron heel of Nazi Germany, nation after nation, whether neutral or belligerent, by methods of terrorism and barbarism unparalleled in warfare throughout the ages. This element of surprise is all-important. The process was under way before the invasion of Poland. It began with the invasion of Austria and Czechoslovakia. It resulted in the destruction of Poland; it has been only too manifest in the conquest of Denmark and Norway, of Holland and Belgium. It is now seeking by lightning

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
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D 38319

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strokes to conquer France and Britain.

These two countries have been taken by surprise; not so much by sudden attack upon themselves — sudden attack was expected at the commencement of the war. The surprise has come by the swiftness, the magnitude and the ferocity of the events that preceded them.

No part of the world has been shocked by these tragic happenings more than this continent. The loyalty of neutral nations to international law became the weapon with which a treacherous enemy struck at their hearts. They had been sacrificed on the altar of their own neutrality.

The lightning war in Europe has forced Britain and France to view the whole situation in a different perspective. Their plans, and with them, our plans, have had to be changed, and quickened in the light of new and appalling developments. Contributions of men, machines and material have had to be hastened. Daily improvisations have become necessary and have been made. The movements of men and ships have had to be altered. Large additional sums of money have had to be found.

#### SENSE OF TIME GONE.

It is, I fear, only too true that the magnitude and speed of action, the immensity of the changes in the military situation, and the unparalleled horrors of the conflict have all but destroyed our sense of time. It is difficult to realize that a month has not yet elapsed since Holland and Belgium were invaded. The heroic resistance of these small nations to the German onslaught, and the magnificent response of Britain and France to their appeal for aid were absorbing the attention of the people of Canada when, just a week later, our new Parliament met.

As we watched the spectacle of the German forces crushing Holland and Belgium under the full might of concentrated warfare, it was inevitable that an unparalleled intensity of feeling should develop throughout the country. There developed equally naturally a tendency to measure our Canadian war effort in terms, not of long-range and carefully laid plans, but in terms of the terrible emergency of the moment. The unexpected rapidity with which the Nazi forces carried out their destructive advance naturally increased the tension and added to an impatient if natural desire for additional immediate action.

The dramatic events in Europe seemed to obscure what Canada had done, and was doing to prosecute the war; they also enhanced the difficulty of presenting to Parliament and the people a clear picture of our war effort.

#### SOME DECISIONS SECRET.

As was to be expected, there was an insistent demand that the Government should "speed up" its war effort to meet the new situation. At the very time, the Government itself was throwing its full energy into adapting our organization and adjusting our plans to conform to the swiftly changing scene in Europe. It was impossible to decide upon changes of plans until accurate information could be secured from the battle front. When decisions were reached, some of them, for military reasons, could not be announced immediately. Some have not been, and can not yet be made public.

I should like to stress that everything that has been done recently has been accomplished in the time it has because the foundations of our war effort were well and truly laid. Many of the measures recently announced could not have been taken earlier, because the circumstances did not then call for emergency action of the character recently undertaken. Terrible risks must be taken to meet the present crisis—and Canada is sharing those risks—but we must beware of adding to necessary risks, the needless risk of abandoning plans to face a long and bitter struggle in which staying power will, in the end, be decisive.

To allow our passionate feeling to degenerate into unreasoning hysteria would be fatal to Canada's war effort and a grave injury to the Allied cause. You have heard something in the last few days of what has been done to meet the terrible emergency. It could only be disclosed in instalments, and sometimes not at all. Many things must still remain secret. All disclosures must be made at a time when they suit the Allied needs.

I could not tell Parliament and people, for example, of General McNaughton's visit to the front and of the preparation for our troops to embark for France, until the story of the epic achievement of the evacuation of Dunkerque was made known to the world. I could not tell of the despatch of our destroyers to England until after they had arrived in British waters. Unfortunately, we have been and still are often precluded from saying a word of what we had been asked to do, and of what, in fact, we had done and were doing.

#### TELLS WHAT WAS DONE.

It may help to bring home to you all a fuller appreciation of what has actually been accomplished if I summarize some of the results in terms of men, equipment and supply.

I should like, however, first to give you this solemn assurance. We offered to the Allies, in the name of the people of Canada, all the additional assistance in our power to help them to deal with the recent emergency. We have made no restrictions. What we could do and have done, what we can produce, what we can manufacture, has been placed at their disposal to the utmost limit of our capacity and strength. They have asked us to do a number of things. We have sought to do each one of them promptly, completely and without qualification. We have, on our own account, made additional offers and suggestions. Many of them have been accepted.

In the army, when Belgium and Holland were invaded, we had 81,519 men of all ranks. We had one division, with its ancillary troops, trained and equipped with motorized units on active service in England. Twenty-three thousand young Canadians were ready for embarkation to Norway or to Flanders whenever the word came from the Allied High Command.

A Second Division of men, with necessary auxiliaries, amounting

in all to 24,000 men, were completing their Canadian training.

Strategic areas in Newfoundland were defended by this country's soldiers.

When the "blitzkrieg," Hitler's lightning war began, we advanced the date of the despatch of our Second Division. We did likewise with all reinforcements for the First Division, who had not proceeded to England. We speeded the recruiting of reinforcements for the Second Division. We undertook the formation of a Canadian Corps in the field and provided the necessary corps troops. We decided to raise a Third Division. The units have been announced, and recruiting has begun.

#### HOME GUARD FORMED.

We formed a Veterans' Home Guard for the defence of our internal security, and have authorized the establishment of additional veterans' reserves. We undertook to raise rifle battalions for a Fourth Division. We have established a special training course for officers, and veteran officers.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

38320

Name of Publication \_\_\_\_\_

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Subject \_\_\_\_\_

Canadian soldiers are today also on active duty in the West Indies and the North Atlantic.

In the navy, we began the month of May with 6,614 officers and ratings, including 125 officers and 100 ratings serving in the British navy.

We had 94 vessels in commission.

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Our ships operated on both coasts, in West Indian waters, and convoyed ships from our shores and protected our harbors.

Since the course of the war changed, with the shock of un-  
contemplated suddenness, we have ordered the recruitment of 4,900 additional men. Every shipyard now works to capacity. And today, by one of those strange changes of fate and fortune, our destroyers' willingly repaying a small part of an ancient debt, are helping to guard the shores of Britain, and watch with increasing vigilance for those who would violate her island freedom. I bade them Godspeed when they left with the same pride with which you and the people of Britain greeted their arrival.

Our navy is a young navy. It has inherited great traditions: It is helping to create them.

The Royal Canadian Air Force had no existence during the last war. At the beginning of May, it had a strength of 12,315 men. We had a strength of 12,315 men. We fence, one army co-operation squadron overseas, another completing its training in Canada, and reinforcements continuously preparing for active service in the army co-operation school.

The Commonwealth Air Training Plan was proceeding in magnitude, training, and time in accordance with the predetermined plan.

#### AIR PLAN SPEEDED.

The Nazis struck with all their power. Their swift advance was made possible by their numerical superiority in the air. We immediately sent overseas No. 112 Army Co-operation Squadron. We called up for immediate service 5,000 recruits for the Royal Canadian Air Force. We undertook to despatch overseas a fighter squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Force. We appointed a Minister to devote his entire time and attention to national defence for air.

We have hastened the construction of air fields and hangars a year earlier than the time fixed under the Commonwealth plan.

We have sent overseas a number of pilots recently graduated from Camp Borden, who were intended to be used as instructors. Many of our own airplanes were sent to Britain. Airplanes of British manufacture, ordered five months before the outbreak of war for our own air force and which were on their way to Canada were, on our own instructions, stopped in mid-ocean and returned to Britain.

It has been stated that the Commonwealth Air Training Plan will be abandoned or postponed because of these changes. This is not true. It will yet be a decisive instrument of victory.

Of money, I will say no more than that the present appropriation for war purposes alone is \$2,000,000 a day, an amount which will necessarily be increased as we continue to seek to meet exceptional needs.

I have told you these things because it is difficult amid all the new distractions of war for anyone in Canada to obtain a clear picture at one time of what is being done to meet the situation.

The Government is devoting all its energy, and marshalling all resources to meet the threat to our liberty. We need your confidence. We need the constructive help of every Canadian. In steadfastness and courage remains the hope of human liberty. Panic, dissension, disunity, are the only enemies that can defeat us.

#### "ALL IS NOT DARK."

All is not dark in the skies above us. The first series of enemy gains will not end this war, any more than it ended other wars in which the British and French peoples have fought side by side. The enemy's tactics, his weapons, his strength are now known. They surprised us. They will not defeat us.

In the light of all that is known of the situation as it is shaping itself in Europe today, I feel I would not be doing my full duty at this time, if I did not speak of other dangers which threaten.

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While not under-estimating the dangers that threaten from other

coasts and other seas, let us remember that against the perils of the present and the future are arrayed a new realization on the part of all free peoples of the nature of the conflict, and a new determination to spare no effort and no sacrifice in the indomitable will to conquer. If democracy lacked foresight and audacity in the past, as the Premier of France said yesterday, those days are over.

#### BLOCKADE TIGHTER.

The German territorial advances contain within themselves elements of weakness. Economic blockade and contraband control can, and will now, be exercised with increasing and more effective pressure. Disregard for the strength and the ruthlessness of the enemy, lack of preparation to meet the demands of modern mechanized warfare, the suspense of waiting for an enemy who shrinks from no violation of right, and no manifestation of terror, all these things have passed away.

Discipline has come to us all, not from without, but from within. Wanton brutality has transformed isolation of outlook, and neutrality of heart, into mere empty words. The treachery that stabbed the neutral nations killed neutrality itself with the same fell blow.

If new enemies oppose us, we may be sure that old and new friends will arise to help us. The worldwide significance of the conflict is being realized in every land. You know how earnestly and vigorously the President of the United States has spoken in the name of humanity. There has been mobilized in the cause of freedom the conscience of the civilized world, and tyranny will long remember the power of that conscience, and the final effect of the world's condemnation upon the forces of evil.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister  
38321

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

Canada is called upon to accept a greater and higher responsibility. It was framed in living words by Mr. Churchill in his speech to the British House of Commons on Tuesday last. This nation with all the strength of its youth, the wealth of its resources, and the idealism of its freedom, will proudly accept its new responsibility. We are the bridge between the Old World and the New; the bridge which joins the new freedom of the North American Continent with the ancient freedom of Britain which gave it birth. We will stand resolute to defend its approaches and its abutments.

From the harbor of Dunkerque and from the citadel of Calais the bravest men in the world battled their way home to fight once again for liberty and goodness and mercy.

To the making of Canada have come the same chivalry of France and the same gallantry of British which fashioned the glory of that triumph of heroism. I speak the heart and mind of our country when I say that every fort in Canada will be another Calais and every harbor will be another Dunkerque before the men and women of our land allow the light and the life of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the powers of evil, or yield their liberties to the tyranny of Nazi brutality.

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Office of  
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38321

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**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date June 8/40

38322

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## ALL NEW WORLD'S STRENGTH TO SAVE OLD, KING DECLARES

Premier of Canada Makes  
Fighting Speech and Con-  
demns Nazi Brutality

### WAR IS LIGHTNING

#### Special to The Star

Ottawa, June 8.—"Every fort in Canada will be another Calais and every harbor will be another Dunkirk before the men and women of our land allow the light and the life of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the powers of evil, or yield their liberties to the tyranny of Nazi brutality," Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King said last night over a national radio hook-up.

The text of the prime minister's speech follows:

Fellow Canadians: I speak to you tonight in the midst of the most crowded weeks in human history. Barely a month has passed since Holland and Belgium were first ravaged by lightning warfare in all its fury and frightfulness. Every succeeding day since their first heroic resistance has brought new shocks, new problems, and new duties to those in whose hands has been placed the task of defending freedom.

The brutal domination of Holland, the tragic surrender of Belgium, the invasion of France, the capture of the Channel Ports, have happened in such quick succession that the world has hardly had time to breathe. Today, Britain, no longer in island security, prepares to meet the invader across the narrow sea. At this very hour the greatest of all battles in history is being waged within 70 miles of the city of Paris. On its outcome may depend the future of France.

#### World Holds Breath

As the world has been shaken to its foundations by the swift march of terrible events, nearly every emotion in the heart of each one of us has been profoundly stirred. Hate for inhuman oppressor, pity for the helpless and the homeless,

pride for the brotherhood of the brave who have honored the lands of Britain and France that gave them birth.

One crisis has not passed before another has arisen in its place. Peril has been heaped upon peril. Who will say on what new horizon destruction may not loom tomorrow?

Is it any wonder that you, my fellow citizens, have in these days been concerned and impatient, full of questionings and doubts.

You would not be men and women if you had not been thus harassed and distracted. No one could have British or French blood in his veins and know as we in Canada know what Britain and France mean to the cause of free men without having his nature stirred to its very depths by all these things.

You have rightly been asking what has been done and is being done to help the cause to which we have freely pledged our honor and our strength. It is only natural that you should be worried about our fighting forces, about airplanes and equipment. It is only natural, too, that you should be anxious about our internal security.

#### How Free Men Fight

I intend tonight to speak of these things. I do not propose to apologize for democracy nor to direct my attention to criticisms. We cannot have the one without the other. My purpose rather is to endeavor to help you if I can, amid all these swift changes in the scene in Europe, to see the conflict in its true perspective and with the war effort of our own country. Unless we are to abandon altogether the basis upon which we have proceeded from the outset, our war effort must be kept properly related in time, nature and place, to that of the Allied powers.

We must never forget that freely and as one people we entered this war, as one nation we ranged ourselves on the side of freedom. As one nation we fight today, and as one nation we will fight to the end.

To help you gain a true perspective may I remind you that the war itself did not commence until September last. Nine months have

not yet passed since parliament authorized expenditures for active participation in the war and in particular for co-operation in Canada with the Allied powers in the theatres of war in Europe.

As regards the war, there are three periods which may be considered.

There was the first period of what I might call the shadow of war, during which time there was still a hope for peace. Within that period the democratic nations worked for peace. While they worked for peace they also prepared for war. If they had not worked for peace they would have been accused of precipitating war, not only by the present enemies of democracy but also by their own people. They prepared for war later and more slowly than their enemies.

#### Hour Comes to Canada

Their final preparations had necessarily to await the hour that would gain for them the sanction of their parliaments. That hour came to Canada with the calling of the special session of our parliament.

There begins the second period. The very strength of democracy in peace time became in some measure a handicap in wartime and in preparations for wartime. When the shadow had deepened the storm broke and war began. Britain and France believed that the war would be long. They still believe that they were right in that belief. They planned for at least a three year war; four years were mentioned as a possibility. Hitler doubtless knows that he can only win a short war. Britain and France knew that they could only win a long war. They asked us to join with them in planning for a long war. Our first efforts, therefore, while designed to make the greatest possible contribution at the beginning, was also planned so that, from month to month, manpower would grow, production would grow, output of munitions and supply would grow, until at the critical time when accumulated strength became the decisive factor, it would be available to ensure victory.

#### Terror Is Loosed

The third period is that of the blitzkrieg—lightning war as it is expressed in English. It accords with the plan which Hitler has all along had in his mind. Save by those possessed of gangster instincts its possibility could never have been conceived. It aims to

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bring one by one under the iron heel of Nazi Germany nation after nation whether neutral or belligerent, by methods of terrorism and barbarism unparalleled in warfare throughout the ages. The element of surprise is all-important. The process was under way before the invasion of Poland. It began with the invasion of Austria and Czechoslovakia. It resulted in the destruction of Poland; it has been only too manifest in the conquest of Denmark, Norway of Holland and Belgium. It is now seeking by lightning strokes to conquer France and Britain.

These two countries have been taken by surprise, not so much by sudden attack upon themselves—sudden attack was expected at the commencement of the war. The surprise has come by the swiftness, the magnitude and ferocity of the events that preceded them. No part of the world has been shocked by these tragic happenings more than this continent. The loyalty of neutral nations to international law became the weapon with which a treacherous enemy struck at their hearts. They had been sacrificed on the altar of their own neutrality.

#### Plans Must Change

The lightning war in Europe has forced Britain and France to view the whole situation in a different perspective. Their plans and with them, our plans, have had to be changed, and quickened in the light of new and appalling developments. Contributions of men, machines and material have had to be hastened. Daily improvisations have become necessary and have been made. The movements of men and ships have had to be altered. Large additional sums of money have had to be found.

It is, I fear only too true that the magnitude and speed of action, the immensity of the changes in the military situation and the unparalleled horrors of the conflict have all but destroyed our sense of time.

It is difficult to realize that a month has not yet elapsed since Holland and Belgium were invaded. The heroic resistance of these small nations to the German onslaught and the magnificent response of Britain and France to their appeal for aid were absorbing the attention of the people of Canada when, just a week later, our new parliament met.

As we watched the spectacle of the German forces crushing Holland and Belgium under the full might of concentrated warfare it was inevitable that an unparalleled intensity of feeling should develop throughout the country. There developed equally naturally a tendency to measure our Canadian war effort in terms, not of long-range and carefully laid plans, but in terms of the terrible emergency of the moment.

#### Tension Grew

The unexpected rapidity with which the Nazi forces carried out their destructive advance naturally increased the tension and added to an impatient if natural, desire for additional immediate action.

The dramatic events in Europe seemed to obscure what Canada had done and was doing to prosecute the war. They also enhanced the difficulty of presenting to parliament and the people a clear picture of our war effort.

As was to be expected there was an insistent demand that the government should "speed up" its war effort to meet the new situation. At that very time the government itself was throwing its full energy into adapting our organization and adjusting our plans to conform to the

swiftly changing scene in Europe. It was impossible to decide upon changes of plans until accurate information could be secured from the battle front. When decisions were reached some of them for military reasons could not be announced immediately. Some have not been, and cannot yet be made public.

I should like to stress that everything that has been done recently has been accomplished in the time because the foundations of our war effort were well and truly laid. Many of the measures recently announced could not have been taken earlier because the circumstances did not then call for emergency action of the character recently undertaken. Terrible risks must be taken to meet the present crisis—and Canada is sharing these risks—but must beware of adding to necessary risks the needless risk of abandoning plans to face a long and bitter struggle in which staying power will, in the end, be decisive.

#### Warns Against Panic

To allow our passionate feeling to degenerate into unreasoning hysteria would be fatal to Canada's war effort and a grave injury to the Allied cause. You have heard something in the last few days of what has been done to meet the terrible emergency. It could only be disclosed in instalments and sometimes not all. Many things must still remain secret. All disclosures must be made at a time when they suit the Allied needs. I could not tell parliament and people, for example, of General McNaughton's visit to the front and of the preparation for our troops to embark for France until the story of the epic achievement of the evacuation of Dunkirk was made known to the world. I could not tell of the dispatch of our destroyers to England until after they had arrived in British waters. Unfortunately we have been and still are often precluded from saying a word of what we have been asked to do, and of what, in fact, we had done and were doing.

#### Sums Up Results

It may help to bring home to you all a fuller appreciation of what has actually been accomplished if I summarize some of the results in terms of men, equipment and supply.

I should like, however, first to give you this solemn assurance. We offered to the Allies, in the name of the people of Canada, all the additional assistance and power to help them to deal with the emergency.

We have made no restrictions. What we could do and have done, what we can produce, what we can manufacture, has been placed at their disposal to the utmost limit of our capacity and strength. They have asked us to do a number of things. We have sought to do each one of them promptly, completely, and without qualification. We have, on our own account, made additional offers and suggestions. Many of them have been accepted.

In the army, when Belgium and Holland were invaded, we had 81,519 men of all ranks. We had one division, with its ancillary troops, trained and equipped with motorized units, on active service in England. Twenty-three thousand young Canadians were ready for embarkation to Norway or to

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Flanders whenever the word came from the Allied high command.

A second division of men, with necessary auxiliaries, amounting in all to 24,000, were completing their Canadian training.

Strategic areas in Newfoundland were defended by this country's soldiers.

#### Stepped Up Reinforcement

When the "blitzkrieg," Hitler's lightning war, began, we advanced the date of the dispatch of our second division. We did likewise with all reinforcements for the first division who had not proceeded to England. We speeded the recruiting of reinforcements for the second division. We undertook the formation of a Canadian corps in the field and provided the necessary corps troops. We decided to raise a third division. The units have been announced and recruiting has begun.

We formed a veterans' home guard for the defence of our internal security, and have authorized the establishment of additional veterans' reserves. We undertook to raise rifle battalions for a fourth division. We have established a special training course for officers and veteran officers.

Canadian soldiers are today also on active duty in the West Indies and the north Atlantic.

In the navy we began the month of May with 6,614 officers and ratings, including 125 officers and 100 ratings serving in the British navy.

We had 94 vessels in commission. We had 90 vessels under construction. Our ships operated on both coasts, in West Indian waters and convoyed ships from our shores and protected our harbors.

#### Repaying Old Debt

Since the course of the war changed,

with the shock of unanticipated suddenness, we have ordered the recruitment of 4,900 additional men. Every shipyard now works to capacity. And today, by one of those strange changes of fate and fortune, our destroyers, willingly repaying a small part of an ancient debt, are helping to guard the shores of Britain, and watch with increasing vigilance for those who would violate her island freedom. I bade them Godspeed when they left with the same speed with which you and the people of Britain greeted their arrival.

Our navy is a young navy. It has inherited great traditions; it is helping to create them.

The Royal Canadian Air Force had no existence during the last war. At the beginning of May it had a strength of 12,315 men. We had nine squadrons for home defence, one army co-operation squadron overseas, another completing its training in Canada and reinforcements continuously preparing for active service in the army co-operation school.

The commonwealth air training plan was proceeding in magnitude, training, and time in accordance with the predetermined plan.

#### Rushed Air Aid

The Nazis struck with all their power. Their swift advance was made possible by their numerical superiority in the air. We immediately sent overseas No. 112 army co-operation squadron. We called up for immediate service 5,000 recruits for the Royal Canadian Air Force. We undertook to dispatch overseas a fighter squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Force. We appointed a minister to devote his entire time and attention to national defence for air.

We have hastened the construction of airfields and hangars a year earlier than the time fixed under the commonwealth plan.

We have sent overseas a number of pilots recently graduated from Camp Borden, who were intended to be used as instructors. Many of our own aeroplanes were sent to Britain. Aeroplanes of British manufacture ordered five months before the outbreak of war, for our own air force, and which in the month of war were on their way out to Canada, were, on our own instructions, stopped in mid-ocean and returned to Britain.

#### Won't Scrap Plan

It has been stated that the commonwealth air training plan will be abandoned or postponed because of these changes. This is not true. It will yet be a decisive instrument of victory.

Of money, I will say no more than that the present appropriation for war purposes alone is \$2,000,000 a day, an amount which will necessarily be increased as we continue to seek to meet exceptional needs.

I have told you these things because it is difficult amid all the news and distractions of war for anyone in Canada to obtain a clear picture at one time of what is being done to meet the situation.

The government is devoting all its energy and marshalling all resources to meet the threat to our liberty. We need your confidence. We need the constructive help of every Canadian. In steadfastness and courage remains the hope of human liberty. Panic, dissension, disunity are the only enemies that can defeat us. All is not dark in the skies above us. The first series of enemy gains will not end this war any more than it ended other wars in which the British and French peoples have fought side by side. The enemy's tactics, his weapons, his strength are now known. They surprised us. They will not defeat us.

#### Fourth Phase Starts

In the light of all that is known of the situation and it is shaping itself in Europe today, I feel I would not be doing my full duty at this time if I did not speak of other dangers which threaten.

I began by distinguishing three phases of the war. It is difficult to believe that we are not at this moment at the beginning of a fourth phase. Our attention from the outset has been directed to Germany as the sole enemy and to her effort to destroy Britain and France.

The coming phase will witness operations in entirely new theatres of war. It will most certainly be marked by conflict between nations that thus far have escaped or avoided hostilities. How sudden or how extensive these new developments may be no one can say. What I wish to make clear is that if at any moment we learn that fresh hostilities have broken out, on however terrible a scale, there is no reason why fresh fears should occasion undue alarm. We shall have, of course, to assess anew what may be necessary on our part to meet the demands of the new situation. New events will demand new measures, but we will do well to continue to keep the situation as a whole in its true perspective.

#### Full Speed Ahead

While not under-estimating the dangers that threaten from other coasts and other seas, let us remember that against the perils of the present and the future are arrayed a new realization on the part of all free peoples of the nature of the conflict and a new determination to spare no effort and no sacrifice in the indomitable will to conquer. If democracy lacked foresight and audacity in the past, as the premier of France said yesterday, those days are over.

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#### Full Speed Ahead

While not under-estimating the dangers that threaten from other coasts and other seas, let us remember that against the perils of the present and the future are arrayed a new realization on the part of all free peoples of the nature of the conflict and a new determination to spare no effort and no sacrifice in the indomitable will to conquer. If democracy lacked foresight and audacity in the past, as the premier of France said yesterday, those days are over.

**REPEAT  
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Office of  
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## No More Waiting

The German territorial advances contain within themselves elements of weakness. Economic blockade and contraband control can and will now be exercised with increasing and more effective pressure. Disregard for the strength and the ruthlessness of the enemy, lack of preparation to meet the demands of modern mechanized warfare, the suspense of waiting for an enemy who shrinks from no violation of right, and no manifestation of terror, all these things have passed away. Discipline has come to us all, not from without, but from within. Wanton brutality has transformed isolation of outlook and neutrality of heart into mere empty words. The treachery that stabbed

the neutral nations killed neutrality itself with the same fell blow.

If new enemies oppose us we may be sure that old and new friends will arise to help us. The world-wide significance of the conflict is being realized in every land. You know how earnestly and vigorously the president of the United States has spoken in the name of humanity. There has been mobilized in the cause of freedom the conscience of the civilized world and tyranny will long remember the power of that conscience, and the final effect of the world's forces of evil.

## Canada Accepts Challenge

Canada is called upon to accept a greater and higher responsibility. It was framed in living words by Mr. Churchill in his speech to the British House of Commons on Tuesday last. This nation with all the strength of its youth, the wealth of its resources, and the idealism of its freedom, will proudly accept its new responsibility. We are the bridge between the old world and the new, the bridge which joins the new freedom of the North American continent with the ancient freedom of Britain which gave it birth. We will stand resolute to defend its approaches and its abutments.

From the harbor of Dunkirk and from the citadel of Calais the bravest men in the world battled their way home to fight once again for liberty and goodness and mercy.

To the making of Canada have come the same chivalry of France and the same gallantry of Britain which fashioned the glory of that triumph of heroism. I speak the heart and mind of our country when I say that every fort in Canada will be another Calais, and every harbor will be another Dunkirk before the men and women of our land allow the light and the life of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the powers of evil, or yield their liberties to the tyranny of Nazi brutality.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

38326

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date JUN 8 1940

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## Prime Minister Says Canada Rises To New Challenge In War

**Dominion Will Proudly Accept Its New Responsibility In Widening War, Declares Mackenzie King. Refers to Expected Help of "Old and New Friends." Canadians Would Make Every Fort a Calais, Every Harbor a Dunkerque. Reveals Soldiers From the Dominion On Duty in Newfoundland.**

Prime Minister Mackenzie King said last night that Canada would rise to the challenge of new responsibilities in a widening war and declared "if new enemies oppose us, we may be sure that old and new friends will arise to help us."

In his address carried over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Mr. King named no nations but referred to President Roosevelt's speeches "in the name of humanity." The Prime Minister said the coming phase of the war "will witness operations in entirely new theaters of war. It will most certainly be marked by conflict between

nations that thus far have escaped or avoided hostilities."

### New Responsibilities.

Canada's new responsibilities, the Prime Minister said, were stated by Prime Minister Winston Churchill when he spoke of the New World carrying on the fight for freedom in the event Britain and France should suffer the worst reverses.

"This nation," he said, "with all the strength of its youth, the wealth of its resources and the idealism of its freedom will proudly accept its new responsibility."

"We are the bridge between the Old World and the New; the bridge which joins the new freedom of the North American continent with the ancient freedom of Britain which gave it birth. We will stand resolute to defend its approaches and its abutments."

Every fort in Canada would be another Calais, every harbor another Dunkerque before Canadians would allow the light of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the powers of evil or yield their liberties to the tyranny of Nazi brutality.

Outlining the measures taken by Canada to meet the new situation, Mr. King revealed for the first time that Canadian soldiers were guarding strategic areas in Newfoundland. He said they were on service in the British West Indies and the North Atlantic but did not state whether by North Atlantic he meant an area other than Newfoundland.

### Many Measures.

The recruiting of 4,900 additional men for the Royal Canadian Navy since the course of the war changed by the invasion of Holland and Belgium, was one of many measures recounted by the Prime Minister. Certain measures taken could not yet be revealed for military reasons, he explained.

Canada's present financial appropriation for war of \$2,000,000 a day would have to be increased as exceptional needs were met.

All was not dark, he said, the first series of enemy gains would not win the war. German advances contained elements of weakness. Economic blockade and contraband control could be applied with increasing pressure. The Allied nations had acquired a new discipline and other nations, now neutral, a new realization of the situation. The enemy's tactics, his weapon and his strength were known.

The Prime Minister reviewed the Commonwealth air training plan activity and said it has been stated the plan will be abandoned or postponed because of certain changes. "This is not true. It will yet be a decisive instrument of victory."

In stirring words, Mr. King called to Canadians and paid tribute to the fighting men of Flanders.

### Calais and Dunkerque.

"From the harbor of Dunkerque and from the citadel of Calais," he said, "the bravest men in the world battled their way home to fight once again for liberty and goodness and mercy."

"To the making of Canada have come the same chivalry of France and the same gallantry of Britain which fashioned the glory of that triumph of heroism."

"I speak the heart and mind of our country when I say that every fort in Canada will be another Calais and every harbor another Dunkerque before the men and women of our land allow the light and the life of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the powers of evil or yield their liberties to the tyranny of Nazi brutality."

### Accepts Responsibility

Replying to Winston Churchill's challenge to the new world to carry on the fight should Britain and France suffer reverses Mr. King said the nation would accept its new responsibility.

Hitherto, he said attention was centered on Germany as the sol-

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enemy. The coming phase of the war would witness operations in entirely new theaters and be marked by conflict between nations which had so far avoided hostilities.

These dangers should not unduly alarm as the perils of the present had brought a new realization of the nature of the conflict to all free peoples. The days when Democracy lacked foresight were gone.

#### Old and New Friends

"If new enemies oppose us," he said, "we may be sure that old and new friends will arise to help us. The worldwide significance of the conflict is being realized in every land.

"You know how earnestly and vigorously the president of the United States has spoken in the name of humanity. There has been mobilized in the cause of freedom, the conscience of the civilized world and tyranny will long remember the power of that conscience and the final effect of the world's condemnation upon the forces of evil."

The greatest of all battles was now being waged within 70 miles of Paris and on its outcome might depend the future of France. This was the latest of a series of crises and perils heaped on perils. It was no wonder Canadians were concerned and impatient, filled with questionings and doubts.

#### Reviews War Efforts

Mr. King then proceeded to review Canada's war efforts in relation to the march of events since last September. The war divided itself into three periods.

The first might be called the "shadow of war," was when the democratic nations hoped and worked for peace but prepared for war. The second period began with the outbreak of hostilities when the Canadian Parliament was summoned to meet in special session. Then the final preparations were approved and begun.

The Allies prepared for a long war, knowing they could win it but Hitler knew he could only win a short war and prepared for that. Canada integrating its effort with that of the Allies joined in preparations for a long war.

#### Lightning War

"The third period," said Mr. King, "is that of the Blitzkrieg, lightning war, as it is expressed in English."

"It accords with the plan which Hitler has all along had in mind. Save by those possessed of gangster instincts, its possibility could never have been conceived."

It aimed to bring nation after nation, belligerent and neutral, under the heel of Germany by unparalleled methods of terrorism and barbarism.

#### In New Perspective

Lightning war forced Britain and France to view the situation in a new perspective. Their plans, and Canadian plans had to be changed. Contribution of men, machines and material had to be hastened.

The government exerted all its efforts to conform to the swiftly changing scene. Some of its decisions could not be announced immediately although the people were anxious for news of action. Some could not yet be made public.

The news of the visit of Major-General A. G. L. McNaughton's, general officer commanding the 1st Division, to the front in Holland and Belgium or of the Canadian destroyers sailing for British waters could not be revealed at the time.

#### No Restrictions

Canada offered the Allies all the additional assistance it could provide and imposed no restrictions. The army at the start of the invasion of Holland and Belgium consisted of 84,519 men of all ranks. Recruiting of reinforcements was speeded and organization of a 3rd and 4th division ordered.

Strategic areas in Newfoundland were defended by Canadian troops and Canadian soldiers were on active duty in the West Indies and North Atlantic.

Recruiting of an additional 4,900 men for the navy was ordered. Every shipyard is now working at capacity.

In response to the need, No. 112 Army Co-operation Squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Force was sent overseas together with all aircraft available and additional pilots who were intended to serve in Canada as instructors.

Construction of air fields and hangars was hastened in advance of anticipated requirements for training.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication La Presse

Date June 10/40

D 38328

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## LA PART DU CANADA

Toujours désireux de gouverner dans un esprit démocratique, le très honorable Mackenzie King entretient le plus souvent possible les populations canadiennes des travaux et des projets de son administration. L'exposé qu'il a fait en fin de semaine des activités du Canada pour aider les Alliés dans la guerre est celui d'un chef démocrate qui dit à ses concitoyens tout ce qu'il peut dire de l'effort commun. Une pareille attitude inspire une grande confiance à la masse.

Le discours de M. King montre clairement que notre Dominion n'a rien épargné jusqu'ici pour remplir avec autant d'efficacité qu'il est capable son rôle de partenaire dans le présent conflit. Entrés volontairement dans la mêlée nous avons mis en oeuvre nos ressources d'hommes, de matériel et d'argent pour appuyer la cause alliée. Comme l'a expliqué le premier ministre, nous avons tâché d'accomplir promptement et bien ce qu'on nous demandait. Et nous avons en outre fait maintes offres et suggestions qui ont souvent été acceptées.

Sans s'attarder à répondre à certaines critiques, M. King rappelle simplement que plusieurs des mesures de guerre annoncées récemment ne pouvaient pas être prises plus tôt parce que les circonstances ne l'exigeaient pas. Le caractère particulier de la guerre actuelle empêche de former des plans longtemps à l'avance ou de s'en tenir strictement à ceux qu'on a d'abord élaborés. C'est une constante adaptation d'après le cours des événements militaires en Europe.

Ainsi le Canada, par une entente avec ses associés, avait dressé son programme de guerre comme si les hostilités devaient durer plusieurs années. C'était, du reste, l'opinion courante au début. Mais voici que, sans cesser de prévoir l'avenir, il importe de subvenir à des besoins immédiats. L'ennemi ne veut pas attendre, et il met sa confiance dans un coup rapide et violent où il engage toutes ses ressources militaires. De là, un problème pour ainsi dire imprévu auquel il faut porter attention sans délai. Ce sont ces changements brusques qui rendent si difficile la tâche des pays Alliés.

N'importe, M. King exprime sa certitude de voir la victoire pencher enfin du côté de nos armes. L'Allemagne a pu obtenir des succès parce qu'elle n'a pas reculé devant la violation des droits des nations neutres et parce qu'elle avait organisé depuis longtemps une vaste et puissante machine militaire. Mais, chaque jour, les Alliés se ressaisissent de plus en plus et s'arcbutent fermement contre l'envahisseur. Le Canada continuera de faire généreusement sa part afin d'assurer le triomphe de la liberté et des idéals démocratiques. Coopération froide, calculée, réglée suivant le programme des Alliés eux-mêmes.

Avec raison, M. King ne veut rien entreprendre sous l'effet de l'énerverment; ce serait le moyen de desservir notre cause et de favoriser celle de nos adversaires. La politique suivie jusqu'ici est la plus sage, la plus pratique. Nous avons avantage à y demeurer fidèles.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

D 38329

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date June 10/40

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## A War for Christianity Itself

Throughout all Premier King's addresses since the war began there has been the reiterated declaration that this is a struggle in which freedom itself is at stake; not only freedom, but all the things which free men prize; and above all Christianity. Quoting President Roosevelt's declaration that "there comes a time in the affairs of men when they must prepare to defend, not their homes alone, but the tenets of faith and humanity on which their churches, their governments and their very civilization are founded," Mr. King said on September 5: "The forces of evil have been loosed in the world in a struggle between the pagan conception of a social order which ignores the individual and is based upon the doctrine of might, and a civilization based upon the Christian conception of the brotherhood of man, with its regard for the sanctity of contractual relations, and the sacredness of human personality. . . . 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."

That has been the keynote of all his addresses; the inspiration of his tireless devotion to the duties of his high office. In his radio talk of October 27, declaring that the Christian training of his childhood days had been "a sheet anchor through life," "a sustaining power in times of adversity" and "the inspiration of life's best endeavors," Mr. King went on to say that he could not tolerate the thought of future generations being deprived of "so precious a heritage." Yet "the Nazi doctrine of force is the very antithesis of what one finds in the Christian gospel. If it prevails there will be, as I see it, an end to our Christian civilization. That is why the present war is, for the Allied forces, a crusade."

That the war is a crusade, with Christianity at stake, has been asserted by the First Minister again and again. Last Friday he once more gave voice to that belief in words which will live in Canadian

history for their eloquence and nobility. Answering Mr. Churchill's expressed hope that the New World may save the Old, Mr. King said:

"This nation with all the strength of its youth, the wealth of its resources, and the idealism of its freedom, will proudly accept its new responsibility. We are the bridge between the Old World and the New, the bridge which joins the new freedom of the North American continent with the ancient freedom of Britain which gave it birth. We will stand resolute to defend its approaches and its abutments.

"From the harbor of Dunkirk and from the citadel of Calais the bravest men in the world battled their way home to fight once again for liberty and goodness and mercy. To the making of Canada have come the same chivalry of France and the same gallantry of Britain which fashioned the glory of that triumph of heroism. I speak the heart and mind of our country when I say that every fort in Canada will be another Calais, and every harbor will be another Dunkirk before the men and women of our land allow the light and the life of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the powers of evil, or yield their liberties to the tyranny of Nazi brutality."

These are the words of a man who believes that Canada is fighting not only in a just cause, but actually in a holy cause; who has been convinced from the beginning that the war is being fought for all that mankind holds most dear, and for all that upholds and elevates humanity.

## PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Saskatoon Star

38330

Date June 10/40

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

### That's the Spirit

Premier King's stirring address to the nation on Friday should do much to allay any feeling of uneasiness there has been as to the rebirth of Canada's war effort and the determination of this country, and its Government, to go "full out" both in its co-operation in Europe and defence at home. And it should be an intimation to the innumerable back-seat drivers in this Dominion that their view of the road immediately ahead is not by any means as clear as that of those in the front seat.

Mr. King reiterated a few of the things done immediately upon the arising of the blitzkrieg emergency. They are worthy of the Dominion. There are others which must still be kept secret. And it is well to remember that the blitzkrieg began only 28 days ago, four weeks ago, although, because of the number and speed of events, it seems like a year.

Mr. King's address was, too, a notification that Canada has adjusted itself to the changed war conditions, a change that was effected in Britain only after a similar period, and that the adjustment is thorough. It showed there is now a clear-cut picture at Ottawa, a clear understanding of what is needed, and that the new Government in Britain is cognizant of what Canada can do and is willing and ready to accept Canada's maximum assistance.

It was in the closing minutes of his address that Mr. King displayed the Canadian spirit to the maximum. He said:

"From the harbor of Dunkerque and from the citadel of Calais the bravest men in the world battled their way home to fight once again for liberty and goodness and mercy.

"To the making of Canada have come the same chivalry of France and the same gallantry of Britain which fashioned the glory of that triumph of heroism.

"I speak the heart and mind of our country when I say that every fort in Canada will be another Calais and every harbor another Dunkerque before the men and women of our land will allow the light and the life of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the powers of evil or yield their liberties to the tyranny of Nazi brutality."

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

38331

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date JUN 10 1940

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## War on the Atlantic Front

Prime Minister Mackenzie King brought Canada's responsibility in the war more directly home to the Canadian people in last Friday night's national broadcast. He followed up Prime Minister Churchill's declaration on the determination of the British people to resist an invasion even though it should mean fighting to the last in the English countryside or fighting behind barricades in the streets. The Canadian prime minister agreed with Mr. Churchill's defiance of the enemy to conquer the British Commonwealth. He endorsed the declaration that the forces of democracy in the new world would go on waging war against Nazi tyranny even though the whole of Europe were brought under the heel of the conqueror.

Listeners in the United States may have heard the Canadian prime minister make the resolute declaration of Canada's determination to fight on, to resist the enemy on the Atlantic front in Canadian fortified positions as doggedly as the Allies defended Calais and held on at Dunquerque. This new note of Canada's readiness to face responsibilities should have a beneficial effect on public opinion everywhere on this North American continent.

The people of the United States are becoming daily more aware of the parlous position of American democracy. There is an increasing demand for measures of American defence. It is more accompanied by the feeling too that North America could be better defended on the present battle front in France than to wait until conquering forces have crossed the Atlantic Ocean after battering down the last ramparts across the English Channel.

North America cannot afford to wait until German parachute troops are descending on Quebec City, or until the British navy as envisioned in Mr. Churchill's speech, however unlikely, had been driven to the Canadian side of the Atlantic Ocean. It is doubtful whether many British warships would survive in such a decisive action as to have made it necessary to withdraw through the loss of British naval ports. The

possible consequences of invasion are grimly contemplated, however, in the recent intensification of British home defence measures. The probable consequences for Canada are indicated in Prime Minister Mackenzie King's broadcast address.

Lightning war could be expected to cross the Atlantic Ocean at something like lightning speed. It would strike as heavily at the harbors of Halifax and Saint John, the steel works at Sydney, the St. Lawrence waterway inland from Quebec to Montreal and beyond, with no more mercy than in the ruthless devastation of Rotterdam, the blasting of Brussels, Louvain and the great cities of Northern France.

The whole power of this nation is needed with the urgency of national action to offset the consequences of an earthquake. Time has never been on the side of the Allies: time is no longer even neutral. Every day has to be made to count in the urgency of Canada's need of greater preparedness.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Vancouver Province

38332

Date June 10/40

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## “Rise to the Challenge”

NO one could doubt, listening to Mr. King's broadcast to Canada last week that the Prime Minister is now fully awake to the necessity of Canada's putting forth a supreme effort to win the war. He put it in a telling phrase when he said:

“Canada will rise to the challenge of new responsibilities in a widening war.”

What Canada is now setting about to do was admirable in Mr. King's description—with one reservation that falls to be made and that it is a duty to insist upon. It should be said, and Mr. King must realize that it is true, that in all this the nation is still ahead of the government in its realization at last of the urgency and the need.

There is no time for an inquest upon our national war effort. There is no use or justification in recrimination about the responsibility for lost motion and failure to have prevision. What is to be insisted now is that we have still failed to make the proper beginnings of the necessary organization of the man power and material resources of the nation of Canada.

What is required and at once is at least a national registration of the entire population of Canada, to find out who is useful and available for what. It is the duty of Parliament now to require that from the Government, with the understanding that what it means is a basic policy of national service in which every citizen shall do that in this crisis of our civilization which shall be required of him.

It is to be said to Mr. King and his government and it is to be said to Parliament that the people of Canada are now ahead of them in their willingness to commit Canada to the burden and the sacrifice that is going to be needed in order to win the war.

Parliament and the Government ought to know better than the people what is practically necessary and possible and ought to give the lead in inspiration and organization. The people of Canada will do what they are asked to do by their government if they have confidence in their government. They are ready and willing to do far more than they are asked to do now.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

38333

Name of Publication Lethbridge Herald

Date June 10 /40

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## **Pulling Her Weight**

The people of Canada are, naturally, eager to know what Canada is doing in this time of crisis in her efforts to help the Allied cause. It was the performance of a public duty, therefore, which led the Prime Minister to broadcast to the nation what the Dominion was doing. Though it was perfectly in keeping with the situation that every effort and every decision of the Government could not be disclosed, there was enough told in Mr. King's broadcast to show that Canada was pulling her weight in the boat.

The broadcast of the Prime Minister showed a zealous and whole-hearted co-operation by the Canadian Government with the British Government and an anxiety to meet the wishes and the needs of Great Britain in every way possible.

One of the interesting disclosures in Mr. King's broadcast was that the Canadian Navy is taking its part in the sea battle line with the British and that there is a program of big naval construction going on in the Canadian dockyards. It has become painfully evident that the Allies are suffering from the lack of tanks, and here we were told that the Dominion is willing and able to take a part in filling this essential need by mobilizing its industries, among other things, for the manufacture of tanks. Nor has there been any delay in the matter, as the manufacture of 300 tanks has already begun.

With what was stated by Mr. King no one can reasonably accuse the Government of laggardness in co-operating to the utmost with the British Government for the prosecution of the war until the final victory over the enemy is gained. It has been fully realized at Ottawa that this is Canada's war as well as that of Great Britain and the Empire. There is the

great satisfaction of knowing that the Dominion is not leaving a stone unturned which may help the fight for victory in which the British Empire is engaged today. The Dominion is able to give valuable help in what its resources enable her to do, and there can be no doubt that it is using these resources to the highest capacity for winning the war.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

D 38334

Name of Publication Le Devoir

Date June 10/40

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

**Ottawa**

## Sur un récent discours de M. King

L'idée de fond de son radio-discours de vendredi soir —  
Il a voulu faire entendre que les faits d'Europe vont  
imposer de nouveaux sacrifices au Canada

"Nous sommes le pont qui relie le nouveau monde  
à l'ancien monde"

(Par Léopold RICHER)

Ottawa, 10-VI-40. — On a vu, au cours de la semaine qui vient de se terminer, que le gouvernement canadien avait coordonné et accru l'effort de guerre du pays. La période d'enquêtes et d'indécisions est maintenant pratiquement terminée. Le Royaume-Uni a été certes pour quelque chose dans ce nouveau déploiement d'initiative. Il y a longtemps que le Canada offrait aux Alliés de leur fournir un abondant matériel de guerre; pour des raisons que l'on connaîtra mieux après la guerre, le Canada n'avait pas reçu jusqu'ici de bien fortes commandes. Les industriels eux-mêmes s'étonnaient de la situation. Ils en blâmaient naturellement le gouvernement canadien. Les événements de ces dernières semaines ont modifié la politique de l'Angleterre, de sorte que l'industrie canadienne sera dorénavant mise à contribution.

### M. King à la radio

Pour couronner une semaine active, le premier ministre a fait un discours à la radio vendredi soir. Dans certains milieux on s'attendait à des révélations sensationnelles sur la politique de guerre du Canada. Au contraire, M. Mackenzie King s'est abstenu de toute information de nature à mettre la population au courant des intentions précises du gouvernement. Est-ce à dire que le discours du premier ministre a été inutile? Non pas. Le premier ministre est un homme politique qui connaît son métier. Il sait quand il faut parler. Il sait aussi quand il faut se faire. S'il parle, c'est qu'il a de bonnes raisons de le faire. Ces raisons ne sont pas toujours apparentes. Il s'a-

git de les découvrir. Si l'on fait ce travail, on s'aperçoit que le récent discours de M. Mackenzie King est très important.

Résumons les deux raisons les plus plausibles, celles qui s'imposent au premier regard. Tout d'abord, M. Mackenzie King a voulu parler en chef de la nation. Critiqué, parfois vertement et injustement, par un groupe de députés et de sénateurs conservateurs, M. King a fait un discours de chef, affirmant ainsi sa ferme résolution de continuer à diriger la politique de guerre du gouvernement canadien, en dépit de la critique. Ensuite, M. King a voulu montrer l'ampleur de notre participation. En effet, sous des chiffres modestes qui peuvent

même paraître dérisoires dans les circonstances, aux yeux de certains, la participation du Canada s'organise d'une façon plus méthodique et plus rapide qu'auparavant. Et ainsi le premier ministre s'est trouvé à répondre à la critique de la presse ultra-impérialiste, qui prétend que le gouvernement canadien n'a rien fait et qu'il continue à ne rien faire.

### Avoir quand même confiance

M. Mackenzie King s'est appliqué aussi à faire renaitre un optimisme mesuré, une confiance raisonnée dans la victoire ultime des armes alliées. Il a tenu également à indiquer que la situation européenne comporte des dangers nouveaux. Il l'a fait dans des termes solennels. "A la lumière de tous les faits connus relativement à la situation telle qu'elle se présente en Europe aujourd'hui, je ne croirais pas accomplir tout mon devoir du moment, si je ne parlais pas des autres dangers qui nous menacent". M. Mackenzie King a prévu l'entrée dans le conflit de plusieurs nations qui, jusqu'à présent, avaient pu demeurer neutres. Le premier ministre n'a

pas parlé des nouveaux dangers à la légère. Il s'est sans doute proposé de prévenir l'effet psychologique qu'une extension considérable du conflit ne manquerait pas d'avoir sur la population.

"Voici un point sur lequel je désire insister tout particulièrement, a dit le premier ministre. Si, à un moment donné, nous apprenons que de nouvelles hostilités ont éclaté, il n'y a aucune raison, quelle qu'en soit la gravité, pour que les nouvelles craintes nées de ce fait dégénèrent en un pessimisme injustifié." Et plus loin, il a donné quelques raisons d'avoir confiance: "Si de nouveaux ennemis se dressent contre nous, soyons certains que d'anciens et de nouveaux amis s'élanceront à notre aide. La signification mondiale du conflit est comprise dans tous les pays. Vous savez la sincérité et la vigueur avec lesquelles le président des Etats-Unis a élevé la voix au nom de l'humanité". Ainsi le conflit peut se répandre. Mais la confiance dans la victoire finale reste un devoir.

### Répercussions du conflit

De telles perspectives ne manquent pas d'avoir des répercussions sur nous, du Canada. Le premier ministre ne nous l'a pas caché vendredi soir. Après avoir parlé

de l'extension possible du conflit, il a parlé bien clairement: "Dans une telle occurrence, a-t-il dit, il nous faudra, bien entendu, reconsidérer ce que nous sommes appelés, pour notre part, à faire pour répondre aux nouvelles exigences. Les événements nouveaux nécessitent de nouvelles mesures". En quoi ces nouvelles mesures consisteront-elles? Le premier ministre ne l'a pas pas révélé. Il s'est contenté de prononcer cette phrase peu claire: "Mais, somme toute, nous ferons preuve de sagesse en persistant à voir, dans son ensemble, la situation sous son vrai jour". Cette phrase-là est un chef-d'œuvre de vide. Ailleurs, M. King dit: "Quant à l'aspect financier, je me contenterai de dire que les crédits actuels pour les seules fins de la guerre atteignent \$2,000,000 par jour, somme qui croîtra nécessairement à mesure que nous continuerons à faire face à des besoins exceptionnels".

M. Mackenzie King, à la fin de son discours, a parlé des hautes responsabilités du Canada. "M. Winston Churchill, dans son dis-

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

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The Prime Minister

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cours de mardi dernier à la Chambre des Communes britannique, a lancé l'appel en termes émouvants. Notre nation, avec toute la vigueur de sa jeunesse, la richesse de ses ressources et son idéal de liberté, acceptera fièrement cette nouvelle responsabilité. Nous sommes le pont qui relie le nouveau monde à l'ancien; le pont qui relie la liberté nouvelle du continent nord-américain à l'ancienne liberté de la Grande-Bretagne, qui lui a donné naissance. Nous monterons la garde, résolu à en défendre les approches".

### L'idée de fond de M. King

Voici, en somme, ce qu'il faut retenir du discours du premier ministre, ce pour quoi M. Mackenzie King a prononcé un discours. Il a voulu: 1o poser un acte de chef; 2o donner une idée générale de l'effort de guerre canadien; 3o avertir la population des dangers immédiats en Europe; 4o laisser entendre clairement que des *événements nouveaux nécessitent de nouvelles mesures*.

Voilà bien le sens principal du discours du premier ministre. Ce qui s'est fait, les Canadiens le savent; ce qui s'accomplit chaque jour sous nos yeux, le recrutement accéléré et l'industrie au travail, nous ne pouvons pas ne pas le voir; ce que l'avenir nous réserve, les mesures nouvelles et plus graves que les événements rendront inévitables, voilà bien ce qu'il faut annoncer à la population afin de la préparer et de l'amener à une coopération de plus en plus active. A notre avis, c'est la pensée de fond du premier ministre.

### Une opposition moins hystérique

La semaine parlementaire n'a pas été aussi brillante que la précédente. La discussion a porté sur des bills divers. Il n'y a pas eu, à proprement parler, de grands discours. Les ministres ont donné les informations qui leur étaient demandées. L'opposition s'est montrée beaucoup moins agressive, sauf peut-être sur la question du chômage. Et même sur cette question, on n'a pas dit la moitié de ce que l'on exprimait librement avant la déclaration de guerre. C'est que, de plus en plus, on ne s'intéresse vraiment qu'à ce qui se passe en Europe, attendu que ce qui s'y passe aura des répercussions profondes sur la vie de notre nation. On s'attend que, pendant la semaine qui commence, des événements graves se produisent en Europe. Si tel est le cas, la situation politique à Ottawa en sera sûrement affectée d'une façon ou d'une autre.

Léopold RICHER

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

38336

Name of Publication

**Toronto Star**

Date

**June 10/40**

Subject

## Note and Comment

There are no qualifications in the "solemn assurance" which Premier King gave the country in his radio address: "We offered to the Allies, in the name of the people of Canada, all the additional assistance in our power to help them to deal with the recent emergency. We have made no restrictions. What we could do and have done, what we can produce, what we can manufacture, has been placed at their disposal to the utmost limit of our capacity and strength."

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

D 38337

Name of Publication.....

Ottawa M. Citizen

Date.....

June 10/40.

Subject.....

## Lord Rothermere Lauds Speech by Premier King

Lord Rothermere, British newspaper publisher, told Prime Minister King in a telegram Saturday that "if all leaders like yourself can so inspire their people, victory is not far off."

Lord Rothermere, now in Montreal, sent the telegram to congratulate the Prime Minister on his radio broadcast Friday night.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Star

D 38338

Date June 10/40

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## TAKING THE NATION INTO THEIR CONFIDENCE

THE memorable speech broadcast by Premier Mackenzie King on Friday night last almost partakes of the nature of an historic State document. It was a most successful effort to acquaint the entire Canadian nation not only with the general facts of Canada's war efforts but with a very large number of details in connection with them for which the public have been clamouring for some considerable time. It was also a convincing presentation of all the circumstances that have attended the at first slow development of our war efforts and of those factors which handicapped speeding-up at a time when manufacturers, Labour and the Government were all ready and anxious to go ahead.

Nobody who listened to Mr. Mackenzie King's statement without prejudice could possibly fail to realize that it was emphatically constructive and that it took the nation into the Government's confidence in a very large measure. There will, we feel confident, be less tendency from now on to hurl vague charges of neglect at the Administration, and on the part of all loyal Canadians who want to help push our war effort ahead with all possible speed, a desire, manifested in a practical way, to lend useful co-operation instead of shouting futile criticism.

Mr. King's peroration will certainly go down in Canadian Parliamentary annals as one of the most inspiring declarations that have ever been voiced by a Prime Minister of this Dominion. It is worth reproducing not only here but in permanent form in every household in this vast land.

"To the making of Canada have come the same chivalry of France and the same gallantry of Britain which fashioned the glory of that triumph of heroism. I speak the heart and mind of our country when I say that every fort in Canada will be another Calais and every harbour will be another Dunkerque before the men and women of our land allow the light and the life of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the powers of evil, or yield their liberties to the tyranny of Nazi brutality."

These are not the words of a man who is wasting Canada's time. They are the words of a patriot who is doing everything in his power to avoid wasting a minute that could otherwise be applied to advancing our war effort.

We would also draw attention here to the message broadcast last night by Premier Godbout to the people of Quebec. It also breathed an inspiring patriotic spirit. Coming from a French-Canadian who has already shown his broad patriotism, it sounds a high note of pride and of high idealism and compelling realism.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication... Montreal Gazette

Date... June 8, 1940

D 38339

Subject.....

## PRIME MINISTER KING'S BROADCAST

Ottawa, June 7.—(P)—Following is text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's speech tonight over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation:

Fellow Canadians:

I speak to you tonight in the midst of the most crowded weeks in human history. Barely a month has passed since Holland and Belgium were first ravaged by lightning warfare in all its fury and frightfulness. Every succeeding day since their first heroic resistance has brought new shocks, new problems, and new duties to those in whose hands has been placed the task of defending freedom.

The brutal domination of Holland, the tragic surrender of Belgium, the invasion of France, the capture of the Channel ports, have happened in such quick succession that the world has hardly had time to breathe. Today, Britain, no longer in island security, prepares to meet the invader across the narrow sea. At this very hour, the greatest of all battles in history is being waged within 70 miles of the city of Paris. On its outcome may depend the future of France.

As the world has been shaken to its foundations by the swift march of terrible events, nearly every emotion in the heart of each one of us has been profoundly stirred. Hate for the inhuman oppressor, pity for the helpless and the homeless, pride for the brotherhood of the brave who have honored the lands of Britain and France that gave them birth.

### CRISES MULTIPLY.

One crisis has not passed before another has arisen in its place. Peril has been heaped upon peril. Who will say on what new horizon destruction may not loom tomorrow?

Is it any wonder that you, my fellow citizens, have in these days been concerned and impatient, full of questionings and doubts. You would not be men and women if you had not been thus harassed and distracted. No one could have British or French blood in his veins and know, as we in Canada know, what Britain and France mean to the cause of free men, without having his nature stirred to its depths by all these things.

You have rightly been asking what has been done, and is being done, to help the cause to which we have freely pledged our honor and our strength. It is only natural that you should be worried about our fighting forces, about airplanes and equipment. It is only natural, too, that you should be anxious about our internal security.

I intend tonight to speak of these things. I do not propose to apologize for democracy nor to direct my attention to criticisms. We cannot have the one without the other. My purpose rather is to endeavour to help you if I can, amid all these swift changes in the scene in Europe to see the conflict in its true perspective, and with the conflict in its true perspective, the war effort of our own country. Unless we are to abandon altogether the basis upon which we have proceeded from the outset, our war effort must be kept properly related in time, nature and place, to that of the Allied powers.

We must never forget that freely, and as one people, we entered this war. As one nation we ranged ourselves on the side of freedom. As one nation we fight today, and as one nation we will fight to the end.

### TRACES DEVELOPMENTS.

To help you gain a true perspective, may I remind you that the war itself did not commence until September last. Nine months have not yet passed since Parliament authorized expenditures for active participation in the war, and in particular for co-operation in Canada with the Allied powers in the theatres of war in Europe.

As regards the war, there are three periods which may be considered as separate and distinct. There was the first period of what I might call the shadow of war, during which time there was still a hope for peace.

While they worked for peace, they also prepared for war. If they had not worked for peace, they would have been accused of precipitating war, not only by the present enemies of democracy, but also by their own people.

They prepared for war later and more slowly than their enemies. Their final preparations had necessarily to await the hour that would gain for them the sanction of their Parliaments. That hour came to Canada with the calling of the special session of our Parliament.

There begins the second period. The very strength of democracy in peace time became in some measure a handicap in war time, and in preparations for war time. When the shadow had deepened, the storm broke and war began. Britain and France believed that the war would be long. They still believe that they were right in that belief. They planned for at least a three-year war; four years were mentioned as a possibility. Hitler doubtless knows that he can only win a short war. Britain and France knew that they could only win a long war. They asked us to join with them in planning for a long war.

Our first effort, therefore, while designed to make the greatest possible contribution at the beginning, was also planned so that, from month to month, manpower would grow, production would grow, output of munitions and supplies would grow, until at the critical time when accumulated strength became the decisive factor, it would be available to ensure victory.

### BLITZKRIEG BEGINS.

The third period is that of the blitzkrieg — lightning war, as it is expressed in English. It accords with the plan which Hitler had all along had in mind. Save by those possessed of gangster instincts, its possibility could never have been conceived.

It aims to bring, one by one, under the iron heel of Nazi Germany, nation after nation, whether neutral or belligerent, by methods of terrorism and barbarism unparalleled in warfare throughout the ages. This element of surprise is all - important. The process was under way before the invasion of Poland. It began with the invasion of Austria and Czechoslovakia. It resulted in the destruction of Poland; it has been only too manifest in the conquest of Denmark and Norway, of Holland and Belgium. It is now seeking by lightning strokes to conquer France and Britain.

These two countries have been taken by surprise; not so much by sudden attack upon themselves — sudden attack was expected at the commencement of the war. The surprise has come by the swiftness, the magnitude and the ferocity of the events that preceded them.

No part of the world has been

snocked by these tragic happenings more than this continent. The loyalty of neutral nations to international law became the weapon with which a treacherous enemy struck at their hearts. They had been sacrificed on the altar of their own neutrality.

The lightning war in Europe has forced Britain and France to view the whole situation in a different perspective. Their plans, and with them, our plans, have had to be changed, and quickened in the light of new and appalling developments. Contributions of men, machines and material have had to be hastened. Daily improvisations have become necessary and have been made. The movements of men and ships have had to be altered. Large additional sums of money have had to be found.

### SENSE OF TIME GONE.

It is, I fear, only too true that the magnitude and speed of action, the immensity of the changes in the military situation, and the unparalleled horrors of the conflict have all but destroyed our sense of time. It is difficult to realize that a month has not yet elapsed since Holland and Belgium were invaded. The heroic resistance of these small nations to the German onslaught, and the magnificent response of Britain and France to their appeal for aid were absorbing the attention of the people of Canada when, just a week later, our new Parliament met.

As we watched the spectacle of the German forces crushing Holland and Belgium under the full might of concentrated warfare, it was inevitable that an unparalleled intensity of feeling should develop throughout the country. There developed equally naturally a tendency to measure our Canadian war effort in terms, not of long-range and carefully laid plans, but in terms of the terrible emergency of the moment. The unexpected rapidity with which the Nazi forces carried out their destructive advance naturally increased the tension and added to an impatient if natural desire for additional immediate action.

The dramatic events in Europe seemed to obscure what Canada had done, and was doing to prosecute the war; they also enhanced the difficulty of presenting to Parliament and the people a clear picture of our war effort.

### SOME DECISIONS SECRET.

As was to be expected, there was an insistent demand that the Government should "speed up" its war effort to meet the new situation. At the very time, the Government itself was throwing its full energy into adapting our organization and adjusting our plans to conform to the swiftly changing scene in Europe. It was impossible to decide upon changes of plans until accurate information could be secured from the battle front. When decisions were reached, some of them, for military reasons, could not be announced immediately. Some have not been, and can not yet be made public.

I should like to stress that everything that has been done recently has been accomplished in the time it has because the foundations of our war effort were well and truly laid. Many of the measures recently announced could not have been taken earlier, because the circumstances did not then call for emergency action of the character recently undertaken. Terrible risks must be taken to meet the

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Gazette

Date June 8, 1940

38339

Subject .....

## PRIME MINISTER KING'S BROADCAST

Ottawa, June 7.—(P)—Following is text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's speech tonight over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation:

Fellow Canadians:

I speak to you tonight in the midst of the most crowded weeks in human history. Barely a month has passed since Holland and Belgium were first ravaged by lightning warfare in all its fury and frightfulness. Every succeeding day since their first heroic resistance has brought new shocks, new problems, and new duties to those in whose hands has been placed the task of defending freedom.

The brutal domination of Holland, the tragic surrender of Belgium, the invasion of France, the capture of the Channel ports, have happened in such quick succession that the world has hardly had time to breathe. Today, Britain, no longer in island security, prepares to meet the invader across the narrow sea. At this very hour, the greatest of all battles in history is being waged within 70 miles of the city of Paris. On its outcome may depend the future of France.

As the world has been shaken to its foundations by the swift march of terrible events, nearly every emotion in the heart of each one of us has been profoundly stirred. Hate for the inhuman oppressor, pity for the helpless and the homeless, pride for the brotherhood of the brave who have honored the lands of Britain and France that gave them birth.

### CRISES MULTIPLY.

One crisis has not passed before another has arisen in its place. Peril has been heaped upon peril. Who will say on what new horizon destruction may not loom tomorrow?

Is it any wonder that you, my fellow citizens, have in these days been concerned and impatient, full of questionings and doubts. You would not be men and women if you had not been thus harassed and distracted. No one could have British or French blood in his veins and know, as we in Canada know, what Britain and France mean to the cause of free men, without having his nature stirred to its depths by all these things.

You have rightly been asking what has been done, and is being done, to help the cause to which we have freely pledged our honor and our strength. It is only natural that you should be worried about our fighting forces, about airplanes and equipment. It is only natural, too, that you should be anxious about our internal security.

I intend tonight to speak of these things. I do not propose to apologize for democracy nor to direct my attention to criticisms. We cannot have the one without the other. My purpose rather is to endeavour to help you if I can, amid all these swift changes in the scene in Europe to see the conflict in its true perspective, and with the conflict in its true perspective, the war effort of our own country. Unless we are to abandon altogether the basis upon which we have proceeded from the outset, our war effort must be kept properly related in time, nature and place, to that of the Allied powers.

We must never forget that freely, and as one people, we entered this war. As one nation we ranged ourselves on the side of freedom. As one nation we fight today, and as one nation we will fight to the end.

### TRACES DEVELOPMENTS.

To help you gain a true perspective, may I remind you that the war itself did not commence until September last. Nine months have not yet passed since Parliament authorized expenditures for active participation in the war, and in particular for co-operation in Canada with the Allied powers in the theatres of war in Europe.

As regards the war, there are three periods which may be considered as separate and distinct. There was the first period of what I might call the shadow of war, during which time there was still a hope for peace.

While they worked for peace, they also prepared for war. If they had not worked for peace, they would have been accused of precipitating war, not only by the present enemies of democracy, but also by their own people.

They prepared for war later and more slowly than their enemies. Their final preparations had necessarily to await the hour that would gain for them the sanction of their Parliaments. That hour came to Canada with the calling of the special session of our Parliament.

There begins the second period. The very strength of democracy in peace time became in some measure a handicap in war time, and in preparations for war time. When the shadow had deepened, the storm broke and war began. Britain and France believed that the war would be long. They still believe that they were right in that belief. They planned for at least a three-year war; four years were mentioned as a possibility. Hitler doubtless knows that he can only win a short war. Britain and France knew that they could only win a long war. They asked us to join with them in planning for a long war.

Our first effort, therefore, while designed to make the greatest possible contribution at the beginning, was also planned so that, from month to month, manpower would grow, production would grow, output of munitions and supplies would grow, until at the critical time when accumulated strength became the decisive factor, it would be available to ensure victory.

### BLITZKRIEG BEGINS.

The third period is that of the blitzkrieg — lightning war, as it is expressed in English. It accords with the plan which Hitler had all along had in mind. Save by those possessed of gangster instincts, its possibility could never have been conceived.

It aims to bring, one by one, under the iron heel of Nazi Germany, nation after nation, whether neutral or belligerent, by methods of terrorism and barbarism unparalleled in warfare throughout the ages. This element of surprise is all-important. The process was under way before the invasion of Poland. It began with the invasion of Austria and Czechoslovakia. It resulted in the destruction of Poland; it has been only too manifest in the conquest of Denmark and Norway, of Holland and Belgium. It is now seeking by lightning strokes to conquer France and Britain.

These two countries have been taken by surprise; not so much by sudden attack upon themselves — sudden attack was expected at the commencement of the war. The surprise has come by the swiftness, the magnitude and the ferocity of the events that preceded them.

No part of the world has been

snocked by these tragic happenings more than this continent. The loyalty of neutral nations to international law became the weapon with which a treacherous enemy struck at their hearts. They had been sacrificed on the altar of their own neutrality.

The lightning war in Europe has forced Britain and France to view the whole situation in a different perspective. Their plans, and with them, our plans, have had to be changed, and quickened in the light of new and appalling developments. Contributions of men, machines and material have had to be hastened. Daily improvisations have become necessary and have been made. The movements of men and ships have had to be altered. Large additional sums of money have had to be found.

### SENSE OF TIME GONE.

It is, I fear, only too true that the magnitude and speed of action, the immensity of the changes in the military situation, and the unparalleled horrors of the conflict have all but destroyed our sense of time. It is difficult to realize that a month has not yet elapsed since Holland and Belgium were invaded. The heroic resistance of these small nations to the German onslaught, and the magnificent response of Britain and France to their appeal for aid were absorbing the attention of the people of Canada when, just a week later, our new Parliament met.

As we watched the spectacle of the German forces crushing Holland and Belgium under the full might of concentrated warfare, it was inevitable that an unparalleled intensity of feeling should develop throughout the country. There developed equally naturally a tendency to measure our Canadian war effort in terms, not of long-range and carefully laid plans, but in terms of the terrible emergency of the moment. The unexpected rapidity with which the Nazi forces carried out their destructive advance naturally increased the tension and added to an impatient if natural desire for additional immediate action.

The dramatic events in Europe seemed to obscure what Canada had done, and was doing to prosecute the war; they also enhanced the difficulty of presenting to Parliament and the people a clear picture of our war effort.

### SOME DECISIONS SECRET.

As was to be expected, there was an insistent demand that the Government should "speed up" its war effort to meet the new situation. At the very time, the Government itself was throwing its full energy into adapting our organization and adjusting our plans to conform to the swiftly changing scene in Europe. It was impossible to decide upon changes of plans until accurate information could be secured from the battle front. When decisions were reached, some of them, for military reasons, could not be announced immediately. Some have not been, and can not yet be made public.

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**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... Montreal Gazette

Date..... June 8, 1940

38340

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present crisis—and Canada is sharing those risks—but we must beware of adding to necessary risks, the needless risk of abandoning plans to face a long and bitter struggle in which staying power will, in the end, be decisive.

To allow our passionate feeling to degenerate into unreasoning hysteria would be fatal to Canada's war effort and a grave injury to the Allied cause. You have heard something in the last few days of what has been done to meet the terrible emergency. It could only be disclosed in instalments, and sometimes not at all. Many things must still remain secret. All disclosures must be made at a time when they suit the Allied needs.

I could not tell Parliament and people, for example, of General McNaughton's visit to the front and of the preparation for our troops to embark for France, until the story of the epic achievement of the evacuation of Dunkerque was made known to the world. I could not tell of the despatch of our destroyers to England until after they had arrived in British waters. Unfortunately, we have been and still are often precluded from saying a word of what we had been asked to do, and of what, in fact, we had done and were doing.

#### TELLS WHAT WAS DONE.

It may help to bring home to you all a fuller appreciation of what has actually been accomplished if I summarize some of the results in terms of men, equipment and supply.

I should like, however, first to give you this solemn assurance. We offered to the Allies, in the name of the people of Canada, all the additional assistance in our power to help them to deal with the recent emergency. We have made no restrictions. What we could do and have done, what we can produce, what we can manufacture, has been placed at their disposal to the utmost limit of our capacity and strength. They have asked us to do a number of things. We have sought to do each one of them promptly, completely and without qualification. We have, on our own account, made additional offers and suggestions. Many of them have been accepted.

In the army, when Belgium and Holland were invaded, we had 81,519 men of all ranks. We had one division, with its ancillary troops, trained and equipped with motorized units on active service in England. Twenty-three thousand young Canadians were ready for embarkation to Norway or to Flanders whenever the word came from the Allied High Command.

A Second Division of men, with necessary auxiliaries, amounting in all to 24,000 men, were completing their Canadian training.

Strategic areas in Newfoundland were defended by this country's soldiers.

When the "blitzkrieg," Hitler's lightning war began, we advanced the date of the despatch of our Second Division. We did likewise with all reinforcements for the First Division, who had not proceeded to England. We speeded the recruiting of reinforcements for the Second Division. We undertook the formation of a Canadian Corps in the field and provided the necessary corps troops. We decided to raise a Third Division. The units have been announced, and recruiting has begun.

#### HOME GUARD FORMED.

We formed a Veterans' Home Guard for the defence of our internal security, and have authorized the establishment of additional veterans' reserves. We un-

dertook to raise rifle battalions for a Fourth Division. We have established a special training course for officers, and veteran officers.

Canadian soldiers are today also on active duty in the West Indies and the North Atlantic.

In the navy, we began the month of May with 6,614 officers and ratings, including 125 officers and 100 ratings serving in the British navy.

We had 94 vessels in commission.

We had 90 vessels under construction.

Our ships operated on both coasts, in West Indian waters, and convoyed ships from our shores and protected our harbors.

Since the course of the war changed, with the shock of un-

contemplated suddenness, we have ordered the recruitment of 4,900 additional men. Every shipyard now works to capacity. And today, by one of those strange changes of fate and fortune, our destroyers' willingly repaying a small part of an ancient debt, are helping to guard the shores of Britain, and watch with increasing vigilance for those who would violate her island freedom. I bade them Godspeed when they left with the same pride with which you and the people of Britain greeted their arrival.

Our navy is a young navy. It has inherited great traditions: It is helping to create them.

The Royal Canadian Air Force had no existence during the last war. At the beginning of May, it had a strength of 12,315 men. We had a strength of 12,315 men. We fence, one army co-operation squadron overseas, another completing its training in Canada, and reinforcements continuously preparing for active service in the army co-operation school.

The Commonwealth Air Training Plan was proceeding in magnitude, training, and time in accordance with the predetermined plan.

#### AIR PLAN SPEEDED.

The Nazis struck with all their power. Their swift advance was made possible by their numerical superiority in the air. We immediately sent overseas No. 112 Army Co-operation Squadron. We called up for immediate service 5,000 recruits for the Royal Canadian Air Force. We undertook to despatch overseas a fighter squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Force. We appointed a Minister to devote his entire time and attention to national defence for air.

We have hastened the construction of air fields and hangars a year earlier than the time fixed under the Commonwealth plan.

We have sent overseas a number of pilots recently graduated from Camp Borden, who were intended to be used as instructors. Many of our own airplanes were sent to Britain. Airplanes of British manufacture, ordered five months before the outbreak of war for our own air force and which were on their way to Canada were, on our own instructions, stopped in mid-ocean and returned to Britain.

It has been stated that the Commonwealth Air Training Plan will be abandoned or postponed because of these changes. This is not true. It will yet be a decisive instrument of victory.

Of money, I will say no more than that the present appropriation for war purposes alone is \$2,000,000 a day, an amount which will necessarily be increased as we continue to seek to meet exceptional needs.

I have told you these things because it is difficult amid all the new distractions of war for anyone in Canada to obtain a clear picture at one time of what is being done to meet the situation.

The Government is devoting all its energy, and marshalling all resources to meet the threat to our liberty. We need your confidence. We need the constructive help of every Canadian. In steadfastness and courage remains the hope of human liberty. Panic, dissension, disunity, are the only enemies that can defeat us.

#### "ALL IS NOT DARK."

All is not dark in the skies above us. The first series of enemy gains will not end this war, any more than it ended other wars in which the British and French peoples have fought side by side. The enemy's tactics, his weapons, his strength are now known. They surprised us. They will not defeat us.

In the light of all that is known of the situation as it is shaping itself in Europe today, I feel I would not be doing my full duty at this time, if I did not speak of other dangers which threaten.

I began by distinguishing three phases of the war. It is difficult to believe that we are now at this moment at the beginning of a fourth phase. Our attention from the outset has been directed to Germany as the sole enemy, and to her effort to destroy Britain and France.

The coming phase will witness operations in entirely new theatres of war. It will most certainly be marked by conflict between nations that thus far have escaped or avoided hostilities. How sudden or how extensive these new developments may be, no one can say.

What I wish to make clear is, that if at any moment we learn that fresh hostilities have broken out, on however terrible a scale, there is no reason why fresh fears should occasion undue alarm. We shall have, of course, to assess anew what may be necessary on our part to meet the demands of the new situation. New events will demand new measures, but we will do well to continue to keep the situation as a whole in its true perspective.

While not under-estimating the dangers that threaten from other coasts and other seas, let us remember that against the perils of the present and the future are arrayed a new realization on the part of all free peoples of the nature of the conflict, and a new determination to spare no effort and no sacrifice in the indomitable will to conquer. If democracy lacked foresight and audacity in the past, as the Premier of France said yesterday, those days are over.

#### BLOCKADE TIGHTER.

The German territorial advances contain within themselves elements of weakness. Economic blockade and contraband control can, and will now, be exercised with increasing and more effective pressure. Disregard for the strength and the ruthlessness of the enemy, lack of preparation to meet the demands of modern mechanized warfare, the suspense of waiting for an enemy who shrinks from no violation of right, and no manifestation of terror, all these things have passed away.

Discipline has come to us all, not from without, but from within. Wanton brutality has transformed isolation of outlook, and neutrality of heart, into mere empty words. The treachery that stabbed the neutral nations killed neutrality itself with the same fell blow.

If new enemies oppose us, we may be sure that old and new friends will arise to help us. The worldwide significance of the conflict is being realized in every land. You know how earnestly and vigorously the President of the United States has spoken in the name of humanity. There has been mobilized in the cause of

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... Montreal Gazette

Date..... June 8, 1940

D. 38341

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freedom the conscience of the civilized world, and tyranny will long remember the power of that conscience, and the final effect of the world's condemnation upon the forces of evil.

Canada is called upon to accept a greater and higher responsibility. It was framed in living words by Mr. Churchill in his speech to the British House of Commons on Tuesday last. This nation with all the strength of its youth, the wealth of its resources, and the idealism of its freedom, will proudly accept its new responsibility. We are the bridge between the Old World and the New; the bridge which joins the new freedom of the North American Continent with the ancient freedom of Britain which gave it birth. We will stand resolute to defend its approaches and its abutments.

From the harbor of Dunkerque and from the citadel of Calais the bravest men in the world battled their way home to fight once again for liberty and goodness and mercy.

To the making of Canada have come the same chivalry of France and the same gallantry of British which fashioned the glory of that triumph of heroism. I speak the heart and mind of our country when I say that every fort in Canada will be another Calais and every harbor will be another Dunkerque before the men and women of our land allow the light and the life of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the powers of evil, or yield their liberties to the tyranny of Nazi brutality.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram

Date June 8<sup>th</sup> 40

D 38342

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## **CONFIDENCE MUST BE EARNED BY DEEDS, NOT WORDS.**

Expression in last night's broadcast by W. L. M. King of Canada's determination to aid in every way the war effort of the Allies was couched in the expansive phrases of which he is master. If it indicates a determination on the part of his Government to give everything Canada has to the winning of the war, the new attitude will be heartily welcomed.

Mr. King's defense of the leisurely character of past performances was not impressive. His suggestion that "long term and carefully planned" arrangements must necessarily be slow does not bear inspection. Australia is fighting in the same war, and her preparations must have been subject to similar considerations as to the duration of the war, yet with half our population she already has two divisions in the field to our one, and she long ago sent forward her railway troops for which she was asked, while the raising of railway troops in Canada was only yesterday announced by Mr. Rogers in the House of Commons. Admittedly Britain has increased her effort since the May crisis, but long before that her war effort was on a scale to which Canada's bore no proportional relation.

If Mr. King and his Government have been criticized, they have only themselves to thank. What he calls hysteria is the awakening of the people of this country to the fact that we have been slow in pulling our weight. His statement last night was in very different tone to his declaration in the House of Commons on March 30th, 1939, when he said that, "We must choose between keeping our own house in order and trying to save Europe and Asia." That was not a reasonable choice for the Prime Minister of a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations to put before this country in the light of the situation of that day.

It required the crisis to awaken Canadians to the possibility that Mr. King was voicing his own views when he said that, "The idea that every twenty years this country should automatically and as a matter of course take part in a war overseas for democracy, or self-determination of other small nations, that a country which has all it can do to run itself should be called upon to save, periodically, a continent that cannot run itself, and to these ends risk the lives of its people, risk bankruptcy and

political disunion seems to many a nightmare and sheer madness." Were they to be blamed if they saw in the leisurely character of our war effort the working out of an idea to which Mr. King gave expression nearly two months after the outbreak of war, when he said that, "The most effective contribution Canada can make in support of the Allies is certain to differ greatly from our contribution in the last war. Our contribution to economic warfare may easily prove to be most important of all."

Mr. King's address last night offers hope that he is now willing to move in the direction in which Canada has wanted him to go. If Half-Way Gardiner and the other holdbacks of his Government can be pushed along the same path it will be time enough for him to ask for the confidence of the country. He will have confidence so far as he measures up to the country's demands.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Standard

38343

Date June 8/40

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## Canada Listens

**T**HE Prime Minister's Friday night speech over the radio was a good sample of what Canadian people want to hear from their Government.

Mr. King told of what Canada is doing to help win the war. He explained how action and thought had changed about the war. He called attention to the perils that lie ahead, and to the new threats that may arise against Canada.

That is what the Canadian people want to hear. They want to know, to understand the steps the Government is taking. They want to be told of the full size of the job ahead, and they are not afraid of hearing of dangers that threaten.

It is vital that the Government take the people into its confidence to the greatest extent that military considerations permit. By telling the people as much as it can, but saying it clearly and forcibly, so that it will be brought home to everyone in the country, the Government will get the greatest support from the Canadian nation for the war effort.

In the past week the Government has been telling the public a great deal more than it had been. The result has been an inspiration to the country, a much better understanding of the war effort. If the effect has been good, the obvious thing is to keep up the good work, to tell the people everything possible. It is up to the Government to continue and expand its efforts to tell Canada.

## PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Moncton Transcript

Date June 8/40

38344

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

### NO LIMIT ON CANADA'S EFFORTS

Prime Minister King, in his splendid speech last night, made it clear to the world that Canada, which entered into the present struggle of its own free will, places no limit upon its efforts in the allied cause. All that can be done is being done and will be done until victory is attained. By the magnitude, the swiftness and ferocity of the attack by the enemy, the Allies have been surprised but not vanquished.

Mr. King felt that recent events in Europe might well be divided into three phases.

There was, first, the shadow of war when the present Allies strove for peace and at the same time prepared for war. Then came the actual hostilities. Canada's plan was necessarily co-ordinated with that of its Allies. Hitler could only hope to win a short war, the Allies a longer war, of three or perhaps four years. The Canadian effort was keyed to get the maximum results in that period.

The third phase, that of lightning war upon the west, began less than a month ago, although events have moved so quickly that it is difficult to realize it. Events have moved so rapidly that the world scarcely has had time to breathe—the tragedy of Holland, the capitulation of Belgium, the invasion of Northern France. Peril has been heaped on peril, while the emotions have been stirred with hatred for the crimes committed, pity for the sufferers, pride in the achievements of the men of two races which built Canada, "the bravest men in the world." Even now, seventy miles from Paris, the greatest battle ever fought may decide the fate of France.

In such circumstances Canadians would not be true to themselves if they did not inquire whether everything possible which Canada could do was being done, but they would not be true if they indulged in unreasoning hysteria. It was immediately necessary to readjust plans to the new situation. It meant taking bigger risks, but time was all-important. The government made it plain to London that Britain merely had to ask and Canada would comply. What was asked was granted promptly and many suggestions from Canada of further help had been accepted. Canadian destroyers are now helping defend the shores of Britain, thus paying back a little of an ancient debt. On Canada's own initiative, planes ordered in Britain months ago were turned back in mid-Atlantic. The war is now costing Canada two millions a day and it will cost more.

Much of Canada's increased efforts could not be told at once; much has been told recently; much cannot yet be told. In his recent speech, Mr. Churchill suggested new responsibilities might fall upon the New World. Canada is ready to assume every obligation as the link between the New and the Old Worlds.

There was the strong possibility that the war is about to enter a fourth phase and new countries be involved, but Canadians would be undaunted, for all the countries drawn in would not be on the enemy side, said Mr. King in his notable speech, comparable to those of Mr. Churchill and Premier Reynaud in its determination that the war be carried to a victorious conclusion.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... **Winnipeg Free Press**

*Mr. King's Speech  
June 7/40*  
**38345**

Date..... **June 8/40**

Subject.....

## Canada Responds

Information, received through neutral channels from Berlin, is to the effect that the Nazi highest command—that is to say, Hitler—is disconcerted by the progress to date of the blitzkrieg. To the Allied command, this progress has been rapid and destructive beyond anything which was written in the range of their imagination; but there is nevertheless some ground for the belief that the resistance offered has been very inconvenient to Hitler and that the reaction of the peoples of the Allied countries to the Nazi onslaught has also been something beyond his imagination. According to this report, Herr Hitler's timetable called for the over-running of Holland in a single day, to be followed by defeats of British and French forces so disastrous and decisive in character that by May 25 the Allied governments, realizing the hopelessness of the struggle, would sue for peace.

\* \* \*

There is nothing in this which is difficult to believe. Herr Hitler's contempt for the democracies as countries whose people were both unwilling and unable to fight has long been known. Rauschnig, in his "Hitler Speaks," reports this as Hitler's estimate of these democracies:

Democracy has no genuine convictions for which people would be willing to stake their lives. Fear and personal advantage will in every case, sooner or later, lead to capitulation. Lack of conviction always results in defeatism; resistance is useless.

Entertaining such views and knowing the range and violence of the assault which he had arranged to deliver, it is likely that he believed that the Allied armies would be scattered like chaff in an instant of time and that the peoples behind them would capitulate.

\* \* \*

The developments to date, disastrous as they have been to the Allies, must nevertheless be surprising to Herr Hitler if he looked for an early clean-up, particularly if early victory is essential to him, which may be the case. He has found that the armies of freedom can and will fight; that, as the record of the evacuation of the beleaguered armies from Flanders shows, they have supreme qualities of steadiness and courage, with a capacity for initiative and resource to meet dangerous emergencies which is only possible to free men; that "capitulation" is a word not known to the Allied peoples (however attractive it may have seemed to the caitiff King of the Belgians); and that he is up against an intangible moral quality which he is not able to understand: the unconquerable resolution of a free people to die rather than yield—a resolution which will bring into play imponderables that, perhaps in the short run, certainly in the long run, will save them from the fate against which it has been invoked.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

D 38346

Name of Publication.....

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Mr. Churchill's speech, in its immediate effects and in its contribution to the future, may well rank as one of the turning points of the war. If Hitler has any sense of moral values, he will recognize it as a challenge to mortal conflict. It will disabuse his mind of any idea of easy victory and an early peace. He will know that the democratic cause cannot compound with him or surrender to him; that the defending forces of civilization and Christianity will only yield ground after a desperate defence, and then only to retreat to other defensive positions; that the banners of the nations that have the courage to fight for freedom, even though their territories may be under the heel of the oppressor, will still float in the breeze; that the war will go on, regardless of sacrifice, regardless of time, until the hordes of our Twentieth Century Genghis Khan are stayed and the counter-attack for the rewinning of the world for liberty can begin. The heroic age has returned to the world; and there will be no lack of heroes. "For Freedom's battle once begun, bequeathed from bleeding sire to son, though baffled oft, is ever won."

Churchill's speech, which must take its place among the great examples of inspiring oratory, voices this unconquerable will to resist, and as well suggests, as conceivable though not probable, steps which, if the battle is long and strategic retreat necessary, may have to be taken. There is an implication in his speech which profoundly affects Canada. Of this implication the Canadian people, or at least very large numbers of them, are conscious; and they have risen to it in the spirit of courage and devotion which we share with the people of the Allied democracies. If it should ever be necessary, owing to disaster, unforeseen and not believed possible, "our Empire across the seas, armed and guarded by the British fleet," said Churchill, "will carry on the struggle until, in God's good time, the new world, in all its strength and might, sets forth to the rescue and liberation of the old." This call to be ready, if fate should so dispose matters, to play a role in the Great War for the liberation of mankind greater than is allotted to it in the dispositions of today, has found its answer in the hearts and minds of Canadians.

They have an understanding of the conditions that may determine such a course of events; of what it will involve in the assumption of new, onerous and permanent obligations; of what it will mean in terms of sacrifice and endurance; and knowing all this, they have been expectant that Canada would answer, in words as emphatic as those employed by Mr. Churchill, that this responsibility if allotted to Canada by fate will be resolutely accepted and faithfully discharged. Last night Mr. King, in his broadcast to the Canadian people, gave an answer in terms which invests Canada's war effort with new and deep significance. If Mr. Churchill's words were a trumpet-call to the Allied

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Mr. Churchill's speech, in its immediate effects and in its contribution to the future, may well rank as one of the turning points of the war. If Hitler has any sense of moral values, he will recognize it as a challenge to mortal conflict. It will disabuse his mind of any idea of easy victory and an early peace. He will know that the democratic cause cannot compound with him or surrender to him; that the defending forces of civilization and Christianity will only yield ground after a desperate defence, and then only to retreat to other defensive positions; that the banners of the nations that have the courage to fight for freedom, even though their territories may be under the heel of the oppressor, will still float in the breeze; that the war will go on, regardless of sacrifice, regardless of time, until the hordes of our Twentieth Century Genghis Khan are stayed and the counter-attack for the rewinning of the world for liberty can begin. The heroic age has returned to the world; and there will be no lack of heroes. "For Freedom's battle once begun, bequeathed from bleeding sire to son, though baffled oft, is ever won."

Churchill's speech, which must take its place among the great examples of inspiring oratory, voices this unconquerable will to resist, and as well suggests, as conceivable though not probable, steps which, if the battle is long and strategic retreat necessary, may have to be taken. There is an implication in his speech which profoundly affects Canada. Of this implication the Canadian people, or at least very large numbers of them, are conscious; and they have risen to it in the spirit of courage and devotion which we share with the people of the Allied democracies. If it should ever be necessary, owing to disaster, unforeseen and not believed possible, "our Empire across the seas, armed and guarded by the British fleet," said Churchill, "will carry on the struggle until, in God's good time, the new world, in all its strength and might, sets forth to the rescue and liberation of the old." This call to be ready, if fate should so dispose matters, to play a role in the Great War for the liberation of mankind greater than is allotted to it in the dispositions of today, has found its answer in the hearts and minds of Canadians.

They have an understanding of the conditions that may determine such a course of events; of what it will involve in the assumption of new, onerous and permanent obligations; of what it will mean in terms of sacrifice and endurance; and knowing all this, they have been expectant that Canada would answer, in words as emphatic as those employed by Mr. Churchill, that this responsibility if allotted to Canada by fate will be resolutely accepted and faithfully discharged. Last night Mr. King, in his broadcast to the Canadian people, gave an answer in terms which invests Canada's war effort with new and deep significance. If Mr. Churchill's words were a trumpet-call to the Allied

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## PRESS CLIPPINGS

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# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

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More remains to be done, however, than merely to accept the responsibility of the principle of unlimited and total co-operation with our Allies until victory is won. The ready acceptance of the principle is excellent. The Canadian people expected it of their Prime Minister. But the principle itself must now be translated into vigorous action. The nation, listening to Mr. King's broadcast, will accept only with reserve his claims to foresight and preparedness. The story of our war effort up to now is a familiar one. What the people want at this moment is the assurance that our Government has the ability and the vigor to snatch the initiative from our enemies forever, that it will not only accept burdens proposed to it, but will have the courage and strength of vision to create new opportunities of contribution to the common cause. We must mobilize our strength not only in men but in industry and production generally on a scale hitherto unknown, and forge here the vital links in the chain that will at last drag our foes down to defeat.

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**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Gazette

Date June 8/40

38348

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## TEXT OF PRIME MINISTER KING'S

### BROADCAST

*Ottawa, June 7.—(P)—Following is text of Prime Minister MacKenzie King's speech tonight over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation:*

Fellow Canadians:

I speak to you tonight in the midst of the most crowded weeks in human history. Barely a month has passed since Holland and Belgium were first ravaged by lightning warfare in all its fury and frightfulness. Every succeeding day since their first heroic resistance has brought new shocks, new problems, and new duties to those in whose hands has been placed the task of defending freedom.

The brutal domination of Holland, the tragic surrender of Belgium, the invasion of France, the capture of the Channel ports, have happened in such quick succession that the world has hardly had time to breathe. Today, Britain, no longer in island security, prepares to meet the invader across the narrow sea. At this very hour, the greatest of all battles in history is being waged within 70 miles of the city of Paris. On its outcome may depend the future of France.

As the world has been shaken to its foundations by the swift march of terrible events, nearly every emotion in the heart of each one of us has been profoundly stirred. Hate for the inhuman oppressor, pity for the helpless and the homeless, pride for the brotherhood of the brave who have honored the lands of Britain and France that gave them birth.

#### CRISES MULTIPLY.

One crisis has not passed before another has arisen in its place. Peril has been heaped upon peril. Who will say on what new horizon destruction may not loom tomorrow?

Is it any wonder that you, my fellow citizens, have in these days been concerned and impatient, full of questionings and doubts. You would not be men and women if you had not been thus harassed and distracted. No one could have British or French blood in his veins and know, as we in Canada know, what Britain and France mean to the cause of free men, without having his nature stirred to its depths by all these things.

You have rightly been asking what has been done, and is being done, to help the cause to which we have freely pledged our honor and our strength. It is only natural that you should be worried about our fighting forces, about airplanes and equipment. It is only natural, too, that you should be anxious about our internal security.

I intend tonight to speak of these things. I do not propose to apologize for democracy nor to direct my attention to criticisms. We cannot have the one without the other. My purpose rather is to endeavour to help you if I can, amid all these swift changes in the scene in Europe to see the conflict in its true perspective, and with the conflict in its true perspective, the war effort of our own country. Unless we are to abandon altogether the basis upon which we have proceeded from the outset, our war effort must be kept properly related in time, nature and place, to that of the Allied powers.

We must never forget that freely, and as one people, we entered this war. As one nation we ranged ourselves on the side of freedom. As one nation we fight today, and as one nation we will fight to the end.

#### TRACES DEVELOPMENTS.

To help you gain a true perspective, may I remind you that the war itself did not commence until September last. Nine months have not yet passed since Parliament authorized expenditures for active participation in the war, and in particular for co-operation in Canada with the Allied powers in the theatres of war in Europe.

As regards the war, there are three periods which may be considered as separate and distinct. There was the first period of what I might call the shadow of war, during which time there was still a hope for peace.

While they worked for peace, they also prepared for war. If they had not worked for peace, they would have been accused of precipitating war, not only by the present enemies of democracy, but also by their own people.

They prepared for war later and more slowly than their enemies. Their final preparations had

necessarily to await the hour that would gain for them the sanction of their Parliaments. That hour came to Canada with the calling of the special session of our Parliament.

There begins the second period. The very strength of democracy in peace time became in some measure a handicap in war time, and in preparations for war time. When the shadow had deepened, the storm broke and war began. Britain and France believed that the war would be long. They still believe that they were right in that belief. They planned for at least a three-year war; four years were mentioned as a possibility. Hitler doubtless knows that he can only win a short war. Britain and France knew that they could only win a long war. They asked us to join with them in planning for a long war.

Our first effort, therefore, while designed to make the greatest possible contribution at the beginning, was also planned so that, from month to month, manpower would grow, production would grow, output of munitions and supplies would grow, until at the critical time when accumulated strength became the decisive factor, it would be available to ensure victory.

#### BLITZKRIEG BEGINS.

The third period is that of the blitzkrieg — lightning war, as it is expressed in English. It accords with the plan which Hitler had all along had in mind. Save by those possessed of gangster instincts, its possibility could never have been conceived.

It aims to bring, one by one, under the iron heel of Nazi Germany, nation after nation, whether neutral or belligerent, by methods of terrorism and barbarism unparalleled in warfare throughout the ages. This element of surprise is all - important. The process was under way before the invasion of Poland. It began with the invasion of Austria and Czechoslovakia. It resulted in the destruction of Poland; it has been only too manifest in the conquest of Denmark and Norway, of Holland and Belgium. It is now seeking by lightning

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strokes to conquer France and Britain.

These two countries have been taken by surprise; not so much by sudden attack upon themselves — sudden attack was expected at the commencement of the war. The surprise has come by the swiftness, the magnitude and the ferocity of the events that preceded them.

No part of the world has been shocked by these tragic happenings more than this continent. The loyalty of neutral nations to international law became the weapon with which a treacherous enemy struck at their hearts. They had been sacrificed on the altar of their own neutrality.

The lightning war in Europe has forced Britain and France to view the whole situation in a different perspective. Their plans, and with them, our plans, have had to be changed, and quickened in the light of new and appalling developments. Contributions of men, machines and material have had to be hastened. Daily improvisations have become necessary and have been made. The movements of men and ships have had to be altered. Large additional sums of money have had to be found.

#### SENSE OF TIME GONE.

It is, I fear, only too true that the magnitude and speed of action, the immensity of the changes in the military situation, and the unparalleled horrors of the conflict have all but destroyed our sense of time. It is difficult to realize that a month has not yet elapsed since Holland and Belgium were invaded. The heroic resistance of these small nations to the German onslaught, and the magnificent response of Britain and France to their appeal for aid were absorbing the attention of the people of Canada when, just a week later, our new Parliament met.

As we watched the spectacle of the German forces crushing Holland and Belgium under the full might of concentrated warfare, it was inevitable that an unparalleled intensity of feeling should develop throughout the country. There developed equally naturally a tendency to measure our Canadian war effort in terms, not of long-range and carefully laid plans, but in terms of the terrible emergency of the moment. The unexpected rapidity with which the Nazi forces carried out their destructive advance naturally increased the tension and added to an impatient if natural desire for additional immediate action.

The dramatic events in Europe seemed to obscure what Canada had done, and was doing to prosecute the war; they also enhanced the difficulty of presenting to Parliament and the people a clear picture of our war effort.

#### SOME DECISIONS SECRET.

As was to be expected, there was an insistent demand that the Government should "speed up" its war effort to meet the new situation. At the very time, the Government itself was throwing its full energy into adapting our organization and adjusting our plans to conform to the swiftly changing scene in Europe. It was impossible to decide upon changes of plans until accurate information could be secured from the battle front. When decisions were reached, some of them, for military reasons, could not be announced immediately. Some have not been, and can not yet be made public.

I should like to stress that everything that has been done recently has been accomplished in the time it has because the foundations of our war effort were well and truly laid. Many of the measures recently announced could not have been taken earlier, because the circumstances did not then call for emergency action of the character recently undertaken. Terrible risks must be taken to meet the present crisis—and Canada is sharing those risks—but we must beware of adding to necessary risks, the needless risk of abandoning plans to face a long and bitter struggle in which staying power will, in the end, be decisive.

To allow our passionate feeling to degenerate into unreasoning hysteria would be fatal to Canada's war effort and a grave injury to the Allied cause. You have heard something in the last few days of what has been done to meet the terrible emergency. It could only be disclosed in instalments, and sometimes not at all. Many things must still remain secret. All disclosures must be made at a time when they suit the Allied needs.

I could not tell Parliament and people, for example, of General McNaughton's visit to the front and of the preparation for our troops to embark for France, until the story of the epic achievement of the evacuation of Dunkerque was made known to the world. I could not tell of the despatch of our destroyers to England until after they had arrived in British waters. Unfortunately, we have been and still are often precluded from saying a word of what we had been asked to do, and of what, in fact, we had done and were doing.

#### TELLS WHAT WAS DONE.

It may help to bring home to you all a fuller appreciation of what has actually been accomplished if I summarize some of the results in terms of men, equipment and supply.

I should like, however, first to give you this solemn assurance. We offered to the Allies, in the name of the people of Canada, all the additional assistance in our power to help them to deal with the recent emergency. We have made no restrictions. What we could do and have done, what we can produce, what we can manufacture, has been placed at their disposal to the utmost limit of our capacity and strength. They have asked us to do a number of things. We have sought to do each one of them promptly, completely and without qualification. We have, on our own account, made additional offers and suggestions. Many of them have been accepted.

In the army, when Belgium and Holland were invaded, we had 81,519 men of all ranks. We had one division, with its ancillary troops, trained and equipped with motorized units on active service in England. Twenty-three thousand young Canadians were ready for embarkation to Norway or to Flanders whenever the word came from the Allied High Command.

A Second Division of men, with necessary auxiliaries, amounting

in all to 24,000 men, were completing their Canadian training. Strategic areas in Newfoundland were defended by this country's soldiers.

When the "blitzkrieg," Hitler's lightning war began, we advanced the date of the despatch of our Second Division. We did likewise with all reinforcements for the First Division, who had not proceeded to England. We speeded the recruiting of reinforcements for the Second Division. We undertook the formation of a Canadian Corps in the field and provided the necessary corps troops. We decided to raise a Third Division. The units have been announced, and recruiting has begun.

#### HOME GUARD FORMED.

We formed a Veterans' Home Guard for the defence of our internal security, and have authorized the establishment of additional veterans' reserves. We undertook to raise rifle battalions for a Fourth Division. We have established a special training course for officers, and veteran officers.

Canadian soldiers are today also on active duty in the West Indies and the North Atlantic.

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In the navy, we began the month of May with 6,614 officers and ratings, including 125 officers and 100 ratings serving in the British navy.

We had 94 vessels in commission.

We had 90 vessels under construction.

Our ships operated on both coasts, in West Indian waters, and convoyed ships from our shores and protected our harbors.

Since the course of the war changed, with the shock of un-contemplated suddenness, we have ordered the recruitment of 4,900 additional men. Every shipyard now works to capacity. And today, by one of those strange changes of fate and fortune, our destroyers' willingly repaying a small part of an ancient debt, are helping to guard the shores of Britain, and watch with increasing vigilance for those who would violate her island freedom. I bade them Godspeed when they left with the same pride with which you and the people of Britain greeted their arrival.

Our navy is a young navy. It has inherited great traditions: It is helping to create them.

The Royal Canadian Air Force had no existence during the last war. At the beginning of May, it had a strength of 12,315 men. We had a strength of 12,315 men. We fence, one army co-operation squadron overseas, another completing its training in Canada, and reinforcements continuously preparing for active service in the army co-operation school.

The Commonwealth Air Training Plan was proceeding in magnitude, training, and time in accordance with the predetermined plan.

## AIR PLAN SPEEDED.

The Nazis struck with all their power. Their swift advance was made possible by their numerical superiority in the air. We immediately sent overseas No. 112 Army Co-operation Squadron. We called up for immediate service 5,000 recruits for the Royal Canadian Air Force. We undertook to despatch overseas a fighter squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Force. We appointed a Minister to devote his entire time and attention to national defence for air.

We have hastened the construction of air fields and hangars a year earlier than the time fixed under the Commonwealth plan.

We have sent overseas a number of pilots recently graduated from Camp Borden, who were intended to be used as instructors. Many of our own airplanes were sent to Britain. Airplanes

of British manufacture, ordered five months before the outbreak of war for our own air force and which were on their way to Canada were, on our own instructions, stopped in mid-ocean and returned to Britain.

It has been stated that the Commonwealth Air Training Plan will be abandoned or postponed because of these changes. This is not true. It will yet be a decisive instrument of victory.

Of money, I will say no more than that the present appropriation for war purposes alone is \$2,000,000 a day, an amount which will necessarily be increased as we continue to seek to meet exceptional needs.

I have told you these things because it is difficult amid all the new distractions of war for anyone in Canada to obtain a clear picture at one time of what is being done to meet the situation.

The Government is devoting all its energy, and marshalling all resources to meet the threat to our liberty. We need your confidence. We need the constructive help of every Canadian. In steadfastness and courage remains the hope of human liberty. Panic, dissension, disunity, are the only enemies that can defeat us.

## "ALL IS NOT DARK."

All is not dark in the skies above us. The first series of enemy gains will not end this war, any more than it ended other wars in which the British and French peoples have fought side by side. The enemy's tactics, his weapons, his strength are now known. They surprised us. They will not defeat us.

In the light of all that is known of the situation as it is shaping itself in Europe today, I feel I would not be doing my full duty at this time, if I did not speak of other dangers which threaten.

I began by distinguishing three phases of the war. It is difficult to believe that we are now at this moment at the beginning of a fourth phase. Our attention from the outset has been directed to Germany as the sole enemy, and to her effort to destroy Britain and France.

The coming phase will witness operations in entirely new theatres of war. It will most certainly be marked by conflict between nations that thus far have escaped or avoided hostilities. How sudden or how extensive these new developments may be, no one can say.

"What I wish to make clear is, that if at any moment we learn that fresh hostilities have broken out, on however terrible a scale, there is no reason why fresh fears should occasion undue alarm. We shall have, of course, to assess anew what may be necessary on our part to meet the demands of the new situation. New events will demand new measures, but we will do well to continue to keep the situation as a whole in its true perspective.

While not under-estimating the dangers that threaten from other coasts and other seas, let us remember that against the perils of the present and the future are arrayed a new realization on the part of all free peoples of the nature of the conflict, and a new determination to spare no effort and no sacrifice in the indomitable will to conquer. If democracy lacked foresight and audacity in the past, as the Premier of France said yesterday, those days are over.

## BLOCKADE TIGHTER.

The German territorial advances contain within themselves elements of weakness. Economic blockade and contraband control can, and will now, be exercised with increasing and more effective pressure. Disregard for the strength and the ruthlessness of the enemy, lack of preparation to meet the demands of modern mechanized warfare, the suspense of waiting for an enemy who shrinks from no violation of right, and no manifestation of terror, all these things have passed away.

Discipline has come to us all, not from without, but from within. Wanton brutality has transformed isolation of outlook, and neutrality of heart, into mere empty words. The treachery that stabbed the neutral nations killed neutrality itself with the same fell blow.

If new enemies oppose us, we may be sure that old and new friends will arise to help us. The worldwide significance of the conflict is being realized in every land. You know how earnestly and vigorously the President of the United States has spoken in the name of humanity. There has been mobilized in the cause of freedom the conscience of the civilized world, and tyranny will long remember the power of that conscience, and the final effect of the world's condemnation upon the forces of evil.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

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Canada is called upon to accept a greater and higher responsibility. It was framed in living words by Mr. Churchill in his speech to the British House of Commons on Tuesday last. This nation with all the strength of its youth, the wealth of its resources, and the idealism of its freedom, will proudly accept its new responsibility. We are the bridge between the Old World and the New; the bridge which joins the new freedom of the North American Continent with the ancient freedom of Britain which gave it birth. We will stand resolute to defend its approaches and its abutments.

From the harbor of Dunkerque and from the citadel of Calais the bravest men in the world battled their way home to fight once again for liberty and goodness and mercy.

To the making of Canada have come the same chivalry of France and the same gallantry of British which fashioned the glory of that triumph of heroism. I speak the heart and mind of our country when I say that every fort in Canada will be another Calais and every harbor will be another Dunkerque before the men and women of our land allow the light and the life of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the powers of evil, or yield their liberties to the tyranny of Nazi brutality.

## PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... **Winnipeg Tribune**

..... **June 8/40**

Date.....

**38352**

Subject.....

### Warning—and Encouragement

**M**R. MACKENZIE KING'S speech to the nation on Friday night fell into two sections. As Prime Minister, he defended the government's prosecution of the national war effort in the past and promised an acceleration of pace to meet the new situation. Then, adopting his sometimes forgotten role of Minister for External Affairs, Mr. King gave plain notice that the war may be widened. "If new enemies oppose us," he said, "we may be sure that old and new friends will arise to help us."

As to the government's war effort, only the other day Mr. King himself made the perfect commentary. "Deeds, not words," are what the people of Canada are looking for at the present moment, he said. And in this spirit, no doubt, almost simultaneously with the Prime Minister's speech, the Ottawa government announced that construction of 300 tanks will start immediately—right today—in Canada. Readers of the parliamentary reports from Ottawa will recall that Hon. C. D. HOWE, replying to Dr. BRUCE of Toronto, has told the House that Canada can make tanks but that she cannot make them quickly.

Mr. King spoke rather rapidly and with somewhat less than his customary assurance in dealing with the national war effort, but his whole tempo and the pitch of his voice changed when he came to discuss the possibility that the war might spread. Speaking slowly, now, emphasizing almost every word as if he were underlining it, and breathing deep conviction, Mr. King expressed con-

fidence that old and new friends would help the Allies.

When he spoke of "new enemies," the minds of his hearers filled in the word "Italy." When he spoke of old and new friends, he himself went on to say that the worldwide significance of the conflict is being realized in every land, and added:

*"You know how earnestly and vigorously the president of the United States has spoken in the name of humanity. There has been mobilized in the cause of freedom, the conscience of the civilized world and tyranny will long remember the power of that conscience and the final effect of the world's condemnation upon the forces of evil."*

Again, lest anyone might mistake the reference, he said elsewhere:

"We are the bridge between the old world and the new; the bridge which joins the new freedom of the North American continent with the ancient freedom of Britain which gave it birth. We will stand resolute to defend its approaches and its abutments."

Every fort in Canada would be another Calais, he declared, every harbor another Dunkerque before Canadians would allow the light of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the powers of evil or yield their liberties to the tyranny of Nazi brutality.

Mr. King's warning to Canadians to expect new dangers is all too plain. But plain also is his hint of new help to come. Plainest of all is the need of every Canadian to buckle to in the spirit of "go do it," and see this thing through to final victory.

## PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Regina Leader Post

Date June 10/40

38353

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

### Mr. King's Clarion Call

Prime Minister Churchill's soul-lifting words of last week with regard to the readiness of the overseas empire and the new world to carry on the struggle for liberty found eloquent echo in Prime Minister Mackenzie King's message to the nation Friday night. Like Mr. Churchill's glowing phrases, the words of Mr. King are something to clip out and hold fast to, as the way becomes increasingly hard.

"This nation," said Canada's prime minister, "with all the strength of its youth, the wealth of its resources and the idealism of its freedom will proudly accept its new responsibility.

"We are the bridge between the old world and the new; the bridge which joins the new freedom of the North American continent with the ancient freedom of Britain which gave it birth. We will stand resolute to defend its approaches and its abutments."

The prime minister's voice welled over with patriotic fervor and emotion as he pressed home Canada's determination by declaring that every fort in the Dominion would be another Calais, every harbor another Dunkirk before Canadians would allow the light of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the powers of evil or yield their liberties to the tyranny of Nazi brutality.

Appropriately reserved but penetratingly clear was Mr. King's praise of the vigor and earnestness of the president of the United States on behalf of humanity, followed immediately by the splendidly-worded conception:

"There has been mobilized in the cause of freedom, the conscience of the civilized world and tyranny will long remember the power of that conscience and the final effect of the world's condemnation upon the forces of evil."

And deeply significant, too, was the prime minister's reply to his own suggestion that the conflict of nations will inevitably spread into other theatres of war.

"If new enemies oppose us," he said, "we may be sure that old and new friends will arise to help us. The world wide significance of the conflict is being realized in every land."

\* \* \*

It was a magnificent speech capable in every respect of accomplishing the purposes for which it was planned. It constituted a much-needed bolster to the morale of the Canadian people and it could not but win understanding and willing acceptance among the people of the United States.

D 38354

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Causerie du premier ministre

le 7 juin 1940

Mes chers Compatriotes,

Je m'adresse à vous, ce soir, au milieu de l'une des semaines les plus chargées d'événements de toute l'histoire. Il y a un mois à peine, la Hollande et la Belgique étaient subitement ravagées par la guerre dans toute sa furie et toute son horreur. Chaque jour qui s'est écoulé depuis le début de leur résistance héroïque, a apporté de nouveaux chocs, de nouveaux problèmes et de nouveaux devoirs, à ceux auxquels était confiée la tâche de défendre la liberté.

La brutale domination de la Hollande, la tragique reddition de la Belgique, l'invasion de la France, la capture des ports de la Manche, se sont succédé si rapidement, que le monde n'a guère eu le temps de respirer. Aujourd'hui, la Grande-Bretagne, que son insularité ne protège plus, se prépare à combattre l'envahisseur, séparé d'elle par une mer étroite. En ce moment même, la plus grande bataille de l'histoire se livre à 70 milles de la ville de Paris. De son issue dépend peut-être l'avenir de la France.

Tandis que la marche rapide de ces événements terribles ébranlait jusqu'aux fondations du monde, presque toute la gamme des émotions empoignait le cœur de chacun de nous: la haine pour l'opresseur inhumain, la pitié pour ses victimes, et l'admiration pour la fraternité des braves qui ont honoré leur terre natale de Grande-Bretagne et de France.

see also  
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1940

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Une crise est à peine passée qu'une autre se présente. Les périls s'accroissent. Qui peut dire sur quel horizon la destruction apparaîtra demain?

Faut-il être surpris si vous, chers compatriotes, avez été récemment inquiets et impatients, si vous avez tourné de tous côtés un regard interrogateur et avez été assaillis par le doute? Vous ne seriez pas humain si vous n'aviez pas été ainsi tourmentés et inquiets. Personne ne peut sentir dans ses veines le sang britannique ou français et comprendre, comme nous le comprenons au Canada, combien la Grande-Bretagne et la France importent à la cause de la liberté, sans être bouleversé dans tout son être.

Vous vous êtes demandé avec raison ce que l'on a fait, et ce que l'on fait, pour aider la cause que nous nous sommes engagés librement sur l'honneur à défendre dans toute la mesure de nos forces. Il est naturel que vous vous inquiétiez de nos forces de combat, de nos avions et de notre matériel de guerre. Il est également naturel que vous songiez à notre sécurité nationale.

J'ai l'intention de traiter de ces choses ce soir. Je n'ai ni l'intention d'excuser la démocratie ni d'en discuter la critique. On ne peut faire l'un sans l'autre. Je me propose plutôt de vous aider, malgré les changements

rapides sur le théâtre européen, à voir le conflit sous son vrai jour et ainsi, à bien comprendre l'effort que notre pays fait pour la poursuite de la guerre. Si nous ne voulons pas nous départir des principes qui nous ont guidés dès le début, nos efforts doivent être coordonnés à ceux des puissances alliées quant à leur nature, quant au lieu, quant au temps.

Il ne faut jamais oublier que c'est de notre propre gré et à titre de nation unie que nous nous sommes lancés dans la guerre. C'est à ce titre que nous nous sommes rangés du côté de la liberté; c'est à ce titre que nous combattons aujourd'hui et c'est à ce titre également, que nous irons jusqu'au bout.

Afin de vous permettre de considérer nos efforts dans leur ensemble, permettez-moi de vous rappeler, que ce n'est qu'en septembre dernier que la guerre a commencé. Il n'y a pas neuf mois que le Parlement a autorisé des crédits nous permettant de prendre une part active à la guerre et en particulier de coordonner l'effort du Canada à celui des puissances alliées qui portent le fardeau en Europe.

Pour ce qui est de la guerre, on peut dire qu'elle se divise en trois périodes séparées et distinctes. Il y eut d'abord la première période, celle, je pourrais dire, des menaces de guerre, alors qu'il existait encore quelque

espoir de sauver la paix. Pendant ce temps, les nations démocratiques s'efforçaient d'assurer la paix. Mais, en même temps, elles se préparaient à la guerre. Si elles ne s'étaient efforcées de maintenir la paix, elles auraient été accusées de précipiter la guerre, non seulement par les ennemis actuels de la démocratie, mais même par leur propres peuples. Elles commencèrent leurs préparatifs de guerre plus tard et les poursuivirent plus lentement. Les préparatifs définitifs devaient nécessairement attendre l'heure où ils pourraient être sanctionnés par les Parlements. Cette heure, pour le Canada, fut celle fixée pour la convocation de la session spéciale de la Chambre.

Et c'est ici que commence la seconde période. Ce qui, en temps de paix, constitue en réalité la force de la démocratie devenait, dans une certaine mesure, un désavantage en temps de guerre et dans la préparation pour la guerre. Quand l'horizon s'obscurcit davantage, que la tempête éclata et que la guerre devint une réalité, la Grande-Bretagne et la France crurent que le conflit se prolongerait. Elles croient encore ne s'être pas trompées à cet égard. Elles prirent des dispositions en vue d'une guerre de trois ans; on a même mentionné quatre ans comme durée possible. Hitler sait sans doute qu'il ne peut gagner qu'une guerre de courte durée. La Grande-Bretagne et la France savaient qu'elles ne pouvaient

être victorieuses que si le conflit se prolongeait. Elles nous demandèrent de nous joindre à elles dans la préparation d'une longue guerre.

Notre premier effort avait donc pour but de fournir la plus forte contribution possible au début, mais aussi nous voulions que de mois en mois nos effectifs se développent, notre production croisse, nos munitions et nos approvisionnements s'accroissent pour qu'au moment critique, lorsque l'accumulation des forces deviendrait l'élément décisif, cette accumulation soit disponible pour assurer la victoire.

La troisième période est celle du Blitzkrieg, de la guerre-éclair. Elle concorde avec le plan qu'Hitler avait en vue depuis toujours. Il était impossible de la concevoir, sauf à des gens animés d'instincts de gangsters. Elle vise à placer sous le talon de fer de l'Allemagne nazie, une nation après l'autre, neutre ou belligérante, et cela par des procédés de terrorisme et de barbarie, inouis dans l'histoire des guerres. Le facteur-surprise est de haute importance. Ce procédé fut mis en oeuvre avant l'invasion de la Pologne. On commença à l'appliquer en Autriche et en Tchécoslovaquie. Il aboutit à la destruction de la Pologne; il n'a été que trop manifeste dans la conquête du Danemark et de la Norvège, de la Hollande et de la Belgique. On tente maintenant, par des coups rapides, de

conquérir la France et la Grande-Bretagne.

Ces deux pays ont été pris par surprise; non pas par la soudaineté de l'attaque sur eux-mêmes, car on s'attendait à une attaque soudaine au début de la guerre, mais par la rapidité, l'étendue et la férocité des coups qui ont précédé cette attaque. Aucune partie du monde n'a ressenti le coup de ces tragiques événements plus que ce continent. La loyauté des nations neutres à la loi internationale est devenue l'arme avec laquelle l'ennemi les a frappées traîtreusement au coeur. Elles ont été sacrifiées sur l'autel même de leur neutralité.

La guerre-éclair en Europe a forcé la Grande-Bretagne et la France à envisager toute la situation d'un tout autre point de vue. Leurs plans, et les nôtres en même temps, ont dû être changés et accélérés à la lumière des nouveaux et effroyables développements. Les contributions en hommes, en machines et au matériel ont dû être hâtées. Les improvisations quotidiennes sont devenues nécessaires. Il a fallu trouver d'immenses sommes additionnelles d'argent.

Il n'est, je le crains, que trop vrai que l'ampleur et la rapidité de l'action, l'immensité des changements dans la situation militaire, les horreurs sans précédent du conflit ont bouleversé notre rythme d'action. Il est

difficile de se rendre compte qu'un mois ne s'est pas encore écoulé depuis que la Hollande et la Belgique ont été envahies. La résistance héroïque de ces petits peuples à la ruée allemande et la réponse magnifique de la France et de la Grande-Bretagne à leur appel au secours ont retenu l'attention du peuple du Canada lorsque, juste une semaine plus tard, notre nouveau Parlement s'est réuni.

Devant le spectacle des forces allemandes écrasant la Hollande et la Belgique sous le poids de la guerre totale, un sentiment d'une intensité sans pareille se développait inévitablement dans notre pays. Naturellement aussi, se produisait une tendance à mesurer notre effort de guerre canadien, non pas en fonction des plans à longue portée, soigneusement préparés, mais en fonction de la terrible nécessité du moment. La rapidité imprévue avec laquelle les forces nazies ont exécuté leur avance destructrice a naturellement accentué la tension et le désir, normal il est vrai, mais impatient, de mesures supplémentaires immédiates. Il semble que les événements dramatiques de l'Europe aient voilé ce que le Canada a déjà fait, et ce qu'il fait encore, pour la poursuite de la guerre. Ils accroissent aussi la difficulté de présenter au Parlement et au peuple un clair tableau de notre effort de guerre.

Comme on pouvait s'y attendre, le public a demandé avec insistance que le gouvernement accélérât son effort de guerre, pour répondre à la nouvelle situation. A ce moment même, le gouvernement mettait toute son énergie à adapter notre organisation et à ajuster nos plans au changement rapide de la situation européenne. Il était impossible d'apporter des modifications à nos plans avant d'avoir des renseignements exacts puisés sur le champ de bataille même. Lorsque des décisions étaient prises, il était quelquefois impossible, pour des raisons d'ordre militaire, de les rendre publiques immédiatement. De fait, il en est qui n'ont jamais été dévoilées et ne peuvent l'être même à l'heure actuelle.

Je tiens à bien préciser que tout ce qui a été fait dernièrement n'a pu être accompli dans si peu de temps que parce que la base de nos activités de guerre était solide et bien établie. Bien des mesures que nous avons annoncées dernièrement n'auraient pu être prises plus tôt, car les circonstances n'exigeaient pas les mesures d'urgence du genre de celles que nous venons d'adopter. Pour surmonter la crise terrible que nous affrontons, il faut prendre des risques immenses--et le Canada en assume sa part -- mais il faut bien nous garder d'ajouter aux risques nécessaires le risque inutile d'abandonner les

plans que nous avons conçus pour la poursuite d'une lutte longue et acharnée où, en dernière analyse, ce sera l'endurance qui comptera. Si nous permettions à nos sentiments véhéments de se transformer en une hystérie irraisonnée, nous mettrions nos propres efforts en danger et nous nuirions grandement à la cause des alliés. Ces derniers jours, vous avez pu vous rendre compte de ce qui a été accompli dans le but de faire face à ce terrible danger. Ce n'est que par bribes que nous avons pu le laisser paraître et dans certains cas, nous avons dû en garder le secret. Beaucoup de choses doivent encore demeurer cachées. Tous les renseignements ne peuvent être donnés qu'au moment propice pour la cause alliée. Je ne pouvais, par exemple, informer le Parlement et le peuple de la visite du général McNaughton au front et de la préparation de nos troupes pour leur transport en France avant que le récit de l'évacuation épique de Dunkerque ne fût révélée au monde. Je ne pouvais annoncer l'envoi de nos contre-torpilleurs en Angleterre avant leur arrivée dans les eaux britanniques. Malheureusement, nous avons été et nous sommes encore incapables de dire ce qu'on nous a demandé de faire et ce que, de fait, nous avons fait ou sommes en voie de faire.

Vous vous rendrez peut-être mieux compte de l'étendue de notre effort si je l'exprime en hommes, équipement et approvisionnements.

Je voudrais, toutefois, vous faire d'abord une déclaration solennelle. Nous avons offert aux alliés, au nom du peuple canadien, tout concours supplémentaire dont nous sommes capables pour les aider à faire face aux besoins pressants de l'heure. Nous n'avons pas posé de réserves. Ce que nous pouvions faire et avons fait, ce que nous pouvons produire, ce que nous pouvons fabriquer, nous l'avons tout mis à leur disposition dans toute la mesure de notre capacité et de notre puissance. Ils nous ont demandé de faire certaines choses. Nous nous sommes appliqués à les accomplir promptement, complètement et sans restriction. De notre propre chef, nous avons fait d'autres offres et propositions. Plusieurs ont été acceptées.

Dans l'armée, au moment de l'invasion de la Hollande et de la Belgique, nous avions 81,519 hommes de tous rangs. Nous avions une division, avec ses troupes auxiliaires, entraînée et accompagnée d'unités motorisées en service actif en Angleterre. Vingt-trois mille jeunes Canadiens étaient prêts à s'embarquer pour la Norvège ou les Flandres sur l'ordre du haut commandement allié.

Une deuxième division, avec les services auxiliaires nécessaires, et comptant en tout 24,000 hommes, était à compléter son entraînement.

Les positions stratégiques de Terre-Neuve étaient défendues par des soldats de ce pays.

Quand la "Blitzkrieg" ou guerre-éclair de Hitler commença, la date de l'envoi de notre deuxième division fut avancée. On en fit autant pour tous les renforts de la première division qui n'étaient pas encore partis pour l'Angleterre. On activa le recrutement de renforts pour la deuxième division. On entreprit la création d'un corps canadien de campagne et réunit les corps de troupes nécessaires. On décida le recrutement d'une troisième division. Les unités ont été annoncées, et le recrutement est commencé.

Nous avons formé une garde d'anciens combattants pour la défense de notre sécurité interne et nous avons autorisé l'établissement de réserves additionnelles d'anciens combattants. Nous avons commencé à recruter des bataillons de carabiniers pour une quatrième division. Nous avons fondé un cours spécial de formation pour les officiers et les officiers anciens combattants.

Des soldats canadiens sont présentement en service actif dans les Antilles et l'Atlantique du Nord.

Dans la Marine, il y avait au commencement de mai 6,614 officiers et marins dont 125 officiers et 100 marins en service dans la flotte britannique.

Nous avons 94 vaisseaux en service.

Nous avons 90 autres vaisseaux en construction.

Nos vaisseaux patrouillent les deux côtes et les eaux qui baignent les Indes occidentales, ils escortent les transports qui quittent nos rives et ils protègent nos ports.

Depuis qu'avec une soudaineté imprévue l'orientation de la guerre a changé, nous avons ordonné le recrutement de 4,900 hommes de plus. Chaque chantier maritime travaille présentement à plein rendement. Et aujourd'hui, par un de ces changements bizarres du sort et de la fortune, nos contre-torpilleurs voulant de bon cœur payer une petite partie d'une vieille dette, participent à la patrouille des côtes de la Grande-Bretagne et surveillent avec une vigilance sans cesse croissante ceux qui pourraient avoir le dessein de violer sa liberté. Quand ils sont partis, je leur ai souhaité bon voyage avec une fierté égale à la vôtre et à celle avec laquelle la population de la Grande-Bretagne les a accueillis à leur arrivée.

Notre marine est une jeune marine; elle hérite de nobles traditions; elle contribue à les créer.

Le Corps d'aviation royal canadien n'existait pas lors de la dernière guerre. Or au commencement de mai, il comptait 12,315 hommes. Nous avons neuf escadrilles de défense territoriale, une escadrille de

coopération avec l'armée d'outremer, une autre qui achevait de s'entraîner au Canada, et des renforts qui se préparaient assidûment au service actif, à l'école de coopération de l'armée.

Le projet d'entraînement d'aviateurs du Commonwealth s'exécutait d'après un plan déterminé quant à l'ampleur, à la formation des recrues et au temps.

Les nazis ont frappé de toute leur force. Leur avance rapide devint possible grâce à leur supériorité numérique dans les airs. Nous avons immédiatement expédié outremer l'escadrille 112 de coopération avec l'armée. Nous avons appelé immédiatement 5,000 recrues pour le Corps d'aviation royal canadien. Nous avons entrepris d'expédier outremer une escadrille de combat. Nous avons nommé un ministre pour s'occuper exclusivement de la défense aérienne en y consacrant tout son temps et toute son attention.

Nous avons hâté la construction des champs d'aviation et des aérodromes, pour qu'ils soient prêts un an plus tôt que le temps fixé d'après le plan précité.

Nous avons envoyé outremer un certain nombre de pilotes qui ont tout dernièrement terminé leur cours d'instruction au Camp Borden et que l'on se proposait d'employer comme instructeurs. Un grand nombre de nos

propres avions ont été expédiés en Grande-Bretagne. Des avions de fabrication anglaise, commandés pour notre propre corps d'aviation cinq mois avant le début des hostilités, et qui au cours du dernier mois s'acheminaient vers le Canada, ont été, sur nos propres instructions, arrêtés en plein océan et réexpédiés en Grande-Bretagne.

On a déclaré que le Plan d'entraînement du Commonwealth serait abandonné ou remis à plus tard en raison de ce changement. Il n'en sera pas ainsi. Ce plan continuera à contribuer à la victoire.

Quant à l'aspect financier, je me contenterai de dire que les crédits actuels pour les fins de la guerre seules atteignent \$2,000,000 par jour, une somme qui croîtra nécessairement à mesure que nous continuerons à faire face à des besoins exceptionnels.

Je vous ai dit ces choses parce que, parmi tant de nouvelles de guerre et parmi les préoccupations que la guerre occasionne, on peut difficilement, au Canada, apercevoir clairement, à un moment donné, ce qui se fait pour parer à la situation.

Le Gouvernement consacre toute son énergie et mobilise toutes ses ressources pour répondre au danger qui menace notre liberté. Nous avons besoin de votre confiance.

Nous avons besoin de l'aide constructive de tous les Canadiens. C'est dans la fermeté et le courage que demeure l'espoir de la liberté humaine. La panique, les dissensions, la désunion, sont les seuls ennemis qui peuvent nous vaincre. Tout n'est pas noir à l'horizon. La première série des gains ennemis ne terminera pas la guerre, pas plus qu'elle ne termina d'autres guerres où les peuples britannique et français ont combattu côte à côte. Les tactiques de l'ennemi, ses armes, sa force, tout est maintenant connu. Il nous a surpris. Il ne nous vaincra pas.

A la lumière de tous les faits connus, relativement à la situation telle qu'elle se présente en Europe aujourd'hui, je ne croirais pas accomplir tout mon devoir du moment, si je ne parlais pas des autres dangers qui nous menacent.

J'ai commencé par distinguer trois stades dans cette guerre. Il est difficile de croire que nous ne commençons pas maintenant une quatrième étape. Notre attention depuis le début a été concentrée sur l'Allemagne, le seul ennemi, et sur les efforts qu'elle fait pour annihiler l'Angleterre et la France. La phase des hostilités qui s'ouvre sera témoin d'opérations militaires sur des théâtres de guerre entièrement nouveaux. Elle sera

certainement marquée par l'entrée dans le conflit de nations qui jusqu'à présent ont pu s'en tenir à l'écart. Quand ces événements se produiront-ils, et quelle en sera l'importance, personne ne peut le dire. Voici un point sur lequel je désire insister tout particulièrement. Si, à un moment donné, nous apprenons que de nouvelles hostilités ont éclaté, il n'y a aucune raison, quelle qu'en soit la gravité, pour que les nouvelles craintes nées de ce fait dégénèrent en pessimisme injustifié. Dans une telle occurrence, il nous faudra, bien entendu, reconsidérer ce que nous sommes appelés, pour notre part, à faire pour répondre aux nouvelles exigences. Les événements nouveaux nécessitent de nouvelles mesures, mais, somme toute, nous ferons preuve de sagesse en persistant à voir, dans son ensemble, la situation sous son vrai jour.

Tout en ne mésestimant pas les dangers qui peuvent survenir d'autres rivages et d'autres mers, nous devons nous rappeler que dans les périls présents et futurs, tous les pays libres se sont fait une nouvelle conception de la nature du conflit et se sont forgé une nouvelle détermination, dans une volonté sans cesse tendue vers la victoire, de n'épargner aucun effort ou sacrifice pour vaincre. Si dans le passé, la démocratie a manqué de

prévoyance et d'audace, comme le disait hier le Premier Ministre de la France, cette époque est maintenant révolue.

Les avances territoriales allemandes renferment en elles des éléments de faiblesse. Le blocus économique et le contrôle de la contrebande peuvent maintenant s'exercer avec une pression croissante et plus efficace, et elles le feront. L'insouciance en face de la puissance et de la cruauté de l'ennemi, l'absence de préparation en face des exigences de la guerre mécanisée des temps modernes, l'incertitude dans l'attente d'un ennemi qui ne recule pas devant la violation du droit et l'exploitation de la terreur, voilà des choses du passé. La discipline nous est venue, non de l'extérieur mais de l'intérieur. La brutalité irréfrénée a transformé l'isolement dans les vues et la neutralité des coeurs en mots vides de sens. La trahison qui a frappé au coeur les nations neutres a tué la neutralité même du même coup tragique.

Si de nouveaux ennemis se dressent contre nous, soyons certains que d'anciens et de nouveaux amis s'élanceront à notre aide. La signification mondiale du conflit est comprise dans tous les pays. Vous savez la sincérité et la vigueur avec lesquelles le président des Etats-Unis a élevé la voix au nom de l'humanité. La conscience du monde civilisé est mobilisée pour la cause de la liberté, et la tyrannie se souviendra longtemps de la puissance de

cette conscience et du coup final asséné aux forces du mal par la réprobation universelle.

Le Canada est appelé à assumer une responsabilité plus grande et plus belle. M. Churchill, dans le discours qu'il a prononcé mardi dernier devant la Chambre des communes britannique, a énoncé cet appel en paroles vibrantes. Notre nation, avec toute la vigueur de sa jeunesse, la richesse de ses ressources et son idéal de liberté, acceptera fièrement cette nouvelle responsabilité. Nous sommes le pont qui relie le nouveau monde à l'ancien; le pont qui relie la liberté nouvelle du continent nord-américain à l'ancienne liberté de la Grande-Bretagne, qui lui a donné naissance. Nous monterons la garde, résolus à en défendre les approches et les butées.

Du havre de Dunkerque et de la citadelle de Calais, les hommes les plus braves de l'univers ont combattu avec ténacité et ont surmonté des difficultés innombrables pour rejoindre leur patrie et se lancer encore une fois dans le combat pour défendre la liberté, la justice et la vertu.

L'esprit chevaleresque de la France et la vaillance de la Grande-Bretagne, qui ont contribué à créer le Canada, ont illuminé de gloire ce triomphe d'héroïsme. Je me fais l'interprète des sentiments qui animent le coeur et l'esprit de nos gens lorsque je dis que chaque fort au Canada sera un

autre Calais et chaque havre un autre Dunkerque, avant que les hommes et les femmes de notre pays ne permettent l'étouffement de la lumière et de la vie de leur foi chrétienne par les puissances du mal ou ne se soumettent à la tyrannie de la brutalité nazie.

Causerie du premier ministre

le 7 juin 1940

D 38373

N-305-2

1940

Mes chers Compatriotes,

Je m'adresse à vous, ce soir, au milieu de l'une des semaines les plus chargées d'événements de toute l'histoire. Il y a un mois à peine, la Hollande et la Belgique étaient subitement ravagées par la guerre dans toute sa furie et toute son horreur. Chaque jour qui s'est écoulé depuis le début de leur résistance héroïque, a apporté de nouveaux chocs, de nouveaux problèmes et de nouveaux devoirs, à ceux auxquels était confiée la tâche de défendre la liberté.

La brutale domination de la Hollande, la tragique reddition de la Belgique, l'invasion de la France, la capture des ports de la Manche, se sont succédé si rapidement, que le monde n'a guère eu le temps de respirer. Aujourd'hui, la Grande-Bretagne, que son insularité ne protège plus, se prépare à combattre l'envahisseur, séparé d'elle par une mer étroite. En ce moment même, la plus grande bataille de l'histoire se livre à 70 milles de la ville de Paris. De son issue dépend peut-être l'avenir de la France.

Tandis que la marche rapide de ces événements terribles ébranlait jusqu'aux fondations du monde, presque toute la gamme des émotions empoignait le cœur de chacun de nous: la haine pour l'opresseur, inhumain, la pitié pour ses victimes, et l'admiration pour la fraternité des braves qui ont honoré leur terre natale de Grande-Bretagne et de France.

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J'ai l'intention de traiter de ces choses ce soir. Je n'ai ni l'intention d'excuser la démocratie ni d'en discuter la critique. On ne peut faire l'un sans l'autre. Je me propose plutôt de vous aider, malgré les changements

rapides sur le théâtre européen, à voir le conflit sous son vrai jour et ainsi, à bien comprendre l'effort que notre pays fait pour la poursuite de la guerre. Si nous ne voulons pas nous départir des principes qui nous ont guidés dès le début, nos efforts doivent être coordonnés à ceux des puissances alliées quant à leur nature, quant au lieu, quant au temps.

Il ne faut jamais oublier que c'est de notre propre gré et à titre de nation unie que nous nous sommes lancés dans la guerre. C'est à ce titre que nous nous sommes rangés du côté de la liberté; c'est à ce titre que nous combattons aujourd'hui et c'est à ce titre également, que nous irons jusqu'au bout.

Afin de vous permettre de considérer nos efforts dans leur ensemble, permettez-moi de vous rappeler, que ce n'est qu'en septembre dernier que la guerre a commencé. Il n'y a pas neuf mois que le Parlement a autorisé des crédits nous permettant de prendre une part active à la guerre et en particulier de coordonner l'effort du Canada à celui des puissances alliées qui portent le fardeau en Europe.

Pour ce qui est de la guerre, on peut dire qu'elle se divise en trois périodes séparées et distinctes. Il y eut d'abord la première période, celle, je pourrais dire, des menaces de guerre, alors qu'il existait encore quelque

espoir de sauver la paix. Pendant ce temps, les nations démocratiques s'efforçaient d'assurer la paix. Mais, en même temps, elles se préparaient à la guerre. Si elles ne s'étaient efforcées de maintenir la paix, elles auraient été accusées de précipiter la guerre, non seulement par les ennemis actuels de la démocratie, mais même par leur propres peuples. Elles commencèrent leurs préparatifs de guerre plus tard et les poursuivirent plus lentement. Les préparatifs définitifs devaient nécessairement attendre l'heure où ils pourraient être sanctionnés par les Parlements. Cette heure, pour le Canada, fut celle fixée pour la convocation de la session spéciale de la Chambre.

Et c'est ici que commence la seconde période. Ce qui, en temps de paix, constitue en réalité la force de la démocratie devenait, dans une certaine mesure, un désavantage en temps de guerre et dans la préparation pour la guerre. Quand l'horizon s'obscurcit davantage, que la tempête éclata et que la guerre devint une réalité, la Grande-Bretagne et la France crurent que le conflit se prolongerait. Elles croient encore ne s'être pas trompées à cet égard. Elles prirent des dispositions en vue d'une guerre de trois ans; on a même mentionné quatre ans comme durée possible. Hitler sait sans doute qu'il ne peut gagner qu'une guerre de courte durée. La Grande-Bretagne et la France savaient qu'elles ne pouvaient

être victorieuses que si le conflit se prolongeait. Elles nous demandèrent de nous joindre à elles dans la préparation d'une longue guerre.

Notre premier effort avait donc pour but de fournir la plus forte contribution possible au début, mais aussi nous voulions que de mois en mois nos effectifs se développent, notre production croisse, nos munitions et nos approvisionnements s'accroissent pour qu'au moment critique, lorsque l'accumulation des forces deviendrait l'élément décisif, cette accumulation soit disponible pour assurer la victoire.

La troisième période est celle du Blitzkrieg, de la guerre-éclair. Elle concorde avec le plan qu'Hitler avait en vue depuis toujours. Il était impossible de la concevoir, sauf à des gens animés d'instincts de gangsters. Elle vise à placer sous le talon de fer de l'Allemagne nazie, une nation après l'autre, neutre ou belligérante, et cela par des procédés de terrorisme et de barbarie, inouis dans l'histoire des guerres. Le facteur-surprise est de haute importance. Ce procédé fut mis en oeuvre avant l'invasion de la Pologne. On commença à l'appliquer en Autriche et en Tchécoslovaquie. Il aboutit à la destruction de la Pologne; il n'a été que trop manifeste dans la conquête du Danemark et de la Norvège, de la Hollande et de la Belgique. On tente maintenant, par des coups rapides, de

conquérir la France et la Grande-Bretagne.

Ces deux pays ont été pris par surprise; non pas par la soudaineté de l'attaque sur eux-mêmes, car on s'attendait à une attaque soudaine au début de la guerre, mais par la rapidité, l'étendue et la férocité des coups qui ont précédé cette attaque. Aucune partie du monde n'a ressenti le coup de ces tragiques événements plus que ce continent. La loyauté des nations neutres à la loi internationale est devenue l'arme avec laquelle l'ennemi les a frappées traîtreusement au coeur. Elles ont été sacrifiées sur l'autel même de leur neutralité.

La guerre-éclair en Europe a forcé la Grande-Bretagne et la France à envisager toute la situation d'un tout autre point de vue. Leurs plans, et les nôtres en même temps, ont dû être changés et accélérés à la lumière des nouveaux et effroyables développements. Les contributions en hommes, en machines et au matériel ont dû être hâtées. Les improvisations quotidiennes sont devenues nécessaires. Il a fallu trouver d'immenses sommes additionnelles d'argent.

Il n'est, je le crains, que trop vrai que l'ampleur et la rapidité de l'action, l'immensité des changements dans la situation militaire, les horreurs sans précédent du conflit ont bouleversé notre rythme d'action. Il est

difficile de se rendre compte qu'un mois ne s'est pas encore écoulé depuis que la Hollande et la Belgique ont été envahies. La résistance héroïque de ces petits peuples à la ruée allemande et la réponse magnifique de la France et de la Grande-Bretagne à leur appel au secours ont retenu l'attention du peuple du Canada lorsque, juste une semaine plus tard, notre nouveau Parlement s'est réuni.

Devant le spectacle des forces allemandes écrasant la Hollande et la Belgique sous le poids de la guerre totale, un sentiment d'une intensité sans pareille se développait inévitablement dans notre pays. Naturellement aussi, se produisait une tendance à mesurer notre effort de guerre canadien, non pas en fonction des plans à longue portée, soigneusement préparés, mais en fonction de la terrible nécessité du moment. La rapidité imprévue avec laquelle les forces nazies ont exécuté leur avance destructrice a naturellement accentué la tension et le désir, normal il est vrai, mais impatient, de mesures supplémentaires immédiates. Il semble que les événements dramatiques de l'Europe aient voilé ce que le Canada a déjà fait, et ce qu'il fait encore, pour la poursuite de la guerre. Ils accroissent aussi la difficulté de présenter au Parlement et au peuple un clair tableau de notre effort de guerre.

Comme on pouvait s'y attendre, le public a demandé avec insistance que le gouvernement accélérât son effort de guerre, pour répondre à la nouvelle situation. A ce moment même, le gouvernement mettait toute son énergie à adapter notre organisation et à ajuster nos plans au changement rapide de la situation européenne. Il était impossible d'apporter des modifications à nos plans avant d'avoir des renseignements exacts puisés sur le champ de bataille même. Lorsque des décisions étaient prises, il était quelquefois impossible, pour des raisons d'ordre militaire, de les rendre publiques immédiatement. De fait, il en est qui n'ont jamais été dévoilées et ne peuvent l'être même à l'heure actuelle.

Je tiens à bien préciser que tout ce qui a été fait dernièrement n'a pu être accompli dans si peu de temps que parce que la base de nos activités de guerre était solide et bien établie. Bien des mesures que nous avons annoncées dernièrement n'auraient pu être prises plus tôt, car les circonstances n'exigeaient pas les mesures d'urgence du genre de celles que nous venons d'adopter. Pour surmonter la crise terrible que nous affrontons, il faut prendre des risques immenses--et le Canada en assume sa part -- mais il faut bien nous garder d'ajouter aux risques nécessaires le risque inutile d'abandonner les

plans que nous avons conçus pour la poursuite d'une lutte longue et acharnée où, en dernière analyse, ce sera l'endurance qui comptera. Si nous permettions à nos sentiments véhéments de se transformer en une hystérie irraisonnée, nous mettrions nos propres efforts en danger et nous nuirions grandement à la cause des alliés. Ces derniers jours, vous avez pu vous rendre compte de ce qui a été accompli dans le but de faire face à ce terrible danger. Ce n'est que par bribes que nous avons pu le laisser paraître et dans certains cas, nous avons dû en garder le secret. Beaucoup de choses doivent encore demeurer cachées. Tous les renseignements ne peuvent être donnés qu'au moment propice pour la cause alliée. Je ne pouvais, par exemple, informer le Parlement et le peuple de la visite du général McNaughton au front et de la préparation de nos troupes pour leur transport en France avant que le récit de l'évacuation épique de Dunkerque ne fût révélée au monde. Je ne pouvais annoncer l'envoi de nos contre-torpilleurs en Angleterre avant leur arrivée dans les eaux britanniques. Malheureusement, nous avons été et nous sommes encore incapables de dire ce qu'on nous a demandé de faire et ce que, de fait, nous avons fait ou sommes en voie de faire.

Vous vous rendrez peut-être mieux compte de l'étendue de notre effort si je l'exprime en hommes, équipement et approvisionnements.

Je voudrais, toutefois, vous faire d'abord une déclaration solennelle. Nous avons offert aux alliés, au nom du peuple canadien, tout concours supplémentaire dont nous sommes capables pour les aider à faire face aux besoins pressants de l'heure. Nous n'avons pas posé de réserves. Ce que nous pouvions faire et avons fait, ce que nous pouvons produire, ce que nous pouvons fabriquer, nous l'avons tout mis à leur disposition dans toute la mesure de notre capacité et de notre puissance. Ils nous ont demandé de faire certaines choses. Nous nous sommes appliqués à les accomplir promptement, complètement et sans restriction. De notre propre chef, nous avons fait d'autres offres et propositions. Plusieurs ont été acceptées.

Dans l'armée, au moment de l'invasion de la Hollande et de la Belgique, nous avions 81,519 hommes de tous rangs. Nous avions une division, avec ses troupes auxiliaires, entraînée et accompagnée d'unités motorisées en service actif en Angleterre. Vingt-trois mille jeunes Canadiens étaient prêts à s'embarquer pour la Norvège ou les Flandres sur l'ordre du haut commandement allié.

Une deuxième division, avec les services auxiliaires nécessaires, et comptant en tout 24,000 hommes, était à compléter son entraînement.

Les positions stratégiques de Terre-Neuve étaient défendues par des soldats de ce pays.

Quand la "Blitzkrieg" ou guerre-éclair de Hitler commença, la date de l'envoi de notre deuxième division fut avancée. On en fit autant pour tous les renforts de la première division qui n'étaient pas encore partis pour l'Angleterre. On activa le recrutement de renforts pour la deuxième division. On entreprit la création d'un corps canadien de campagne et réunit les corps de troupes nécessaires. On décida le recrutement d'une troisième division. Les unités ont été annoncées, et le recrutement est commencé.

Nous avons formé une garde d'anciens combattants pour la défense de notre sécurité interne et nous avons autorisé l'établissement de réserves additionnelles d'anciens combattants. Nous avons commencé à recruter des bataillons de carabiniers pour une quatrième division. Nous avons fondé un cours spécial de formation pour les officiers et les officiers anciens combattants.

Des soldats canadiens sont présentement en service actif dans les Antilles et l'Atlantique du Nord.

Dans la Marine, il y avait au commencement de mai 6,614 officiers et marins dont 125 officiers et 100 marins en service dans la flotte britannique.

Nous avons 94 vaisseaux en service.

Nous avons 90 autres vaisseaux en construction.

Nos vaisseaux patrouillent les deux côtes et les eaux qui baignent les Indes occidentales, ils escortent les transports qui quittent nos rives et ils protègent nos ports.

Depuis qu'avec une soudaineté imprévue l'orientation de la guerre a changé, nous avons ordonné le recrutement de 4,900 hommes de plus. Chaque chantier maritime travaille présentement à plein rendement. Et aujourd'hui, par un de ces changements bizarres du sort et de la fortune, nos contre-torpilleurs voulant de bon cœur payer une petite partie d'une vieille dette, participent à la patrouille des côtes de la Grande-Bretagne et surveillent avec une vigilance sans cesse croissante ceux qui pourraient avoir le dessein de violer sa liberté. Quand ils sont partis, je leur ai souhaité bon voyage avec une fierté égale à la vôtre et à celle avec laquelle la population de la Grande-Bretagne les a accueillis à leur arrivée.

Notre marine est une jeune marine; elle hérite de nobles traditions; elle contribue à les créer.

Le Corps d'aviation royal canadien n'existait pas lors de la dernière guerre. Or au commencement de mai, il comptait 12,315 hommes. Nous avons neuf escadrilles de défense territoriale, une escadrille de

coopération avec l'armée d'outremer, une autre qui achevait de s'entraîner au Canada, et des renforts qui se préparaient assidûment au service actif, à l'école de coopération de l'armée.

Le projet d'entraînement d'aviateurs du Commonwealth s'exécutait d'après un plan déterminé quant à l'ampleur, à la formation des recrues et au temps.

Les nazis ont frappé de toute leur force. Leur avance rapide devint possible grâce à leur supériorité numérique dans les airs. Nous avons immédiatement expédié outremer l'escadrille 112 de coopération avec l'armée. Nous avons appelé immédiatement 5,000 recrues pour le Corps d'aviation royal canadien. Nous avons entrepris d'expédier outremer une escadrille de combat. Nous avons nommé un ministre pour s'occuper exclusivement de la défense aérienne en y consacrant tout son temps et toute son attention.

Nous avons hâté la construction des champs d'aviation et des aérodromes, pour qu'ils soient prêts un an plus tôt que le temps fixé d'après le plan précité.

Nous avons envoyé outremer un certain nombre de pilotes qui ont tout dernièrement terminé leur cours d'instruction au Camp Borden et que l'on se proposait d'employer comme instructeurs. Un grand nombre de nos

propres avions ont été expédiés en Grande-Bretagne. Des avions de fabrication anglaise, commandés pour notre propre corps d'aviation cinq mois avant le début des hostilités, et qui au cours du dernier mois s'acheminaient vers le Canada, ont été, sur nos propres instructions, arrêtés en plein océan et réexpédiés en Grande-Bretagne.

On a déclaré que le Plan d'entraînement du Commonwealth serait abandonné ou remis à plus tard en raison de ce changement. Il n'en sera pas ainsi. Ce plan continuera à contribuer à la victoire.

Quant à l'aspect financier, je me contenterai de dire que les crédits actuels pour les fins de la guerre seules atteignent \$2,000,000 par jour, une somme qui croîtra nécessairement à mesure que nous continuerons à faire face à des besoins exceptionnels.

Je vous ai dit ces choses parce que, parmi tant de nouvelles de guerre et parmi les préoccupations que la guerre occasionne, on peut difficilement, au Canada, apercevoir clairement, à un moment donné, ce qui se fait pour parer à la situation.

Le Gouvernement consacre toute son énergie et mobilise toutes ses ressources pour répondre au danger qui menace notre liberté. Nous avons besoin de votre confiance.

Nous avons besoin de l'aide constructive de tous les Canadiens. C'est dans la fermeté et le courage que demeure l'espoir de la liberté humaine. La panique, les dissensions, la désunion, sont les seuls ennemis qui peuvent nous vaincre. Tout n'est pas noir à l'horizon. La première série des gains ennemis ne terminera pas la guerre, pas plus qu'elle ne termina d'autres guerres où les peuples britannique et français ont combattu côte à côte. Les tactiques de l'ennemi, ses armes, sa force, tout est maintenant connu. Il nous a surpris. Il ne nous vaincra pas.

A la lumière de tous les faits connus, relativement à la situation telle qu'elle se présente en Europe aujourd'hui, je ne croirais pas accomplir tout mon devoir du moment, si je ne parlais pas des autres dangers qui nous menacent.

J'ai commencé par distinguer trois stades dans cette guerre. Il est difficile de croire que nous ne commençons pas maintenant une quatrième étape. Notre attention depuis le début a été concentrée sur l'Allemagne, le seul ennemi, et sur les efforts qu'elle fait pour annihiler l'Angleterre et la France. La phase des hostilités qui s'ouvre sera témoin d'opérations militaires sur des théâtres de guerre entièrement nouveaux. Elle sera

certainement marquée par l'entrée dans le conflit de nations qui jusqu'à présent ont pu s'en tenir à l'écart. Quand ces événements se produiront-ils, et quelle en sera l'importance, personne ne peut le dire. Voici un point sur lequel je désire insister tout particulièrement. Si, à un moment donné, nous apprenons que de nouvelles hostilités ont éclaté, il n'y a aucune raison, quelle qu'en soit la gravité, pour que les nouvelles craintes nées de ce fait dégénèrent en pessimisme injustifié. Dans une telle occurrence, il nous faudra, bien entendu, reconsidérer ce que nous sommes appelés, pour notre part, à faire pour répondre aux nouvelles exigences. Les événements nouveaux nécessitent de nouvelles mesures, mais, somme toute, nous ferons preuve de sagesse en persistant à voir, dans son ensemble, la situation sous son vrai jour.

Tout en ne mésestimant pas les dangers qui peuvent survenir d'autres rivages et d'autres mers, nous devons nous rappeler que dans les périls présents et futurs, tous les pays libres se sont fait une nouvelle conception de la nature du conflit et se sont forgé une nouvelle détermination, dans une volonté sans cesse tendue vers la victoire, de n'épargner aucun effort ou sacrifice pour vaincre. Si dans le passé, la démocratie a manqué de

prévoyance et d'audace, comme le disait hier le Premier Ministre de la France, cette époque est maintenant révolue.

Les avances territoriales allemandes renferment en elles les éléments de faiblesse. Le blocus économique et le contrôle de la contrebande peuvent maintenant s'exercer avec une pression croissante et plus efficace, et elles le feront. L'insouciance en face de la puissance et de la cruauté de l'ennemi, l'absence de préparation en face des exigences de la guerre mécanisée des temps modernes, l'incertitude dans l'attente d'un ennemi qui ne recule pas devant la violation du droit et l'exploitation de la terreur, voilà des choses du passé. La discipline nous est venue, non de l'extérieur mais de l'intérieur. La brutalité irréfrénée a transformé l'isolement dans les vues et la neutralité des coeurs en mots vides de sens. La trahison qui a frappé au coeur les nations neutres a tué la neutralité même du même coup tragique.

Si de nouveaux ennemis se dressent contre nous, soyons certains que d'anciens et de nouveaux amis s'élanceront à notre aide. La signification mondiale du conflit est comprise dans tous les pays. Vous savez la sincérité et la vigueur avec lesquelles le président des Etats-Unis a élevé la voix au nom de l'humanité. La conscience du monde civilisé est mobilisée pour la cause de la liberté, et la tyrannie se souviendra longtemps de la puissance de

cette conscience et du coup final asséné aux forces du mal par la réprobation universelle.

Le Canada est appelé à assumer une responsabilité plus grande et plus belle. M. Churchill, dans le discours qu'il a prononcé mardi dernier devant la Chambre des communes britannique, a énoncé cet appel en paroles vibrantes. Notre nation, avec toute la vigueur de sa jeunesse, la richesse de ses ressources et son idéal de liberté, acceptera fièrement cette nouvelle responsabilité. Nous sommes le pont qui relie le nouveau monde à l'ancien; le pont qui relie la liberté nouvelle du continent nord-américain à l'ancienne liberté de la Grande-Bretagne, qui lui a donné naissance. Nous monterons la garde, résolus à en défendre les approches et les butées.

Du havre de Dunkerque et de la citadelle de Calais, les hommes les plus braves de l'univers ont combattu avec ténacité et ont surmonté des difficultés innombrables pour rejoindre leur patrie et se lancer encore une fois dans le combat pour défendre la liberté, la justice et la vertu.

L'esprit chevaleresque de la France et la vaillance de la Grande-Bretagne, qui ont contribué à créer le Canada, ont illuminé de gloire ce triomphe d'héroïsme. Je me fais l'interprète des sentiments qui animent le coeur et l'esprit de nos gens lorsque je dis que chaque fort au Canada sera un

autre Calais et chaque havre un autre Dunkerque, avant que les hommes et les femmes de notre pays ne permettent l'étouffement de la lumière et de la vie de leur foi chrétienne par les puissances du mal ou ne se soumettent à la tyrannie de la brutalité nazie.

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*Declaration of war on Italy*

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Gazette

D 38392

Date June 11, 1940

Subject .....

## Declaration by Premier King

Ottawa, June 10.—(P)—Following are texts of statements made in the Commons today by Prime Minister Mackenzie King and Conservative Leader Hanson concerning the declaration of a state of war between Canada and Italy:

Mr. King said:

Mr. Speaker, in the circumstances of our great loss, ordinarily I would move that the House should rise. But just a few moments ago I received a cable from London, dated June 10, and signed by the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, worded as follows:

"Signor Mussolini is reported to have stated at 6 p.m. today that a declaration of war had been handed to the ambassadors of Great Britain and France."

I think we may assume that this statement indicates sufficient authority for this House to declare at as early a moment as possible where it stands in reference to the situation created by Premier Mussolini's action, which is not unexpected.

In anticipation that this step might be taken at any moment I had prepared a few words which I believe to be appropriate, to which I have added somewhat since the announcement itself was made. I should like to place some of them on Hansard, and at their conclusion, to move a resolution, a copy of which has been sent to my honorable friend the leader of the Opposition, (Mr. Hanson), and which he has been kind enough to say he would be prepared to second. I have just been handed a note from the Under-Secretary of State saying:

"National Defence says Admiralty signal received saying hostilities will commence against Italy midnight here, 7 p.m. Ottawa."

After many months of preparation, provocation in act and word and threat of open hostility, Italy has thrown her resources into the war at the side of Nazi Germany.

The motives that have inspired the Government of Italy, and the methods which Italy has pursued are well known. With a callousness and treachery second only to that of Hitler, the German dictator, Mussolini, the dictator who holds the Italian people in thrall has chosen, what he believes to be the psychological moment to strike at Britain and France in the Mediterranean and Africa in order to satiate his lust for conquest and territorial aggrandizement, and for such glory as calculated duplicity and treachery can bring.

Barèly 80 years ago, the peoples of Italy passed from serfdom and disunion to liberty and unity. In the struggles which are imperishably associated with the names of Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi, the English speaking peoples gave to the Italian people a moral and material support that contributed in no small measure to the establishment and preservation of the Italian nation.

At a time when the rest of Europe looked with eyes of apathy and even of hostility upon the re-birth of Italy, the Government of the United Kingdom in a memorable dispatch advised the Italian people that they turned their sympathetic eyes to the gratifying prospect of a people building up the edifice of their liberties, and consolidating the work of their independence.

The shouts of welcome of the British people to Garibaldi still ring through the years.

As his great English biographer said, "Garibaldi will live as the incarnate symbol of two passions not likely soon to die out of the world, of love of country and the love of freedom kept pure by the one thing that can tame and yet not weaken them, the tenderest humanity for all mankind."

Italy grew in power and influence amidst many evidences of goodwill from those who had hailed her rise to nationhood. Her citizens were welcomed in all the lands of the British Commonwealth beyond the seas, and not least in Canada. In the last great war, she shared with us the burden of the day. She was rewarded with some of the fruits of victory.

Through many generations, Britain and France, and their sons and daughters have turned to the art and literature of Italy for solace and inspiration. To countless millions her capital city has been one of the holy places of the world. From the spiritual power and comfort of an ancient and undying faith have gone into the lands of all the earth.

All members of the House will join me, I know, in paying a tribute to the noble example set by the present occupant of the Holy See in his unceasing work for the preservation of peace, and the exaltation of humanity itself, amidst the discord and clamor of the world which is falling in ruins around us. All these ancient traditions of freedom and goodwill,

or true religion, of literature and of art, have been trampled upon and cast by wicked men into the darkness and dust.

It would be a great mistake to underestimate the seriousness of the new situation which has been created. Italy is a nation of 40,000,000. Under the domination of her dictator, she has been preparing for war longer than any other nation in Europe. A whole generation has been educated to glorify force. It is useless further at this time to regret the degradation of a free and peaceful people, to seek the causes for the change, or to condemn the evil doctrines which have poisoned the hearts and minds of Italian youth.

The very names of Ethiopia and Albania are reminders of the use of overwhelming force to subdue the weak.

While, at the moment, the Allied world breathes harder, it may truly be said that it breathes more easily. The suspense of the Italian threat, which, since the outbreak of war in Europe, has hung like the sword of Damocles over the heads of the British and French peoples, has now been removed.

They are no longer faced with endless duplicity. The addition of Italian strength to the enemy will need redoubled energy and increased determination on the part of us all. Knowing where Italy stands has, nevertheless, cleared the atmosphere and freed the hands of Britain and France for immediate and vigorous action.

The spread of ruthless warfare into other seas, and on other shores, may well have an incalculable effect upon the opinion and attitude of those who still call themselves neutral. While Italy has it in her power to occasion much damage, and some diversion from the main task of defeating her senior partner, she is herself particularly vulnerable both on the military and economic fronts, and cannot for long hope to stand the strain of war.

History, I believe, will record no action more ignoble than that of Mussolini. During these tragic months he has sat like a carrion bird of prey waiting for brave men to die.

Today, he has declared war on those who were the traditional friends of his countrymen.

Callously and cynically, he has chosen what he believes is the psychological moment for the swoop and the treacherous blow.

Peaceful overtures, proffered concessions, bonds of ancient friendship sealed by the memory of common sacrifices in the cause of freedom, all these he has bartered for the vision of conquest and the phantom of power.

## PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Gazette 38392  
Date June 11, 1940  
Subject \_\_\_\_\_

### Declaration by Premier King

Ottawa, June 10.—(P)—Following are texts of statements made in the Commons today by Prime Minister Mackenzie King and Conservative Leader Hanson concerning the declaration of a state of war between Canada and Italy:

Mr. King said:

Mr. Speaker, in the circumstances of our great loss, ordinarily I would move that the House should rise. But just a few moments ago I received a cable from London, dated June 10, and signed by the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, worded as follows:

"Signor Mussolini is reported to have stated at 6 p.m. today that a declaration of war had been handed to the ambassadors of Great Britain and France."

I think we may assume that this statement indicates sufficient authority for this House to declare at as early a moment as possible where it stands in reference to the situation created by Premier Mussolini's action, which is not unexpected.

In anticipation that this step might be taken at any moment I had prepared a few words which I believe to be appropriate, to which I have added somewhat since the announcement itself was made. I should like to place some of them on Hansard, and at their conclusion, to move a resolution, a copy of which has been sent to my honorable friend the leader of the Opposition, (Mr. Hanson), and which he has been kind enough to say he would be prepared to second. I have just been handed a note from the Under-Secretary of State saying:

"National Defence says Admiralty signal received saying hostilities will commence against Italy midnight here, 7 p.m. Ottawa."

After many months of preparation, provocation in act and word and threat of open hostility, Italy has thrown her resources into the war at the side of Nazi Germany.

The motives that have inspired the Government of Italy, and the methods which Italy has pursued are well known. With a callousness and treachery second only to that of Hitler, the German dictator, Mussolini, the dictator who holds the Italian people in thrall has chosen, what he believes to be the psychological moment to strike at Britain and France in the Mediterranean and Africa in order to satiate his lust for conquest and territorial aggrandizement, and for such glory as calculated duplicity and treachery can bring.

Barely 80 years ago, the peoples of Italy passed from serfdom and disunion to liberty and unity. In the struggles which are imperishably associated with the names of Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi, the English speaking peoples gave to the Italian people a moral and material support that contributed in no small measure to the establishment and preservation of the Italian nation.

At a time when the rest of Europe looked with eyes of apathy and even of hostility upon the rebirth of Italy, the Government of the United Kingdom in a memorable dispatch advised the Italian people that they turned their sympathetic eyes to the gratifying prospect of a people building up the edifice of their liberties, and consolidating the work of their independence.

The shouts of welcome of the British people to Garibaldi still ring through the years.

As his great English biographer said, "Garibaldi will live as the incarnate symbol of two passions not likely soon to die out of the world, of love of country and the love of freedom kept pure by the one thing that can tame and yet not weaken them, the tenderest humanity for all mankind."

Italy grew in power and influence amidst many evidences of goodwill from those who had hailed her rise to nationhood. Her citizens were welcomed in all the lands of the British Commonwealth beyond the seas, and not least in Canada. In the last great war, she shared with us the burden of the day. She was rewarded with some of the fruits of victory.

Through many generations, Britain and France, and their sons and daughters have turned to the art and literature of Italy for solace and inspiration. To countless millions her capital city has been one of the holy places of the world. From the spiritual power and comfort of an ancient and undying faith have gone into the lands of all the earth.

All members of the House will join me, I know, in paying a tribute to the noble example set by the present occupant of the Holy See in his unceasing work for the preservation of peace, and the exaltation of humanity itself, amidst the discord and clamor of the world which is falling in ruins around us. All these ancient traditions of freedom and goodwill,

of true religion, of literature and of art, have been trampled upon and cast by wicked men into the darkness and dust.

It would be a great mistake to underestimate the seriousness of the new situation which has been created. Italy is a nation of 40,000,000. Under the domination of her dictator, she has been preparing for war longer than any other nation in Europe. A whole generation has been educated to glorify force. It is useless further at this time to regret the degradation of a free and peaceful people, to seek the causes for the change, or to condemn the evil doctrines which have poisoned the hearts and minds of Italian youth.

The very names of Ethiopia and Albania are reminders of the use of overwhelming force to subdue the weak.

While, at the moment, the Allied world breathes harder, it may truly be said that it breathes more easily. The suspense of the Italian threat, which, since the outbreak of war in Europe, has hung like the sword of Damocles over the heads of the British and French peoples, has now been removed.

They are no longer faced with endless duplicity. The addition of Italian strength to the enemy will need redoubled energy and increased determination on the part of us all. Knowing where Italy stands has, nevertheless, cleared the atmosphere and freed the hands of Britain and France for immediate and vigorous action.

The spread of ruthless warfare into other seas, and on other shores, may well have an incalculable effect upon the opinion and attitude of those who still call themselves neutral. While Italy has it in her power to occasion much damage, and some diversion from the main task of defeating her senior partner, she is herself particularly vulnerable both on the military and economic fronts, and cannot for long hope to stand the strain of war.

History, I believe, will record no action more ignoble than that of Mussolini. During these tragic months he has sat like a carrion bird of prey waiting for brave men to die.

Today, he has declared war on those who were the traditional friends of his countrymen.

Callously and cynically, he has chosen what he believes is the psychological moment for the swoop and the treacherous blow.

Peaceful overtures, proffered concessions, bonds of ancient friendship sealed by the memory of common sacrifices in the cause of freedom, all these he has bartered for the vision of conquest and the phantom of power.

**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... Montreal Gazette

D 38393

Date..... June 11, 1940

Subject.....

No one can foretell the horrors that the spread of warfare into new seas and upon new shores may bring to the world. But one thing is sure. Retribution will overtake all tyrants, and the dictator of Italy amongst them. It is too early to predict the final effect of this treachery, upon those who cannot sit idly by and watch the whole world engulfed in the seas of battle. We may rest assured however that the forces of liberty will rally in a supreme effort of victory.

As for Canada, this new peril to the Allied cause will only increase our country's determination to stand resolutely at the side of Britain and France until the powers of evil which threaten the freedom of mankind are vanquished once and for all.

May I add for the information of honorable members in the House that appropriate steps have already been taken to ensure within Canada itself any threat to internal security arising out of the action of the Italian dictator and his Fascist forces.

I should like now to move, seconded by my honorable friend the leader of the opposition (Mr. Hanson, York-Sunbury):

"Whereas Italy has declared her intention to enter the war on the side of Germany and against the Allied powers; and,

"Whereas a state of war now exists between the United Kingdom and France on the one hand and Italy, on the other; and

"Whereas at the outbreak of war the Parliament of Canada decided to stand at the side of the United Kingdom and France in their determined effort to resist aggression and to preserve freedom;

"It is expedient that the Houses of Parliament do approve the entry of Canada into a state of war with Italy, and that this House does approve the same."

May I say that when this resolution is passed the governor-in-council will pass an order forwarding a copy of the resolution to His Majesty the King, and inviting His Majesty to approve the proclamation recognizing the existence of a state of war between Canada and Italy.

Mr. Hanson said:

Mr. Speaker, the Prime Minister was good enough to communicate to me notice of the intention of the Government to introduce this resolution in the event of Italy declaring war on the side of Germany and against the Allied powers.

This afternoon he sent me a copy of the resolution and I rise for the purpose of seconding and supporting the resolution and the action of the Government in the premises. To do anything less

would be evidence of a lack of solidarity on the part of this nation.

The Fascist dictator has proven true to the predictions of the peoples of the civilized democracies. Like the vulture, he viewed the progress of events from afar, and now, thinking this hour, the hour of extremity of our gallant ally, France, he swoops, like the vulture he is, in order that if possible he may profit by the situation.

While I have no authority to speak on behalf of the Allies, yet I do feel it incumbent upon me to voice the feeling that, while the entry of Italy into the war is adding to the great burden which the Allies are carrying, it will be met with dauntless courage on the part of the Allied nations.

The move has been long expected. I feel the utmost confidence that this adverse situation having long been foreseen, will have been discounted and that the armed forces of the Allies, chief among them the French and British fleets, will be prepared to meet this added emergency.

As to Canada's attitude, there can be no doubt. Remote as we are from Italy, yet when she declares war on Britain she declares war on Canada. Notwithstanding the question of unpreparedness, Canada will do her part. We shall make some contribution against this new enemy.

This new situation constitutes a new challenge to Canada as an integral part of the Empire.

Let us meet it with high hope and courage, with the high purpose that, come what may, the British Empire and Canada with it, shall not yield until might yields to right and until Christian ideas and philosophies once more triumph upon this distracted world.

I hope—I know—that this resolution will be unanimously passed. I know it will meet with the unanimous approval of the Canadian people.

## PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date June 11/40.

Subject .....

D 38394

### DUCE 'CARRION BIRD WAITING FOR HEROES TO DIE'—MR. KING

"Vulture," Agrees Hanson, Seconding Premier's Move for  
Declaration of War—Speedily Passes

Ottawa, June 11—(CP)—With one voice, parliament yesterday endorsed Premier King's resolution approving "the entry of Canada into a state of war with Italy." It followed close on Italy's declaration of war against the Allies. With striking unanimity, the prime minister and Hon. R. B. Hanson, Conservative leader, condemned the Italian action.

Following is a partial text of Premier King's statement:

"After many months of preparation, provocation in act and word and threat of open hostility, Italy has thrown her resources into the war at the side of Nazi Germany.

"The motives that have inspired the government of Italy, and the methods which Italy has pursued, are well known. With a callousness and treachery second only to that of Hitler, the German dictator, Mussolini, the dictator who holds the Italian people in thrall, has chosen what he believes to be the psychological moment to strike at Britain and France in the Mediterranean and Africa in order to satiate his lust for conquest and territorial aggrandizement, and for such glory as calculated duplicity and treachery can bring.

"Barely 80 years ago the peoples of Italy passed from serfdom and disunion to liberty and unity. In the struggles which are imperishably associated with the names of Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi, the English-speaking peoples gave to the Italian people a moral and material support that contributed in no small measure to the establishment and preservation of the Italian nation.

"At a time when the rest of Europe looked with eyes of apathy and even of hostility upon the rebirth of Italy, the government of the United Kingdom, in a memorable dispatch, advised the Italian people that they turned their sympathetic eyes to the gratifying prospect of a people building up the edifice of their liberties and consolidating the work of their independence. The shouts of welcome of the British people to Garibaldi still ring through the years.

#### He Loved Freedom

"As his great English biographer said: 'Garibaldi will live as the incarnate symbol of two passions not likely soon to die out of the world, of love of country and the love of freedom kept pure by the one thing that can tame and yet not weaken them, the tenderest humanity for all mankind.'

"Italy grew in power and influence amidst many evidences of good-will from those who had hailed her rise to nationhood. Her citizens were welcomed in all the lands of the British commonwealth beyond the seas, and not least in Canada. In the last great war, she shared with us the burden of the day. She was rewarded with some of the fruits of victory.

"Through many generations, Bri-

tain and France, and their sons and daughters, have turned to the art and literature of Italy for solace and inspiration. To countless millions her capital city has been one of the holy places of the world. From the spiritual power and comfort of an ancient and undying faith have gone into the lands of all the earth.

#### Tribute to Pope

"All members of the House will join me, I know, in paying a tribute to the noble example set by the present occupant of the Holy See in his unceasing work for the preservation of peace, and the exaltation of humanity itself, amidst the discord and clamor of the world which is falling in ruins around us.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....  
Date.....  
Subject.....

D 38395

All these ancient traditions of freedom and good-will, of true religion, of literature and of art, have been trampled upon and cast by wicked men into the darkness and dust.

"It would be a great mistake to underestimate the seriousness of the new situation which has been created. Italy is a nation of 40,000,000. Under the domination of her dictator, she has been preparing for war longer than any other nation in Europe. A whole generation has been educated to glorify force. It is useless further at this time to regret the degradation of a free and peaceful people, to seek the causes for the change, or to condemn the evil doctrines which have poisoned the hearts and minds of Italian youth.

"Today he has declared war on those who were the traditional friends of his countrymen. Calously and cynically, he has chosen what he believes is the psychological moment for the swoop and the treacherous blow.

"Peaceful overtures, proffered concessions, bonds of ancient friendship sealed by the memory of common sacrifices in the cause of freedom, all these he has bartered for the vision of conquest and the phantom of power.

"No one can foretell the horrors that the spread of warfare into new seas and upon new shores may bring to the world. But one thing is sure. Retribution will overtake all tyrants, and the dictator of Italy amongst them. It is too early to predict the final effect of this treachery upon those who cannot sit idly by and watch the whole world engulfed in the seas of battle. We may rest assured, however, that the forces of liberty will rally in a supreme effort of victory.

"As for Canada, this new peril to the Allied cause will only increase our country's determination to stand resolutely at the side of Britain and France until the powers of evil which threaten the freedom of mankind are vanquished once and for all.

In seconding the resolution Mr. Hanson said: "The Fascist dictator has proven true to the predictions of the people of the civilized democracies. Like the vulture, he viewed the progress of events afar, and now, profit by the situation."

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63		Progress of War, Aid to British, Statement in Parliament	4 June 1940	D 38248 - D 38249	
63		Radio Broadcast on War Events	7 June 1940	D 38250 - D 38391	
63		Declaration of War on Italy. Speeches in Parliament	10 June 1940	D 38392 - D 38395	
63		Radio Broadcast re: Italy	10 June 1940	D 38396 - D 38407	
63		Address to Earl of Athlone, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	13 May 1940	D 38408 - D 38424	
63		France's Peace Appeal. Speeches in Parliament	17 June 1940	D 38425 - D 38427	
63		War Plans. Speeches in Parliament	18 June 1940	D 38428 - D 38443	
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Prince Albert, Sask.

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D 38396

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After many months of preparation, provocation in act and word and threat of open hostility, Italy has thrown her resources into the war at the side of Nazi Germany.

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It would be a great mistake to underestimate the seriousness of the new situation which has been created. Italy is a nation of forty millions. Under the domination of her dictator, she has been preparing for war longer than any other nation in Europe. A whole generation has been educated to glorify force. It is useless further at this time to regret the degradation of a free and peaceful people, to seek the causes for the change, or to condemn the evil doctrines which have poisoned the hearts and minds of Italian youth. / The very

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As for Canada, this new peril to the allied cause will only increase our country's determination to stand resolutely at the side of Britain and France until the powers of evil which threaten the freedom of mankind are vanquished once and for all.

Appropriate steps have already been taken to ensure within Canada itself any threat to internal security arising out of the action of the Italian dictator and his Fascist forces.

38402

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Canada, together with Britain and France, will face this unprovoked act of wanton aggression with resolution and without fear.

We have done and will do what is necessary to meet any new menace to public order and security within our borders.

We will shrink from no effort to turn from its foul purpose the treacherous Italian dagger that has struck at the heart of freedom.

## PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

D 38403

Date JUN 1 1 1940

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

### Says Forces Of Liberty Will Prevail

Forces of liberty will rally to meet the new challenge of Italy's entry into the war at Germany's side, Prime Minister Mackenzie King told the Canadian people in a speech broadcast over the national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Monday night.

Recalling his speech of Friday night in which he said new and old friends would rally to the Allied cause if new enemies rose against it, he named the United States as one of the nations he had in mind.

He cited a speech broadcast by President Roosevelt earlier in the evening as evidence.

#### An Old and New Friend.

"The President", he said, "is both an old friend and a new one, an old friend because his heart and the hearts of his people have always beaten in common with ours and a new friend because tonight he pledged the resources of his nation to our cause."

Mr. King reviewed the swift moving events of the day in Ottawa, the tragic death of Hon. Norman Rogers, Minister of National Defence, in an airplane crash and the action taken to put Canada in a state of war with Italy.

The Cabinet passed an order-in-council tendering advice to His Majesty that a proclamation should be issued declaring Canada at war with the new enemy as from June 10.

It was transmitted to Hon. Vincent Massey, Canadian High Commissioner in London, for submission to the King. Immediately approval of the proclamation is received it will be published in a special edition of the Canada Gazette.

Justice Minister Lapointe, the Prime Minister said, has authorized the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to apprehend and intern all Italian nationals whose activities might be detrimental to the war effort or destructive of property.

Other steps, planned well in advance, were being taken with regard to trading with Italians and to Italian property in Canada. These included measures to stop trading with the new enemy and other acts inconsistent with the existence of a state of war.

Referring to Mr. Rogers as "a trusted colleague and close and deeply valued friend", Mr. King said "No words can express the sorrow with which his colleagues and I heard the news".

Mr. Rogers' career was an inspiration to youth. He served in the First Great War as a private and "the same qualities that made him a brave soldier" had sustained him in his higher task.

"Canada has lost a generous and valiant heart, the British Empire a Minister of War who held a foremost place in her military councils", Mr. King said, "the Allied Powers, a Minister of the Crown who served them faithfully in the hour of their greatest need. Our country mourns tonight one of the ablest and noblest of her sons."

## PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

38404

Date JUN 11 1940

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

### States Forces Of Liberty To Meet Challenge

#### Prime Minister King Cites Roosevelt's Pledge to Al- lies Voiced After Italy Had Entered the War.

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#### Cites Roosevelt's Speech.

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He cited a speech broadcast by President Roosevelt earlier last night as evidence.

"The President," he said, "is both an old friend and a new one, an old friend because his heart and the hearts of his people have always beaten in common with ours and a new friend because tonight he pledged the resources of his nation to our cause."

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# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... **Ottawa M. Citizen**

Date..... **June 11 /40**

**38405**

Subject.....

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# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

D 38406

Date June 12/40

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## *King's Speech Constructive And Patriotic*

From the Montreal Star  
(Independent)

THE memorable speech broadcast by Premier Mackenzie King on Friday night last almost partakes of the nature of an historic state document. It was a most successful effort to acquaint the entire Canadian nation not only with the general facts of Canada's war efforts but with a very large number of details in connection with them for which the public have been clamoring for some considerable time. It was also a convincing presentation of all the circumstances that have attended the at first slow development of our war efforts and of those factors which handicapped speeding-up at a time when manufacturers, labor and the government were all ready and anxious to go ahead.

Nobody who listened to Mr. Mackenzie King's statement without prejudice could possibly fail to realize that it was emphatically constructive and that it took the nation into the government's confidence in a very large measure. There will, we feel confident, be less tendency from now on to hurl vague charges of neglect at the administration, and on the part of all loyal Canadians who want to help push our war effort ahead with all possible speed, a desire, manifested in a practical way, to lend useful co-operation instead of shouting futile criticism.

MR. KING's peroration will certainly go down in Canadian parliamentary annals as one of the most inspiring declarations that have ever been voiced by a prime minister of this Dominion. It is worth reproducing not only here but in permanent form in every household in this vast land.

"To the making of Canada come the same chivalry of France and the same gallantry of Britain which fashioned the glory of that triumph of heroism. I speak the heart and mind of our country when I say that every fort in Canada will be another Calais and every harbor will be another Dunkerque before the men and women of our land allow the light and the life of their Christian faith to be extinguished by the powers of evil, or yield their liberties to the tyranny of Nazi brutality."

These are not the words of a man who is wasting Canada's time. They are the words of a patriot who is doing everything in his power to avoid wasting a minute that could otherwise be applied to advancing our war effort.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....Halifax Herald

Date.....June 25/401

38407

Subject .....

## On Guard!

—AN EDITORIAL—

THE Canadian Prime Minister employs plain language in recognizing the threat to Canada and what must be done to meet it. He declares:

"For every Canadian the new situation has brought new and heavier responsibilities. The British Isles are threatened with impending invasion. Canada can no longer regard her territory as secure. Our defences must be swiftly strengthened. Canada must be ready to meet any attack launched against her coasts or her cities."

¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶

IT is greatly reassuring to have these words from the lips of the Prime Minister himself—and the Canadian people will receive them, not in any spirit of panic or hysteria, but calmly and in the confident belief that measures are being taken by the authorities to translate the Prime Minister's declaration into prompt and effective action.

Every intelligent Canadian realizes that these are threatening times: that no part of the world can be regarded as immune from direct contact with this war.

*It is, therefore, no more than foresight and common-sense to prepare to meet what may come.*

*It is, moreover, equally necessary that local organizations should be equipped to meet any emergencies that may arise.*

Great Britain is taking all possible precautions, not only to repel attack, but to protect the civilian population from the effects of attack when it is launched against her islands. Here in Canada we must do no less.

¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶

THESE, as we say, are not matters to give rise to any hysteria or panic: they are hard facts to be faced with firmness and resolution.

Canadians are a steady, sure-footed people, who keep their nerves and emotions under control.

*That was what made the Canadians formidable fighting men in the first Great War and will mould the Canadian forces into an equally formidable instrument in this.*

The Canadian people can "take it" as well as "give it"—and they are not afraid to face conditions as they arise. But, like all other peoples, they want to know that everything that can be done is being done to provide the

organization and equipment necessary to meet any emergency. And the Prime Minister's statement is timely and definite.

Let all who can co-operate to aid the authorities lend a ready hand in this vitally-important work.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
63		Canada's War Effort. Speeches in Parliament	20 May 1940	D 38225 - D 38241	
63		Fall of Paris - Radio Broadcast	June 1940	D 38242 - D 38247	
63		Progress of War, Aid to British, Statement in Parliament	4 June 1940	D 38248 - D 38249	
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63		Radio Broadcast re: Italy	10 June 1940	D 38396 - D 38407	
63		Address to Earl of Athlone, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	13 May 1940	D 38408 - D 38424	
63		France's Peace Appeal. Speeches in Parliament	17 June 1940	D 38425 - D 38427	
63		War Plans. Speeches in Parliament	18 June 1940	D 38428 - D 38443	
63		Message to Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	24 June 1940	D 38444 - D 38445	

16 June 1940

Ottawa

Address to Earl of Athlone

~~2 June 1942~~

4 July 1907

Berlin  
Banquet in honour  
of Lemieux & King

Reply & toast to "Berlin"

Conciliation Act.

Dear Mr. [unclear]

(It heading)

Belgi

on behalf of the Government and  
the people of Canada I would like to

(A)

honour to express a few  
words of appreciation for the great pleasure  
it is to us all

our pleasure that you taking

part in our country's  
development and the duties of the

Government of Canada

in Canada of the highest order

and we are sure that you will

be in a very good way

to be welcomed by the people

of Canada and the people

of Canada and to the people

of Canada and to the people

of Canada and to the people

D38408

views

your presence in our midst at

the occasion of the

visit of the



D 38409

Revised by Prime Minister  
May 13, 1940

*Handwritten notes:*  
The  
20  
W.M.  
50786  
Please copy return  
Lough  
June 16-40

Draft Address

to His Excellency  
Major General the Rt. Honourable The Earl of Athlone,  
K.G., P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.

Your Excellency:

*See with*  
**(A)**

~~It is my privilege, on behalf of the Government~~  
and the people, ~~to welcome you to the Dominion of Canada~~  
and to its Capital city where today you take up the duties  
of the high office of Governor General of Canada. ~~Your~~ <sup>of your coming, and Her Royal Highness The Princess Alice</sup> ~~the~~ arrival  
in Canada brings ~~back~~ to our minds ~~the very~~ happy  
memories associated with the visit a year ago of Their  
Majesties ~~the~~ King and Queen. <sup>from</sup> Amid the grave anxieties  
of the months which ~~followed~~, <sup>have undergone since intervened,</sup> and the imminent perils  
of the present, Their Majesties, ~~we would assure you, are~~ <sup>have been</sup>  
constantly in our thoughts and prayers.

*Handwritten notes:*  
W.M. The Earl of Athlone  
The Princess Alice  
The Earl of Athlone  
The Princess Alice  
The Earl of Athlone  
The Princess Alice

We are pleased to recall that you were in Canada  
on the occasion of another royal visit. At that time,  
our country was honoured by the presence of Their Royal  
Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York,  
later Their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary. ~~We~~ <sup>we remember</sup>  
~~remember with pride~~ <sup>that also</sup> the selection of Your Excellency as  
His Majesty's representative in Canada ~~parallels and provides~~ <sup>also to mind</sup>  
~~a similar appointment by His late Majesty King George~~ <sup>as to do</sup> ~~the~~  
~~Fifth~~ in the far-off days of the last war, when ~~once before,~~  
our cherished liberties ~~were imperilled.~~

*Handwritten notes:*  
W.M. The Earl of Athlone  
The Princess Alice  
The Earl of Athlone  
The Princess Alice

At that time, the path of Your Excellency's ~~long~~ <sup>today, following again the path</sup> duty led you <sup>to</sup> the front of battle. ~~Today~~ <sup>you</sup> come <sup>to</sup> us <sup>with</sup> the unique distinction of this <sup>twice bestowed</sup> ~~twofold~~ royal confidence to receive a welcome which our recollection, and the passing of the years, have served only to increase in sincerity and cordiality.

We welcome in you, Sir, one whose birth, and rank, and royal kinship have been the badge not of privilege, but of service.

As Governor General of the Union of South Africa, the constitutional opportunities of your high office, <sup>and</sup> your own unfailing courtesy and understanding insight, became instruments for the encouragement of ideals of tolerance and racial reconciliation, <sup>they afforded</sup> ~~and for~~ the enlightened support <sup>of</sup> the peaceful progress of a <sup>new self-governing</sup> young and vigorous nation.

As Chancellor of London University, you dedicated yourself to the high purpose of education, ~~and~~ <sup>by</sup> your labours and example, have aided the advancement of science, art and literature.

Our citizens <sup>are pleased to</sup> recall these attainments, ~~with~~ <sup>are</sup> pride as they <sup>do</sup> the wealth of experience and of wisdom which you have gathered in a life of service, travel and study.

Above all, however, in this young country, where men and women continue to hold in reverence the faith and the sacrifices of their fathers, ~~and the sanctities of home and altar,~~ <sup>and your Excellency</sup> you will be doubly welcomed as a fearless Christian gentleman.

We <sup>heartily</sup> join together also, in honouring, and in welcoming to ~~our midst,~~ <sup>Canada</sup> the Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone. Wherever Her Royal Highness has been, she has left ~~behind~~ cherished memories of grace, kindness and humanity. The welfare of ~~womankind,~~ <sup>humanity</sup> the care of little children, ~~the uplifting of the afflicted,~~ <sup>concerns of</sup> indeed, every cause that Charity has made ~~her~~ <sup>its</sup> own, ~~have~~ received from ~~Her Royal Highness~~ <sup>her</sup> the solicitude and ~~consideration~~ of her sympathetic devotion.

Your Excellency and Her Royal Highness have come to dwell in a broad land, beautiful in its infinite variety of river, mountain, valley, lake and prairie. Here two ancient races dwell together in peace, harmony and equality. Men and women from many far-off countries share with us the <sup>precious</sup> ~~great~~ heritage of free citizenship under the British Crown.

We trust that time <sup>may afford you</sup> and favourable opportunity ~~will guide you to~~ <sup>to visit</sup> all parts of Canada. Everywhere, in city, town and village, on farm and frontier, loyal citizens await your coming to give you greeting.

Wherever your journeyings may take you, you will find the Canadian people united in their determination to prosecute the war effort of ~~this~~ <sup>the</sup> country to the utmost

of its strength. By its own free choice, Canada entered the grim conflict, ~~in the defence of freedom and the rights of man.~~ <sup>in the defence of freedom and the rights of man.</sup> ~~It will continue at the side of the Allied Powers until the power of tyranny is broken, and victory is won.~~ <sup>It will continue at the side of the Allied Powers until the power of tyranny is broken, and victory is won.</sup>

~~In welcoming Your Excellency, the Government and the people of Canada pledge themselves anew to an unbroken faith in our common cause and to ~~steadfast~~ <sup>unflinching</sup> loyalty to His Majesty the King.~~

*in the month of September last - we have the Allied Powers, with a view to the side of Milan and France x*  
*of your Excellency's arrival in Ottawa on the 1st of September*  
*his would await our arrival of this*  
*Superintendent of the Ottawa Police*  
*meeting with your Excellency on the 1st of September*  
*of granting your Excellency as the the representative*  
*his Majesty's representative in Canada to pledge*  
*ourselves to an unbroken faith in our common*  
*cause, and to unflinching loyalty to His Majesty the King.*

38413

To-day, on behalf of Government  
and people, it is my privilege  
to welcome your Excellency  
to the Dominion of Canada  
and to its Capital City,  
to assume the duties of  
the high office of Governor  
-General of Canada-

The arrival of your Excellency  
brings to our minds, happy  
memories of the visit, a  
year ago, of Their Majesties  
King George & Queen Elizabeth.  
amid the grave anxieties  
of the months which followed  
and the imminent perils  
of the present. Their Majesties  
are ever in the thoughts  
and prayers of the Canadian  
people - In welcoming your  
Excellency, we pledge ourselves  
and in unbroken faith in  
our common cause and to  
steadfast loyalty to our King -

D 38414

This is not your Excellence  
first association with  
our Dominion - we recall  
with pleasure that on  
the occasion of a former  
Royal visit, you were  
in Canada. At that time  
our Country was honored  
by the presence of J. R. M.  
the Duke or Duchess of  
Cornwall or York - who  
later became Their Majesty  
King George V and Queen  
Mary. We remember also  
with that the selection  
at this time, of your Excellence  
as H. M.'s representative  
in Canada, is as an echo  
of a similar appointment  
by his late Majesty George the  
Fifth, in the far off days of  
the last war, when, as now,  
our cherished liberties  
were imperilled

But at that time, the path  
of duty led to the fields  
of battle - Today, again  
following that path, you  
come to us, to take up  
the task, allotted to your  
excellency, a quarter of a  
century ago - The unique  
distinction of this  
twice-bestowed Royal  
Confidence, the passing  
of the years, have served  
but to increase our welcome  
in sincerity & cordiality.  
In you, Sir, we welcome  
one, bearing the badge of  
Service, not of Privilege,  
which rank, and royal  
kinship is yours, might  
bestow - Our citizens  
recall <sup>your</sup> ~~these~~ <sup>exceptional</sup> <sup>services</sup> with  
pride as they value the  
wealth of Experience & Wisdom  
gathered in a life of Service & Study  
in <sup>France</sup>

LWB/MP  
1.5.40

Draft Address

D 38416

Respectfully submitted

*Sub.*

To His Excellency  
Major General the Rt. Honourable The Earl of Athlone,  
K.G., P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.

*Governor General of Canada*

Your Excellency:

*Very often  
(See discussion  
address)*

*on behalf of*  
~~In the name of~~ the Government and the people of

Canada, ~~It is my privilege to welcome you to our capital~~  
*and to its capital city* city, where today you take up the duties of the high office  
*our Governor of Canada* of Governor General of Canada, to which Your Excellency's

kinsman, His Majesty King George the Sixth, has been gra-  
ciously pleased to call you. *Your arrival in Canada*

*bring back to our minds the many happy memories*

In congratulating Your Excellency upon His  
Majesty's choice, we congratulate ourselves upon Your

*association with the first & second of their Majesties the King and Queen*

Excellency's acceptance. *We are pleased to recall* We recall with pride that the

selection of Your Excellency as *the representative of the*  
*in Canada* King of Canada confirms and crowns your prior choice by

*You visited  
Canada last  
May years  
ago*

His late ~~Gracious~~ Majesty King George the Fifth in the far-  
off days of the last war, when once before, our cherished  
liberties were imperilled.

*here from  
Parliament in  
Canada on  
the occasion of  
an illness*

At that time, the path of Your Excellency's duty  
led you to the front of battle. Today you come to us with  
the unique distinction of this twofold royal confidence to  
receive a welcome which our recollection and the passing of  
the years have served only to increase in sincerity and  
cordiality.

*royal  
order of  
which has  
our country  
was honored*

*the need to recall*  
*the anxious months*  
*the past months which succeeded followed, and the*  
*unannounced deaths of the King their legacies are constantly*

*on 15/5/40 and 15/5/40*

38417

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D

~~In the coming of Your Excellency~~ <sup>and royal kinship</sup> We welcome <sup>one</sup> ~~one~~ whose birth and rank have been the badge not of privilege, but of service.

As Governor General of the Union of South Africa, you ~~used~~ the constitutional opportunities of your high office <sup>and the broad humanity</sup> ~~and the broad humanity~~, the unfailing courtesy and understanding insight <sup>with which you have been endowed</sup> ~~with which you have been endowed~~, for the encouragement of ~~the~~ ideals of tolerance and racial reconciliation, <sup>and</sup> the enlightened support of the peaceful progress of a young and vigorous nation.

As Chancellor of London University, you ~~have~~ dedicated yourself to the high purpose of education, <sup>and by</sup> ~~and by~~ your labours and example, have aided the advancement of science, art and literature ~~in the emancipation and solace~~ of mankind, ~~and the enrichment of our inheritance.~~

Our citizens <sup>recall these</sup> ~~do not forget~~ these high attainments <sup>with pride as they do</sup> ~~nor~~ the wealth of experience and of wisdom <sup>which you have</sup> ~~which you have~~ gathered in a life of service, travel and study.

Above all, however, <sup>in this young</sup> ~~in this young~~, <sup>vigorous land</sup> ~~vigorous land~~, where the hope of human achievement and happiness <sup>still</sup> ~~still~~ widens its horizon, <sup>men and women, holding in highest honour</sup> ~~men and women, holding in highest honour~~ the essential qualities <sup>that go to the making of a man,</sup> ~~that go to the making of a man,~~ salute you as a gallant, <sup>and</sup> ~~and~~ courteous and Christian gentleman.

*and the realization of home and after*

We join together also, in honouring and <sup>in</sup>welcoming to our midst, Her Royal Highness <sup>the</sup> Princess Alice <sup>Cousin of the Queen</sup>. Wherever ~~she~~ has been, she has left behind cherished memories of grace, kindness and humanity. The welfare of woman-kind, the care of little children, the uplifting of the afflicted, <sup>indeed</sup> and every cause that charity has made her own, have received from Her Royal Highness the solicitude and consideration of her sympathetic devotion. ~~Canada welcomes her with heartfelt pleasure.~~

*Very best wishes  
to  
her  
in attendance  
upon Her  
Majesty*

Your Excellencies <sup>and Her Royal Highness</sup> have come to dwell in a broad land, beautiful in its infinite variety of river, mountain, valley, lake and prairie. Here two ancient races dwell together in peace, harmony and equality. Men and women from many far-off countries ~~have joined their fortunes, and the hopes of their children to our own.~~ They share ~~our~~ <sup>the</sup> great heritage, and have strengthened the fibre and coloured the tapestry of ~~our~~ free citizenship under the British Crown. *We*

~~Our citizens~~ trust that time and ~~pleasant~~ <sup>pleasant</sup> opportunity will guide ~~Your Excellencies~~ <sup>you</sup> to all parts of Canada. Everywhere, in city, town, <sup>and village</sup> village, farm and frontier, loyal citizens await your coming to give you greeting.

Wherever your journeyings may take you, you will find the Canadian people ~~standing united by the side of~~ Britain and ~~France~~ <sup>the</sup> in defence of freedom and the rights of man. By ~~our~~ <sup>the</sup> own free choice <sup>Canada</sup> we have entered the grim conflict. ~~We shall endure~~ <sup>It will continue to the satisfaction of all powers.</sup> until tyranny is broken and victory is won.

The Government and the people of Canada, in welcoming Your Excellency, pledge themselves anew to an unbroken faith in our common cause and to steadfast loyalty to His Majesty the King.

*In their determination to prosecute the war effort of ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> country to the utmost of their strength*

Revised by Prime Minister  
May 13, 1940

Draft Address

D 38420

to His Excellency  
Major General the Rt. Honourable The Earl of Athlone,  
K.G., P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.

Your Excellency:

<sup>To-day</sup> It is my privilege, on behalf of the Government  
and the people, to welcome you to the Dominion of Canada  
and to its Capital city where <sup>to assume</sup> ~~today you take up~~ the duties  
of the high office of Governor General of Canada. <sup>The</sup> Your  
arrival <sup>of your Excellency</sup> in Canada brings ~~back~~ to our minds ~~the many~~ happy  
memories associated with the visit a year ago of Their  
Majesties the King <sup>George</sup> and Queen <sup>Elizabeth</sup>. Amid the grave anxieties  
of the months which followed, and the imminent perils  
of the present, Their Majesties, we would assure you, are  
constantly in our thoughts and prayers.

We are pleased to recall that you were in Canada  
on the occasion of another royal visit. At that time,  
our country was honoured by the presence of Their Royal  
Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York,  
later Their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary. We  
remember <sup>also</sup> with pride <sup>that</sup> the selection of Your Excellency as  
His Majesty's representative in Canada parallels and revises  
a similar appointment by His late Majesty King George the  
Fifth in the far-off days of the last war, when once before,  
our cherished liberties were imperilled.

D 38421

-2-

At that time, the path of Your Excellency's duty led you to the front of battle. Today you come to us with the unique distinction of this twofold royal confidence to receive a welcome which our recollection and the passing of the years have served only to increase in sincerity and cordiality.

*following again the path of duty  
has been bestowed*

We welcome in you, Sir, one whose birth, and rank, and royal kinship have been the badge not of privilege, but of service.

As Governor General of the Union of South Africa, the constitutional opportunities of your high office, your ~~own~~ unfailing courtesy and understanding insight became instruments for the encouragement of ideals of tolerance and racial reconciliation, and for the enlightened support of the peaceful progress of a young and vigorous nation.

As Chancellor of London University, you dedicated yourself to the high purpose of education and by your labours and example, have aided the advancement of science, art and literature.

*furthering*

Our citizens recall these attainments with pride as they do the wealth of experience and of wisdom which you have gathered in a life of service, travel and study.

Above all, however, in this young country, where men and women continue to hold in reverence the faith and the sacrifices of their fathers, and the sanctities of home and altar, you will be doubly welcomed as a fearless Christian gentleman.

We join together also, in honouring and in welcoming to our midst, the Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone. Wherever Her Royal Highness has been, she has left behind cherished memories of grace, kindness and humanity. The welfare of womankind, the care of little children, the uplifting of the afflicted, indeed, every cause that charity has made her own, have received from Her Royal Highness the solicitude and consideration of her sympathetic devotion.

Your Excellency and Her Royal Highness have come to dwell in a broad land, beautiful in its infinite variety of river, mountain, valley, lake and prairie. Here two ancient races dwell together in peace, harmony and equality. Men and women from many far-off countries share with us the great heritage of free citizenship under the British Crown.

*reocal* We trust that time and favourable opportunity will guide you <sup>to</sup> all parts of Canada. Everywhere, in city, town and village, on farm and frontier, loyal citizens await your coming to give you greeting.

Wherever your journeyings may take you, you will find the Canadian people united in their determination to prosecute the war effort of this country to the utmost of its strength. By its own free choice, Canada entered the grim conflict in the defence of freedom and the rights of man. It will continue at the side of the Allied Powers until the power of tyranny is broken, and victory is won.

*End*

In welcoming Your Excellency, the Government and the people of Canada pledge themselves anew to an unbroken faith in our common cause and to steadfast loyalty to His Majesty the King.

*1st  
Page*

D 38424

Dictated by Mr. Brockington

June 15, 1940

W.P. Connell

RE: ARRIVAL OF NEW GOVERNOR GENERAL

I send you these few words upon the arrival of yourself and The Princess Alice on Canadian soil. It will be my privilege and pleasure in a few days not only to extend to you a formal welcome when you arrive in Ottawa but also my warmest personal greetings.

Canada is fortunate at this time in the presence of Your Excellency as the representative of His Majesty the King. To yourself and to The Princess Alice, our citizens of all classes will soon show in no uncertain fashion how glad they are to have you in their midst. You will find the Canadian people united as never before in the great cause which has fired the resolution and the determination of all who owe and give willing loyalty to the British Crown. It is the heartfelt wish of us all that the years of your life in Canada will bring happiness to you and a victorious peace to a world of free men.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel/Bobine
63		Canada's War Effort. Speeches in Parliament	20 May 1940	D 38225 - D 38241	
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63		Message to Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	24 June 1940	D 38444 - D 38445	

17 June 1940

H of C

Francis's peace appeal

## PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Gazette  
Date June 18, 1940  
Subject Prime Minister Mackenzie King

38425

### Premier King's War Statement

Ottawa, June 17.—(P)—Following is the text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's statement in the Commons today concerning France's peace appeal and the First Division, Canadian Active Service Force:

Honorable members are aware of the extreme gravity of the situation in Europe. It is not yet possible to indicate the precise situation in France. Members, of course, know that following the break-through at various points on the French front and penetration of the Maginot Line, the French army has not thus far been able to reorganize effective resistance; that upon the resignation of Premier Reynaud, a new Cabinet was formed under Marshal Petain, and that it is seeking an armistice with the enemy.

While not minimizing the seriousness of the blow to the cause of the Allies, I can say with confidence that the fate of France will strengthen rather than weaken Canada's determination to intensify our war effort with all the means in our power in the direction of increased measures of home defence, the necessity for which will be now apparent, and in the direction of further assistance to the United Kingdom.

It is my intention tomorrow to give the House all available information I will, at the same time, make a statement as to the measures which have been adopted and which it is proposed to adopt

to meet the emergent situation.

Honorable members may have noticed that the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom has intimated that tomorrow he will make a statement to the British House of Commons. That statement will be before this House, I imagine, when we meet tomorrow afternoon.

I think it is preferable that, in a matter of so grave importance as is the present situation, a statement concerning it as a whole should come from the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom before an attempt is made by the leader of the Government in our House to appraise it at its full significance.

May I add a word about the Canadian troops overseas. It is now possible for me to inform the House that, in conformity with the plans of the Allied high command, preparations were made, early this month, for the early participation in action in France of the 1st Division of the Canadian Active Service Force. Last week some of our troops were actually landed in France. The changed circumstances rendered their withdrawal imperative; and over the week-end effective steps were initiated to that end.

PM Statement

extra

June 17 / 40



May I add a word about the Canadian troops overseas. It is now possible for me to inform the House that, in conformity with the plans of the Allied High Command, preparations were made, early this month, for the early participation in action in France of the First Division of the Canadian Active Service Force. Last week some of our troops were actually landed in France. The changed circumstances ~~have of course~~ rendered their withdrawal imperative; <sup>and</sup> over the week-end effective steps were initiated to that end.

*See also account in  
the Montreal Star of 11/11/41.*

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63		France's Peace Appeal. Speeches in Parliament	17 June 1940	D 38425 - D 38427	
63		War Plans. Speeches in Parliament	18 June 1940	D 38428 - D 38443	
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18 June 1940

H of C

war plans

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Gazette  
Date June 19, 1940  
Subject Prime Minister - Statements in H. of C.

D 38428

Ottawa, June 18.—(P)—Following is the text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's statement in the Commons today on new war plans:

At this moment the German and Italian dictators are together considering the request of France for a definition of the terms of an honorable peace. Whatever is the outcome of the conference and the consideration of the inquiries of Marshal Petain, it appears that effective French resistance on land will soon come to an end. Conditions are obscure. The eventual disposition of the French fleet and air force is at present unknown.

The unprecedented offer of Great Britain to form a national union with France, with all the implications of common citizenship in representation, in defence, and in common economic control, has apparently met with a divided reception. The suggestion that Britain and France become the Canada of Europe must strike the imagination of this country. Whether or not it proves a peaceful solution for the present distress of France, it may yet contain the future hope of a peaceful Europe.

Today Mr. Churchill, with his usual thoroughness and blunt sincerity, reviewed the state of the war. Whatever may be the present fate of France, Britain will fight on. That decision is not only Britain's decision, it is also the decision of Canada.

#### NO CRITICISM OF FRANCE.

No word of criticism will be found upon the lips or in the heart of any man who surveys with understanding the situation in which France found herself.

With her original defences broken, the Maginot Line outflanked, her industrial areas and her factories in the hands of the enemy, her troops without adequate food and munitions of war, the streets of her proud capital overrun by the legions of the invader, effective resistance by soldiers whose endurance and fortitude have added new glories to the French name was no longer possible.

We who know the spirit of France know also that, if her soldiers have surrendered to the inevitable, no soldiers in the world could have continued any longer to face the overwhelming odds against which she had battled with such courage. France will arise with a new strength and a new glory from the blood-stained soil on which, three times during the last 70 years she has fought so gallantly. Her sufferings have been our sufferings. The hallowed French earth where our dead are buried and our proud memorial stands is a part of Canada. In a very real sense she is ours and we are hers.

Her romance, her chivalry, her language and her ancient faith are an imperishable part of the Canadian heritage. If she signifies these intimate and beloved things to a large portion of our people, to the world of free men she has always personified the eternal truths of democracy and all that belongs to the enfranchisement of the human spirit. A new dawn will follow the shadows of the night. The legions of freedom will yet march again through the Arc de Triomphe to the strains of the Marseillaise.

#### WAR NOW NEARER HOME.

It is for us at this time to consider the new situation in which

we find ourselves. I have tried from time to time to forecast the new phases of the war which were obvious, perhaps, to any student of the march of events. Today it is still necessary, indeed it is more imperative than ever, to examine the situation in its true perspective and to assess anew what may be necessary on Canada's part to meet the new demands.

The plain facts are that the defeat of France has brought the war much nearer home to Canada. The British Isles are threatened with invasion not as a remote possibility but as an impending actuality. It is now wholly apparent that additional measures both for the purpose of assistance of Britain and for the defence of Canada are an essential.

The policy which the Government announced at the outset of the war of assisting Britain by relieving her of the duty of protecting certain areas in this hemisphere, has been greatly extended in recent weeks. I pointed out in this house on September 8 last that—"by contributing as far as we are able to the defence of Newfoundland and the other British and French territories in this hemisphere, we will not only be defending Canada but we will also be assisting Great Britain and France by enabling them to concentrate their own energies more in that part of the world in which their own immediate security is at stake."

Immediate measures were taken at that time to assist in the naval defence of Newfoundland. In the light of recent events additional responsibility has been assumed for the military defence of strategic areas here. I am pleased to be able to announce that Canadian armed forces are now on duty in Newfoundland.

#### CANADIANS IN ICELAND.

The House has already been informed of the contribution which Canada is making in the West Indies by replacing British troops with Canadian troops on garrison duty and thus relieving British forces for other duties. The Government agreed some weeks ago to a request of the United Kingdom that Canadian troops should assist in the defence of Iceland.

The first contingent of the Canadian expeditionary force have already landed in Iceland. Further units have been detailed and will follow shortly. I need hardly point out the strategic importance not only to the security of North Atlantic sea lanes but to the defence of this continent of maintaining control of Iceland.

The increased seriousness of the military situation abroad, and the marked expansion of all three branches of our armed forces in Canada have served to arouse widespread interest and concern throughout the country regarding the raising and training of recruits. At the conclusion of my remarks the Minister of National Defence for Air will make a statement on what is now being done and what additional measures are proposed in connection with the recruitment of Canada's armed forces.

A bill will be introduced in this House at once to confer upon the Government special emergency powers to mobilize all human and material resources for the defence

of Canada. Although the purpose of this measure will be explained in detail on the second reading, I should like to make one or two brief observations regarding it.

#### SERVICE FOR HOME DEFENCE

So far as manpower is concerned, it will relate solely and exclusively to the defence of Canada on our own soil and in our own territorial waters. It will enable the Government to make the most efficient use of our manpower for the varied needs of modern machine warfare. It is of the utmost importance to realize that success in war today depends upon the use of men for the kind of work for which they are best fitted.

The armed forces are only a part of the essential equipment of war. The skilled worker in the factory, the transport worker and the farmer, to mention only a few, are as essential to the effective prosecution of the war as the soldier, the sailor and the airman. The mobilization of our forces will not therefore be confined to requiring the services of men and women. The Government will have power under the provisions of the bill equally to call property and wealth, material resources and industries to the defence of Canada.

The bill is intended to remove any doubt as to the power of the Government and the will of Parliament that the whole material resources of the country should be available whenever they are required to meet the needs of the war. The operation of the measure will be confined to the period of the war.

Recruitment for the service overseas will be maintained on a voluntary basis. No difficulty has been experienced and no difficulty is anticipated in raising by the voluntary system all the men required for service outside Canada. The bill to be introduced today in no way affects the raising of men to serve in the armed forces overseas. Once again I wish to repeat my undertaking, frequently given, that no measure for the conscription of men for overseas service will be introduced by the present administration.

#### REGISTER ESSENTIAL.

A complete inventory of Canada's manpower and other resources, properly classified, affords a necessary basis for some of the further essential measures of home security and defence, which I have announced. A national registration of Canada's manpower will accordingly be instituted at once. Let me emphasize the fact that this registration will have nothing whatever to do with the recruitment of men for overseas service.

Among others, a national registration of Canada's manpower will have the following immediate advantages:

The national registration will constitute an additional precaution against "fifth column" activities such as sabotage and espionage which conceivably might become more menacing as external threats grow more serious. In this way, it will add to our internal security.

National registration will also provide the Government with an inventory of the mechanical and industrial skill of our population. Such an inventory will prove valuable in affording additional information on the extent of our resources of skilled labor which can be drawn upon to meet the needs of essential wartime industries. It will also show the directions in which intensive industrial and technical training is most urgently needed to provide

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
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an adequate supply of labor to meet the growing demands of our war industries and other essential services.

I should like here to express the warm appreciation of the Government of the valuable work already accomplished through the voluntary registration of women undertaken as a spontaneous contribution to the development of Canadian efficiency in war-time.

The fullest use will be made of the results of the register now being completed.

#### NEW DEPARTMENT DUE.

It is the intention of the Government also to establish without delay a new department of Government to be known as the Department of National War Services, to be presided over by a minister of the Crown. Since the war began, thousands of patriotic citizens have expressed a desire to engage in some voluntary war work.

As the crisis has developed and will develop, there have come new obligations upon our citizens. The care and housing of evacuated children and refugees, the provision of comforts for soldiers, the economical use of food supplies, the launching of campaigns for war loans and contributions, agricultural developments, the attraction of tourists—these and many other matters demand organization and direction.

The purpose of the new department is not merely to co-ordinate the activities of existing voluntary war services. It will be entrusted with the duty of directing and mobilizing the activities of thousands of our citizens who are seeking practical and useful outlets for their enthusiasm and patriotism. Women's organizations, patriotic organizations, commercial organizations, and many other groups of men and women banded together in the national interest offer a vast field of activity for spontaneous service.

The object of the new department is to help Canadians to help Canada by their free will offerings, which have been so generously made and will be so generously continued. The Minister charged with the duties of this department will be expected immediately to establish a Dominion-wide organization of volun-

tary service, which will be assisted by branch committees in all parts of the country.

#### WILL ENLARGE CABINET.

Finally, I wish to announce that for some time past I have been giving careful consideration to means whereby there might be included in the Government additional ministers to assist in the direction of Canada's war effort, and whose presence in the ministry might serve to give still further assurance of the power of the Government adequately to meet the increased responsibilities with which it is faced. Honorable members will realize that there are many considerations of which account has to be taken in any matter which concerns the personnel of a cabinet.

I might mention as not the least important of these considerations what is required of a minister of the Crown in the way of a many-sided experience in the conduct and management of public affairs.

An equally important consideration is whether the talents of leading executives and business men may not be used to greater advantage in high administrative posts, and in an advisory capacity with relation to particular services, than in the ministry and in Parliament.

As the House is aware, my colleague the Minister of Finance expected to bring down the budget before the close of the present week and thereafter will assume his new responsibilities as Minister of National Defence. At the time that this transfer of portfolios is made I expect to be in a position to announce the government changes and additions at present contemplated.

The situation which I have described and the measures which I have indicated to meet it require no further elaboration. The times are the most serious in our history. They hold in their keeping the destiny of Canada as a free nation. I do not doubt the ultimate result, but I realize how arduous and full of suffering may be the Via Dolorosa along which we must pass before the agony is ended.

#### FIGHT TO END PLEDGED.

It is our manifest duty, as it is our unshaken determination, to

use all our advantages, geographic, strategic and economic, to preserve liberty for ourselves and to help to preserve it for the British Commonwealth and the other nations that are yet free. We must use them to help regain liberty for the victims of blood-thirsty tyranny. The British peoples, who taught the world the meaning of freedom, will defend it to the last. They have become the symbol, the hope and the guarantee of its continuance and its restoration throughout the world.

Endowed by the heritage of Britain and France, with pride in the strength of her youth and the righteousness of the cause, Canada faces what fate may bring with resolute confidence and unyielding determination.

Before I take my seat may I mention to the House that yesterday my honorable friend the leader of the opposition (Hon. R. B. Hanson) was kind enough to come with his colleague who shares his seat (Hon. Grote Stirling) to my office to discuss the very critical situation which had developed over the week-end. My honorable friend came in a spirit of helpfulness to discuss measures which he thought ought to be brought into force immediately. He spoke particularly of the desirability of stating that an emergent condition exists at the present time which requires further action on the part of the Government to deal with it effectively.

He spoke to me about the desirability of complete mobilization of manpower and resources, and also made mention of the desirability of adding to the Ministry some gentlemen whose names and ability and capacity would help to inspire general confidence throughout this country, along with those who are in the administration at the present time.

#### WAITED FOR CHURCHILL.

I mentioned to my honorable friends that I was not prepared to make a statement yesterday, because I had not the information with respect to the situation in Europe on which I would wish to base it; that I thought, as I mentioned to the House yesterday, that it would be well to wait until the Prime Minister of Great Britain made his statement on the European situation before I should make a statement myself.

I told my honorable friends, however, that all the measures to which they had made reference were matters that the Government had had under consideration for some time. I said to them, what I had mentioned previously in the House, that I have felt that there are times and reasons for all things: some matters can be dealt with in a manner which will be most helpful to the maintenance of national unity and security at one time which, were an effort made to precipitate them unduly, might defeat the very ends that we all have in common.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

D 38430

Date .....

Subject .....

I stated however that I would today without fail make a statement to the House of the measures which the Government proposes to take to meet the situation that has since developed, and what I have said this afternoon has been by way of carrying out that promise and the intention which I had at the beginning of the week. I would just like to express to my honorable friend, in presence of honorable members of the House, my appreciation of the helpful and cooperative manner in which he and his desk-mate met me yesterday in the discussion of these matters of great common concern.

## PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press

38431

Date June 22/40

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

### Mr. King Takes Full Charge

Mr. King in Parliament on Thursday spoke with unusual directness and precision as to what he conceives to be the powers, functions and responsibilities which have devolved upon him in wartime as Prime Minister of Canada. As it is desirable that wherever this is possible there should be no doubt as to where power and responsibility lie, he is to be commended for his frankness.

Mr. King declared that an election having been held and the ministerial party having carried 183 out of 245 seats, the Government which he heads is "a National Government in the truest sense of the word." The forming of national governments elsewhere by a fusion of parties had been made necessary, he said, to avoid the holding of elections, a condition which did not prevail in Canada.

Mr. King intimated that he proposed to enlarge and strengthen this National Government, as he regards it, by the addition of other members; but he was specific and emphatic in indicating the disqualifications that would bar admission to the Government. We note them in the order in which they were stated.

\* \* \*

The Government, Mr. King said, adhered to its engagement made with the people at the time of the election, that there would not be conscription of man-power for overseas service. He would therefore not take into the Government "any of those whose object in coming into the ministry would be to see that conscription overseas was again made one of the issues in this country."

He would not, Mr. King said, take in any of the members sitting about Mr. Hanson (that is, the Opposition members) who had declared that he was not qualified to be leader of the Government.

Making it clear that he intended to continue as leader of the Government, Mr. King said he would regard loyalty to him as leader as "one of the first qualifications." He did not propose to have anyone around who would stab him in the breast "when he was attempting to fight the battle of his country at a moment of great peril."

Mr. King's declarations will be variously interpreted. His critics and opponents will find in them the justification for all they have said in derogation of the Prime Minister; and undoubtedly they make certain a continuance of the severe—and often bitter and unreasonable—criticism of Government policies which has abounded. To this extent national unity will continue to be impaired.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication ----- 38432

Date -----

Subject -----

But a more generous interpretation of the policy and the will behind Mr. King's statements can be given after careful scrutiny and consideration. This accepts the view that the Prime Minister has taken this stiff attitude from the conviction that this is necessary if he is adequately to discharge the very grave duties which have been imposed upon him by virtue of his position. His motives are not personal, for considerations of prestige or pride, but arise from a sense that he is in authority and that upon him has been laid the heavy and inescapable responsibility of protecting the integrity and independence of this country. Clearly he does not think that he would be assisted in this task by the inclusion within his Government of men who are not prepared to accept his policies and co-operate with him on a basis of complete loyalty. Any other interpretation of the reasons for Mr. King's course would, we are convinced, not be just to the Prime Minister.

\* \* \*

It does not, of course, follow that Mr. King's course is the wisest that could be followed. In emphasizing his individual leadership, which involves the control of the almost dictatorial powers given to the Government by Parliament, Mr. King has assumed a terrific responsibility which a man, less confident and perhaps less devoted to what he considers to be his duty, would feel it necessary to share with others.

It is to be noted, of course, that Mr. King, in his statement, by no means limits his freedom of action with respect to the personnel of his Government, subject, except as this is, to the disqualifications set forth in his statement. A Coalition Government made up of representatives of existing parties is excluded, but there has been no widespread demand for such a Government. There is no suggestion that in making additions to the Government, or changes in existing Government personnel, any party tests must apply. Mr. King plainly considers himself free to draft talent where it is to be found; and the forecasts of new appointments to the Cabinet involve the names of individuals who are not members of the Liberal party. By thus ignoring party considerations, Mr. King may strengthen the claim, which he made in his speech, that he is the head of a National Government, and thus offset in some measure the injury to national unity that will result from the uncompromising nature of his statement to Parliament.

## PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

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**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa

D 38433

~~7~~ 19/6/40

Laurel House

Earlier drafts by the  
PM. of statement of yesterday  
returned for file  
VWP

NEWFOUNDLAND AND THE WEST INDIES

The policy which the government announced at the outset of the war of assisting Britain by relieving her of the duty of protecting certain areas in this hemisphere has been greatly extended in recent weeks. I pointed out in this House on September the 8th last that "by contributing as far as we are able to the defence of Newfoundland and the other British and French territories in this hemisphere, we will not only be defending Canada but we will also be assisting Great Britain and France by enabling them to concentrate their own energies more in that part of the world in which their own immediate security is at stake."

Immediate measures were taken at that time to assist in the naval defence of Newfoundland. As the months passed, Canada has shared increasingly in the naval and the air defence of the Newfoundland area. *In the light of recent events*  
~~Recently,~~ additional responsibility has been assumed for the military defence of strategic areas there. [The House has already been informed of the contribution which Canada is making in the West Indies by replacing British troops with Canadian troops, on garrison duty, and thus relieving British forces for other duties.]

*I am pleased to announce that Canadian armed forces are now on duty in Newfoundland, and will be ~~soon~~*

ICELAND

The government agreed some weeks ago to a request of the United Kingdom government that Canadian troops should ~~take over garrison~~ <sup>assist in their defence</sup> duty in Iceland in order to relieve the British troops stationed there for duty elsewhere. The first ~~detachment~~ <sup>light contingent</sup> of Canadian ~~troops~~ <sup>by preliminary force</sup> have already landed in Iceland. Further ~~detachments~~ <sup>contingents have been detailed and units</sup> will follow ~~them~~ shortly. I need hardly point out the strategic importance, not only to the security of the North Atlantic sea lanes, but to the defence of this continent, of maintaining control of Iceland.

RECRUITING

The increased seriousness of the military situation abroad and the marked expansion of all three branches of our armed services in Canada have served to arouse widespread interest and concern throughout the country regarding the raising and training of recruits. <sup>At the conclusion of my remarks</sup> ~~It is the intention of the~~ Acting Minister of National Defence, <sup>for she will</sup> ~~to give~~ <sup>make a</sup> ~~detailed report~~ <sup>statement</sup> to the House on what is now being done and what additional measures are proposed in connection with the recruitment of Canada's armed forces.

MOBILIZATION OF HUMAN AND MATERIAL RESOURCES

A bill will be introduced in the House <sup>at once</sup> ~~today~~ to confer upon the government special emergency powers to mobilize all our human and material resources for the defence of Canada. Although the purpose of this measure will be explained in detail on Second Reading, I should like to make one or two brief observations regarding it. So far as man-power is concerned, it will relate solely and exclusively to the defence of Canada on our own soil, and in our own territorial waters. It will enable the government to make the most efficient use of our man-power for the varied needs of modern machine warfare. It is of the utmost importance to realize that success in war today depends upon the use of men for the kind of work for which they are best fitted. The armed forces are only a part of the <sup>complete equipment of war</sup> ~~war-making machine~~. The skilled worker in the factory, the transport worker and the farmer, to mention only a few, are as essential to the effective prosecution of ~~the~~ war as the soldier, the sailor and the airmen.

Mobilization of our resources will not, however, be confined to requiring the services of men and women. <sup>The Government will have power to</sup> ~~Wealth, material resources and industry will equally be~~ <sup>call equally to</sup> ~~called to the defence of Canada under the provisions of the~~ <sup>to call</sup> ~~bill of which I am speaking.~~

*The provisions of*  
*the bill*

The bill is ~~also~~ intended to remove any doubt as to the power of the government and the will of Parliament, that the whole material resources of the country should be available whenever they are required to meet the needs of the war.

The operation of the measure will be confined to the period of the war.

*known*

NATIONAL REGISTRATION

*As part of the financial measures for the carrying out of the measures*

The government believes that the time has now *It has* come when national registration of Canada's manpower can *be carried* be effected without giving rise to any suspicion that such a step is intended to pave the way for conscription of Canadians for service overseas. As I said yesterday, the fate of France has made abundantly apparent the necessity for increased measures of home security and defence. A complete *inventory* ~~consensus~~ of Canada's manpower, *and other resources,* properly classified affords ~~the~~ necessary basis for some of the further essential measures of home security and defence. *which I have announced,* A national registration of Canada's manpower will accordingly be instituted at once. Let me emphasize the ~~point~~ *fact-* that this registration will have nothing whatever to do with the recruitment of men for overseas service.

*fact*

*a national registration of Canada's manpower*

Among others, ~~it~~ will have the following immediate advantages:

The national registration will constitute an additional precaution against "fifth column" activities such as sabotage and espionage which ~~are likely to~~ *conceivably might* become more menacing as ~~the~~ external threats ~~to our~~ *security* grow more serious. In this way, it will add to our internal security.

National registration will also provide the government with an inventory of the mechanical and industrial skill of our population. Such an inventory will prove valuable in <sup>affording additional information on</sup> ~~revealing~~ the extent of our resources of skilled labour which can be drawn upon to meet the needs of essential wartime industries. It will also show the directions in which intensive industrial and technical training is most urgently needed to provide an adequate supply of labour to meet the growing demands of our war industries and other essential services.

~~At this point,~~ <sup>here</sup> I should like to express the warm appreciation of the government of the valuable work already accomplished through the voluntary registration of women undertaken as a spontaneous contribution to the development of Canadian efficiency in wartime. The fullest use will be made of the results of the register now being completed.

D

Re-Organization of the Government

Finally, I wish to announce that for some time past I have been giving most careful consideration to means whereby the Government ~~itself~~ might be strengthened by the inclusion of <sup>additional</sup> ministers chosen with ~~special~~ reference to their known ability and capacity to assist in the direction of Canada's war effort, and whose presence in the ministry <sup>might serve to</sup> ~~may serve to inspire~~ <sup>additional</sup> confidence ~~in~~ the power of the government adequately to meet the increased responsibilities with which it is faced.

Honourable members will realize that there are many considerations of which account has to be taken in any matter which concerns the personnel of a Cabinet. ~~In the latter relationship, many-sided experience in the management of public affairs becomes an all-important consideration.~~

As the House is aware, my colleague, the Minister of Finance, expects to bring down the Budget before the close of the present week, and shortly thereafter will assume his new responsibilities as Minister of National Defence. At the time that this transfer of portfolios is made, I ~~shall hope~~ <sup>expect</sup> to be in a position to announce ~~such further changes in and additions to the ministry as it may be possible or may seem advisable to make at that time.~~

*the Governmental changes and additions contemplated at present*

1 1/2

1 1/2

D 38442

*considering*

*7\**

I might mention as not the least important <sup>of these is</sup>  
<sup>of the kind with which Brown, - a many-sided</sup>  
 what is required in the way of experience in the <sup>conduct and</sup>  
 management of public affairs, <sup>an equally conscientious</sup> and <sup>consideration</sup> equally, whether  
<sup>talents</sup> the ~~services~~ of leading executives and business men  
 may not be used to greater advantage in high  
 administrative posts and in <sup>an</sup> advisory capacity with  
 relation to particular <sup>services</sup> than in the Ministry  
 and in Parliament.

CONCLUSION:

The situation which I have described, the measures which I have indicated to meet it, require no further elaboration. The ~~hour is~~ <sup>times are</sup> the most serious in our history. ~~It may~~ <sup>they hold in</sup> ~~well determine~~ <sup>they keep</sup> the destiny of Canada as a free ~~and independent~~ nation.

I ~~have no~~ <sup>do not</sup> doubt of the ultimate result. ~~The wide~~ <sup>But?</sup> Atlantic and our proximity to the United States of America ~~have given us an added strength and a security beyond that~~ <sup>realizing how they are full of...</sup> strength. It is our ~~duty~~ <sup>manifest</sup> to use all our advantages, geographical, strategic and economic, not only to preserve liberty for ourselves and the commonwealth of British nations, but to regain ~~it~~ <sup>the</sup> world for the victims of bloodthirsty tyranny.

Even if other parts of the Commonwealth should be forced to yield for the moment to the power of the conqueror, ~~we~~ <sup>we</sup> are ready and resolved to keep the flag flying ~~some~~ <sup>wherever it may</sup> ~~wherever it may~~ <sup>from this corner the flag has become the symbol of freedom</sup>. The British peoples who taught the world the meaning ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> freedom, will defend it to the last. We, ennobled by the ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> heritage of Britain and France, with pride in the strength of ~~our~~ <sup>the</sup> youth and the righteousness of our cause, face what fate ~~may~~ <sup>readable confidence and</sup> bring with unyielding determination and resolute confidence.

*for other portions of the world*  
*that unites all parts of the British Commonwealth*

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
63		Canada's War Effort. Speeches in Parliament	20 May 1940	D 38225 - D 38241	
63		Fall of Paris - Radio Broadcast	June 1940	D 38242 - D 38247	
63		Progress of War, Aid to British, Statement in Parliament	4 June 1940	D 38248 - D 38249	
63		Radio Broadcast on War Events	7 June 1940	D 38250 - D 38391	
63		Declaration of War on Italy. Speeches in Parliament	10 June 1940	D 38392 - D 38395	
63		Radio Broadcast re: Italy	10 June 1940	D 38396 - D 38407	
63		Address to Earl of Athlone, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	13 May 1940	D 38408 - D 38424	
63		France's Peace Appeal. Speeches in Parliament	17 June 1940	D 38425 - D 38427	
63		War Plans. Speeches in Parliament	18 June 1940	D 38428 - D 38443	
63		Message to Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	24 June 1940	D 38444 - D 38445	



24 June 1940

Message to Quebec

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication La Presse

38444

Date June 24/40

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

# Appel du très hon. M. King aux Canadiens-français

## La France nous lègue sa mission culturelle

Le premier ministre du Canada adresse un message spécial à la province de Québec à l'occasion de la S.-Jean-Baptiste.

### Le service outre-mer restera volontaire

(Du correspondant de la PRESSE)

OTTAWA, 24. — "Le sort tragique de la France lègue au Canada français le devoir de porter haut les traditions de culture et de civilisation françaises et son amour brûlant de la liberté", déclare le premier ministre du Canada dans son message aux Canadiens-français à l'occasion de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste.

Voici le texte du message du très hon. W.-L. Mackenzie-King:

"En ce jour de fête, anniversaire du saint patron du Canada français, je veux adresser un message à mes compatriotes canadiens-français. L'agonie de la France a porté les horreurs de la guerre jusque dans nos coeurs et presque sur nos rives.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

D 38445

Subject .....

"Le sort tragique de la France lègue au Canada français le devoir de porter haut les traditions de culture et de civilisation françaises, et son amour brûlant de la liberté. Cette nouvelle responsabilité, j'en suis sûr, vous l'accepterez avec fierté.

"A chaque Canadien, l'état de choses actuelles apporte des responsabilités nouvelles et plus lourdes. Les Iles britanniques vivent sous la menace imminente d'une invasion. Le Canada lui-même ne peut plus penser sans inquiétude à la sécurité de son territoire. Nos défenses doivent être renforcées au plus tôt. Le Canada doit être prêt à repousser toute attaque sur ses côtes, sur ses centres de population.

#### La mobilisation est indispensable

"Il serait impossible au gouvernement de faire face au péril qui grandit chaque jour sans la loi de mobilisation des ressources nationales que le parlement vient de voter. Cette loi donne au gouvernement de vastes pouvoirs pour enrayer les dangers qui menacent la sécurité nationale; elle permet la mobilisation de toutes nos ressources, humaines et matérielles, pour la défense du Canada.

"La mobilisation de nos forces vives est uniquement et exclusivement pour la défense du Canada sur notre propre territoire. Le recrutement pour le service outre-mer continuera sous la forme volontaire qu'il a présentement.

#### Pas de conscription pour service outre-mer.

Les engagements solennels que j'ai souventes fois pris au Parlement, je les ai publiquement répétés l'autre jour dans la même enceinte. Le gouvernement que je dirige ne présentera pas de mesure de conscription des Canadiens pour le service outre-mer.

"Tous les pouvoirs que nous donne cette loi ne seront pas exercés immédiatement. Ils le seront au fur et à mesure que le besoin s'en fera sentir pour assurer la sécurité de chacun de nous dans chaque ville, dans chaque village, dans chaque hameau, pour défendre le Canada contre l'agression et pour garantir nos libertés. Le gouvernement verra à les exercer en toute équité et justice. Le capital comme le travail, le riche comme le pauvre, seront traités au même poids et à la même mesure.

"Cette loi nous sauvera de la panique, de la discorde, de la confusion dans les esprits, car son seul but est d'apporter l'unité, la force et l'harmonie dans l'égalité du sacrifice et de nous défendre contre les traîtres, les espions et autres agents de l'ennemi dans nos rangs.

#### Sans liberté, le Canada mourra.

"Les pouvoirs qui découlent de la loi ne sont pas imposés par l'Etat au citoyen. Ce sont les citoyens libres d'un pays libre qui, par l'intermédiaire de leurs représentants librement élus, les offrent volontairement à l'Etat, à une heure grave de son histoire. Il ne faut jamais oublier que les dangers courus par le Canada menacent également chacun d'entre nous, citoyens du Canada. Cette loi est l'acte d'un peuple libre, et son but est de préserver la liberté et de nous assurer à nous tous l'héritage des libertés que nos pères ont conquises. Si la liberté meurt, le Canada que nous aimons meurt aussi.

"Je fais appel à mes compatriotes canadiens-français, je fais appel à tous mes compatriotes; je les exhorte d'accorder à cette mesure de défense nationale leur entier appui.

"Tout ce que nous sommes, tout ce qui nous tient au coeur, nos libertés, notre mode de vie, l'avenir du pays, de ses fils, de tous ses enfants, font appel au courage de chacun de nous, à la force de nos bras, à la générosité de nos coeurs."

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
63		Dominion Day Broadcast Radio	1 July 1940	D 38446 - D 38465	
63		Destruction of French Fleet. Speeches in Parliament	5 July 1940	D 38466	
63		Canada's War Effort. Speeches in Parliament	7 July 1940	D 38467 - D 38597	
63		Speech of Mr. King on moving the 2nd reading of Bill to set up Department of National War Services	12 July 1940	D 38598 - D 38609	
63		Speeches in Parliament	22 July 1940	D 38610 - D 38614	
63		Canada Carries On, Review of the War Effort of the Dominion as presented to the House of Commons. Speeches in Parliament	29 July 1940	D 38615 - D 38618	
63		Opening of No. 2 Service Flying Training School, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	5 Aug. 1940	D 38619 - D 38643	
63		Radio Broadcasts by the Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King	Aug.-Sept. 1940	D 38644 - D 38827	

1 July 1940

Radio

Dominion Day Broadcast

The attached clipping may  
be of interest.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

38446

MEMORANDUM

30. D. 1946  
brockington  
material

Prime Minister  
re Dominion Day

Mr Brockington thought that, since the broad card was not feasible, the Prime Minister might wish to issue a brief message to the press. He has prepared the attached draft, but wished me to say that he would understand perfectly if the Prime Minister did not feel able to give his attention to any message.

The press fellows have also enquired re. a message.

JWP

On this Dominion Day, Canada is reborn to a new responsibility in the world. How great our new responsibility will be, no man can foretell. Whatever it is, with pride in our past and confidence in our present and future, we are ready for our destiny.

Though the days be perilous, the adversity that has overwhelmed France will stiffen our sinews and strengthen our fibre. France will rise again. Freedom will not perish. English-speaking Canadians, in the brotherhood of common citizenship, today, give to their French-speaking compatriots the fullness of understanding sympathy, as their ancestral memories are saddened by the calamity of the brave land that gave them their language and their traditions.

Our sailors, soldiers and airmen fight for Canada and freedom on the islands and seas of Britain. At home, with generous hands and strong arms, we are united. Our cause is the cause of little children, of chivalry, of mercy, and the right of free men to the fruits of their labour. The last battle will be fought in the hearts and minds of men. If, by Christian dedication, we make ourselves worthy, we shall triumph under the banner of the faith of our fathers.

D38448

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

*(attached)*

I have read over the historical material. I respectfully suggest that for Dominion Day, something brief and inspirational should be the subject matter of your broadcast.

I have added to the material originally prepared, a short paragraph on the loss of H.M.C.S. Fraser.

With best wishes for your health, and the hope that the quiet of the countryside brings you calm and rest.

*Broadcast (for 10 July)  
and send  
L.W.B.*

June 29, 1940.

L.W.B.

INTRODUCTION:

It is fitting that on this day I should speak a few words to the people of Canada. The anniversary of the birthday of this nation has come upon us once again, as the cycle of the year has turned. While the times are too solemn to allow the usual festival which marks our national holiday, I hope that the children at least have been merry and care-free. I hope too, that the hearts of you all have found some room for gratitude, and some place for rejoicing that in this year 1940, Canada, with head erect and honour unstained, stands with a new strength amongst the free nations of the world.

I have no doubt that many of you today have let your thoughts wander to the Dominion Day of last year, and other happier years that are behind us. Perhaps some of you too have been wondering what Canada and the world will be on Dominion Day, 1941. I have thought of all these things today.

CANADA'S PAST:

I have thought of Canada's past with pride and thankfulness. Our past is a panorama of colorful tradition, romantic adventure, gallantry, sacrifice, indomitable labour, peaceful progress, and dreams come true.

The history of Canada in our relation to other peoples has been without blot or stain. Where arbitration and agreement could keep the peace, we have consulted, conceded and agreed. Where freedom and British institutions were attacked or our national security threatened, we have stood steadfast in arms and protected our rights. As we have grown, our national life has been enriched by many racial strains, and strengthened by many racial fibres. As we built our nation, we refused to no man a refuge and a new hope in this land of promise. We denied to no man the fruit of his labour. Our reward for the generosity of yesterday shines in the loyalty of to-day.

CANADA'S PRESENT:

I have thought also, as no doubt you have, of Canada's present with thankfulness -- thankfulness that today she is united in strength, determination and whole-hearted devotion to the cause of free men. Today she is reborn with a new responsibility. That responsibility has been placed upon us by the collapse of France, the peril of England, and our own free will.

In no country has the tragic agony of France received more understanding sympathy than in Canada. The might of a ruthless machine has for a time, but for a time only, overwhelmed the power, but not the soul, of that great nation. The plight of the French people and the destitution that has overtaken its millions of refugees fill us with profound sorrow. Let us in this hour remember only their sufferings, and forget condemnation and recrimination. We can well leave the actions of its government, regrettable as they appear, to the verdict of history and the criticism of the French people., to whom that government is responsible. In the meantime, we can be certain that French men and women who are free to speak

and to act will neither still their tongues nor sheathe their swords.

English-speaking Canadians, standing in the full brotherhood of common citizenship by the side of their French-speaking compatriots, will give to them an added sympathy and an added understanding, as their ancestral memories are saddened by the calamity to the gallant land that gave them their language and their faith.

OUR NEW RESPONSIBILITY:

On this Dominion Day, Canada is reborn with a new responsibility. How great our new responsibility will be, no man can foretell. Whatever it is, we shall accept it.

As I said in the House of Commons the other day, the decision to fight on is not only Britain's decision, it is the decision of Canada. If the main scene of war moves to the North American continent, we, secure in the strength of our resources and our geographical position, will fight on Britain's side. If we are destined to be the centre of resistance to tyranny, we shall accept our destiny. If the fortunes of war make us the last bulwark of freedom, we shall keep its flag flying on our battlements.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE WORLD:

In terms of reality at this fateful moment, the British peoples alone to the full limit of their strength ~~shall~~ <sup>still</sup> remain in the heat of the conflict.

I do not need at this time to elaborate the emergency and the dangers. They are here on our threshold for all men to see. The new restlessness of Russia and the Balkan nations, the clouds on the horizon of the far east, the unprecedented preparations of the United States of America, and the alignment of the forces of tyranny and freedom are known to you all. The British army remains in greater strength than ever. Britain herself is an armed fortress. No enemy has yet set his foot upon British soil. The seapower of Britain, of the nations of the Commonwealth assisted by what remains of the navy of Poland, of the Netherlands, and units of the French navy, at present control the seven seas. The latent strength of the British Empire, its manpower, its resources, and the character of its people is unbroken. It is immeasurable and inexhaustible. Canada today assists in the defence of the shores of Britain on land, on the sea, and in the air.

We garrison Iceland; we defend Newfoundland. Our soldiers stand on guard in the West Indies, our ships assist in the patrol of the Caribbean Sea.

Our factories, like the factories of Britain, are working twenty-four hours a day, and seven days a week. A practically unanimous parliament has empowered the government to bring to the aid of the nation all resources, both human and material, men, money and all the machinery of production and distribution.

It has placed the supreme duty of citizenship upon all those who enjoy its privileges. No wise Canadian questions the need of this service, no true Canadian will shrink from its acceptance.

The government is mobilizing also, all the voluntary services of this nation into one great effort. But there is more than ever a need for the spontaneous effort of every citizen of his own country, for the generous hand, the strong arm, and the courageous heart. Government can only help. The individual citizen must still do most of his own thinking and acting.

The care of refugees, the maintenance of public safety, production and conservation of food-stuffs, the provision of comforts for those who fight for us, the lending of money to the state, all these will provide an opportunity for every citizen to help his country to victory.

The growing strength of our navy, the growing strength of our air force, the steady stream of aeroplanes, munitions and equipment flowing from the factories of Canada and of the United States, will soon redeem the past and recover the inevitable ground that peaceful democracy was obliged at first to lose to war-like dictatorship. I think of our future. Britain will survive. Canada will survive. The war is now a war of national character. The men of Britain will be true to themselves. We shall be true to ourselves and to the traditions which we have inherited and created.

CONCLUSION

In the early days of the war, I described the young men who had offered their lives to their country, <sup>as</sup> the first and foremost defenders of the faith. I never spoke truer words. No war in the history of the world has had its fundamental issues more clearly revealed. Does anyone doubt that, in spite of past <sup>sins</sup> and weakness, the cause of Britain and of Canada is the cause of gentleness and mercy. The christian faith is more than ever the citadel of our hope and the fortress of our strength. Just as surely as we return for comfort and inspiration to the faith of our fathers, so surely shall we triumph over evil. The last battle will be fought in the hearts and minds of men. The charter of humanity is not written in the philosophy of Naziism and Fascism. It is engraved in the deathless words of the sermon on the mount. The cause of little children and of women, of chivalry, mercy and the dignity of labour has always been the cause of the apostles, of the martyrs and the saints. It is the cause for which we fight today. If we make our hearts worthy by faith and dedication, in that sign we shall triumph.

"For like a child, sent with a fluttering light,  
To feel his way along a gusty night,  
Man walks the world, again, and yet again,  
The lamp shall be by fits of passion slain;  
But shall not He who sent him from the door,  
Relight the lamp once more, and yet once more?"

HIS MAJESTY'S CANADIAN SHIP FRASER:

You will have heard with sorrow the news of the loss of H.M.C.S. Fraser and forty-five of her gallant crew, which it was my sad duty to announce to the House of Commons on Friday.

Those who survived owe their lives to the bravery of their comrades.

On the eastern waters of the Atlantic shores which are the frontiers of freedom, the seamen of Canada guard their native shores.

To the relatives of the men who died for their country, we give the deepest sympathy of our hearts. Men from all parts of Canada, from the seaports of the Maritimes and British Columbia, and from the farms of the west, gave their lives in the Bay of Biscay in sight of the farms of France. To them a proud and grateful country owes a debt unpayable. We shall keep their memory undimmed.

MEMORANDUM  
Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa, .....

53

NOT USED

Mr King

I attach draft prepared  
by both Mr. Brookington  
and Mr. Richardson.

Rec'd June 18/40 9.40 am.

*W. J. L.* 38460

At this solemn hour Canada pledges anew to the British Commonwealth all the faith and fire within her. With heart uplifted and will unbroken, she stands by the side of Britain, who taught her the love of liberty. Freely and as one people, we took up arms in defence of ourselves, British institutions and the world of free men.

We shall continue in the conflict, until the end, with unflinching resolution and a material strength that grows from day to day. We have thrilled with pride as across the Atlantic we have watched our two great motherlands glorious in their adversity.

The disaster that has overwhelmed France has inspired us to greater effort and greater determination. The sufferings of France have been our sufferings. Her romance, her chivalry, her language and her ancient faith, are an imperishable part of our Canadian heritage. In a very real sense she is ours, and we are hers. To a large part of our people, she has personified the intimate and beloved things of life. She will arise with a new glory from the bloodstained soil which she has so gallantly defended.

In saluting her French kinsmen, Canada voices her undying faith that in the new dawn which will follow the shadows of night,

the legions of freedom will yet march again through the Arch of Triumph to rescue France from the chains of the oppressor.

Hundreds of thousands of our citizens spring from the little lands ravaged by Hitler's armies and desolated by his engines of destruction. Every new aggression has kindled a new anger in Canadian breasts.

Across our southern borders from the great republic, come the roar of engines and the cheers of the American people. President Roosevelt is keeping his promise. The promise he made to France is a continuing promise to the peoples of the British Empire. As the hours and the days pass, aeroplanes, guns and tanks fashioned in the great factories of the United States, will speed the victory. Retribution for tyranny has started on its relentless march.

In Canada we have offered and are giving Britain the utmost of our strength to the limit of our power. Our soldiers help to guard her shores, our airmen watch her skies, our ships help to patrol her island seas. At home we have mobilized all the resources of our factories and our farms in the common cause. More machines, more munitions of war, are on their way. They will move ceaselessly across the seas. We will leave nothing undone that men can do.

Canada has claimed the right of her young free nationhood. She shares with Britain and those lands who owe allegiance to His Majesty the King, the proud burden of the world's agony.

When Mr. Churchill voiced the unshakeable resolve of the British people to fight on the shores of Britain, on every sea, from Africa and America if need be, until victory was achieved, Canada accepted her greater and higher responsibility with all the strength of her youth, the wealth of her resources and the idealism of her freedom. That responsibility increases with every new temporary disaster.

Today as Britain proudly accepts the challenge of tyranny and fights on without fear, we, ennobled by our traditions and our heritage, face whatever fate may bring, determined that "our House shall stand together and our pillars shall not fall".

D 38464

DRAFT

JWF/LAM

France has been forced to give up the unequal struggle against overwhelming odds. In this tragic hour no bitterness can be mixed with our heartfelt sympathy for a brave and a proud people crushed by the weight of greater numbers and superior arms. Let us remember only the terrific losses France has inflicted on the enemy. But for those losses we could hardly dare to hope for victory; because of those losses faith remains. The martyrdom of the French nation will surely be followed by a resurrection. France will arise again with a new strength from the bloodstained soil three times ravaged, in seventy years, by the same foe.

The agony of France is keenly felt by the Canadian people. Her history, her language and her ancient faith are an imperishable part of Canada's heritage. We share her sorrow.

To the world of free men France has been the living symbol of democracy and the shrine of the human spirit. The citadel of civilization must not -- cannot remain in the hands of the barbarians.

At this fateful moment, the British peoples alone are fighting to the limit the battle of freedom. The enemy has not set foot on British soil. The sea power

of Britain remains in all its might. The enemy knows the implacable power of naval superiority. Hitler realizes he must seize swift victory or face slow strangulation.

Tenacious resistance is the need of the hour. We must hold to-day that we may strike tomorrow. Meanwhile our strength is gathered daily. To our implements of war we are adding not only from our own resources in the British Commonwealth. Behind them is the great productive capacity of the United States. The pledge of President Roosevelt to the people of France remains a solemn promise to the British peoples.

In the name of the Canadian people I proudly affirm once again our complete solidarity with the sister nations of the British Commonwealth in the sacred cause of freedom. Canada is ready to put her full weight into the struggle. Each reverse serves only to increase our determination and our readiness for greater sacrifices. The British peoples taught the world what freedom means. We, in Canada, stand ready to defend it to the end.

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63		Dominion Day Broadcast Radio	1 July 1940	D 38446 - D 38465	
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63		Canada's War Effort. Speeches in Parliament	7 July 1940	D 38467 - D 38597	
63		Speech of Mr. King on moving the 2nd reading of Bill to set up Department of National War Services	12 July 1940	D 38598 - D 38609	
63		Speeches in Parliament	22 July 1940	D 38610 - D 38614	
63		Canada Carries On, Review of the War Effort of the Dominion as presented to the House of Commons. Speeches in Parliament	29 July 1940	D 38615 - D 38618	
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5 July 1940

H of C

*Destruction of French fleet*

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Gazette 38466  
Date July 6, 1940  
Subject Prime Minister (Statements H. of C.)

## FRANCE NOT ENEMY, PREMIER KING SAYS

### Commons Hears Statement by Prime Minister on Bri- tain's Naval Action

Ottawa, July 5. — (P) — Prime Minister Mackenzie King told the House of Commons today that action of the Royal Navy against the French fleet Wednesday "cannot be regarded as directed against France; rather was it action against ships that already, for all practical purposes, were German and Italian instruments of war."

The British Government acted under the compulsion of its great responsibility for the preservation of the liberties of the world, Mr. King said.

Following is the text of the Prime Minister's statement on the French situation:

Although the ultimate situation remains obscure, and the present relations between the Government of the United Kingdom and the French Government at Bordeaux have not yet been clarified, I feel that I should say a few words at this time.

Members of the House will have appreciated the feelings of Mr. Churchill when they read his speech delivered in the British House yesterday. Nothing could have brought home more clearly the tragic irony and agony of war, than the grim obligation placed upon the British navy to prevent the French fleet from falling into the hands of Germany and Italy.

Nothing can be gained by a recital of the events which led up to the seizures, the sinkings, and the conflict between ancient allies and friends.

The proposals made by the British emissary to the French Admiral at Oran would seem at this time and distance, to have contained within them an honorable and bloodless solution. Fate decreed otherwise. No one can blame the French admiral and his gallant sailors for loyal obedience to their Government, however precarious its powers, however shackled its decisions.

Equally, no fair-minded men knowing the attitudes and minds of the German and Italian dictators and their record of promises made and promises broken, could expect the Government of the United Kingdom to imperil the security of the British Isles and the Dominions by allowing the French fleet to pass into the control of the enemy.

Wednesday's action cannot be regarded as directed against France. Rather was it action against ships that already, for all practical purposes, were German and Italian instruments of war.

I am sure that it is the prayer of the people of Canada who owe so much to the memory of France, that the French people will recognize that if the Bordeaux Government acted under the compulsion of the conqueror, the British navy acted equally under the compulsion of its great responsibility for the preservation of the liberties of the world.

In no country has the calamity of France received more understanding sympathy than in Canada. The plight of the French people and the destitution that has overtaken its millions of refugees have filled us with profound sorrow.

It is our faith that although the might of a ruthless machine has for a time, but we believe for a time only, overwhelmed the power of France, nothing can vanquish the soul of that great nation.

Whatever may have happened or whatever may come to pass, Canadians of all races and classes know in their hearts that there is only one thing that matters today in the world of free men—that is the ultimate triumph of the cause of freedom for which Britain and France alike took up arms, and the certain defeat of the evil powers that threaten to enslave the world.

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7 July 1940

H of C

Canada's war effort

*Statement by  
Hosmer*

On February 23rd last, the Prime Minister in his third Broadcast in the Election campaign made this statement:-

"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."

This was an important statement. It will be noted that these men of outstanding ability and experience were to be brought in to the aid of the Ministry in an advisory capacity and are to be distinguished from those already or afterwards brought in as Administrators or Executives.

*Go further  
= include in former*

More than three months passed when, on May 31st last, at Winnipeg, the Canadian Manufacturers Association issued a statement expressing "a deep rooted conviction:

"that there exist some definite causes that are responsible for Canadian plants receiving orders for only a small percentage of their capacity, and respectfully urges the Canadian Government to send governmental ministerial representatives to England to clear away misunderstandings presently existing, in order that Canadian industry

"may be speeded up immediately and take its full share in the defence of our Empire and Country."

That statement gave expression to two or more important ideas,

- (a) That Canadian industrial plants were not being utilized except in a small degree;
- (b) That immediate action as indicated should be taken to speed up production in Canadian industry in order that it might take its full share in the defence of the Empire and Country.

~~From a press report it would appear that yesterday, June 6th,~~  
thirty members of the Canadian Manufacturers Association had a two hour discussion with the Cabinet on this important matter, but no word was given out beyond this, that the conference had been mutually helpful, which sounds like the Prime Minister and does not mean much in the way of concrete information to the public as to what is being done so that Canadian industry may do its full part in contributing to Empire and Canadian defence.

In this morning's papers is an announcement, however, that "plans looking to a more complete mobilization and control of Canadian industry for war effort are being worked out by the Government."

May I ask the Prime Minister to take the House and the Country into his confidence and tell us -

1. If it is the intention of the Government to set up an advisory committee composed of men

of outstanding ability and experience whose services might be made available to the State and thus add strength to the administration of our policies?

*already included*

2. Is this advisory committee not to propose new policies?

*Cabinet? determine policy*

3. What, if any, arrangements have been made with the Committee of the Canadian Manufacturers Association to further the objects of that Association in speeding up and taking their full share in industrial activity for the defence of the Empire and Canada?

*and*

and finally -

4. While Parliament is in session should not all such important announcements of policy and administration be made by the Prime Minister or by the appropriate member of the Cabinet in the House?

*etc*

I do respectfully protest that public announcement of policy in respect of matters of vital importance should be made here. Otherwise we shall be reduced to the status of rubber stamps.

Canada is fortunate in having in the present  
Minister of Agriculture, the Honourable J. G. Gardiner,  
one whose wide experience in government, whose powers  
of organization, and whose great energies make him  
exceptionally qualified for the task of bringing into  
being and administering the affairs of a Department of  
National War Services.

I propose, therefore, to entrust to other hands  
the affairs of the Department of Agriculture with which  
Mr. Gardiner has been identified during the years he has

**D 38470**

been in the present Ministry, and to entrust to him, as soon as the necessary legislation is enacted, the direction of this most important new Department of government. In his new office, Mr. Gardiner will give his entire time to war services work and will become a member of the War Committee of the Cabinet. This development will mark the creation, since the outbreak of war, of a fourth department to be presided over by a Minister who will give his full time and attention to matters immediately connected with the war.

D 38472

MISUNDERSTANDING OF NATURE OF CABINET'S FUNCTIONS

There is a mistaken impression widely prevalent that nothing is being done to strengthen the war administration and make it more ~~active~~ <sup>effective</sup> unless changes are made in the cabinet or new men are brought into the ministry.

It is not sufficiently realized that the functions of Cabinet Ministers are necessarily limited. They must determine policy, make final decisions, and accept responsibility, each individually for his own department and all collectively for the administration generally.

D38473

Note on Mr. Arthur B. Purvis

Mr. Arthur B. Purvis is the Chairman of the British Purchasing Commission in the United States.

Until June 30th (yesterday) the British Purchasing Commission was the New York branch of the British Supply Board in Canada and the United States, with headquarters in Ottawa. The British Supply Board has now ceased to exist.

From July 1st on the British government will deal directly in Canada with the Department of Munitions and Supply.

In the United States the British government will deal directly through the British Purchasing Commission, of which Mr. Purvis is the Chairman, instead of routing their United States business through Ottawa.

The Department of Munitions and Supply maintains a Liaison Officer in New York in the office of the British Purchasing Commission. Canadian government orders in the United States are placed through the Commission.

In other words, Mr. Purvis is the head of the purchasing organization in the United States for both the British and Canadian governments. This is one of the most

D 38474

-2-

vital and heaviest tasks which any man could undertake.  
It is difficult to conceive of any capacity in which Mr. Purvis' great talents could be employed more effectively to further the common cause.

(Information supplied by Mr. L. R. Thomson, Secretary of the Department of Munitions and Supply).

*Just.*

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa M. Citizen

Date July 1/40

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

D 38475

## Work Taken Over By Supply Dept.

Work previously done by the British Supply Board will be taken over by the Munitions and Supply Department starting today. Hon. C. D. Howe, head of the department, announced last night. The move was expected to expedite the placing of orders for British requirements and speed up generally the production of munitions of war in Canada.

Many of the British Supply Board's orders have been placed through the Munitions and Supply Department although the board has operated as a separate purchasing organization since the start of the war. It was headed by Lt.-Col. J. H. M. Greenly who left for England recently.

Some of Lt.-Col. Greenly's staff also have returned or plan to return to England and the remainder will be taken on by the department as technical assistants and to carry out inspections for British orders.

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**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

D 38476

Loyalty to the Prime Minister

There has been some disposition in the press to interpret a statement which I made in the House on June 20th (and which will be found at p. 1051 of the Unrevised Hansard), in a narrowly personal sense.

Certain words (see Financial Post extract attached) regarding "loyalty to myself" when taken from their context do, in fact, lend themselves to such an interpretation. That such a construction is not justified is, I believe borne out by the following words which will be found in the same column of Hansard:

"As Prime Minister I propose to exercise to the full the authority given to me to select men in whom not only I have confidence but who I believe will serve to increase the confidence in the administration existing throughout the country; and I shall not be influenced in the making of that choice by other than my sense of profound duty in this grave situation".

I think anyone with the slightest experience of government will appreciate how impossible the situation would be if a Prime Minister - any Prime Minister, regardless of who he might be - took into the Cabinet men who, when they entered it, had no confidence in his leadership and were not prepared to give him their full loyalty.

On the other hand, no Prime Minister with a proper sense of his constitutional responsibilities would think of demanding of his colleagues an unconditional pledge of personal loyalty to himself in all circumstances. Every Minister has a right to withdraw his confidence and, indeed, a duty to withdraw it from the Prime Minister if he believes that his loyalty to the Prime Minister conflicts with his duty to his country. But he has no right to remain in the Cabinet once he has lost confidence in the Prime Minister. It is his clear duty to resign immediately.

The very foundation of responsible government is mutual confidence within the Cabinet. Every Minister must be loyal to his colleagues and all must be loyal to the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister himself has the same obligation of loyalty to his colleagues.

These, I know, are accepted constitutional principles. I stress them only because there has been a tendency to interpret words, which I used in my official capacity as Prime Minister, in a narrow personal sense in which they were never intended.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Financial Post

Date June 29/40

D 38478

Subject .....

## Mr. King Names His Price

Prime Minister Mackenzie King has made it abundantly clear what is the primary test for entry into his Cabinet. He said in Parliament:

"When I take into the administration additional gentlemen in order to strengthen it, one of the first qualifications which I shall require of them, as of anyone else, is **loyalty to myself**, and not a disposition to stab the **leader of the party** in his breast when he is trying to serve his country to the best of his ability in time of war."

If this means anything it means that any person entering the war Cabinet must pledge himself to support of Mr. King personally and support to the party of which Mr. King is the leader, regardless of the character of the war leadership given by the Prime Minister.

It is well that the country should know the terms Mr. King is exacting from new members of the Cabinet.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Globe & Mail

Date June 22/40

D 38479

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. King's statement that the first requisite of a Cabinet member is personal loyalty to him is reminiscent of what were practically the last words of Mr. Chamberlain: "I call upon my friends to support us in the lobby tonight."

Strengthening the Government

Political responsibility and administration

Public attention in discussions of strengthening the government has been directed largely to changes in the ministry.

Changing the ministry is not the only means of strengthening a government.

Under our system the ministry has a collective responsibility and individual ministers must be agreed about policy and prepared to accept full responsibility for it.

Government can also be strengthened on the administrative side by drafting the most suitable men, regardless of party affiliations, for key posts in the Administration.

Responsibility for government does not imply a monopoly of government.

(See extract attached).

D 38481

Unrevised Hansard  
June 18th, 1940, p. 933

Mr. Mackenzie King (Strengthening the Government)

*Robert's note  
unrevised*

Finally, I wish to announce that for some time past I have been giving careful consideration to means whereby there might be included in the government additional ministers to assist in the direction of Canada's war effort, and whose presence in the ministry might serve to give still further assurance of the power of the government adequately to meet the increased responsibilities with which it is

faced. Hon. members will realize that there are many considerations of which account has to be taken in any matter which concerns the personnel of a cabinet.

I might mention as not the least important of these considerations what is required of a minister of the crown in the way of a many-sided experience in the conduct and management of public affairs.

An equally important consideration is whether the talents of leading executives and business men may not be used to greater advantage in high administrative posts, and in an advisory capacity with relation to particular services, than in the ministry and in parliament.

As the house is aware, my colleague the Minister of Finance (Mr. Ralston) expects to bring down the budget before the close of the present week, and thereafter will assume his new responsibilities as Minister of National Defence. At the time that this transfer of portfolios is made, I expect to be in a position to announce the governmental changes and additions at present contemplated.

*can can (Navy + War Services)*

*will ready to make cabinet as not having had previous experience - but success & advice etc*

(a)  
(b)

D 38482

War-time policy of present government.

To strengthen the Administration by selecting and appointing the ablest men available in finance, industry and the professions to the new positions required for the effective prosecution of the war.

In making such appointments, to take no account of political affiliations.

The government feel that these posts are no less important than positions in the Cabinet: they call for administrative, rather than political experience and should be occupied only by the best men who can be found to fill them.

The extent to which this policy has been followed is perhaps not adequately appreciated: it can be illustrated by a representative list of key appointments from outside the government service to important war-time posts.

Minister of National Defence  
for Naval Affairs.

For the important new Department of National Defence for Naval Affairs, shortly to be set up, Canada has been fortunate in securing the services of a man widely known and respected for his splendid record of public administration, Honourable Angus Lewis Macdonald, (K.C., B.A., LL.B., S.J.D.) Premier of Nova Scotia.

Mr. Macdonald, who had a brilliant academic record at St. Francis Xavier and Dalhousie Universities in Nova Scotia, and later at Columbia and Harvard Universities, served in the last war as a Lieutenant with the 26th Battalion, and in 1918 as a Captain with the 185th. He read law in Inverness, 1919-21, in 1921 was Assistant Deputy Attorney-General at Halifax. From 1922-24, he was lecturer in law and from 1924-30, was Professor of Law at Dalhousie University. Since 1933, he has been Premier of Nova Scotia.

His intimate association with the life of Halifax, now of such great importance in the war-time life of the British Empire, his great experience of public life, his

outstanding and proven ability as an administrator and statesman, his high intelligence and sterling character, fit him preeminently for his new duties as Minister of National Defence for Naval Affairs.

D 38485

LEGISLATION REQUIRED FOR PORTFOLIOS

Referring again to the two new departments, it will, as has been suggested, be necessary to introduce legislation to this end, and later on I will speak to the House on this matter.

Pending the passing of the necessary legislation, it will, of course, be impossible to fill the portfolios, but I am sure the House will be interested in knowing the plans of the government in respect to filling these important posts.

NOTE: Follow with the reference to Premier Angus Macdonald already provided.

Retyped

D 38486

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HONOURABLE J. G. GARDINER TO BE MINISTER OF **D** 38487  
DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL WAR SERVICES

To the task of bringing into being and administering the affairs of a department of National War Services, the government proposes to utilize the services of the present Minister of Agriculture, the Honourable J. G. Gardiner, whose wide experience in the government, power of organization and great energies make him exceptionally qualified for this duty. I propose, therefore, to ~~entrust~~ <sup>place in</sup> other hands ~~of~~ the Department of Agriculture with which Mr. Gardiner has been identified during the years he has been in the present ministry, and to entrust to him as soon as the necessary legislation is enacted the direction of this important new department of government.

In his new office, Mr. Gardiner will give his entire time to war services work, and will become Member of the War Committee of the Cabinet. This development will make the creation, since the outbreak of the war, of a fourth department to be presided over by a Minister who will give his full time and attention to matters immediately connected with the war.

NOTE: The Prime Minister at this stage may wish to announce the filling of any posts now vacant or to become vacant as the result of the creation of other portfolios: i.e., Finance - (if Mr. Ilesley, National Revenue then vacant) - Post Office - Agriculture.

CHOICE OF PERSONNEL NOT BASED ON PARTY CONSIDERATIONS

It will be argued that the government in its choice of Cabinet personnel has been guided solely by party considerations. I have today referred to the functions of a Cabinet and the need for unity of opinion. I do not propose to repeat ~~any~~ what I have already said. I have as well shown that the steps to strengthen the ministries in other countries have been based on entirely different circumstances than those which prevail in Canada. The House will recall too that on a previous occasion (Hansard, June 20th, pages 1050-1051), I indicated that the present government could be said to be truly a national government in the widest sense of the word.

But having said this, let me emphasize that this government does not believe that one party must have the monopoly in our war activities. The appointments to important administrative and advisory bodies is the best evidence which can be furnished of the fact that my colleagues and myself are not swayed by party considerations in matters of appointments and have the desire to avail ourselves of the wisdom, administrative the/powers and the experience of men of all shades of political opinion. It is our intention to preserve the foundations of our democratic form of government, but this is not to say that further steps cannot be taken which will

D 38489

serve to bring added strength to the organization of our wartime activities.

NOTE: There follows the proposal for a National War Council which has a slight change in the second paragraph.

This, I think may well conclude the general presentation of the reorganization of Cabinet. The Prime Minister might, before sitting down, wish to refer briefly to the desire of the government to have the bill for the setting up of the new department of Naval Affairs put through all its stages on Monday, and also reference in <sup>a</sup> some connection to the Department of National War Services.

(1)

D 38490

add new members  
 bringing the best men  
 11 from port side  
 12 from opposite

Work: ~~to~~ ~~new~~ ~~salute~~  
 new that all ~~subject~~ ~~study~~ of  
 open ~~stop~~ all ~~ad~~ and  
 work is ~~new~~ ~~represent~~  
 a ~~count~~.

— difficulty: <sup>prayer</sup> ~~applies~~ ~~over~~  
~~franchise~~ → ~~responsibility~~ - ~~collaboration~~  
 responsibility: ~~studies~~  
 need of action on our  
~~present~~ ~~class~~ ~~mission~~

Power: ~~responsibility~~  
 need to ~~applies~~ ~~new~~ ~~mission~~

(2)

D 38491

difficulties from each point  
of view.

Argument from other  
countries - not - e parallel

(11) Efforts made. direct sender  
for control

(12) Work for advisory Council open  
was 100%  
(Council - regular)  
not necessary in kind of  
many advisory bodies  
not seen in key position  
with ~~area~~ in key position

(13) involvement to d. o. i. sender  
? group. but was Council  
'When responsibility'

(3)

D 38492

(4) For to meet in conference  
full a week ~~the~~ with  
—

(5) keep both ~~the~~ when down  
not in season

6. Cohen working to find  
Speaks for Kelly.  
Note: the woman's  
representative for - 14021  
for. to the start is  
good - breed it -

D 38493

On different occasions, the Leader of the Opposition has drawn attention to ways and means of increasing the effectiveness of Canada's war effort.

This is an aim which is shared by all honourable members of Parliament. By none will constructive suggestions, calculated to contribute to its fulfilment, be welcomed more cordially than by my colleagues and myself.

The particular ways and means to this end *which, at one time or another,* suggested by the Leader of the Opposition have been the enlisting of the services of "the best men":—

- (a) In executive and administrative posts, particularly in those branches of government which have to do with the prosecution of Canada's war effort;
- (b) In an advisory capacity, where not possible to have their services enlisted either in whole or in part *in executive or administrative posts;*
- (c) In the government itself;

By "the best men", <sup>*is meant*</sup> ~~I may~~, I think, <sup>*I mean*</sup> ~~is meant~~ <sup>*persons*</sup> ~~men~~ whose services <sup>*or advice*</sup> are available, and who, all circumstances considered, appear best suited for the positions it is necessary or desirable to fill.

It has also been urged by the Leader of the Opposition that the work of the Cabinet should be so arranged as to free as largely as possible from other duties, Ministers

D 38494

of the Crown who <sup>are</sup> ~~are concerned~~ <sup>concerned</sup> with those departments of government which <sup>are</sup> ~~have~~ <sup>concerned</sup> primarily <sup>of the Ministers</sup> to do with war activities, in order that the ~~is~~ time and attention may be given as exclusively as possible to a consideration of war policies and their effective prosecution.

A review of what, in fact, has actually been accomplished will make clear that it is precisely along these lines <sup>from the very outset</sup> that the government has been proceeding. We have not sought to do everything at once, thereby involving unwarrantable expenditure, and having, as the war has progressed, to undo much that should never have been done; or, what is worst of all, by premature action, ~~of~~ creating problems and situations more difficult of solution than those we have been called upon to meet. Rather have we sought to anticipate, as far in advance as was possible, the problems which were certain or likely to arise in the progress of the war, and <sup>in advance,</sup> ~~in advance,~~ prepare as far as was possible for the meeting of each new situation as it might arise, taking, when the right moment came, the additional measures required to deal effectively with it.

<sup>has involved</sup> bringing <sup>then additional measures to meet new situations of this kind arising,</sup> to the aid of the Ministry ~~and~~ into the service of the state <sup>continuously</sup> in an executive, administrative or advisory capacity, available persons of outstanding ability and experience. <sup>It is along these lines that we shall continue to seek to meet each new situation as it is born of the exigencies and demands of the war.</sup>

D 38495

In speaking on these matters, the Leader of the Opposition called attention to the following statement which I made in the course of the **recent** general elections: *held at the beginning of the year.*

"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 (a) in an immediate association with the war cabinet, or (b) 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."

It will be noticed that this <sup>*standing*</sup>understanding had relation to a course of procedure which had already been adopted, and with which the public were wholly familiar. It was, for example, everywhere known that in organizing the War Supply Board, the government had been fortunate in securing as the chairman of that organization, Mr. Wallace Campbell, President of the Ford Motor Company of Canada, who not only on occasions, was called into conference with the War Committee of the Cabinet, but who in addition to performing <sup>*the*</sup>his duties <sup>*as*</sup>the chief executive officer of the War Supply Board served throughout in an advisory capacity to the minister responsible for its administration. Mr. Campbell, at the time of his appointment as Chairman of the

D 38496

Board, was selected as "the best man" available at that particular time for that particular post. The selection was made regardless altogether of party political affiliations.

How extensively, since its return to office, the government has carried out the pledge given by myself in the course of the elections, will be apparent from the ~~list~~ ~~of~~ appointments, since made, of men of outstanding ability and experience to executive and administrative posts immediately connected with Canada's war effort. Of every ~~one~~ ~~of the persons~~ so appointed, it may be said that he has <sup>directly or indirectly</sup> acted not less in an advisory capacity to the minister of the Department concerned, than as an executive <sup>or person in a key position</sup> performing some important function in the prosecution of Canada's war effort. By advisory opinion thus obtained from exceptionally well informed and highly specialized sources, the Ministry itself has been continuously guided in the shaping, development and execution of its war policies.

How effectively the administration has been strengthened by enlisting the services of the particular persons appointed will be apparent from their names, from their previous associations, and from their known qualifications for the executive and key positions now held by them in the departments concerned with war activities.

D 38497

The Appointments have been made by the assignment to tasks, for which they possess special qualifications, of officials from the permanent civil service, and by recruitment from financial, industrial, professional, technical and other fields of activity, of outstanding persons who, because of their training, associations and experience, were regarded as likely to be most familiar with the nature of the new administrative problems which had to be met.

Let me now briefly review the appointments made since the commencement of the war. The list does not purport to include all appointments made, but <sup>it is</sup> <sup>I believe</sup> sufficiently representative, ~~I believe~~, to make clear the government's determination to bring into the service of the State, <sup>in an executive, administrative or advisory capacity</sup> regardless altogether of <sup>party</sup> political affiliations, the best available men to assist the Ministry in the effective prosecution of the war effort of our country.

(D)

DEPARTMENT OF MUNITIONS AND SUPPLY

D38498

I shall refer a little later on to the genesis and evolution of <sup>the</sup> ~~this~~ <sup>Department of Munitions and Supply</sup> department, from a purchasing board, <sup>before the war,</sup> associated with the Department of Finance, and, later, <sup>after the commencement of the war,</sup> as a War Supply Board under the supervision of the Minister of Transport, to the present full-fledged Department of Munitions and Supply. For the moment, it is sufficient for me to <sup>recall</sup> ~~say~~ that the Department itself was duly established on April, the 9th, at which date the existing organization of the War Supply Board was absorbed into the new Department of Munitions and Supply. In no branch of the public service has need for rapid expansion and the enlistment of services of able executives and persons possessed of special knowledge been greater than in that concerned with the production of munitions and other war supplies. The services of a large proportion of those at present in these positions have been enlisted since the <sup>new</sup> department took over the work of the War Supply Board.

The present organization of the department includes a Deputy Minister, an Executive Committee of seven

*Subsidiary pay following for  
portion under cut*

J.W.P./G.

1. 7. 40.

#2 12

*This seems to belong somewhere  
or to be marked in some way*

NOTES ON STRUCTURE OF DEPARTMENT OF MUNITIONS AND SUPPLY. **D 38499**

The Administrative Staff of the Department of Munitions and Supply is, like other departments, presided over by a Deputy Minister.

There is, as well, an Executive Committee of 7 members which might perhaps be described as a Cabinet within the

*This committee has yet to be compared to a small cabinet department. concerned with war supply. It meets from day to day. It considers and decides upon matters of being well suited to production of munitions and other*

The Department is divided into a Purchasing Branch, a Construction Branch and a number of Production Branches for Aircraft, Shipbuilding, Munitions and Gauges and Chemicals and Explosives.

*from suppliers or needs of the best methods of carrying out business already determined.*

For the mobilization of supplies of raw materials Controllers of <sup>Metals</sup> ~~Materials~~, Timber, Oil and Steel have been appointed. These Controllers <sup>all</sup> will not only ~~not~~ individually but ~~will~~ collectively constitute a War Industries Control Board within the department.

On the Administrative side the Deputy Minister is assisted by the Comptroller and Secretary and the officials of his Branch.

A Branch of the department is also being organized for economic research and planning required in order to maintain a constant and uninterrupted development of ever-increasing quantities of the materials of war.

*The department has a liaison liaison officers and liaison officers in New York and London*

members, a Secretary and Comptroller, a Labour Liaison Officer, Liaison Officers in New York, and London, a Director of Purchases and a General Purchasing Agent, a Director of Construction and several Directors of Production for the different branches such as Aircraft, Shipbuilding, Munitions and gauges, and Chemicals and Explosives, a Metals Controller, a Timber Controller, an Oil Controller, a Steel Controller, three technical consultants on Steel, Petroleum and Leather, and an Economic Adviser.

*I might say, in passing, that the Government has a small cabinet meeting from day to day to discuss upon matters of policy which affect the production of munitions and other war supplies as well as the work upon which the Government is carrying out policies already determined.*

Beyond the department itself, several non-profit making private organizations, fully owned by the government, have been set up to carry on special phases of the work. Speaking in the House on June the 14th, the Minister of Munitions and Supply explained the purpose of these companies as follows:

"It has been found utterly impossible to assemble in Ottawa a sufficient staff to handle all the multiplicity of undertakings that the department has in hand at the present time. The act provides that certain government owned and controlled companies shall be established and headed by business men chosen by the government who will be able to carry on certain operations as companies rather than as part of a departmental staff".

Each of these companies is being ~~and~~ will be administered by a Board of Directors, chosen from outstanding business

*note: all work in connection with the war is being carried out by companies already determined.*

men and industrialists.

At the present time <sup>who are</sup> there are, besides those connected with these government owned companies, some 65 <sup>or so</sup> departmental heads, ~~or~~ persons serving in key positions <sup>which</sup> within the Department of Munitions and Supply, ~~this~~ <sup>are</sup> number includes 10 outstanding permanent civil servants.] [A list of departmental heads and key men in the Department of Munitions and Supply was placed on Hansard by the Minister, on June the 20th. The names of the persons whose services have been classified in relation to their present position and pre-war occupation are as follows:

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PRESENT POSITION IN DEPARTMENT</u>	<u>BUSINESS<sup>D</sup> OR PROFESS- IONAL AFFILIATIONS AT TIME OF APPOINTMENT</u>
H. D. Scully	Controller -Steel	Commissioner of Customs
G. C. Bateman	" -Metals	President, Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineering Institute, Toronto.
H. R. McMillan	" -Timber	President, H. R. McMillan Export Co. Vancouver.
Geo. R. Cottrelle	" -Oil	Director, Canadian Bank of Commerce.
S. W. Fairweather	Economic Adviser	Director Bureau of Economics.

The Government owned <sup>and controlled</sup> non-profit ~~private~~ <sup>private</sup> holding  
private organizations set up to carry on special  
phases of the work of production of munitions  
and other war supplies are the following!

OPERATING COMPANIES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF MUNITIONS  
AND SUPPLY

The Citadel Merchandising Company Limited:

*This company is*  
 Concerned with ensuring the supply of machine  
 tools and other equipment essential to war  
 industry

*This office is*

- President - Thomas Arnold - Chairman, Manitoba Steel Foundries Ltd.
- Vice-President - L. J. Belnap - President, Consolidated Paper Corp. Ltd.
- Directors:
- J. D. Johnson - President, Canada Cement Co. Ltd.
  - C. E. Gravel - Director, Bell Telephone Co. of Canada.
  - F. K. Morrow - Director, Ogilvie Flour Mills Co. Ltd.

The Federal Aircraft Limited:

*This company has been organized*  
 To coordinate the output of all parts and  
 to expedite the production of the Anson  
 Training Aircraft

*This office is:*

- President - R. P. Bell - Director, Pickfords Black, Ltd., Halifax and other companies.
- Gen. Manager - R. J. Moffett - Chief Aeronautical Engineer of Canadian Vickers.
- Treasurer - F. L. Jeckel - Montreal Manager of Hardy and Badden, Chartered Accountants.
- Directors:
- Sidney Dawes - President of the Atlas Construction Company, Montreal.
  - Blair Gordon - President of Dominion Textile Co.
  - Russell Smith - Canadian Industries Limited.
  - Allan Aitken - Price Brothers & Co., Director of National Life Assurance Co., and other companies.

Note. This company has not yet been publicly announced.

The Allied Supplies Ltd.:

(Concerned with administration of the munitions and explosives programme undertaken on behalf of the British government, and of any joint British-Canadian developments which may be assigned to it.)

Its officers will be

- Chairman: - Hon. C. A. Dunning
- President: - Harold Crabtree - Howard Smith Paper Co., Montreal. (President Canadian Manufacturers Association)
- Directors: - W. D. Black - Otis Fensom Elevator Co., Montreal. (an independent of the Manufacturers Association)
- Beaudry Leman - Banque Canadienne Nationale, Montreal.
- J. Y. Murdoch - Noranda Mines, Toronto.
- D. R. Turnbull - Acadia Sugar Co., Halifax.
- R. H. McMaster - Steel Co. of Canada, Montreal.
- E. A. Wilson - Morrow Screw & Nut Co., Ingersoll.

D 38504

NOTE - This list should set forth the positions (past or present) of 25 persons of whom on the board of directors

Contains a list of names

It must be assumed that the list of names contained the names of many of those names have been furnished from one source or another. It has been assumed that the list of names is a list of names of persons who have been in the service of the Canadian government.

The names of the persons in the list are those of persons who have been in the service of the Canadian government.

(2)

DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE

D 38505

The appointments I have mentioned thus far have been in the ~~active service~~ <sup>departments</sup> departments, <sup>in which I think</sup> ~~in which I think~~ <sup>military</sup> the Department of Munitions and Supply <sup>defence</sup> may properly be included. In the administration of the departments and agencies concerned with matters of economic defence and internal security, the government has <sup>enlisted</sup> the services of ~~an~~ <sup>equally</sup> representative group of outstanding <sup>and specially qualified persons</sup> men. For instance:

In the Department of Finance, the executive staff has been strengthened by the appointment of Professor W. A. Mackintosh, Head of the Department of Political and Economic Science of Queen's University, as special assistant to the Minister. <sup>But</sup> much more than in the work of the department itself, the services and counsel of business and professional men have been sought in connection with the organization and direction of ~~the~~ campaigns for ~~the~~ <sup>first</sup> nationally offered war loans, <sup>and</sup> the sale of War Savings Certificates, and in the vital and highly specialized work of the Foreign Exchange Control Board.

WAR LOAN AND WAR SAVINGS CAMPAIGNS

To direct the campaign for the first publicly offered war loan, a National War Loan Committee was set up under the Chairmanship of the Minister of Finance. Serving on it were five former Ministers of Finance:

Sir Thomas White  
Sir Henry Drayton  
Honourable C. A. Dunning  
Right Honourable R. B. Bennett, and  
Honourable E. N. Rhodes

*In addition were*  
~~as well as~~ the Provincial Treasurers of all nine provinces.

In order to give the Committee as broadly representative a character as possible some 225 prominent people in all the provinces of Canada were added to the membership.

To direct the more purely technical aspect of the campaign, a National Subscription Committee of men connected with the securities business was set up under the Chairmanship of Honourable C. A. Dunning.

In the campaign for the sale of War Savings Certificates, the government has similarly availed itself of the services of prominent business and professional men.

A National War Savings Committee ~~was set up by~~ *was set up by*  
~~Order in Council.~~ Mr. W. H. Somerville, General Manager of the Mutual Life Assurance Company of Canada, and Mr. de Gaspe Beaubien, a Consulting Engineer of Montreal, and a

7

WARTIME PRICES AND TRADE BOARD

D 38507

Upon the outbreak of war, immediate concern was shown by the government to prevent the disastrous rise in prices which so seriously dislocated the Canadian economy in the last war. On September 3rd, the government established the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, and invested it with extensive powers to prevent hoarding, profiteering and undue rise in prices of necessities. The Board itself is composed entirely of outstanding permanent officials under the Chairmanship of Mr. Hector McKinnon, who is also Chairman of the Tariff Board.

~~The Board is assisted by 4 Administrators for particular commodities, all of whom are serving without salary. The technical advisers to the Wool and Sugar Administrators, and the Economic adviser to the Wool Administrator are also serving without salary.~~

The complete list of the officials and administrators appointed from outside the public service is as follows:

D38508

<u>Name</u>	<u>Present position on board</u>	<u>Former position</u>
K. W. Taylor	Secretary	Professor of Economics, McMaster University.
Hubert Kemp	Economic Adviser	Professor of Economics, University of Toronto
J.M. MacDonald	Economic Adviser	Head of Department of Commerce, University of Manitoba.
H. D. Anger	Solicitor of Board	Barrister of firm Elliot, Hume, McKague, and Anger, Toronto.
David C. Dick	Wool Administrator	Manufacturer: President, Cobourg Dying Co. Ltd., Cobourg, Ontario.
<del>_____</del>	<del>_____</del>	<del>_____</del>
Harry Brown	Technical Adviser to Wool Administrator.	Retired textile expert, formerly superintendent of the Rosaford Woollen Mills, Almonte, Ont.
W. P. Walker	Economic Adviser to Wool Administrator.	Comptroller of York Knitting Co., Toronto.
S. R. Noble	Sugar Administrator.	Assistant General Manager Royal Bank of Canada, Montreal, Que.
H. J. Hobbins	Technical Adviser to Sugar Administrator.	Sugar Broker. (some details)
Maurice Samson	Hides and Leather Administrator	Chartered accountant of the firm of Samson, Knight & Company, 70 St. Peter St., Quebec, P.Q.
J. McGregor Stewart, K.C.	Coal Administrator	Barrister of the firm of Stewart, Smith, McKeen & Rogers, Halifax, N.S.

(9)

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

D 38509

An Agricultural Supplies Board has been set up within the Department of Agriculture to <sup>help</sup> ~~serve~~ ~~as both an administrative and a policy making body~~ to meet the extraordinary problems for our agricultural economy created by the war.

Other wartime bodies within the Department are The Bacon Board, which was set up to implement and direct Canadian fulfilment of the <sup>can for contract</sup> ~~great~~ bacon agreement with the United Kingdom, and a Dairy Products Board which was created to supervise the whole question of the production and marketing of dairy products. There is also an Advisory Committee to the Bacon Board but this, unlike the two just mentioned, possesses no executive powers.

To assist these Boards in the conduct of their <sup>duties</sup> ~~work~~, the government has <sup>enlisted</sup> ~~called upon~~ the services of <sup>specialty</sup> ~~qualified~~ <sup>persons from outside</sup> ~~men beyond~~ the <sup>permanent</sup> Public Service. The Department of Agriculture has obtained the full-time services of Professor S. R. N. Hodgins of Macdonald College, Montreal, as Secretary of the Agricultural Supplies Board, of <sup>his</sup> ~~of~~ D. J. Perry, Transportation Officer of Canada Packers, Montreal, as Transportation Specialist

A.

DEPARTMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

D 38510

Several of the wartime boards and agencies under <sup>the</sup> ~~this~~ Department <sup>of the Secretary of State</sup> are administered by well known <sup>person</sup> ~~men~~ from outside the Government Service. Dr. H. M. Tory, retired former President of the National Research Council, has been serving as Director of the Technical Section of the Voluntary Service Registration Bureau. The services of Brigadier-General E. deB. Panet, ~~distinguished soldier~~ and Chief of the Department of Investigation of the C. P. R. have been secured as Director of Internment Operations.

To organize the Public Information Office the government first secured the services of <sup>Mr</sup> Walter S. Thompson, Director of Public Relations for the C. N. R. Upon Mr. Thompson's retirement, <sup>because of the impairment of his</sup> ~~on account of ill~~ health, he was <sup>replaced</sup> ~~replaced~~ by G. H. Lash as Director, and <sup>Mr</sup> Claude Melancon, as Associate Director, both of whom had been associated with <sup>Mr Thompson</sup> ~~him~~ in the C. N. R.

~~A Winnipeg barrister~~, <sup>Mr</sup> W. Gordon Gunn, <sup>barrister, Winnipeg</sup> served as the Administrator of the War Charities Act, ~~while~~ <sup>Mr</sup> T. W. Laidlaw, the Dean of Manitoba Law School, and <sup>Mr</sup> V. C. MacDonald, Dean of the Dalhousie Law School, are both giving their services <sup>in connection with</sup> ~~to do~~ special work <sup>under</sup> for the Custodian of Enemy Property during their summer absence from their schools.

(J.)

9. 1

D 38511

ENLISTING THE SERVICES OF "BEST MEN" IN ADVISORY CAPACITY

I have referred thus far to ~~the~~ enlisting in the government service ~~of men from the business and professional world~~ <sup>the best available persons</sup> in executive and administrative

positions; ~~but there is still another way in which the government has been strengthened by bringing to its service the abilities and counsel of men from outside the government service.~~ <sup>7 come now to the suggested means of increasing the efficiency of the operations of Canada war effort by enlisting the services of the best available persons in an advisory capacity -</sup>

<sup>some will provide to some cases services existing within or</sup> In dealing with specific <sup>problems</sup> questions the government has not <sup>been slow</sup> to seek the advice and co-operation of existing <sup>written</sup> bodies conversant with that <sup>or organization and bodies known to</sup> particular work. <sup>in addition,</sup> As well a number of Advisory Boards and Committees have been <sup>specially organized</sup> set up to aid the various Ministers and war agencies by <sup>advisory bodies</sup> rendering advice based upon practical experience. In each of these an <sup>effort</sup> attempt has been made to secure as representative a <sup>as possible duty persons</sup> group of qualified ~~men as possible~~. I may mention, briefly, a few of these - some specially created to meet the war situation, others organized bodies already established.

D 38512 2

OTHER ADVISORY AGENCIES

~~As an example of~~  
~~In connection with~~ specific problems arising  
out of war-time administration, ~~the government has freely~~  
~~and regularly sought~~ the advice and co-operation of ~~various~~  
existing Canadian bodies *Sought in connection with the*

Refugees *& inclusion of*

~~Thus~~ the questions of the immigration of refugees  
and ~~of~~ the movement of <sup>evacuated</sup> children to Canada from the United  
Kingdom and elsewhere ~~has been the subject of~~ conferences

between the officials of the Dominion Government, rep-  
resentatives of the various Provincial Governments and the

officers of qualified voluntary organizations. In this

~~connection I might make~~ special mention <sup>should be made in their committee</sup> of the officers of  
the Canadian Welfare Committee and <sup>the</sup> Canadian National  
Committee on Refugees. *the helpful cooperation*

Air raid precautions and health agencies

In the work done so far by officials of the  
Department of Pensions and National Health upon air raid  
precautions, the collaboration of the provincial authorities  
in the coastal provinces has been obtained and, as well,  
the full co-operation and advice of the St. John Ambulance

*with rest of 5*

*I might mention*

*should be made in their committee  
the helpful cooperation*

D 38513 13

Brigade and Association. <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ Department, in its health activities related to the war effort, has also secured the co-operation of all public health forces of the Dominion, acting through the Dominion Council on Health, <sup>plus Council</sup> made up of the chief health officers of all the provinces.

D 38514 74

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR

The government has recognized from the outset the importance of <sup>meriting and</sup> obtaining the whole-hearted co-operation of labour in the development of <sup>Canada's</sup> ~~our~~ war effort. It has <sup>recently</sup> given concrete expression to this recognition by the declaration of certain principles for the regulation of labour conditions which ~~have recently been~~ <sup>are</sup> embodied in an Order in Council.

~~Carrying this concern a step farther, the govern-~~  
~~ment has~~ <sup>there has been</sup> recently created a National Labour Supply Council.

The purpose of this council is to bring to the Minister <sup>of the Department</sup> advice from qualified representatives of labour and of industry <sup>upon</sup> ~~regarding~~ all matters touching the supply of labour for war industries.

The Chairman <sup>of the National Labour Supply Council</sup> is Mr. A. J. Hills, Chief of Personnel of the Canadian National Railways. The Secretary is Mr. Humphrey Mitchell, <sup>former member of the Board of Examiners and</sup> a permanent official of the <sup>for some time</sup> Department of Labour. The Council itself is composed of <sup>just a</sup> five representatives of labour and five of industrial employers, with an alternate for each.

The membership is as follows:

D 38515

I should not conclude this portion of the  
review of services in an advisory and  
practical manner by listing organizations, associations  
and individuals  
without making special mention of what might be expected of  
the provinces of Canada

WARTIME CO-OPERATION WITH THE PROVINCES

8. Internal Security

insert at the end

In peace time, the primary responsibility for  
public order and the administration of justice rests with  
the provinces. It has been recognized, however, that

In time of war, a share of this responsibility  
must necessarily be assumed by the Federal government.

~~This does not however relieve the provinces of their~~  
~~constitutional function and there is greater need than~~  
~~ever for the closest co-operation between the provincial~~  
police and law enforcement agencies, on the one hand,  
and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the Department  
of Justice on the other.

9. National Health

Equally in the field of health and welfare,  
wartime conditions ~~make~~ <sup>have made more essential than ever</sup> the closest co-operation  
of federal and provincial authorities ~~essential~~

10. War Loans

10 ✓

I have already indicated where  
The Federal government received the closest  
co-operation from the provincial governments in the first  
National War Loan campaign. <sup>As mentioned</sup> The Provincial Treasurers  
of all the provinces served on the National War Loan  
Committee.

the ministerial provinces of Canada's war effort

D 38516

4. Refugees

② ✓

*Also as previously mentioned,*

The closest co-operation has been received from the welfare departments of the provincial governments in working out arrangements for the reception in Canada of refugees and evacuated children.

5. Air Raid Precautions

3 ✓

*As previously mentioned*

The Department of Pensions and National Health is co-operating with the provinces in the provision of air raid precautions.

6. Agriculture and Fisheries

④ ✓

6 ✓

As in peace time, close co-operation ~~is~~ maintained between the Federal departments and the provincial authorities in the departments of Agriculture and Fisheries.

7. Natural Resources

The Department of Munitions and Supply is receiving ~~welcome~~ <sup>valuable</sup> assistance and co-operation from provincial departments of natural resources, mines, lands and forests, etc. in the task of mobilizing our resources of raw materials to meet wartime needs.

5.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

7/7/40

MEMORANDUM

~~LH~~

D 38517

Notes used  
by the  
Prime Minister  
in the  
House of  
Commons  
today  
JSP

D 38518

(1)

On different occasions, the Leader of the Opposition has drawn attention to ways and means of increasing the effectiveness of Canada's war effort.

This is an aim which is shared by all honourable members of Parliament. By none will constructive suggestions, calculated to contribute to its fulfilment, be welcomed more cordially than by my colleagues and myself.

The particular ways and means to this end which, at one time or another, were suggested by the Leader of the Opposition have been the enlisting of the services of "the best men":-

(a) In executive and administrative posts, particularly in those branches of government which have to do with the prosecution of Canada's war effort;

(b) In an advisory capacity, where not possible to have their services enlisted either in whole or in part in executive or administrative posts;

(c) In the government itself;

By "the best men" is meant, I think I may assume, persons whose services or advice are available, and who, all circumstances considered, appear best suited for the positions it is necessary or desirable to fill.

It has also been urged by the Leader of the Opposition that the work of the Cabinet should be so arranged as to free as largely as possible from other duties, Ministers

of the Crown who preside over those departments of government which are primarily concerned with war activities in order that the time and attention of these Ministers may be given as exclusively as possible to a consideration of war policies and their effective prosecution.

A review of what, in fact, has actually been accomplished will make clear that it is precisely along these lines that from the very outset the government has been proceeding. We have not sought to do everything at once, thereby involving unwarrantable expenditure, and having, as the war has progressed, to undo much that should never have been done; or, what is worst of all, by premature action, creating problems and situations more difficult of solution than those we have been called upon to meet. Rather have we sought to anticipate, as far in advance as was possible, the problems which were certain or likely to arise in the progress of the war, and to prepare in advance, as far as was possible for the meeting of each new situation as it might arise, taking, when the right moment came, the additional measures required to deal effectively with it. These additional measures to meet new situations as they have arisen, has involved bringing continuously into the service of the state and to the aid of the Ministry, in an executive, administrative or advisory capacity, available persons of outstanding ability and experience. It is <sup>along</sup> ~~only~~ these lines that we shall continue to seek to meet each new situation as it is born of the exigencies and demands of the war.

D 38520

(3)

In speaking on these matters, the Leader of the Opposition called attention to the following statement which I made in the course of the general elections held at the beginning of this year:

"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 (a) in an immediate association with the war cabinet, or (b) 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."

It will be noticed that this undertaking had relation to a course of procedure which had already been adopted, and with which the public were wholly familiar. It was, for example, everywhere known that in organizing the War Supply Board, the government had been fortunate in securing as the chairman of that organization, Mr. Wallace Campbell, President of the Ford Motor Company of Canada, who not only was called on occasions into conference with the War Committee of the Cabinet, but who in addition to performing the duties of chief executive officer of the War Supply Board served throughout in an advisory capacity to the minister responsible for its administration. Mr. Campbell, at the time of his appointment as Chairman of the

Board, was selected as "the best man" available at that particular time for that particular post. The selection was made regardless altogether of party political affiliations.

How extensively, since its return to office, the government has carried out the pledge given by myself in the course of the elections, will be apparent from the appointments, since made, of men of outstanding ability and experience to executive and administrative posts immediately connected with Canada's war effort. Of every person so appointed, it may be said that directly or indirectly he has acted not less in an advisory capacity to the minister of the Department concerned, than as an executive or person in a key position performing some important function in the prosecution of Canada's war effort. By advisory opinion thus obtained from exceptionally well informed and highly specialized sources, the Ministry itself has been continuously guided in the shaping, development and execution of its war policies.

How effectively the administration has been strengthened by enlisting the services of the particular persons appointed will be apparent from their names, from their previous associations, and from their known qualifications for the executive and key positions now held by them in the departments concerned with war activities.

Appointments have been made by the assignment to tasks, for which they possess special qualifications, of officials from the permanent civil service, and by recruitment from financial, industrial, professional, technical and other fields of activity, of outstanding persons who, because of their training, associations and experience, were regarded as likely to be most familiar with the nature of the new administrative problems which had to be met.

Let me now briefly review the appointments made since the commencement of the war. The list does not purport to include all appointments made, but it is, I believe, sufficiently representative to make clear the government's determination to bring into the service of the State in an executive, administrative or advisory capacity regardless altogether of party political affiliations, the best available men to assist the Ministry in the effective prosecution of the war effort of our country.

Department of National Defence

I shall speak first of appointments to the Department of National Defence. They have been so arranged as to indicate opposite the name of the appointee, the position presently held by him in the department, and as well his business or professional affiliation at the time of appointment. The list speaks for itself. It discloses at a glance the importance and variety of the several positions. In most cases, the appropriateness of the appointment will be wholly apparent.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Present position in Department</u>	<u>Business or professional affiliation at time of appointment</u>
Lt. Col. Henri DesRosiers	Acting Deputy Minister (Militia Service)	Vice-President, Imperial Tobacco Co. of Canada, Ltd., Montreal.
Lt. Col. K.S. Maclachlan	Acting Deputy Minister (Naval Service)	President and General Manager Fraser Companies, Ltd., Montreal, Edmundston, N.B. President and General Manager, Restigouche Co. Ltd., Campbellton, N.B.
Lt.-Col. Goodwin Gibson	Real Estate Advisor	Senior partner in firm of Gibson Bros. Real Estate Brokers, Toronto.
Major Basil Campbell	Assistant to Real Estate Advisor	President, Campbell & Shepherd, Limited, Construction Engineers, Toronto.
Arthur MacNamara	Chairman, Dependents' Allowance Board	Deputy Minister of Public Works and Labour, Manitoba Government.
Col. A. A. Magee	Executive Assistant to Minister of National Defence	President, Barclay's Bank (Canada) and Director of several financial institutions.
Capt. H. A. Dyde	Special Assistant to Minister of National Defence.	Dyde & Becker, Barristers, Edmonton.
Lt.-Col. Geo. Currie	Executive Assistant to Minister of National Defence.	Partner in Macdonald, Currie and Company, Chartered Accountants, Montreal.

AUXILIARY SERVICES

Early in October, 1939, a Directorate of Auxiliary Services was set up in the Department of National Defence to co-ordinate and facilitate the work of the various agencies promoting the welfare of the men in the Service.

Brigadier W. W. Foster, President of the Canadian Legion, was called upon to serve as Director. The work of the Auxiliary Services has increased with the growth of our armed forces and, more and more, representatives of the voluntary organizations have come to work in active co-operation with Service Officials in the conduct of this work.

Besides ~~the~~ organization <sup>at</sup> ~~had~~ headquarters in Canada, and in each of the military districts, an overseas organization has been established at Canadian Military Headquarters which includes representatives of the four principal voluntary organizations - The Canadian Legion, Y. M. C. A., Salvation Army, and Knights of Columbus. Each of these bodies also ~~have~~ representatives working with the First Division. The government has undertaken to provide the pay and expenses of a portion of these overseas workers.

D 38525

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④

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE FOR AIR

(c)

It will be recalled that very shortly after the general elections a third Acting Deputy Minister was appointed to the Department of National Defence. This appointment had relation particularly to ~~the branch of the department concerned with~~ the air forces, and the development of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. The government was fortunate in securing for this ~~post~~ <sup>most</sup> important post the services of Mr. James S. Duncan, Vice-President and General Manager of Massey Harris Limited, Toronto, one of the best known and ablest industrial executives in Canada. Mr. Duncan's appointment was made on April the 11th.

On May the 22nd, Parliament authorized the establishment of a separate Ministry of National Defence for Air and, on the day following, the Honourable C. G. Power was sworn in as Minister of the new department.

Since that date, the administrative staff of the Department of National Defence for Air has been further strengthened by the following appointments:

D 38526

9

(Department of National Defence for Air)

-2-

<u>Name</u>	<u>Present position in Department</u>	<u>Business, Professional or other affiliation at time of appointment.</u>
Terence Sheard	Executive Assistant to the Deputy Minister.	Assistant General Manager of the National Trust Company, Toronto.
J. L. Apedaile	Inspector of Accounts, Civil Flying Schools.	Partner of Cole, Apedaile & Company, Chartered Accountants, Montreal.
S. D. Armour	Contracts Officer, Civil Flying Schools.	Banker, Georgeville, Que.
J.W.G. Clark	Director of Public Relations.	Director of Cockfield, Brown Company, Advertising Agency, Toronto.
I. N. Smith	Assistant Director of Public Relations.	Assistant General Manager and Secretary- Treasurer, Ottawa Journal.
W. J. MacDonald	Head of Statistical and Records Branch	Senior Partner Millar, MacDonald & Co., Chartered Accountants, Winnipeg.
G. N. Black	Assistant to Head of Statistical and Records Branch	Comptroller, Western Breweries Co., Winnipeg.

D 38527

10

(Department of National Defence for Air)

-3-

<u>Name</u>	<u>Present position in Department</u>	<u>Business, Professional or other affiliation at time of appointment.</u>
H. G. Norman	Special Assistant to Deputy Minister	Partner of Price, Water- house & Co., Chartered Accountants, Montreal.
H. G. Colebrook	Executive Assistant in charge of Engineering and Supply	Director and General Merchandising Manager of Robert Simpson Co., Toronto.

DEPARTMENT OF MUNITIONS AND SUPPLY

I shall refer a little later on to the genesis and evolution of the Department of Munitions and Supply from a purchasing board, associated before the war, with the Department of Finance and later, at the commencement of the war, as a War Supply Board under the supervision of the Minister of Transport, to the present full-fledged Department of Munitions and Supply. For the moment, it is sufficient for me to recall that the Department itself was duly established on April the 9th, at which date the existing organization of the War Supply Board was absorbed into the new Department of Munitions and Supply. In no branch of the public service has need for rapid expansion and the enlistment of services of able executives and persons possessed of special knowledge been greater than in that concerned with the production of munitions and other war supplies. The services of a large proportion of those at present in these positions have been enlisted since the new department took over the work of the War Supply Board.

The Administrative Staff of the Department of Munitions and Supply is, like other departments, presided over by a Deputy Minister.

There is, as well, an Executive Committee of 7 members. This Committee might be compared to a small cabinet concerned exclusively with war supply. It meets from day to day; considers and decides upon matters of policy with respect to production of munitions and other war supplies as well as upon the best methods of carrying out policies already determined.

The Department is divided into a Purchasing Branch, a Construction Branch and a number of Production Branches for Aircraft, Shipbuilding, Munitions and Gauges and Chemicals and Explosives.

For the mobilization of supplies of raw materials Controllers of Metals, Timber, Oil and Steel have been appointed. These Controllers act not only individually but collectively constitute a War Industries Control Board within the department.

On the Administrative side the Deputy Minister is assisted by the Comptroller and Secretary and the officials of his Branch.

A Branch of the department is also being organized for economic research and planning required in order to maintain a constant and uninterrupted development of ever-increasing quantities of the materials of war.

The department has a Labour Liaison Officer and Liaison Officers in New York and London.

Beyond the department itself, several non-profit making private organizations, fully owned by the government, have been set up to carry on special phases of the work. Speaking in the House on June the 14th, the Minister of Munitions and Supply explained the purpose of these companies as follows:

"It has been found utterly impossible to assemble in Ottawa a sufficient staff to handle all the multiplicity of undertakings that the department has in hand at the present time. The act provides that certain government owned and controlled companies shall be established and headed by business men chosen by the government who will be able to carry on certain operations as companies rather than as part of a departmental staff."

Each of these companies is being or will be administered by a Board of Directors, chosen from outstanding business men and industrialists.

At the present time within the Department of Munitions and Supply there are, besides those who are connected with these government owned companies, some 65 persons serving in key positions or as departmental heads, of which number 10 are outstanding permanent civil servants.

A list of departmental heads and key men in the Department of Munitions and Supply was placed on Hansard by the Minister, on June the 20th. The names of the persons whose services have been classified in relation to their present position and pre-war occupation are as follows:

D 38531

(19)

DEPARTMENT OF MUNITIONS AND  
SUPPLY

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PRESENT POSITION IN DEPARTMENT</u>	<u>BUSINESS OR PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS AT TIME OF APPOINTMENT</u>
G. K. Sheils	Deputy Minister	Asst. General Manager, General Steel Wares Ltd. Toronto.
W. C. Woodward	Chairman, Executive Comm. <i>the</i>	President, Woodward Stores Ltd. Vancouver, B. C.
R. P. Bell	Member, Exec. <i>Committee</i>	Director, Pickfords Black, Limited, Halifax and other Companies.
Henry Borden, K. C.	" " "	Barrister, Toronto.
W. A. Harrison	" " "	Managing Director, Estabrooks Ltd. Saint John, N.B.
R. A. C. Henry	" " "	General Manager, Beauharnois Power Corp. Montreal.
G. W. Scott	" " "	Chartered Accountant, Montreal.
E. P. Taylor	" " "	President, Canadian Breweries Ltd.; Honey Dew, Ltd.: Orange Crush Ltd., Toronto.
A. J. Martin	Acting Secretary	President, General Sky- craft Ltd. Montreal.
L. R. Thomson	Secretary & Comptroller	Consulting Engineer, Montreal.

(15)

D 38532

- 2 -

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PRESENT POSITION IN DEPARTMENT</u>	<u>BUSINESS OR PROFES- SIONAL AFFILIATIONS AT TIME OF APPOINTMENT</u>
A. S. Tindale	Ass't. Sec'y and Comptroller	Chartered Accountant, Toronto.
J. P. Pettigrew	Exec. Assistant to Deputy Minister	General Manager, Windsor Fisher Ltd. Montreal.
W. D. Low	" " "	Purchasing Agent, C. N. R., Montreal.
J. deN. Kennedy	Legal Department	Barrister, Solicitor, Toronto.
J. B. Carswell	New York Liaison Officer	President, Burlington Steel Co., Hamilton.
C. A. Banks	London Liaison Officer	Managing Director, Bulolo Gold Dredging Ltd.
H. B. Chase	Labour Liaison	Canadian Vice-President Brotherhood of Loco- motive Engineers.
W. F. Drysdale	Director of Production, Munitions and Gauges.	Vice-President, Montreal Locomotive Works.
W. S. Lecky	Assistant-Munitions	Manager, Holman's Machines, Montreal.
Dr. C. A. Robb	Assistant - Gauges	Professor Mechanical Engineering, Univer- sity of Alberta.
J. R. Donald	Director of Production, Chemicals and Explo- sives.	J. R. Donald Co., Montreal.
A. F. McCall	Assistant	Director, Drummond McCall & Co. Ltd., Montreal.

D 38533

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- 3 -

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PRESENT POSITION IN DEPARTMENT</u>	<u>BUSINESS OR PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS AT TIME OF APPOINTMENT</u>
Dr. J. H. Ross	Assistant	Director, Forest Products Laboratory, Montreal.
W. J. Sanderson	Director of Pro- duction, Aircraft	President, Fleet Aircraft Ltd. Fort Erie, Ont.
W. S. Goodeve	Asst.-Executive	Motor and Coach Co. Ltd.
J. T. Asquith	Asst.-England	Export Sales Manager, British Machine Tool Co.
J. C. Ruse	Asst.-Raw Materials	Contractor, Diamond Drilling and Exploration
A. K. Tylee, O.B.E.	Asst.-Building	Ex-Air Commodore, R. C. A. F.
D. Stairs	Director of Con- struction, Defence Projects	Chief Engineer, Mon- treal Construction Co. Ltd.
E. P. Murphy	Assistant	Construction Engineer, Department of Transport
L. C. Jacobs	Assistant	Engineer, Montreal Power Corporation of Canada.
D. B. Carswell	Director of Shipbuilding	Marine Superintendent, Department of Trans- port.
G. Ogilvie	Director of Plant Survey and Production	Department of National Defence.

D 38534

17

- 4 -

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PRESENT POSITION IN DEPARTMENT</u>	<u>BUSINESS OR PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS AT TIME OF APPOINTMENT</u>
A. T. J. Watts	Assistant	Department of National Defence
J. P. D. Malkin	Director of Purchases	Director of W. H. Malkin & Co., B. C. Packers and other com- panies, Vancouver, B.C.
J. Eaton	General Purchasing Agent	Asst. to General Purchasing Agent, C.P.R.
L. L. Price	Asst. General Pur- chasing Agent	Purchasing Agent, C.N.R. Montreal.
D. P. Buckley	Aircraft Section	Department of National Defence.
T. A. McCormick	Barrack Stores Section	Purchasing Agent, Canada Creosoting Co.
W. J. Atkinson	Fuel, Paints Section	Purchasing Agent, C.N.R. Toronto.
C. P. Morrison	Machinery, Tools	Radio Department, C. N. R.
E. S. Hoare	Naval Stores	Department of National Defence.
G. A. Briggs	Clothing	Department of National Defence.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PRESENT POSITION IN DEPARTMENT</u>	<u>BUSINESS OR PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS AT TIME OF APPOINTMENT</u>
W. E. Wilford	Food	Commissary Purchasing Agent, C.N.R. Toronto.
C. B. Doheny	Mechanical Transport	Purchasing Agent, C.N.R. Toronto.
C. E. W. Morshead	Building Supplies	Purchasing Agent, C.N.R.
A. P. Labelle	Medical	Wholesale Drug Supplies.
F. E. Wood	Cost Investigation	National Steel Car Corp. Cost Accountant.
W. C. McEachern	Personnel	Post Office Department.
B. S. Liberty	Transport Controller	C.N.R.
W. Lauchlan	Treasury Liaison Officer	Chief Treasury Office, Department of Finance.
R. Thomson	Publicity	Public Relations Counsel, Montreal.
H. G. Caldwell	Statistics	Professor Queen's University
D. G. Mackenzie	Assistant R.A.C. Henry	Consultant Economist
W. J. Neville	Files, Mail and Messenger Service	Canadian Pacific Railway, Montreal.
J. A. Marsh	Contract Investigator	M.P. and General Purchasing Agent, Canadian Porcelain Co., Hamilton.
A. R. Gilchrist	Overseas Accounting	North End Motors Ltd., Office Manager.
A. Davis	Technical Consultant leather	President, Davis Leather Co., Newmarket.
F. C. Mechin	Petroleum	General Manager, Imperial Oil Refineries Ltd., Montreal.
C. W. Sherman	Steel	President, Dominion Foundries Ltd., Hamilton.

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<u>NAME</u>	<u>PRESENT POSITION IN DEPARTMENT</u>	<u>BUSINESS OR PROFESS- IONAL AFFILIATIONS AT TIME OF APPOINTMENT</u>
H. D. Scully	Controller -Steel	Commissioner of Customs
G. C. Bateman	" - Metals	President, Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineer- ing Institute, Toronto.
H. R. McMillan	" - Timber	President, H.R.McMillan Export Co. Vancouver.
Geo. R. Cottrelle	" - Oil	Director, Canadian Bank of Commerce.
S. W. Fairweather	Economic Adviser	Director Bureau of Economics.

The government owned and controlled non-profit making private organizations set up to carry on special phases of the work of production of munitions and other war supplies are the following:

OPERATING COMPANIES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF MUNITIONS  
AND SUPPLY

The Citadel Merchandising Company Limited:

This Company is concerned with ensuring the supply  
of machine tools and other equipment essential  
to war industry.

The Officers are:

President	- Thomas Arnold	- Chairman, Manitoba Steel Foundries Ltd.
Vice-President	- L. J. Belnap	- President, Consolidated Paper Corp. Ltd.
Directors:	- J. D. Johnson	- President, Canada Cement Co. Ltd.
	- C. E. Gravel	- Director, Bell Telephone Co. of Canada.
	- F. K. Morrow	- Director, Ogilvie Flour Mills Co. Ltd.

The Federal Aircraft Limited:

This Company has been organized to coordinate  
the output of all parts and to expedite the  
production of the Anson Training Aircraft.

The Officers are:

President	- R. P. Bell	- Director, Pickfords Black, Ltd. Halifax and other companies.
Gen. Manager	- R. J. Moffett	- Chief Aeronautical Engineer of Canadian Vickers.
Treasurer	- F. L. Jeckel	- Montreal Manager of Hardy and Badden, Chartered Accountants.
Directors:	- Sidney Dawes	- President of the Atlas Construction Co. Montreal.
	- Blair Gordon	- President, Dominion Textile Co.
	- Russell Smith	- Canadian Industries Ltd.
	- Allan Aitken	- Price Bros. & Co. Director of National Life Assurance Co. and other companies.

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Another company has been organized of which, as yet, no public announcement has been made, which will be known as The Allied Supplies Limited. This company will be concerned with administration of the munitions and explosives programme undertaken on behalf of the British Government and of any joint British-Canadian developments which may be assigned to it.

The Officers will be:

- |            |                      |  |
|------------|----------------------|--|
| Chairman   | - Hon. C. A. Dunning | - An ex-Minister of Finance in the federal government.   |
| President  | - Harold Crabtree    | - Howard Smith Paper Co. Montreal, (President Canadian Manufacturers' Association).  |
| Directors: | - W. D. Black        | - President, Otis Fensom Elevator Co. Hamilton (An ex-president of Canadian Manufacturers' Association).                                 |
|            | Beaudry Leman        | - President and Managing Director of Banque Canadienne Nationale (Past President of Canadian Bankers' Association).                      |
|            | J. Y. Murdoch        | - President of Noranda Mines, Ltd. and other companies.  |
|            | D. R. Turnbull       | - Managing Director of Acadia Sugar Refinery Co. Ltd. Halifax.   |
|            | R. H. McMaster       | - President of Steel Co. of Canada, Montreal.  |
|            | E. A. Wilson         | - President and General Manager of Ingersoll Machine & Tool Co. Ltd. and Vice-President & Gen. Manager Morrow Screw & Nail Co. Ingersoll |

It will be observed that the lists of persons I have quoted contain the names of many whose names, from one source or another, have been mentioned as those of individuals whose presence in the Cabinet might be expected to add to the effectiveness of Canada's war effort. I submit that in the positions in which the services of the persons cited have been enlisted their opportunity to be of service to the State and effectively to aid the Ministry (all circumstances considered) is relatively greater than it might be expected to be were they members of the Ministry itself.

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DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE

The appointments I have mentioned thus far have been in the departments immediately concerned with military defence. In the administration of the departments and agencies concerned with matters of economic defence and internal security, the government has likewise enlisted the services of equally representative groups of outstanding and specially qualified persons. For instance:

In the Department of Finance, the executive staff has been strengthened by the appointment of Professor W. A. Mackintosh, Head of the Department of Political and Economic Science of Queen's University, as special assistant to the Minister. But much more than in the work of the department itself, the services and counsel of business and professional men have been sought in connection with the organization and direction of campaigns for nationally offered war loans and the sale of War Savings Certificates, and in the vital and highly specialized work of the Foreign Exchange Control Board.

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WAR LOAN AND WAR SAVINGS CAMPAIGNS

To direct the campaign for the first publicly offered war loan, a National War Loan Committee was set up under the Chairmanship of the Minister of Finance. Serving on it were five former Ministers of Finance:

Sir Thomas White  
Sir Henry Drayton  
Honourable C.A. Dunning  
Right Honourable R. B. Bennett, and  
Honourable E. W. Rhodes.

In addition were the Provincial Treasurers of all nine Provinces. In order to give the Committee as broadly representative a character as possible some 225 prominent people in all the provinces of Canada were added to the membership.

To direct the more purely technical aspect of the campaign, a National Subscription Committee of men connected with the securities business was set up under the Chairmanship of Honourable C. A. Dunning.

In the campaign for the sale of War Savings Certificates, the government has similarly availed itself of the services of prominent business and professional men.

A National War Savings Committee was set up of which Mr. W. H. Somerville, General Manager of the Mutual Life Assurance Company of Canada, and Mr. de Gaspe Beaubien, a Consulting Engineer of Montreal, and a

Director of several Industrial Companies, were appointed  
~~as~~ Joint-Chairmen. Provincial Chairmen were selected as  
follows:

British Columbia	- Christopher Spencer, Vancouver
Alberta	- John Burns, Calgary
Saskatchewan	- W. G. Yule, Regina
Manitoba	- E. J. Tarr, K.C., Winnipeg
Ontario	- R. V. LeSueur, Toronto
Quebec	- Napoleon Charest, Montreal
New Brunswick	- George E. Barbour, Saint John
Nova Scotia	- W. K. McKean, Halifax
Prince Ed. Island	- Edmund T. Higgs, Charlottetown.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE CONTROL BOARD

Early in September, a Foreign Exchange Control Board was set up consisting of senior members of the public service and officers of the Bank of Canada. The purpose of the Board has been that of setting up a complete system of exchange control, thus to conserve our financial resources and supplies of foreign exchange, and to prevent the dissipation of ~~our~~ capital into speculative or other unessential uses abroad. Working in close association with the Bank of Canada, the Board has achieved its purposes with complete efficiency. Its task has been growing ever greater and more complex. To assist the nucleus of officials from the Bank of Canada, the Board has secured the services of an ever increasing number of highly trained men from the fields of business and finance. I may make brief mention of some of these.

In addition to 20 employees of the Bank of Canada whose services have been lent to the Board on a full-time basis, the chartered banks have provided the services of 20 officials including <sup>Mr</sup> F. R. MacLean of the Dominion Bank, <sup>Mr</sup> G. Catherwood of the Royal Bank, and <sup>Mr</sup> E. C. Winrow of the Bank of Montreal. Some 30 chartered accountants have been lent to the Board by their employers on a full-time basis, and an additional 15 to do investigational part-time work in the commercial section in the summer months.

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Five experienced securities dealers assist in the work of the Securities Section. Apart from the head of the General Section, <sup>eight</sup> other lawyers are engaged in its work.

The following <sup>is</sup> ~~form~~ a representative list of the executives who have come to assist in the direction of the work of the Board:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Present position on Board</u>	<u>Former position</u>
C. K. Highmoor	Chief of Foreign Exchange Section	Asst. Superintendent, Foreign Dept. of Canadian Bank of Commerce.
A. McD. McBain	Public relations officer	Manager of Foreign Relations Dept., Bank of Nova Scotia.
M. W. Mackenzie	Chief of Commercial Section	Partner in McDonald, Currie, etc., Chartered Accountants, Montreal.
D. R. A. Walker	Chief of Securities Section	Associated with Wood, Gundy and Co. Ltd., Investment Dealers, Toronto.
W. D. Matthews	Chief of General Section	Barrister, with Wills, Bickle and Cayley, Toronto.
A. M. Campbell	Advisor on matters affecting insurance	Associate Actuary Sun Life Assurance Co.
Douglas Dewar	Head of Vancouver Office	Former senior partner in Peal, Marwick and Mitchell, Chartered Accountants, New York.
Andre Gervais	Chief of Commercial Section, Montreal Branch	Chartered Accountant with Roland Levesque et Cie., Montreal.

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WARTIME PRICES AND TRADE BOARD

Upon the outbreak of war, immediate concern was shown by the government to prevent the disastrous rise in prices which so seriously dislocated the Canadian economy in the last war. On September 3rd, the government established the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, and invested it with extensive powers to prevent hoarding, profiteering and undue rise in prices of necessities. The Board itself is composed entirely of outstanding permanent officials under the Chairmanship of Mr. Hector McKinnon, who is also Chairman of the Tariff Board.

The complete list of the officials and administrators appointed from outside the public service is as follows:

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<u>Name</u>	<u>Present position on board</u>	<u>Former position</u>
K. W. Taylor	Secretary	Professor of Economics, McMaster University.
Hubert Kemp	Economic Adviser	Professor of Economics, University of Toronto.
J. M. MacDonald	Economic Adviser	Head of Department of Commerce, University of Manitoba.
H. D. Anger	Solicitor of Board.	Barrister of firm Elliot, Hume, McKague, and Anger, Toronto.
David C. Dick	Wool Administrator	Manufacturer: President, Cobourg Dying Co. Ltd., Cobourg, Ontario.
Harry Brown	Technical Adviser to Wool Adminis- trator.	Retired textile expert, formerly Superintendent of the Rosamond Woollen Mills, Almonte, Ont.
W. P. Walker	Economic Adviser to Wool Administrator	Comptroller of York Knitting Co., Toronto.
S. R. Noble	Sugar Administrator	Assistant General Manager Royal Bank of Canada, Montreal, Que.
H. J. Hobbins	Technical Adviser to Sugar Administrator.	Sugar Broker
Maurice Samson	Hides and Leather Administrator	Chartered Accountant of the firm of Samson, Knight & Company, 70 St. Peter St., Quebec, P.Q.
J. McGregor Stewart, K.C.	Coal Administrator	Barrister of the firm of Stewart, Smith, McKeen & Rogers, Halifax, N.S.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

An Agricultural Supplies Board has been set up within the Department of Agriculture to help meet the extraordinary problems for our agricultural economy created by the war.

Other wartime bodies within the Department are The Bacon Board, which was set up to implement and direct Canadian fulfilment of the important bacon agreement with the United Kingdom, and a Dairy Products Board which was created to supervise the whole question of the production and marketing of dairy products. There is also an Advisory Committee to the Bacon Board but this, unlike the two just mentioned, possesses no executive powers.

To assist these Boards in the conduct of their duties, the government has enlisted the services of specially qualified persons from outside the permanent service. The Department of Agriculture has obtained the full-time services of Professor S. R. N. Hodgins of Macdonald College, Montreal, as Secretary of the Agricultural Supplies Board, of Mr. D. J. Perry, Transportation Officer of Canada Packers, Montreal, as Transportation Specialist

for the Bacon Board, of <sup>him</sup> C. J. Servais, Packing House Accountant of Toronto as Accountant of the Bacon Board and of <sup>him</sup> W. E. Bosnell, the Plant Superintendent of Canada Packers, Toronto, as Technical Adviser.

The part-time services of the following persons have also been enlisted by the department:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Present position in department</u>	<u>Former position</u>
Hon. J.G. Taggart	Chairman, Bacon Bd.	Minister of Agriculture, Saskatchewan.
S. W. Todd	Member, Bacon Board	Industrial & Development Council, Canadian Meat Packers.
L. C. McQuat	Member, Bacon Board	General Agriculture Agent, C.P.R.
Adrien Morin	Member, Bacon Board	Chief, Live Stock Branch, Department of Agriculture, Quebec.
John Freeman	Member, Dairy Board	President of Lovell & Christmas (Canada) Ltd. Exporters of Dairy Products, Montreal.
J. F. Desmarais	Member, Dairy Board	President of Co-operative Federee, Quebec, Montreal.

DEPARTMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Several of the wartime boards and agencies under the Department of the Secretary of State are administered by <sup>a</sup> well known person from outside the Government Service. Dr. H. M. Tory, retired former President of the National Research Council has been serving as Director of the Technical Section of the Voluntary Service Registration Bureau. The services of Brigadier-General E. deB. Panet, Chief of the Department of Investigation of the C. P. R. have been secured as Director of Internment Operations.

To organize the Public Information Office the government first secured the services of Mr. Walter S. Thompson, Director of Public Relations for the C.N.R. Upon Mr. Thompson's retirement, because of the impairment of his health, he was succeeded by Mr. G. H. Lash as Director, and Mr. Claude Melancon, as Associate Director, both of whom had been associated with Mr. Thompson in the C. N. R.

Mr. W. Gordon Gunn, barrister, Winnipeg, is serving as the Administrator of the War Charities Act. Mr. T. ~~X~~<sup>W</sup> Laidlaw, the Dean of Manitoba Law School, and Mr. V. C. MacDonald, Dean of the Dalhousie Law School, are both giving their services during their summer absence from their schools in connection with special work under the Custodian of Enemy Property.

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Departments of Trade and Commerce and Transport

In the Department of Trade and Commerce Mr. A. W. L. MacCallum has been appointed Director of Shipping, serving as Executive Officer of the Canadian Shipping Board. Mr. MacCallum formerly was Manager of the Shipping Federation of Canada, Inc., of Montreal.

A similar outstanding appointment has been made in the Department of Transport of Mr. T. C. Lockwood as Transport Controller, <sup>The Transport Controller has</sup> ~~having~~ supervision over the whole question of priority of movement with regard to war needs. Mr. Lockwood was formerly General Freight Traffic Manager of the Cunard White Star Line, Montreal.

ENLISTING THE SERVICES OF "BEST MEN" IN ADVISORY  
CAPACITY

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I have referred thus far to enlisting in the government service, in executive and administrative positions, the best available persons from the business and professional world. I come now to the suggested means of increasing the effectiveness of Canada's war effort by enlisting the services of the best available persons in an advisory capacity where not possible to have their services enlisted either in whole or in part in executive or administrative posts.

In considering specific problems the government has not hesitated to seek the advice and co-operation of existing organizations and bodies known to be conversant with phases of the work concerned. In addition, a number of Advisory Boards and Committees have been specially organized to aid Ministers and war agencies by advice based upon practical experience. In each of these advisory bodies an effort has been made to secure as representative a group as possible of duly qualified persons. I may mention, briefly, a few of these - some specially created to meet the war situation, others organized bodies already established.

As an example of the advice and co-operation of existing Canadian bodies sought in connection with the solution of specific problems arising out of war-time administration, I might mention the conferences between officials of the Dominion government, representatives of the various Provincial governments, and the officers of qualified voluntary organizations, with respect to the questions of the immigration of refugees and the movement of evacuated children to Canada from the United Kingdom and elsewhere. Special mention should be made in this connection of the helpful co-operation of the officers of the Canadian Welfare Committee and of the Canadian National Committee on Refugees.

In the work done so far by officials of the Department of Pensions and National Health upon air raid precautions, the collaboration of the provincial authorities in the coastal provinces has been obtained and, as well, the full co-operation and advice of the St. John Ambulance Brigade and Association. The Department, in its health activities related to the war effort, has also secured the co-operation of all public health forces of the Dominion, acting through the Dominion Council on Health. This Council is made up of the chief health officers of all the provinces.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR

The government has recognized from the outset the importance of meriting and obtaining the whole-hearted co-operation of labour in the development of Canada's war effort. It has recently given concrete expression to this recognition by the declaration of certain principles for the regulation of labour conditions now embodied in an Order in Council.

Recently there has been created a National Labour Supply Council. The purpose of this council is to bring to the Minister of the Department advice from qualified representatives of labour and of industry upon all matters touching the supply of labour for war industries.

The Chairman of the National Labour Supply Council is Mr. A. J. Hills, Chief of Personnel of the Canadian National Railways. The Secretary is Mr. Humphrey Mitchell, a former member of this House of Commons and for some time past a permanent official of the Department of Labour. The Council itself is composed of five representatives of Labour and five of industrial employers, with an alternate for each.

The membership is as follows:

## Representatives of labour:

<u>Representative</u>	<u>Alternate</u>
E. J. Tallon, Ottawa, Secretary-Treasurer of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.	A. D'Aoust, Canadian Vice- President of the Inter- national Brotherhood of Paper Makers.
J. W. Bruce, General Organizer for Canada for the United Association of Journey- men, Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Steamfitters Helpers.	Fred Molineaux, Canadian General Organizer, Inter- national Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America.
James Somerville, Canadian General Vice-President, International Association of Machinists.	Tom Moore, Ottawa, Presi- dent of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.
A. R. Mosher, Ottawa, President of the All Canadian Congress of Labor.	C. R. Millard, Director of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.
Alfred Charpentier, Montreal, President of the Confederation of Catholic Workers of Canada.	Maurice Doran, Montreal Vice-President of the Confederation.

## Representatives of employers:

<u>Representative</u>	<u>Mining Industry</u>	<u>Alternate</u>
J. H. Stovel, Incoming President, Ontario Mining Association & General Manager, Dome Mines Ltd., South Porcupine		R. A. Bryce, Past President, Ontario Mining Association, President Macassa Mines, Kirkland Lake, Ontario.

Canadian Chamber of Commerce

Allan M. Mitchell, Robert Mitchell Co. Ltd., Montreal, Quebec.	D. P. Cruickshank, President, Steel Equipment Company, Ottawa, Ontario.
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Canadian Manufacturers' Association

W. C. Coulter,  
Past President, C.M.A.  
President, Coulter Copper &  
Brass Co., Toronto, Ontario.

W. H. McIntyre,  
Vice-President, Ottawa Car  
& Aircraft Co., Ottawa, Ont.

C. N. Moisan,  
President, Standard Paper Box  
Co., Montreal, Quebec.

Louis Armstrong,  
Consolidated Paper Corpor-  
ation, Montreal, Quebec.

Canadian Construction Association

J. M. Pigott,  
Pigott Construction Co.,  
Hamilton, Ontario.

Albert Deschamps,  
General Contractor,  
Montreal, Quebec.

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DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORT

Associated with the work of the Department of Transport are two advisory boards set up to recommend as to compensation for owners of vessels which have been requisitioned; one board for the Pacific coast and one for the Great Lakes, St. Lawrence River and Atlantic Coast.

Chairman for the Pacific coast region is Honourable Justice Dennis Murphy of the Supreme Court of British Columbia.

Chairman for the Great Lakes, St. Lawrence River and Atlantic coast region is Honourable Justice M. B. Archibald of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia.

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DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

In the Department of Agriculture an Advisory Committee to the Bacon Board has been set up to bring to the operations of the Board the benefit of the advice of a group of men representative of producers and of the packing industry. This Advisory Committee is without a chairman of its own and holds its meetings in conjunction with those of the Bacon Board itself.

Its members are:

W. J. Reid	Formerly associated with the P.E.I. Department of Agriculture.
H. Wilson	Well-known hog producer in Western Ontario.
John Harrold	Hog producer of Alberta.
Joseph Bisson	Connected with the co-operative marketing of livestock in the Province of Quebec.
K. N. M. Morrison	General Manager of First Co-operative Packers of Ontario, Limited.
F. H. Downing	Manager of Canadian Livestock Co-operative (Western) Limited.
John Burns	President of Burns Packing Company of Calgary.
J. H. Tapley	General Manager of Swift & Company, Toronto.

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DEPARTMENT OF FISHERIES

Two committees have been formed to be associated with the Department of Fisheries in an advisory capacity.

A War Time Fisheries Advisory Board has been appointed to consider the whole question of the marketing of Canadian fish. Its personnel has been chosen to give representation to men with practical experience in both our Atlantic and Pacific fisheries.

Chairman: J. J. Cowie	Official of the Department
A. H. Brittain	Past President of Canadian Fisheries Association, Montreal.
Louis T. Blais	President, Louis T. Blais, Ltd., and President, St. Lawrence Sea Products Company, Quebec.
H. G. Connor	President, Maritime National Fish Limited, Halifax, N.S.
W. H. Smith	President, Lunenburg Sea Products, Lunenburg, N.S.
T. R. Clouston	General Sea Foods Ltd., Halifax.
A. Neil McLean	President, Connors Bros. Limited, Black's Harbor, N.B.
Col. J. W. Nicholls	Canadian Fish and Cold Storage Company, Prince Rupert, B.C.
A. L. Hager	President, Canadian Fishing Company, Limited, Vancouver.
Major Hugh A. Green	Coastal Fisheries, Ltd., Montreal, and director of fish supplies for Canadian army during the first Great War.

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W. George Akins

Publicity Agent, Toronto

F. W. Wallace

Editor of Canadian  
Fisherman, and supervisor  
of fish division of the  
Canada Food Board during  
the first Great War.

Advisory Committee to the Lobster Controller

The dissolution of markets has necessitated the appointment of <sup>a</sup> Controller who will have supervision over the entire field of production and marketing of canned lobster. In the initial stages, Dr. D. B. Finn, Deputy Minister of the Department of Fisheries, is serving as Controller; but to assist him, an Advisory Committee of men immediately concerned with this problem has been appointed. The Committee, chosen to give representation both to the fishermen and to the lobster canning industry, consists of *messrs*

G. S. Lee of Halifax,

Bert McInerney of Halifax,

W. H. Tidmarch of Charlottetown,

*and* Emile Paturel of Shediac

I should not like to conclude this portion of the review of the services given in an advisory and practical manner by existing organizations, associations and individuals without making special mention of what might be spoken of as war-time co-operation extended on the part of the Provinces of Canada.

I have already indicated wherein the federal government received the closest co-operation from the provincial governments in the first National War Loan campaign. As mentioned, the Provincial Treasurers of all the provinces served on the National War Loan Committee.

Also, as just mentioned, the closest co-operation has been received from the welfare departments of the provincial governments in working out arrangements for the reception in Canada of refugees and evacuated children, and as mentioned, the Department of Pensions and National Health is co-operating with the provinces in the provision of air raid precautions.

The Department of Munitions and Supply is receiving valuable assistance and co-operation from provincial departments of natural resources, mines, lands and forests, etc., in the task of mobilizing our resources of raw materials to meet wartime needs.

As in peace time, close co-operation is maintained between the Federal departments and the provincial authorities

in the departments of Agriculture and Fisheries.

In the field of health and welfare, war-time conditions have made more essential than ever the closest co-operation between federal and provincial authorities.

In peace time, the primary responsibility for public order and the administration of justice rests with the provinces. It has been recognized, however, that in time of war, a share of this responsibility must necessarily be assumed by the federal government. This has not relieved the provinces of their constitutional function but it has served to emphasize the need for the closest co-operation between the provincial police and law enforcement agencies, on the one hand, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the Department of Justice on the other.

In these and other ways, the federal administration has been materially aided by the governments of the several provinces in the successful prosecution of Canada's war effort.

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INCREASING THE EFFICIENCY OF THE CABINET

I come now to means of increasing the efficiency of the Cabinet, other than those of enlisting the services of the best available persons in executive and administrative positions or in an advisory relationship to individual ministers. In other words, I come to the Cabinet itself, and here I wish to speak first of the plan of war organization within the Cabinet and later of Cabinet responsibility and personnel.

Canada's war effort has been, from the first, and will continue to be organized and directed by the Cabinet. From the outset, the work of the Cabinet has been so organized as to permit of immediate and effective direction of the various activities, and at the same time to ensure their complete coordination. For the most effective conduct of that effort, the Cabinet itself has been organized into appropriate committees, each charged with responsibilities in specific spheres of activity.

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WAR ORGANIZATION  
Cabinet Committees and Related Agencies.

Prior to the war, there had been established a Committee of the Cabinet especially appointed to consider matters of defence.

When the war broke out, and it became necessary to view the problems of war in relation one to the other, and as a whole, in order the better to coordinate the work of the government, to prevent duplication of effort, and to promote efficiency, special committees of the Cabinet were formed in relation to the several problems of major concern.

As a supervisory body in a position to view the war effort as a whole, an Emergency Council was appointed with an immediate relationship to the work of the several governmental committees. At the outset, this Emergency Council was composed of senior members of the Cabinet. Amongst other duties, it took over those of the Defence Committee established prior to the war. As occasion has since required, its personnel has been altered or increased to include the ministers whose departments are especially concerned with the war effort. In an early re-organization, its name was changed. It has since been designated and is now known as the War Committee of the Cabinet. The Ministers at present composing the War Committee are the following:

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The Prime Minister;  
The Leader of the Government in the Senate;  
The Minister of Mines and Resources;  
The Minister of Justice;  
The Minister of Finance;  
The Minister of National Defence;  
The Minister of National Defence for Air;  
The Minister of Munitions and Supply.

The War Committee of the Cabinet gives continuous consideration to, and recommends decisions by the Cabinet upon, major questions of war policy and defence.

Related to the War Committee are special committees especially charged with the consideration and supervision of specific problems. They are composed of the ministers principally concerned with related phases of war effort. The committees also assist in the coordination of activities in which more than one department is involved. Of these special committees, six are concerned with problems related to Economic Defence:

War Finance and Supply;  
Food Production and Marketing;  
Wheat;  
Fuel and Power;  
Shipping and Transportation;  
Price Control and Labour.

In addition there are Special Committees which deal also with matters of:

Internal Security;

Legislation;

Public Information;

Demobilization and Re-establishment.

Related directly to the work of the Cabinet Committees are the activities of the Boards and Agencies to which I have already referred. Certain statutory bodies already existing prior to the war, and as a result of the war charged with special responsibility, have also been related directly to the functions of the Special Cabinet Committees which I have just described.

In order to further the effective coordination of the economic and financial policy in war-time, to facilitate the work of the Cabinet Committees in the consideration of specific problems, and to assist in avoiding duplication of effort by departments and agencies, an Advisory Committee On Economic Policy, composed of members of the public service, has been established. This Committee acts in an advisory capacity to the Cabinet itself.

I have in my hand a diagram which discloses at a glance the relationship to the Cabinet of the war-time and statutory bodies and boards to which I have referred. It

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also designates, by the departments over which they preside, the ministerial personnel of the several committees. With the permission of the House, I will ask that the diagram be inserted in Hansard.

There is thus, at the present time, an extensive and complete organization as between the different departments of the government whereby the duties and burdens of Ministers are widely distributed and shared. Also, through the War Committee of the Cabinet, the most immediate and special attention is given to the general problems of the war.

I have shown how, under the war organization of the Cabinet, the burdens and duties of individual ministers have been lightened by the sharing of duties between ministers themselves and by the consideration and co-ordination of war activities by inter-related committees representative of different phases of war effort. It has been urged, as already mentioned, that the efficiency of the government might further be enhanced by the work of the Cabinet being so arranged, and responsibilities of ministers so divided, as to free as largely as possible from other duties and responsibilities, the ministers of the Crown who are concerned with those departments of government which have primarily to do with war activities, in order that their time and attention may be given as exclusively as possible to the consideration and effective execution of war policies.

As a corollary, it has also been urged that matters pertaining to war policy and the direction of *the* war effort should, as largely as possible, be entrusted to a war committee of the Cabinet, the members of which would be free to give most, if not the whole of their time, to matters pertaining to the war, leaving to other members of the government, the administration of the departments concerned with matters of state which, in time

of peace, are of great importance, but which, in time of war, are relatively less important.

From what I have already said with respect to the war committee of the Cabinet, it will be seen that it has been precisely along these lines that the government has been proceeding. The need for the expansion of administrative personnel was more urgent at the outbreak of war than the need for the expansion of the Cabinet. The need, however, of creating new ministries to meet war-time demands and of assigning to their administration, ministers whose time could be exclusively devoted to the supervision and encouragement of their affairs has become only too obvious. Existing ministries have accordingly been enlarged. New ministries have been established, and yet further ministries concerned exclusively with war-time activities are about to be created. To offset this expansion of war-time services, the activities of peace-time services have been materially curtailed. Their administration has been placed as completely as possible under members of the government other than those primarily concerned with war activities. Where circumstances warrant it, a single minister has been given the responsibility of ~~administering~~ <sup>administering</sup> the affairs of more than one department.

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

The natural place of beginning the expansion of war services was with the Department of National Defence.

The Department of National Defence was the nucleus of the war administration. Until July 1939, the department was entrusted not only with the organization of the defence forces but also with the problem of supply. The progressive increases in our defence expenditures from 1936 made it necessary to develop additional machinery for coping with the problem of supply. As a result the Defence Purchasing Board was set up on July 14, 1939. When war came, we had already provided the beginnings of an organization to meet the supply problem.

The actual outbreak made necessary immediate administrative expansion in four directions. The fighting forces had to be increased in numbers, they had to be provided with vast quantities of war supplies and the necessary funds had to be obtained to finance this expansion. Finally provision had to be made for internal security and economic stability on the home front.

The mobilization and recruitment of the fighting forces threw added burdens on the administrative staff of the Department of National Defence. Two acting Deputy Ministers, both veterans, and both prominent

industrialists with wide administrative experience were immediately added to the staff. One was entrusted with the Militia services, the other with the Naval and Air services.

DEPARTMENT OF MUNITIONS AND SUPPLY

At the outbreak of war, the work of the Defence Purchasing Board was transferred to a War Supply Board. At the special session of Parliament, the government took steps to provide for a Department of Munitions and Supply under a separate Minister of the Crown. That Department has since come into being and grown to vast proportions. It has been under a Minister who, until today, had also been administering the affairs of the Department of Transport. The maintenance for a time of the association between the two departments made possible a needed rearrangement of some of their activities and the effecting of economies which would not otherwise have been possible.

The former Minister of Transport who, also, for some time past, has been the Minister of Munitions and Supply will hereafter give his entire time to the work of the latter Department. There has been transferred to the Department of Munitions and Supply, as being closely related to war activities, the branches of the Department of Transport concerned with the Trans-Canada Airways, Civil Aviation, and national radio broadcasting. The

The new Department of Munitions and Supply is the first new ministry which has been created since the outbreak of war.

## 2. DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE FOR AIR

The second new ministry is well known. It is the Department of National Defence for Air. Before the separate Department was created, the Department of National Defence had been strengthened by the addition of an Acting Deputy Minister for Air to relieve the burden of the two acting deputy ministers already mentioned.

The magnitude and importance of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan is well known. The development of this plan, in addition to the developments which were immediately related to our own air forces, made necessary the creation of a separate portfolio for Air. The wisdom of the course followed in creating the new Ministry of National Defence for Air has, I think, been fully demonstrated.

## 3. DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE FOR NAVAL AFFAIRS

With the changed conditions in Europe, the increased importance of the navy, not only in the defence of our own coasts and harbours, but in co-operation with the naval forces of the United Kingdom and other parts of the British Empire has become generally appreciated. As is now pretty generally known, the port of Halifax has, since the beginning

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of war, become a naval base second only in importance to the most important bases in the British Isles. In these circumstances, the government had deemed it advisable to add to the existing defence departments that of a separate Department of National Defence for Naval Affairs. A bill to establish the new Ministry will be introduced immediately. What, therefore, was originally a single Department of National Defence will hereafter be three Departments, each presided over by a separate Minister of the Crown, all however, co-operating in closest relationship with each other.

I informed the House some days ago that the government had decided to establish a Department of National War Services. I indicated at that time that the purposes of the new department would include the co-ordination of the activities of ~~existing~~ voluntary war organizations and services, but what was even more important, that it would be entrusted with the duty of mobilizing and guiding the activities of thousands of our citizens who are seeking practical and useful outlets for their enthusiasm and patriotism, and who are already banded together in patriotic organizations, veterans organizations, women's organizations, and a ~~whole~~ host of other groups who are eager to serve. ~~To illustrate the extent of this task, I have here a list, running to nineteen foolscap pages, of organizations whose services have been offered through the Voluntary Service Registration Bureau.~~

(Already sent to the P.M.)

The Minister charged with the responsibility for the new department will be expected immediately to establish a nation-wide organization for voluntary service to be assisted by local committees in all parts of the country.

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With developments in Europe, problems such as those of refugees, evacuated children, interned aliens and interned enemy prisoners have assumed proportions which require for their solution <sup>and more</sup> more in the way of co-operative effort on the part of Canada. Problems of internal security have arisen which have demanded increased governmental action and voluntary co-operation. The government has required additional powers for the mobilization of human and material resources. These powers in turn necessitate a nationwide registration which will permit of the most effective use being made of individual personal services and material resources.

The functions of the new department are not limited to the co-ordination and development of voluntary services. The direction and supervision of the national registration will be among the duties of the new ministry. In this connection, I should like to repeat that the government intends to make the fullest use, through the new department, of the register of women already prepared by the National Committee for the Voluntary Registration of Canadian women. I might add that a good part of the preliminary work of organization in connection with the national registration has

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already been completed by a special inter-departmental committee, under the chairmanship of the Dominion Statistician, which <sup>Committee</sup> was established immediately after the announcement of the government's intention to undertake the registration of manpower.

The powers of the new department will also include the co-ordination of existing governmental information and publicity services connected with the war, in order to insure that Canadians generally may be more completely informed of all aspects of our war effort, with a view to enlisting the maximum understanding and support of the great cause in which we are engaged. Speaking generally, the new department will have the function, as I have already said, of helping Canadians to help Canada in the effective prosecution of the national effort.

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CONTRACTION FOR PEACE-TIME SERVICES

The all but complete cessation of new public works, other than those necessitated by the war, has led to a marked decrease of the work of the Department of Public Works.

With the transfer to the Department of Munitions and Supply of those branches of the Department of Transport concerned with airways, civil aviation, and radio broadcasting, the services of the Department of Transport will be also considerably reduced. It is proposed, therefore, to entrust to one minister instead of two, the administration of the Department of Public Works and the administration of the Department of Transport.

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It will be observed that the undertaking to bring to the aid of the Ministry a still larger number of men of outstanding ability and experience was not an undertaking specifically with reference to the Cabinet, though it did not exclude changes or enlargement of the Ministry itself.

It is perhaps not sufficiently realized that the functions of Cabinet Ministers, though very responsible, are necessarily limited. They must determine policy, make final decisions and accept responsibility, each individually for his own department, and all collectively for the administration generally.

The actual work of administration is, however, carried on by the officials in the public service. I have already shown that in making the extensive additions to the administrative service which have been required by wartime needs, the government has adopted the single criterion of ability. No political, partisan or personal considerations have diverted us from getting the most suitable man available for the particular job required to be done.

The filling of Cabinet posts is a more complicated task than the filling of administrative posts. Ability to direct the work of the government departments concerned is,

of course, an important requisite. It is, however, far from being the only one. A ~~Cabinet~~ Minister must also be prepared to assume his full share of responsibility for all acts of government, and for explaining the policies of the government to parliament and to the country. He must, of course, be a ~~Member of Parliament~~. If he is not in parliament when he is called to the ~~Cabinet~~ he must find a constituency and be elected in it. Above all he must have a capacity to work in immediate association with other ~~Ministers~~ in the ~~Cabinet~~ in the formulation of policy. Nothing would paralyze government more quickly than divided counsels or dissension within the ~~Ministry~~.

That does not mean that narrow party considerations or, as some impatient critics are too eager to suggest, the dictates of "party politics" or of personal whim, govern the choice of ~~Ministers~~, particularly in wartime. But it does mean that different qualities are required for effective work as a ~~Cabinet~~ Minister than those required in an administrative or executive post. It is a common experience to find that a business man is willing to make very great personal sacrifice in order to serve his country in an administrative capacity, but is exceedingly reluctant to enter the ~~Cabinet~~ because a ~~Ministerial~~ post involves election to parliament, public speaking and other activities

for which he feels he has neither aptitude nor training.

Furthermore, the acceptance of a Cabinet post involves a more complete severance of business and professional ties than is necessary in undertaking temporary administrative or advisory appointments. There is no business of any magnitude or importance in this country to which the war has not brought particular problems of its own. Highly placed executives may be spared by such concerns either in an executive or advisory capacity, for whole or part-time, without the risks attendant upon a complete severance of business relations such as would be involved in their entering the Ministry.

If I ever had any doubt on this score, it has been removed by some of the steps I have recently taken in seeking to increase confidence in the disinterested motives of the ~~Ministry~~ by bringing into the ~~Cabinet~~ one or more persons whose inclusion would, I felt, have demonstrated the readiness of the government to meet, if that were possible, the wishes of members of political parties to have the basis of representation in the ~~Cabinet~~ widened by the inclusion in the ~~Cabinet~~ of persons known to command their confidence. It is an open secret that I have directly and indirectly offered to take into the ~~Ministry~~ outstanding persons, none of whom are at present in public life, but whose presence in the ~~Ministry~~ would, I believe, have made wholly apparent the readiness of my colleagues and myself to associate with ourselves in the work of the ~~Ministry~~ persons whose appointment could in no sense be regarded as made from any party political motive, but only on the ground of the outstanding qualities <sup>persons appointed</sup> they were known to possess. Were I at liberty to give their names, I am sure that ~~honourable~~ members in all parts of the ~~House~~ would consider them among persons highly qualified to inspire confidence in the non-partisan character of the government's war effort.

I have found that those I approached felt that such special services as they could render could be given more effectively, either in administrative posts or in

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an advisory capacity or by their continuing to occupy an eminent and independent position in the community. The prevalence of this attitude was not the least of the reasons which led me to abandon the attempt to add to the Cabinet from outside the ranks of those without previous experience of public life.

It is sometimes forgotten that the intimacy and prominence of the associations enjoyed with large enterprises is not infrequently a barrier rather than a passport to membership in a cabinet. The same consideration does not so generally apply where the services to be rendered are not concerned with the determining of policy but with its execution.

I have come to the conclusion that, for the present at least, the most effective use can be made of the services of men without previous experience of public life by bringing them into association with the ministry in an administrative or advisory capacity rather than by their inclusion in the ministry itself.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE CABINET CONSIDERED

From like motives, I have also given consideration to the appointment of an Advisory Committee to the War Committee of the Cabinet which would include a limited number of persons chosen because of their prominence in representative fields of activity. To this proposal there are a number of objections, which everything considered, appear to me to rob such a step of the advantages it might at first sight appear to possess.

In the first place, no matter what the political affiliations of members of such an Advisory Committee might be, <sup>the</sup> mere fact that they had been appointed by the Government and had not sought or obtained any mark of public confidence from any section of the electorate, would tend to lessen their representative capacity in the eyes of the public.

They themselves might naturally feel that their power was not equal to the responsibility which they might be held to be assuming. Indeed, the objection on this score has been raised on the part of <sup>more than</sup> ~~one of one of them~~ with whom I have discussed the

proposal.

The need for such a Committee is itself more apparent than real, once it is realized that it is always possible for the Government to obtain the benefit of the advice of those best qualified to counsel in particular matters, apart altogether from any membership in an advisory body.

Business men and professional men of wide experience and high standing can always be consulted and are in fact continually being consulted by the Government whether they are members of an Administrative Branch of Government or not.

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Associate Members of War Committee

Realizing the importance of increasing public confidence through bringing to the aid of the Ministry all points of view and opinions, I have considered yet another means by which this end might possibly be attained. I have thought of inviting leading members of the Opposition to become associate members of the War Committee of the Cabinet, to share its deliberations and to assist in the formation of its proposals to the Cabinet. Regardless of what course may be adopted, the government itself must, in the last analysis, take the responsibility for whatever is done or left undone. That responsibility cannot be escaped or evaded. It is difficult even to share it. It would not be my idea, in case members of the Opposition became associate members of the War Committee of the Cabinet, for the government by that means to seek in any way to evade full and final responsibility for Canada's war effort.

But the presence in an advisory and associate capacity of members of the Opposition would have a number of advantages. While their addition to the War Cabinet would leave unimpaired the requirements of responsible government, it would mean that the government's policies were being shaped and made effective not only under the open gaze

of members of the Opposition, but with the assistance of their counsel, experience and advice. It would mean that in all major matters of defence, internal security, international co-operation, the leading members of the Opposition, chosen to act in association with members of the War Cabinet, would be fully informed.

At the present time, one of the great difficulties of government lies in the fact that many matters of which the government has knowledge, many steps which the government takes, many actions which the government plans, are, in the very nature of things, highly confidential, and must remain so for varying periods of time. This obstacle would, in part at least, be overcome by the proposed associate membership of Opposition Leaders in the War Committee of the Cabinet, where, to its members, their experience, advice, and point of view would certainly be of value. I believe that such a step would be of real assistance to the government in the discharge of its great responsibilities. I am therefore prepared to invite the Leader of the Opposition, <sup>(Mr. Hanson)</sup> and the Honourable Member for <sup>(Mr. Stirling)</sup> Yale, who shares his desk, and was a former Minister of National Defence, to become associate members of the War Committee of the Cabinet. Were the invitation accepted, it would be my wish that they should be present at all

meetings of the War Committee and take part in all its proceedings. I am prepared, also, if this invitation is accepted by my honourable friends opposite, and if it is agreeable to the other political groups in the House, to consider the extension of the invitation also to their Leaders.

If the House and the gentlemen whom I have invited look upon the proposal with favour, it would mean that the country would have <sup>the</sup> benefit of their wisdom, advice and experience, the government would retain the responsibility for the direction of Canada's war effort, with which it has been charged. It would also be understood that members of the various Opposition groups in this House would continue to be free to criticize the Administration as they think fit, and to vote and act with complete independence.

CONFERENCES WITH THE OPPOSITION

If the honourable gentlemen opposite should feel that they were unable to accept the invitation I have just extended, believing that thereby they would be accepting a share of responsibility without being accorded an equivalent share of power, I am prepared to make yet another proposal, the acceptance of which, I should hope, would not occasion the slightest embarrassment and which I feel would be essentially helpful at this time.

As I have already said, much of the action of the government and even more of the information on which its actions are based must, for military reasons, remain secret.

This consideration hampers the government in the discussion of its policies and action in Parliament and before the people.

We recognize that it is an even more serious embarrassment to those in opposition in war time. Their lack of knowledge makes effective criticism difficult; it has also a tendency to breed misgivings which need not exist if the facts could be made available.

I believe that this situation could be remedied at least in part while Parliament is in session by regular weekly conferences between the War Committee and the members of the opposition and by similar conferences held

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at intervals when Parliament is not in session.

At such conferences the government will be prepared to disclose, in confidence, full and detailed information both as to its actions and the considerations on which those actions are based. The effectiveness of the opposition, far from being impaired, will be greatly increased by the knowledge gained by their leaders by such conferences. Members of the Opposition, as regards their rights of criticism, will have, as they have now, only the limits imposed by their personal sense of responsibility as citizens and members of Parliament. From the standpoint of the public interest conferences of this kind would certainly have <sup>the merit of</sup> increasing confidence in Canada's war effort and thereby help to prevent the development of uneasiness which provides such a fertile ground for subtle enemy propaganda aimed at destroying the unity of that effort.

*Let me now conclude <sup>with</sup> a word in reference to cabinet reconstruction*

CABINET RECONSTRUCTION

The acceptance, on Friday last, by Colonel J. L. Ralston of the portfolio of National Defence was followed by Colonel Ralston's resignation as Minister of Finance. I am pleased to announce that the Honourable J. L. Ilsley, who, until today, was filling the office of Minister of National Revenue, has been appointed as Colonel Ralston's successor as Minister of Finance.

As Honourable members are well aware, Mr. Ilsley, during recent years, whenever occasion required, has been the acting Minister of Finance. During the period of the illness of the former Minister of Finance, the Honourable Charles Dunning, and during Mr. Dunning's absence abroad, Mr. Ilsley ably presided over the affairs of the Finance Department. He is wholly familiar with its several activities; his ability as administrator in the years that he has been a member of the present Cabinet has gained for him an enviable reputation in all parts of Canada. It is not a surprise, therefore, that public opinion generally, as reflected through the medium of the press, seemed to take it for granted, when it became known that Colonel Ralston had agreed to leave the Department of Finance for that of National Defence, that Mr. Ilsley would be the

logical successor.

Mr. Ilsley was sworn to his new office at noon today. In order that he may give his undivided attention, at this time of war, to the work of the Department of Finance, Mr. Ilsley has resigned as Minister of National Revenue.

Honourable members are aware that, in addition to his duties as Minister of Transport, the Honourable C. D. Howe has, since April 9th, been at the head of the new Department of Munitions and Supply. Mr. Howe has today given up the portfolio of Minister of Transport in order that, from now on, he may devote his entire time to the work of the Department of Munitions and Supply.

I have referred to the contraction in the work of the Department of Public Works occasioned by the government's policy ~~largely~~ <sup>as largely as possible</sup> to restrict, during the period of the war, the construction of public works. I have also referred to the transfer of certain services from the Department of Transport to the Department of Munitions and Supply. As the services of each of these departments has been somewhat curtailed, it has been felt that the administration of both departments could be

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entrusted to the one Minister. <sup>Accordingly</sup> Hon. P. J. A. Cardin who is Minister of Public Works has today been appointed Minister of Transport.

I am pleased to be able to announce that my colleague the Honourable J. G. Gardiner, the present Minister of Agriculture, has agreed, once the Act creating the new Department of National War Services has been passed, to undertake the organization of that new and important department of government. I need not say anything of Mr. Gardiner's special qualifications for such a task. His long experience in public life, his exceptional organizing abilities, his power as administrator so effectively disclosed in the years of his premiership of the province of Saskatchewan, and as a federal minister, are all guarantees that the purposes of the new department will be promoted with zeal, energy and skill, and the department made one of the most effective instruments in a nation-wide furtherance of the war effort of our country.

Mr. Gardiner will become, when he assumes the office of Minister of National War Services, a member of the War Committee of the Cabinet. That his undivided energies and

time may be given to the work of the new department, he will shortly vacate his present position as Minister of Agriculture.

I am <sup>particularly</sup> ~~also~~ greatly pleased to be able to announce that I have obtained from the Premier of Nova Scotia, the

Honourable Angus Macdonald, the promise of his willingness to resign the premiership of the province of Nova Scotia, a position which he has held ~~since 1926~~ with such honour and distinction alike to his native province and to himself, and to accept, immediately upon the establishment of the new department, the portfolio of Minister of National Defence for ~~the~~ <sup>Naval Affairs</sup>. In thus responding to my request to assist my colleagues and myself in the prosecution of Canada's war effort, Mr. Macdonald is giving to our country another example of devotion to public duty, and of a willingness to serve, which in the public mind are already associated with his name. In addition to bringing to his new post his proven administrative ability, ~~he~~ <sup>Mr. Macdonald</sup> has had an experience of military affairs gained <sup>as an officer</sup> in the last war ~~first as a Lieutenant in the 25th and later as Captain in the 185th~~. Such experience as will come with him to the council table will serve to strengthen not only his own, but all branches of the defence services.

It will be recalled that when ~~the Honourable~~ Mr. Power accepted the portfolio of Minister of National Defence for Air, in order that he might give his entire time to the work of the Department of Defence, he resigned the position of Postmaster General, the affairs of which department has since been administered, as acting minister, by ~~the Honourable~~

Mr. Ilsley. It is felt that the vacancy created in the office of Postmaster General by Mr. Power's resignation should now be filled.

I need not say to honourable members of the House and particularly to those who are numbered among my own supporters, that I have had few more difficult tasks than that of deciding to which of their number I should entrust the administration of the Post Office Department, and the administration of the Department of National Revenue.

The resignation, at the time of his appointment to the Senate, of the Honourable W.D. Euler as Minister of Trade and Commerce - a portfolio subsequently filled by the appointment to that position of the Honourable J.A. MacKinnon, as a Minister from Alberta, and the tragic death of the Honourable Norman Rogers, have deprived the province of Ontario of half of its representation in the government. It would, I am sure, be generally expected that in the filling of existing vacancies ~~in the Cabinet~~, this representation of Ontario in the federal Cabinet should be restored. At all events, my colleagues and I have so viewed the matter. That <sup>is</sup> has been the least of the difficulties. A much more perplexing problem has been that of

making a choice from among the many honourable members from the province of Ontario whose ~~former~~ <sup>former</sup> qualifications and claims for Cabinet recognition ~~were almost equally~~ <sup>as</sup> ~~strong~~. I have felt that, at this time of war, the citizens of Canada generally and in particular those of the province of Ontario would, other things being equal, welcome the appointment of members of this House who had seen active service in the last war, and who, on these ~~as~~ <sup>well as on</sup> other grounds, might be expected to ~~be particularly~~ <sup>bring valuable</sup> ~~helpful~~ <sup>experience</sup> to the Ministry in this most critical of all times.

Recommendation ~~has~~ <sup>have</sup> accordingly <sup>been</sup> made to His Excellency the Governor General today, which His Excellency has been pleased to approve, of the appointment of Colonel William Pate Mulock, of the city of Toronto, member for York North, as Postmaster General, and Colonel Colin Gibson, of the city of Hamilton, member for Hamilton West, as Minister of National Revenue.

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I have given the House in considerable detail particulars of the manner in which the administrative functions of government have been extended and improved by attaching to the public service a large number of outstanding Canadians from all fields of industrial, financial and other endeavour. Each and every one has been chosen because it was considered that he was best able to advance the war effort of this country by specialized knowledge, and service based upon specialized education and experience.

I have offered to gentlemen opposite in the only manner I have felt consistent with responsible government an opportunity to share in our deliberations. By that invitation I have asked them also to give to the government the benefit of their wisdom and their experience. I have not asked them to share in our ultimate responsibilities because that would not be fair either to them or to the electors of this country.

I hope that my honourable friends will find themselves able to accept one or other of the proposals I have made. Whatever may be their decision I believe that I can at least make this claim on behalf of my colleagues and myself. We have not flinched from our primary and ultimate

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responsibility. We have not trimmed our sails to the breezes of popular favour or disfavour. While we have recognized our responsibility for policy, we have sought to obtain the best advice available in the country to assist us in its formation and pronouncement.

I leave this recital of facts with confidence to this House and the people of Canada. It tells its own story. It is the brief record of a government <sup>at a time of great peril in the affairs of the world</sup> which has done everything in its power to meet its responsibilities, to strengthen its administration, to mobilize the brain-power and resources of this country,--in short, to do its plain duty, honourably and fearlessly.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
63		Dominion Day Broadcast Radio	1 July 1940	D 38446 - D 38465	
63		Destruction of French Fleet. Speeches in Parliament	5 July 1940	D 38466	
63		Canada's War Effort. Speeches in Parliament	7 July 1940	D 38467 - D 38597	
63		Speech of Mr. King on moving the 2nd reading of Bill to set up Department of National War Services	12 July 1940	D 38598 - D 38609	
63		Speeches in Parliament	22 July 1940	D 38610 - D 38614	
63		Canada Carries On, Review of the War Effort of the Dominion as presented to the House of Commons. Speeches in Parliament	29 July 1940	D 38615 - D 38618	
63		Opening of No. 2 Service Flying Training School, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	5 Aug. 1940	D 38619 - D 38643	
63		Radio Broadcasts by the Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King	Aug.-Sept. 1940	D 38644 - D 38827	

12 July, 1940

H of C.  
Ottawa.

[Speech + Notes]

Speech of Mr. King on  
moving the 2<sup>nd</sup> Reading  
of Bill to set up Dept.  
of National War Services.

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL WAR SERVICES

The purposes for which the government proposes to establish the Department of National War Services were given to the House in general terms by myself on June the 18th, and again on the 8th inst.

The department amongst other matters will have to do with the due execution of some of the purposes of the National Resources Mobilization Act. Certain of the purposes of the Mobilization Act involve functions which will be performed by departments of the government already in existence. Others do not so readily fit into any existing department. There is need, moreover, for seeing that all functions of the Act are properly co-ordinated.

The most immediate and pressing of the duties to be discharged under the Act is the conducting of a national registration. The Minister of the new department will be charged with this responsibility. As I have already informed the House, the preliminary work of organization has been completed by a special departmental committee. No time therefore is being lost in proceeding with the registration itself. It will no doubt be necessary, from time to time, to make under the Act further specialized surveys. Such surveys may, as required, be undertaken by the new department.

The War Services department will also have the duty of directing to suitable fields of service those who have voluntarily placed their services at the disposal of the government.

The co-ordination of the work of voluntary service organizations will be undertaken by the department with a view to directing their energies into the most useful channels, to preventing the overlapping of functions, and to assisting in the arranging and timing of public appeals.

The department will also undertake the initiation and promotion of voluntary effort in new directions, in immediate furtherance of our war effort and to enable Canada to make in the most effective and efficient manner the necessary economic and social adjustments to meet domestic problems arising out of the war.

In organizing voluntary services, the Minister will be given power to form national, provincial or local councils, committees or boards, as well as to use existing agencies.

To avoid any break in continuity of effort and direction and to permit of the utmost use being made of the same, the records and facilities of the Voluntary Service Registration Bureau, which was set up at the beginning of the war to receive and classify all offers of voluntary service will, be made immediately available to the new department.

The War Services Department will also undertake the important task of co-ordinating the existing Public Information Services of the government. The Minister will be empowered as well to originate or employ such further means of informing the public as may, from time to time, be required in order to obtain, in the furtherance of the National war effort, the utmost aid from the people of Canada.

The importance of this task can hardly be over-emphasized. Perhaps the greatest single moral advantage which democracies enjoy over dictatorships in time of war, as in time of peace, is their reliance upon the spontaneous support of an informed public. Military necessity dictates certain limits upon information, and the substitution of a large measure of compulsion for freedom of action. It does not, however, demand a total black-out of accurate information, or total compulsion. Those are the very things we are struggling against. The struggle will be successful on the home front only insofar as accurate information is supplied as freely as military circumstances permit. In no better way can the spontaneous desire of the great majority of our people to give their services freely be effectively harnessed to the pressing needs of this time of war.

The three important types of activity I have mentioned and which will immediately engage the attention of the Minister and of the department are illustrative of its work. The functions of the department will, however, by no means, be limited to these activities. Problems of internal security, of economic organization and development, of meeting social, industrial, financial and other needs, will continue constantly to arise. These may be dealt with by the Department of War Services, by itself or in conjunction with other departments of the government as authority for such purposes may, from time to time, be given the Minister by the Governor in Council.

In a word, it is intended and expected that the department, by its general supervision of war activities, and needs, its co-ordination of State and voluntary effort, and the inauguration and carrying out of special war services, as need for the same arises, will become a most effective instrument in a nation-wide furtherance of the war effort of our country.

(Notes for Second Reading)

D 38602

AN ACT RESPECTING A  
DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL WAR SERVICES

National Registration

The purposes for which the government proposes to establish the Department of National War Services <sup>have</sup> ~~been~~ <sup>sure</sup> ~~already~~ <sup>been</sup> ~~indicated~~ in general terms <sup>of</sup> ~~to~~ the House on June the 18th, and again on ~~July~~ <sup>July</sup> the 8th. <sup>It</sup> ~~It~~ will have to do with the <sup>the department amongst other matters,</sup> ~~carrying out~~ <sup>due execution</sup> of some of the purposes of the National Resources Mobilization Act. Certain of the purposes of ~~this~~ <sup>the</sup> Mobilization Act involve functions which will be <sup>performed</sup> ~~carried out~~ by departments of the government already in existence. Others do not so readily fit into any existing department. There is need, moreover, for seeing that all functions of the Act are properly co-ordinated.

The most immediate and pressing of the duties to be discharged under the Act is the conducting of <sup>a</sup> ~~of~~ national registration. The Minister of the new department will be charged with this responsibility. As I have already informed the House, the preliminary work of organization has been completed by a special departmental committee. No time therefore <sup>is being</sup> ~~will be~~ lost in proceeding with the registration itself. ~~In order to carry out effectively the purposes of the National Resources Mobilization Act,~~ <sup>under the act</sup> it will no doubt be necessary, from time to time, to make further specialized surveys. Such surveys <sup>may</sup> ~~will~~, as required, be undertaken by the new department.

Promotion, Organization and Co-ordination of Voluntary Services

The <sup>non services</sup> department will also have the duty of directing to suitable fields of service those who have <sup>voluntarily placed</sup> ~~put~~ their services at the disposal of the government.

The co-ordination of ~~existing war charities and~~ <sup>or other organizations</sup> ~~an~~ <sup>in</sup> voluntary service organizations will be undertaken by the department with a view to directing their energies into the most useful channels, to preventing the overlapping of functions, and to assisting in the arranging and timing of public appeals.

The department ~~is intended~~ <sup>will</sup> also ~~to~~ undertake the initiation and promotion of voluntary effort in new directions, ~~either~~ in immediate furtherance of <sup>our</sup> ~~the~~ war effort <sup>and</sup> ~~or in order~~ to enable Canada to make the necessary economic and social adjustments to meet ~~the~~ domestic problems <sup>arising out of</sup> ~~resulting from~~ the war.

The Minister will be given power to form national, provincial or local councils, committees or boards, as well as to use existing agencies. In organizing voluntary services, <sup>and to permit of the utmost use being made of the same,</sup> the records and facilities of the Voluntary Service Registration Bureau, which was set up at the beginning of the war to receive and classify all offers of voluntary service will, ~~of course,~~ be made available immediately to the new department ~~in order~~ to avoid any break in continuity of effort and direction.

Public Information Services

The <sup>to an Service</sup> ~~new~~ department will also undertake the important task of co-ordinating the existing Public Information Services ~~with~~ <sup>of</sup> the government, and the Minister will be empowered as well to originate or employ such further means of informing the public ~~as may, from time to time, be required in order to~~ <sup>Canadian effort</sup> obtain the utmost ~~aid~~ <sup>aid</sup> from the people of Canada in the furtherance of the National war effort.

The importance of this task can hardly be over-emphasized. Perhaps the greatest single moral advantage which democracies enjoy over dictatorships in time of war, as in time of peace, is their reliance upon the spontaneous support of an informed public. Military necessity dictates certain limits upon information, and the substitution of a large measure of compulsion for freedom of action. It does not, however, demand a total black-out of accurate information, or total compulsion. Those are the very things we are struggling against. <sup>the</sup> ~~That~~ struggle will be successful on the home front only insofar as accurate information is supplied as freely as military circumstances permit. In no ~~other~~ <sup>any other</sup> way can the spontaneous desire of the great majority of our people to give their services freely be effectively harnessed to the pressing needs of this time of war.

The three important types of activity I have mentioned and which will immediately engage the attention of the Minister and of the department ~~are illustrative~~ are illustrative of its work. The functions of the department will, by no means, be limited to ~~the~~ <sup>these</sup> activities ~~I have mentioned.~~ <sup>Problems</sup> Problems of internal security, of economic organization and development, of meeting social, industrial, financial and other needs, will continue constantly to arise. These ~~will~~ <sup>be</sup> dealt with <sup>by</sup> in conjunction with other departments of the government <sup>as authority for such purposes may, from</sup> as authority for such purposes may, from time to time, be given the Minister by the Governor in Council.

In a word, it is intended and expected that the department, by its general supervision of war activities, and needs, its co-ordination of State and voluntary effort, and the inauguration and ~~performance~~ <sup>carrying out</sup> of special war services, as need for the same arises, will become a most effective instrument in a nation-wide furtherance of the war effort of our country.

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL WAR SERVICES

243  
D ~~38806~~

The purposes for which the government proposes to establish the Department of National War Services were given to the House in general terms by myself on June the 18th, and again on the 8th inst.

The department amongst other matters will have to do with the due execution of some of the purposes of the National Resources Mobilization Act. Certain of the purposes of the Mobilization Act involve functions which will be performed by departments of the government already in existence. Others do not so readily fit into any existing department. There is need, moreover, for seeing that all functions of the Act are properly co-ordinated.

The most immediate and pressing of the duties to be discharged under the Act is the conducting of a national registration. The Minister of the new department will be charged with this responsibility. As I have already informed the House, the preliminary work of organization has been completed by a special departmental committee. No time therefore is being lost in proceeding with the registration itself. It will no doubt be necessary, from time to time, to make under the Act further specialized surveys. Such surveys may, as required, be undertaken by the new department.

The War Services department will also have the duty of directing to suitable fields of service those who have voluntarily placed their services at the disposal of the government.

The co-ordination of the work of voluntary service organizations will be undertaken by the department with a view to directing their energies into the most useful channels, to preventing the overlapping of functions, and to assisting in the arranging and timing of public appeals.

The department will also undertake the initiation and promotion of voluntary effort in new directions, in immediate furtherance of our war effort and to enable Canada to make in the most effective and efficient manner the necessary economic and social adjustments to meet domestic problems arising out of the war.

In organizing voluntary services, the Minister will be given power to form national, provincial or local councils, committees or boards, as well as to use existing agencies.

To avoid any break in continuity of effort and direction and to permit of the utmost use being made of the same, the records and facilities of the Voluntary Service Registration Bureau, which was set up at the beginning of the war to receive and classify all offers of voluntary service will, be made immediately available to the new department.

The War Services Department will also undertake the important task of co-ordinating the existing Public Information Services of the government. The Minister will be empowered as well to originate or employ such further means of informing the public as may, from time to time, be required in order to obtain, in the furtherance of the National war effort, the utmost aid from the people of Canada.

The importance of this task can hardly be over-emphasized. Perhaps the greatest single moral advantage which democracies enjoy over dictatorships in time of war, as in time of peace, is their reliance upon the spontaneous support of an informed public. Military necessity dictates certain limits upon information, and the substitution of a large measure of compulsion for freedom of action. It does not, however, demand a total black-out of accurate information, or total compulsion. Those are the very things we are struggling against. The struggle will be successful on the home front only insofar as accurate information is supplied as freely as military circumstances permit. In no better way can the spontaneous desire of the great majority of our people to give their services freely be effectively harnessed to the pressing needs of this time of war.

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**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
63		Dominion Day Broadcast Radio	1 July 1940	D 38446 - D 38465	
63		Destruction of French Fleet. Speeches in Parliament	5 July 1940	D 38466	
63		Canada's War Effort. Speeches in Parliament	7 July 1940	D 38467 - D 38597	
63		Speech of Mr. King on moving the 2nd reading of Bill to set up Department of National War Services	12 July 1940	D 38598 - D 38609	
63		Speeches in Parliament	22 July 1940	D 38610 - D 38614	
63		Canada Carries On, Review of the War Effort of the Dominion as presented to the House of Commons. Speeches in Parliament	29 July 1940	D 38615 - D 38618	
63		Opening of No. 2 Service Flying Training School, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	5 Aug. 1940	D 38619 - D 38643	
63		Radio Broadcasts by the Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King	Aug.-Sept. 1940	D 38644 - D 38827	

22 July 1940

Hof C

D 38610

July 22, 1940

Since this House of Commons adjourned on Friday last, honourable members will have read accounts of the speech delivered by Herr Hitler to the Reichstag on that day. The speech was accompanied by newspaper reports that many parts of Europe were threatened with famine. Some semi-official statements, presumably inspired, were also issued from German sources concerning the future of Canada. In the circumstances, a word in Canada's parliament concerning Hitler's latest utterance may not be out of place.

Hitler's speech abounds with the historical falsehoods which have characterized his utterances since the outbreak of war. His words and his works are both known. His words have been a succession of promises made and of promises broken. His works have been cruelty, rapine, bloodshed and violence.

His speech was characterized by Hitler as an appeal to reason and common sense. It purported to be concerned with peace. In reality, it was mostly,

if not entirely, a threat of dire calamity to millions of innocent beings, and exhibited a reliance upon force and violence greater than that which Hitler has displayed in any of his previous utterances. There was not so much as a suggestion of conditions or terms upon which peace could be discussed. The speech contained, however, the most specific references to "unending suffering and misery" for millions, and to "complete annihilation" of either the British or the German people, and the prediction that unless the dictator's will prevailed, a great Empire would be destroyed. All this was from one who in the same address professed a deep disgust for the type of unscrupulous politician who wrecks entire nations and states.

The speech calls for no words in reply. It answers itself. The one comment that obviously may fittingly be made upon it is that so far as

the future of the war is concerned, deception has run its course. Resolute action alone will decide how suffering and misery are to be ended, whether tyranny or freedom is to be annihilated, whether civilization is to be destroyed or to survive.

As to the threatened disaster to the peoples of Europe, none will regret a calamity to the innocent victims of persecution and aggression more than the people of Canada who have built this nation upon the foundation of tolerance, good-will, peace and racial generosity. But if such a calamity does occur, none will identify more clearly its creators and originators. The men who will have brought famine to Europe will be the same men who have brought fire and slaughter to Poland, to Norway, to Holland, to Belgium and to France. Against all of Hitler's prophecies, there stands another prophecy that throughout the ages has never failed to come to pass. Sooner or later, sure retribution will overtake the tyrant who defies the law of God and man. Until that retribution comes, to undo the wrong done by the guilty, the peoples of the British Commonwealth will continue to face every ordeal with fearless eyes and unflinching courage.

With reference to the destiny of Canada, all I wish to say is that the destiny of Canada will be determined not by Hitler, not by Mussolini, nor by any combination of aggressors, but by the free will of the people of Canada in accordance with their tried and traditional loyalty.

Hitler has spoken of peace and of a new social order. He has done so, however, in accents of war. He has chosen to talk about negotiation in the language of domination. *Let me say that*  
The mind that is capable of conceiving thoughts of wholesale destruction and complete annihilation is not a mind that is capable of envisaging either concepts of justice or the blessings of peace. Least of all is it able to build a new social order *and the finest possible standard of culture* as Hitler claims has been his intention. The peace that will finally come to the world will be the peace that the free men of the world desire and understand, a peace that their sacrifices have won. It will not be a German peace. It will not be that false Nazi peace where men move amid the hushed suspense of fear in the presence of the spy, the gangster and the Gestapo. Above all, it will never be a peace based on a conception of subordination of individual personality to the control of a materialistic and war-like state. It will be a peace which will re-establish liberty and reaffirm the rights

of men. It will be a peace under which men and women can speak the truth in their hearts and live their lives without fear; a peace in which labour will have dignity, religion will have freedom, and little children will have security.

The nations of the British Commonwealth have no doubt had many failings, but they have loved and honoured justice and mercy. Today they do not fight for power, they do not fight for the preservation of any form of government, they fight the battle of mankind. The battle ground has moved to the very home of freedom itself. There and now the great qualities of the people of the British Isles shine more brightly than ever. The invasion of those Islands will be the invasion of the sanctuaries of all free men. Their invader is our invader. Canadians are prouder than ever to share with the men and women of Britain the rigours of the conflict, and to stand shoulder to shoulder with them in the defence of social justice and of human liberty.

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## CANADA CARRIES ON

### REVIEW OF THE WAR EFFORT OF THE DOMINION AS PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, JULY 29, 1940 THE PRIME MINISTER

D 38615

**Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING:** Some days ago the leader of the opposition (Mr. Hanson) mentioned that the house would like to have, before the end of the session, a statement from the government with respect to Canada's war effort. I replied that statements had from time to time been made but that I could appreciate his feeling, as well as the feeling of other hon. members, that, receiving these statements intermittently and only in part a comprehensive picture would not readily present itself to their minds. I promised that the government would therefore take an early opportunity of giving in outline the essential features of Canada's war effort as it has been put forth up to the present and also in relation to what is being planned with the future in view.

There has been a suggestion that it would perhaps be most appropriate to discuss defence matters, in part, in secret session. I hope, for many reasons, that this may not be necessary. I will not say that the government will decline to have a secret session, but my experience with regard to secrets is that if you wish to have something told, the best thing to do is to announce that you are telling someone a secret. I am very much afraid that a secret session might only result in many statements being made with respect to what had taken place at the secret session which in the end would prove more embarrassing to all concerned than if we sought to face the questions in open forum. If, however, it should appear, after the ministers have replied to questions asked, that there are some matters on which the house would wish to be further enlightened, and for which purpose a secret session would be necessary, the government will be prepared to take that necessity into consideration.

The order I would suggest in which the presentation of the various statements should be made would be to begin with the Minister of National Defence (Mr. Ralston), who would speak more particularly with relation to the army, to be followed by the Minister of National Defence for Air (Mr. Power), who is also acting in this house as Minister of National Defence for Naval Services. He would speak with reference to the war effort as it affects air forces and the naval services. Then the Minister of Munitions and Supply (Mr. Howe) would review the war effort from the point of view of his depart-

ment, to be followed by the Minister of National War Services (Mr. Gardiner), who would deal in part with mobilization and questions in relation thereto, the presentation to be concluded by a statement from the Minister of Finance (Mr. Ilsley), who would touch upon the financial aspects of our war effort. That does not include the part of the war effort relating to what might be described as economic defence on the home front, the control of prices, the production and marketing of products and the like. These matters have been discussed at considerable length already, and they may be taken up further on the estimates of the departments concerned.

That, in brief, is the proposal with respect to the manner of informing the house of Canada's war effort as it is being pursued at the present time.

It might assist hon. members in following the presentation if I were to call to mind outstanding phases of the war to date. They have an immediate bearing upon what will be presented in the statements. I need not say anything about the period foreshadowing the war, nor need I say anything about the early beginnings of the war. It was on the 1st of September last that Poland was invaded and on the 10th of that month Canada went into the war; so that the presentation will cover a period that does not yet extend fully to eleven months. What is set forth will represent what has been accomplished, in the main, within that period of time.

#### WAR'S EARLY STAGES

The early stages of the war, as hon. members will recall, were largely concerned with conflict at sea and in the air. I am speaking now more particularly of war between Germany and Great Britain. It was not until the spring of this year that there began a very significant change. It was the invasion by Germany of neutral countries. We then witnessed first, Denmark and Norway invaded, then Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, and finally the invasion and collapse of France. I might give the house a few dates that will present these events in their proper sequence. They help to explain a change in some particulars in the methods employed by our government as well as the government of the United Kingdom in expediting much that had been planned at an earlier period.

D 38616

The German invasion of Poland was on September 1. Britain and France declared war on Germany on September 3 and our Canadian declaration of war came on September 10. On November 30 Finland was attacked by Russia. The peace between Russia and Finland was signed on March 12.

In the interval, on January 25, this Canadian parliament was dissolved and the general elections took place, or at least the period of the general elections followed immediately. The elections themselves took place on March 26. Before and during the elections I ventured to say that one of the reasons why we had been anxious to have the elections at that particular time and have them over before the spring was that it was anticipated that the war would reach an intensified stage in the early spring and that it would undoubtedly be of advantage to the country to have a new parliament in existence before that phase of the war came about. It so happened that the invasion by Germany of Denmark and Norway followed on the 9th of April. On May 10 Belgium, The Netherlands and Luxembourg were invaded by Germany; on May 14 the Dutch army ceased resistance. It was just at that very critical time that the first session of the present parliament met. That was on May 16. On May 28, the Belgian army surrendered under King Leopold; on June 10, Italy declared war on Britain and France; on June 16, the Petain government was formed in France, and on June 22, France signed an armistice with Germany and on June 24, an armistice with Italy.

I have said that several statements have been made on Canada's war effort up to the present. I have in my hand a brief reference to the more important broadcasts that have been made by members of the government on Canada's war effort or aspects thereof, and also a brief record of important statements in parliament reviewing Canada's war effort or aspects thereof. With the consent of the house I should like to place these lists on *Hansard*. I believe they would be helpful as a ready reference to anyone who might wish later on to review Canada's war effort.

Broadcasts by Members of the Government on  
Canada's War Effort or Aspects Thereof  
1939

October 31—the Prime Minister on "Organization of  
Canada's War Effort".

November 24—Minister of Finance on "Canada's  
War Effort on the Economic Front".

December 10—Minister of Labour on the work of the  
War-time Prices and Trade Board.

December 17—Prime Minister on "The British Com-  
monwealth Air Training Plan".

December 20—Minister of National Defence on  
Canada's war effort.

1940

January 7—Minister of Transport on work of the  
War Supply Board.

May 22—Minister of National Defence on Canada's  
war effort in the new emergency.

May 23—Minister of National Defence for Air and  
Minister of Munitions and Supply on the war  
effort of their respective departments.

June 7—Prime Minister on Canada's war effort.

June 18—Minister of Finance on war finance and  
the effects of the national resources mobilization  
legislation. Repeated in French by the Minister  
of Justice.

June 23—Minister of Justice over French net-work  
on the effects of the mobilization legislation.

July 10—Minister of National Defence and Minister  
of National Defence for Air on plans for in-  
creased recruiting and training of troops.

July 26—Minister of National War Services on the  
forthcoming national registration.

Note.—This list does not include broadcasts during  
the general election campaign in which the war  
effort was fully reviewed.

Important Statements in Parliament Reviewing  
Canada's War Effort or Aspects Thereof

May 20—A comprehensive review by the Prime  
Minister.

May 21—The defence services, by the Minister of  
National Defence (Mr. Rogers).

May 22—War supply, by the Minister of Munitions  
and Supply.

June 3—Internal security, by the Minister of Justice.

June 4—Naval assistance to Britain, by the Prime  
Minister.

June 7—War supply, by the Prime Minister.

June 11—Canadian action in Greenland, by the  
Prime Minister.

June 11—War supply, by the Prime Minister.

June 11—Internal security, by the Prime Minister.

June 13—Veterans' home guard, by the Acting  
Minister of National Defence (Mr. Power).

June 13—Air Training, by the Minister of National  
Defence for Air.

June 18—Review of recent developments (West  
Indies, Newfoundland, Iceland, etc.) and an-  
nouncement of National Resources Mobilization  
Act, national registration and Department of  
National War Services, by the Prime Minister.

June 18—Recruiting, by the Acting Minister of  
National Defence (Mr. Power).

June 19—Reception of British children and of  
prisoners of war, by the Prime Minister and the  
Minister of Mines and Resources.

June 24—The budget, by the Minister of Finance  
(Mr. Ralston).

June 27—Reception of British children, by the  
Minister of Mines and Resources.

July 8—Review of the war organization, by the  
Prime Minister.

The only point I should like to mention  
before saying a word in general about the  
picture is the relation of the events I have  
cited to the discussions in our own parlia-  
ment. As I have already mentioned, Canada's  
declaration of war came on September 10.

That was at the time of the special session of the last parliament. At that special session important legislation was passed which enabled the government to organize Canada's war effort, lay the foundations of it, so to speak, in the months which immediately followed. I do not think it will be necessary for the ministers in their presentation tonight to review, except in the barest outline, what was accomplished between the time of the special session and the period of the general elections. The whole war effort of the government was very fully reviewed during the general elections, which extended over a period of two months, and the Canadian people passed upon our war effort and the government's programme and policies up to that point.

#### EFFECT OF BLITZKRIEG

As I have mentioned, parliament reassembled at a moment of intense warfare in Europe. It reassembled just shortly after the invasion of Denmark and Norway, and at the time of the fighting in Holland and Belgium. That particular period of the war I suppose might be described either as the period of invasion by Germany of neutral countries or the period of the blitzkrieg in relation to these several countries. The blitzkrieg, or lightning war, as the expression is in English, did necessarily have an important bearing not only upon Canada's war effort but upon the war effort of all the different parts of the British empire. As hon. members are aware, in planning Canada's war effort the government did so in close cooperation with the British government. Our plans were laid in accordance with those of the high command in Britain and in consultation with the governments of other parts of the British empire.

It was the generally accepted view at the outset that the war would be a long one, the period mentioned being three years, and possibly longer, and plans were laid in relation to a war that would extend over that period of time. Now I do not say that the high command of the British government have changed their view in any particular as to the length of the war. The war may still be a war of three or four years. But in one particular a very real change has been made, as a result of the sudden invasion of these neutral countries, the intensity of which invasion was something wholly unexpected. I do not think it was assumed, at the beginning of the war, that even Germany was going ruthlessly to violate these neutral countries, whatever else she might attempt. At any rate, the effect of the subjugation of

these different free neutral countries, and the attack upon France, to say nothing of the results that it produced, did necessitate a speeding up of the entire preparations to meet an immediate situation. And Canada, along with other parts of the British empire, at that time, undertook new obligations in a number of directions, obligations which had not been either foreseen or anticipated until events developed as they did.

In expediting the work and enlarging the scope of Canada's war effort, it has been found necessary, as hon. members know, to create new ministries. Where we started with the one ministry of national defence we have to-day three departments of defence, one specially concerned with the army, another with the air force, and the third with the navy. We have undertaken enormous obligations with respect to the British commonwealth air training scheme. There is also the new Department of Munitions and Supply, and more recently still, the Department of National War Services. The legislation creating these new departments has, except in the case of the Department of Munitions and Supply for which provision was made at the special session, been passed by this present parliament. Hon. members are I think fairly familiar with much that has since been accomplished under the direction of the ministers in charge.

As an introduction to what may be said by my colleagues, may I say that the kaleidoscopic changes in the war itself have brought changes equally swift and equally colourful in the methods which have been necessary to meet them. Improvisations have had to be fitted into plans. Men have had to be moved to unexpected spheres of action. The production of materials has needed to be enlarged and hastened beyond what were believed to be the necessities of time and extent. Unprecedented measures had to be taken to provide for the requisite financial appropriations. The collapse of neutral and allied countries, the intensity of air warfare, the spread of the conflict to distant lands, circumstances which have sent Canadian soldiers and resources and ships to the West Indies, Newfoundland, Iceland and the seas that wash the shores of the United Kingdom and France—all these things have made it difficult for anyone to reduce to a single presentation the panorama of passing events.

It is not easy for anyone to see the picture steadily and as a whole. The whole has sometimes been obscured by the parts. The perspective of 1940 has often been lost in the memories of 1914. The Canadian scene has

often become almost invisible in the smoke of the battle ground of Europe. I hope that as a result of the facts which will be told to the house to-day a clearer picture will emerge in the minds of parliament and the people of Canada. Let me say that the recital of facts which will follow is not intended as a recital of the achievements of a political party. It represents the achievements of the Canadian people, directed by the government and assisted by the constructive criticism of his majesty's loyal opposition.

#### EFFORT IN OUTLINE

May I give just a few broad outlines of our war effort. We have had:

First, to organize and expand the defences of Canada on land, on sea and in the air;

Second, to furnish the maximum aid to the common cause in men and machines of war, wherever they were most needed;

Third, to organize the production of machines and munitions of war, so that output shall reach the highest possible maximum and private profits be held at the lowest possible minimum;

Fourth, to organize the production, distribution and transportation of foodstuffs to meet the needs of war;

Fifth, to prevent any undue rise in prices, and to protect the consumers of Canada against manipulation and speculation;

Sixth, to strengthen the nation's financial structure by taxation, by borrowing, and by the stabilization of international exchange;

Seventh, to provide the necessary machinery to mobilize the material and human resources of the country in the national interest, without fear or favour towards any class, section or interest in the country; and to mobilize these resources by progressive stages in a manner which will best serve to enlarge the scope and enhance the effectiveness of our war effort;

Eighth, to make provision for the internal security of the nation against sabotage to industry, transport and other vital services; to guard against hostile propaganda and espionage and other so-called "fifth column" activities; to take precautions against enemy aliens and sympathizers;

Ninth, to assist in providing for the security of Britain through the reception of enemy aliens and prisoners of war for internment in Canada, and for the reception of such children as the British government is prepared to send to Canada in order to remove them to a place of safety;

Tenth, to correlate national war services and voluntary effort under government direc-

tion and to provide appropriate and helpful ways and means of utilizing the essential patriotism of our citizens and their willingness and expressed desire to work for the common cause.

To accomplish these ends and to further these purposes it may be said, in a word, that Canada has brought into being, on a scale that is constantly expanding, an army for service overseas and for home defence; has been building and manning a navy which to-day is assisting in the defence of our coasts, in convoying ships across, in patrolling Atlantic waters, and in repelling enemy forces which threaten the invasion of the British isles; and has organized and established an air force which is in service at home and abroad. We have, moreover, assumed responsibility for the supervisions of the gigantic commonwealth air training plan and have vastly expedited its development. In a word we have, in addition to the measures taken for the immediate defence and security of our own land, sent ships and troops and airmen to the West Indies, to Newfoundland, to Iceland and to Europe. We have made tremendous commitments for the production of machines and munitions. The house is aware of the terms of the National Resources Mobilization Act and the National War Services Act, and of the operations of the War-time Prices and Trade Board, and of the Foreign Exchange Control Board.

The review by the ministers of the departments of government more immediately concerned will set forth in detail what has been done and is further planned to fulfil our duty and implement the legislation which parliament has passed. The statements to be made will give in terms of men, machines and money, the state of the army, the navy, and the air force, and the progress of the commonwealth air training plan; and detailed reports, in so far as they can with safety be given, on the manufacture and production of aeroplanes, munitions and mechanized equipment.

I believe it will be agreed that the record which will be unfolded represents a remarkable transformation of a peace-loving nation of eleven millions into a people unitedly and effectively organized to fight for the preservation of freedom and democracy, and determined unceasingly and increasingly to give of their utmost to the cause of human freedom which, alone among the nations of the world, if the orient be excepted, Britain and the British dominions are defending in arms at the present time.



Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
63		Dominion Day Broadcast Radio	1 July 1940	D 38446 - D 38465	
63		Destruction of French Fleet. Speeches in Parliament	5 July 1940	D 38466	
63		Canada's War Effort. Speeches in Parliament	7 July 1940	D 38467 - D 38597	
63		Speech of Mr. King on moving the 2nd reading of Bill to set up Department of National War Services	12 July 1940	D 38598 - D 38609	
63		Speeches in Parliament	22 July 1940	D 38610 - D 38614	
63		Canada Carries On, Review of the War Effort of the Dominion as presented to the House of Commons. Speeches in Parliament	29 July 1940	D 38615 - D 38618	
63		Opening of No. 2 Service Flying Training School, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	5 Aug. 1940	D 38619 - D 38643	
63		Radio Broadcasts by the Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King	Aug.-Sept. 1940	D 38644 - D 38827	

5 Aug. 1940

Ottawa

Opening of No. 2 Service Flying  
Training School.

D38619

Notes for Opening of No. 2

Service Flying Training School

at Uplands, August 5, 1940

---

Thanks to the Governor-General

Appropriate that the representative  
of His Majesty the King should  
officiate

Emphasizes the co-operative nature  
of British Commonwealth Air  
Training Plan

Stages in British Commonwealth Plan

1. Polish campaign revealed decisive  
role of warfare in the air.
2. Proposal made by United Kingdom  
on September 26.
3. First public announcement  
October 10.

4. British Mission arrived  
(October 15);  
Australian Mission (Nov. 1);  
New Zealand Mission (Nov. 3).
5. Details worked out in Ottawa  
in October and November by  
4 governments.
6. Basis of agreement reached  
(November 27).
7. Agreement signed (Dec. 17).
8. Opening today of the first new  
Service Flying Training School  
marks beginning of the third  
stage in training of pilots.

9. Magnitude of enterprise easier to grasp when it is realized this School is only the second of 16 Service Flying Training Schools which will be in operation when the Plan is fully developed.

(Note: No. 1. Service Flying Training School at Camp Borden was already in existence before the outbreak of war).

Stages in Training of Pilots

First stage: <u>initial</u> training	4 weeks
2nd stage: <u>elementary</u> training	8 weeks
<u>3rd</u> stage: <u>service</u> flying	14 weeks
4th stage: bombing	2 weeks

Congratulations to Air Vice Marshal

Lloyd S. Breadner

Born Carleton Place (July 14,1894);

Lived in Ottawa since childhood;

Joined Royal Naval Air Service 1915

Served in France

Distinguished Service Cross, Apr.1917

Squadron Commander R.N.A.S.,Nov.1917

later in Royal Air Force until

March 1919;

Appointed to Canadian Air Board, Apr.1920

and to Royal Canadian Air Force

(August 1922);

Officer Commanding at Camp Borden

1924-1925;

R.A.F. Staff College 1926-27

National Defence H.Q.Staff 1928-32

Officer Commanding at Trenton 1932-35

Imperial Defence College 1936

Staff Officer at Headquarters  
since until appointment as  
Chief of Staff, 1940

Recently promoted to rank of Air  
Vice Marshal

Record an indication of qualifi-  
cations for his tremendous  
task.

Air Power the Key to Victory

Canadian training programme  
greatly enlarged on outbreak  
of war.

At request of British government  
Canadian training merged in  
Commonwealth Plan.

In September, United Kingdom  
government indicated proposed  
co-operative effort "may  
prove to be of the most es-  
sential and decisive character".

Before the Agreement was concluded  
United Kingdom government  
informed Canadian government  
of its opinion that

"participation in the Air  
Training Scheme would provide  
for more effective assistance  
towards ultimate victory  
than any other form of  
military co-operation which  
Canada can give.

Immense proportions of Plan diffi-  
cult to grasp;  
some impatience at length  
of time required to produce  
results;

When Blitzkrieg came, government  
criticized for sacrificing  
immediate assistance to  
long-range plans;

Demands made that the Air Training  
Plan be abandoned; government

and air force refused to  
be stampeded;

Modifications made which speeded up  
instead of slowing down  
training programme while,  
at same time, giving immediate  
assistance to Britain;

Recent developments have vindicated  
policy: tide of war can be  
turned only by development  
of air superiority.

Air Training not the whole picture of  
Canada's air contribution

Home defence squadrons on coast  
guard and convoy duty;

Canadian pilots and airmen have

D 38627

-8-

distinguished themselves  
in Royal Air Force;

A Canadian Squadron was formed in  
the R. A. F. which has seen  
much service and had many  
casualties and many deco-  
rations;

Royal Canadian Air Force represented  
now in the United Kingdom  
by two Army Co-operation  
Squadrons and one Fighter  
Squadron;

These are the fore-runners of the  
stream of pilots, observers  
and gunners who will be  
trained in the British Common-  
wealth Air Training Schools in  
ever-growing numbers.

5-8-40

D 38628

Service Flying Training Schools

Thanks to Governor General.

Appropriateness of good offices.

Emphasizes co-operative nature of training plan.

Congratulations - Minister for Air, & also

" Air Vice-Marshal Breadner.

Workmen and contractors -

part all playing.

Responsibility of an air force.

Air power the key to victory.

Each action important -

saving of life,

achieving of victory.

Fate of lives and nations.

Begin to visualize magnitude of plan.

History of - Poland, etc.

Significance of plan - (see exhibit).

Air training not whole picture of

Canada's air contribution.

Exhibit

D 38629

Before the Agreement was concluded United Kingdom government informed Canadian government of its opinion that "participation in the Air Training Scheme would provide for more effective assistance towards ultimate victory than any other form of military co-operation which Canada can give".

*Cooperative effort may prove to be of most essential & decisive character*

Air Training Plan is one great brotherhood of youth of the Empire, joined together to achieve <sup>winning</sup> ~~any~~ victory.

D 38630

The tremendous responsibility  
resting upon the Air Force  
in this titanic struggle.  
Let no man think his  
work is less important  
than is the work of men  
in higher positions. All  
cannot be Air Marshals  
or Squadron leaders  
but they, in their turn,  
are absolutely dependent  
upon the faithful honest  
work of those beneath him.  
The perfect adjustment,  
the absolute accuracy of  
mechanism are just as  
necessary for victory as  
the strategy of the Airman.  
Kipling says "The strength  
of the whole or, or."  
And to each man is  
given responsibility which

means saving of D<sup>38631</sup>  
and ultimate victory -

The unseen, unknown  
workers are the  
foundation of a great  
edifice -

Let each man, therefore  
so use his talents that  
thro' his "service", there  
may be built up, this  
Great Commonwealth.  
Air Training Scheme.

Guard your strength  
of mind & body alike -  
Cultivate powers of  
concentration & develop  
the spirit of resourcefulness  
which is the inheritance  
of our race -

There is an old saying

in Green's History  38632  
England -

"Carelessness can never  
be offered as the  
excuse for the crimes  
which so often spring  
from it" - And this  
is terribly true in  
Aeronautics.

Let each lad. Each  
man give perfection  
of word, knowing that  
on his efforts, hangs  
the fate of lives and  
nation.

PROGRAMME FOR OPENING OF  
SERVICE FLYING TRAINING SCHOOLS.

**D38633**

- |    |          |       |                  |
|----|----------|-------|------------------|
| 1. | Pre-war  | No. 1 | Camp Borden      |
| 2. | Aug. 5   | No. 2 | Uplands (Ottawa) |
| 3. | Sept. 16 | No. 4 | Saskatoon        |
| 4. | Oct. 28  | No. 3 | Calgary          |
| 5. | Nov. 11  | No. 5 | Brantford        |
| 6. | Nov. 25  | No. 6 | Macleod, (Alta.) |
| 7. | Dec. 9   | No. 7 | Dunnville (Ont.) |
| 8. | Dec. 23  | No. 8 | Moncton          |

D 38634

Exact date not fixed.

9.	Dec.	No. 9	Moose Jaw
10.	Dec.	No. 10	Kingston
11.	Dec.	No. 12	Medicine Hat
12.	Dec.	No. 13	Carberry (Man.)
13.	Jan.1941	No. 11	Summerside (P.E.I.)
14.	Feb. "	No. 14	Dauphin (Man.)
15.	March "	No. 15	St. Hubert(Montreal)
16.	April "	No. 16	Yorkton (Sask.)

SUMMARY OF PROGRAMME

**D 38635**

Showing number of schools  
to be opened by months

August	1
September	1
October	1
November	2
December	6
January, 1941	1
February	1
March	1
April	1

Re: Air Training Plan

British House of Commons, July 7, 1938, column 596

**D 38636**

Mr. Attlee (by Private Notice) asked 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 are prepared in connection with their own establishment to help in affording facilities for the training of pilots for the Royal Air Force, if that would be of service, and whether he had any statement to make.

Sir Kingsley Wood (Secretary of State for Air): replied:

"Yes, Sir, an offer to this effect has been communicated to His Majesty's government in the United Kingdom by the Canadian Prime Minister to 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."

D 38637

*File*

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRIME MINISTER:

I attach a few brief notes for Monday's ceremony. I understand that it will take place at 2.30 P.M., and that the following tentative programme has been suggested:

1. Formal opening by His Excellency the Governor General.
2. A few remarks by the Prime Minister.
3. A few words of thanks by Air Vice Marshal Breadner.

I also attach a copy of the Royal Canadian Air Force Orders of the Day.

August 3, 1940.

L.W.B.

Thanks to the Governor General for his part in the historic ceremony which marks the opening of the first service flying school under the Commonwealth Air Training Plan.

To-day marks the (first/beginning in concrete form of the final stage in the training of fighting pilots. From this spot the first group of fully trained Commonwealth Air Training Pilots will leave for the battle fronts of Europe after a minimum of 150 hours intensive training, 100 hours of which will be spent in the air at Uplands.

The Air Training Plan is in reality one great brotherhood of the youth of the Empire joined together to achieve winged victory. Canada is proud to be charged with the great trust which is involved in <sup>1</sup>their reception, <sup>2</sup>their training and <sup>3</sup>their despatch.

Describe the Commonwealth Air Training Plan as still the greatest potential instrument of victory. It was conceived with imagination, and has been planned with care, thoroughness, foresight and patience.

On this field, in this city, on this day, it has become a concrete living thing.

Point out that the opening of this school is one month ahead of the original date. No doubt many improvements still remain to be made, but in all its essentials it is a fully equipped unit.

The early opening has been made possible by the acceleration of the plan to meet the intensity of enemy attack and by typically Canadian improvisation to take care of the unexpected. Above all progress has depended upon the unremitting and devoted labour of those who have been charged with the duties of construction and organization.

It will not be long before the training school which starts to-day with 40 pilots, 15 instructors and 280 airmen and ground staff, will be a school of 160 pilots and a total personnel of 1,000.

We have followed the tried traditions and experienced wisdom of the British Air Force. In the making of an air force there must be character, training and equipment. A successful

3.

air force demands thoroughness of preparation, accuracy, strength and speed of machines and brave, adventurous men. These we have and shall have.

There is something in the character and gallantry of Canadian youth which makes them ideal air men. Their special qualities are bravery, coolness in the face of fire, quickness of hand, brain and eye, and the pioneer's willingness to accept the risk of brilliant and daring adventure.

The Air Forces of the British Commonwealth are admitted to have provided the best men, the best machines, and the best training. Up to date we have led the world in quality. The opening of this field is proof that before many months we will have overcome the disadvantages of numbers.

It may well be that those who chronicle the events of the war of 1939 and the years that follow, will record that the corner stone of triumph was laid when the first fighting pilot took to the air at the Uplands field in Ottawa on August the fifth, 1940.

4.

D 38641

In the name of the government and people of Canada,  
thank Air Marshal Breadner and his men for what they have done  
and will do to free the heavens of terror/and make the skies of  
Europe as peaceful as they are in Ottawa on this summer's day.

- - - -

D 38642

His Excellency, Major-General, The Earl of Athlone, K.G., has been pleased to consent to attend the ceremony in connection with the opening of No. 2 Service Flying Training School at the Royal Canadian Air Force Station, Uplands Ontario, at 14.30 hours Monday, August 5th, 1940.

ROYAL CANADIAN AIR FORCE

ORDERS

ISSUED BY WING COMMANDER F.S. MCGILL

COMMANDING OFFICER, R.C.A.F. Station, Uplands, Ont.

1. His Excellency has graciously consented to open officially the No.2 Service Flying Training School on behalf of the R.C.A.F. at Uplands, Ontario.
2. The R.C.A.F. will provide a Guard of Honour which will parade as detailed in separate orders.
3. By direction of the Chief of the Air Staff, all R.C.A.F. personnel attending are to wear the appropriate R.C.A.F. blue service dress.
4. All cars will be parked in the area especially allotted for that purpose, well clear of the tarmac. Service Police and guards will be provided for the purpose of directing traffic.

PROGRAM OF EVENTS

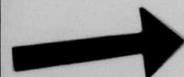
5. The Commanding Officer of the R.C.A.F. Station, Uplands, accompanied by the Chief of the Air Staff and the Officer Commanding No.3 Training Command, will meet His Excellency and party on arrival at the point of disembarkation.
6. When the party approaches the saluting point, the Guard of Honour will give a Royal Salute and His Excellency will be invited to inspect the Guard of Honour by the Guard Commander.

D 38643

7. The Chief of the Air Staff, Royal Canadian Air Force, the Officer Commanding No. 3 Training Command, the Commanding Officer, R.C.A.F. Station, Uplands, and his Adjutant, will accompany His Excellency and the Guard Commander during the inspection.
8. During the inspection the band will play appropriate music.
9. On completion of the inspection the Guard will march past His Excellency at the saluting base.
10. During the march past the airmen in front of the aircraft will be formed up in squads in preparation to move off.
11. After the march past the Guard of Honour and the band will be halted in their original positions.
12. The Inspecting Party will proceed to their seats.
13. His Excellency will be invited by the Commanding Officer, R.C.A.F. Station, Uplands, to declare the No.2 Service Flying Training School officially open.
14. The speech by the Prime Minister will take place at this point and the Chief of the Air Staff will reply on behalf of the Royal Canadian Air Force.
15. The Commanding Officer, R.C.A.F. Station, Uplands, will order the Guard of Honour and the other Squads to march off.
16. The aircraft will be taxied to position and will take off and circle the aerodrome.
17. Wing Commander F.S. McGill, Commanding Officer, R.C.A.F. Station, Uplands, will extend an invitation to His Excellency and official guests to make a tour of the Station and attend a short reception in the Headquarters Building.

*F.S. McGill*  
for (F.S. McGill) Wing Commander,  
Commanding Officer,  
R.C.A.F. Station, Uplands.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
63		Dominion Day Broadcast Radio	1 July 1940	D 38446 - D 38465	
63		Destruction of French Fleet. Speeches in Parliament	5 July 1940	D 38466	
63		Canada's War Effort. Speeches in Parliament	7 July 1940	D 38467 - D 38597	
63		Speech of Mr. King on moving the 2nd reading of Bill to set up Department of National War Services	12 July 1940	D 38598 - D 38609	
63		Speeches in Parliament	22 July 1940	D 38610 - D 38614	
63		Canada Carries On, Review of the War Effort of the Dominion as presented to the House of Commons. Speeches in Parliament	29 July 1940	D 38615 - D 38618	
63		Opening of No. 2 Service Flying Training School, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	5 Aug. 1940	D 38619 - D 38643	
63		Radio Broadcasts by the Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King	Aug.-Sept. 1940	D 38644 - D 38827	



1 Sept. 1940

Radio

27 Oct. 1920

Saskatoon, Sask.

Doctrines of Liberal Party.

JWP/PM  
21,8.40

The development of Canadian-American relations.

D 38644

In August of 1938 two significant declarations were made on Canadian soil. They marked the first explicit recognition of reciprocity in defence on the part of Canada and the United States.

At Queen's University in Kingston, President Roosevelt declared:

"The Dominion of Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other empire".

Two days later, I replied, in acknowledging Mr. Roosevelt's declaration on behalf of the people of Canada, using these words:

"We, too, have our obligations as a good friendly neighbours, and one of them is to see that, at our own instance, our country is made as immune from attack or possible invasion as we can reasonably be expected to make it, and that, should the occasion ever arise, enemy forces should not be able to pursue their way, either by land sea or air to the United States, across Canadian territory".

At the same time I made it very clear that these reciprocal responsibilities for the defence of our common homeland in North America in no way diminished the responsibility of Canada as a nation of the British

Commonwealth. That the President recognized the implications of our situation, I recalled in my concluding sentence, which I wish now to repeat:

"The common concern which each part of would be expected to have for the whole was recognized by the President, when, in conveying the assurance he did, he prefaced his words by explicitly pointing out that the Dominion of Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British Empire".

The events of the two troubled years which have followed have served to emphasize, in both Canada and the United States, the necessity for reciprocal concern for each other's security. They have also allayed the fears of those who ~~feared~~<sup>felt</sup> that closer relations with the United States would weaken Canada's ties with the other British nations. The truth has been the exact opposite.

Canada has instead become, as I have pointed out before, the bridge which joins the new freedom of the North American continent with the ancient freedom of Britain. We have, in recent days, found the means to strengthen that bridge at both ends. To help Britain to face the immediate emergency of this summer we have contributed to the utmost limit of our immediately available resources. We have speeded up our preparations for the bitter months and years ahead. Yet we

have found time, too, to strengthen our bonds with our great and friendly neighbour.

The declaration of Ogdensburg marks at once the logical development of the declarations of 1938 and an unprecedented departure in international relations. Once we have recognized our responsibilities for each other's defence, what is more natural than that we should study the means and concert the plans to protect one another against possible threats to our safety. Yet where else in the world can two nations be found, one at war, the other neutral, freely associated in formal discussions for the organization of their common security.

There is one point, above all, I should like to stress. The declaration of Ogdensburg and the policy from which it sprang represent an increase, and not a decrease, in Canada's responsibilities. Canada and the United States have undertaken to share the burdens of maintaining their joint security; neither has shifted the burden to the other. We have recognized that our united strength will be something more than the strength of both acting separately. Reciprocity in defence involves reciprocal duties as well as reciprocal advantages. Canada accepts both with a willing heart.

While I cannot tell you the details of the negotiations which have already taken place or those which are now taking place, I can say that this signing of the bond of good-will between Canada and the United States was preceded by intimate conversations extending over a long period of time. It has in reality set the seal of permanent understanding and mutual confidence upon the honourable history of two nations. That history has been a record of misunderstandings overcome, of suspicions defeated, of differences adjusted, of ancient controversies forgotten. It is in the very truth what Shakespeare describes as a marriage of true minds. For in this lasting bond the interests of both our nations and the ideals of both our nations are wedded together. It is a solemn exchange of promises by two nations who have never broken a promise, and under God's Providence will never break these promises.

It would be unwise at this time to overemphasize the present result of the initial agreement which we have made. It would be even more unwise not to recognize its inner significance and the certainty of cooperation, understanding, confidence and mutual strength in the years that lie ahead.

LWB

D 38648

These things are sure. If the agreement is significant and beneficial to Canada, it is significant and beneficial to the United States. If it is significant and beneficial to Canada and the United States, it is significant and beneficial to the whole British Commonwealth. If it is significant and beneficial to the United States and to the British Commonwealth, it has with <sup>in</sup> it a promise of peace and understanding for the whole world of men.

Topic 14: Preparations to meet the threat of invasion

D 38649

I need not try to picture for you the effect on democracy and with it on the rights of labour and our standards of living if a successful invasion of this continent were possible. Every Canadian has a direct and immediate interest in every measure which will assist in insuring this hemisphere against the risk of invasion.

It was most heartening for every Canadian to realize that Britain shared our concern to make North America impregnable. We welcomed the words of Mr. Winston Churchill when he declared recently that some months ago the British government came to the conclusion that "the interests of the United States and of the British Empire both required that the United States should have facilities for the naval and air defence of the Western Hemisphere against the attack of a Nazi power which might have temporary but lengthy control of a large part of Western Europe and its resources."

Just as Canada has recognized her own vital interest in sharing the defence of democracy in Britain with all that it means for the common <sup>man,</sup> so Britain has recognized her vital interest in maintaining the security of democracy in North America. Mr. Churchill's words, and the spontaneous offer of the British government to make the bases available to the United States, constitute a declaration of faith in the fundamental unity of freedom and in the common interest of free peoples in its maintenance.

D 38650

In her relations with the United States, Canada has proceeded in the same spirit and with the same faith. It is not without significance that, just as the British and Canadian trade agreements with the United States were signed on the same day in 1938, so, in 1940, Mr. Churchill's announcement should have had its parallel in the conference between President Roosevelt and myself which resulted in the creation of the Permanent Joint Defence Board.

The declaration at Ogdensburg and Mr. Churchill's announcement regarding naval and air bases were both the result of a long record of fair dealings and friendly relations between nations. They represent the same unwavering determination to keep freedom alive in the world.

D 38651

(To be added to Canadian-American Ogdensburg Agreement).

120  
I cannot at this time tell you what words were spoken at my conference at Ogdensburg with the President of the United States. I hope, however, I may be forgiven if I relate to you one incident.

When the formal conversations were over, Mr. Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War for the United States, turned to me and said:

"Daniel Webster was once present at a momentous conference. Over the fireplace in the room where the meeting took place was carved an image of the sun. Daniel Webster said: 'I do not know whether <sup>an</sup> image represents the setting sun or the rising sun. Time alone will tell.'"

Mr. Stimson turned to me and said: "Mr. King, I at least am satisfied that as a result of what we have said and done here today, we stand beneath the glow and under the light of a sun rising upon a freer and better world."

I believe that Mr. Stimson in those words spoke the prophetic truth and that time will be our witness.

Labour & the War

D 38652

*we are*

*Industry processes*

*labour essential*

It is well that labour should appreciate to the

full the service it is rendering in the present war. It

is equally important that this service should be fully

appreciated by those on whose behalf it is given, and to

whose present and ultimate good it will enure.

*In times of peace, labour's place in the national economy is second best, but in times of war it is first.*

*to know*

At a time of war, ~~first place must always be~~

given to those who serve in the fighting forces on land,

on sea and in the air. Their lives are exposed to danger

to a degree none others can possibly be. At any moment,

they must be prepared to sacrifice life itself. It is a

sacrifice they are prepared to make that others may be

saved.

*is a sacrifice they are prepared to make that others may be saved.*

Mr. Churchill gave noble expression to a thought

which, within recent weeks, has been constantly within

*labour is the immediate ally of the fighting forces*

the minds of all. When speaking of the turning of the tide

of the world war by the prowess and devotion of the

British airmen, he said: "Never in the field of human

conflict was so much owed by so many to so few", and

he might have added 'to lives so young'.



Without planes, without fighting machines,

without bombs, without reconnaissance equipment, without

petrol, little or nothing can be effected by the most

daring and highly skilled pilot or gunner. And what is

true of the airmen is equally true of the soldier and

the sailor. Their courage, their training, their skill

*labour is a help*

are of little or no avail except as they too are supplied with the most complete and up to date equipment of modern warfare. *(Lowe in B p. 3 - 2 c 6. 3)*

*Smith*

The materials required to construct, equip, supply and maintain the navies and the armies in time of war require production on a scale <sup>much larger than and</sup> which rapidly surpasses that necessary for the maintenance of the populations, in peace-time, of entire nations, while the industrial processes involved <sup>in the manufacture of war equipment</sup> require more in the way of technical skill than that required in almost any other phase of industry. All industry, it will be recalled, is the process by which the resources of Nature are transformed through human effort into services and commodities available for use. In times of <sup>other</sup> ~~peace~~. ~~In time of war~~, the component elements of this vast process <sup>are ~~made~~ ~~to~~ ~~serve~~ ~~ordinary~~ ~~human~~ ~~needs~~, ~~and~~ ~~are~~ ~~used~~ ~~in~~ ~~many~~ ~~ways~~</sup> are necessarily made to serve ~~the means~~ <sup>albeit ~~major~~ ~~destructive~~ ~~the~~ ~~means~~</sup> by which alone victory in the end can be secured. When it is recalled that at every stage in each of the several processes of industry, to effect the required transformation, labour is required to supply necessary effort and skill, there should be little difficulty on the part of <sup>others or of itself</sup> labour in relating its effort to the winning of the war. The greater its skill, the firmer its endurance, the more untiring its zeal, the more certain is its contribution to that great end. **I** It begins now to look as if blitzkrieg had done its worst, and that victory will not come suddenly

*constructive contributions in times of war some component elements*

on either side, but will come, with certainty in the end, to the side that can most completely equip and maintain its fighting forces at the front. It is here that the winning of the war rests equally with the numbers, the skill and the determination of those who are fighting on land, on sea and in the air, and <sup>with</sup> ~~upon~~ the numbers, the skill and the determination of those whose labour is given to serve and to maintain <sup>fighting forces</sup> ~~them~~ at the front.

Because, in present-day warfare, the destruction of material and supplies has become so vast, it may be said that with labour ~~and industry~~ even more than with the forces at the front, rests the duration of the war. Germany made the headway she did at the start because of her accumulations in previous years. The sacrifice of much of that material has been the price she has paid for her conquest of neutral nations and the defeat of France. In assessing labour's task in the democracies, we must keep constantly in mind <sup>however</sup> that Germany has added to her own the resources of the countries she has subjugated and a vast supply of the materials of war which it was anticipated ~~would have been used against her~~. The path to victory is ~~certain~~, therefore, <sup>certain</sup> to be longer than at the outbreak of war could possibly have been anticipated. How long or how short it will be will depend more than aught else on the contribution of labour. *So some human lives in connection with it will be the loss of the contributions which it is within the power of labour to make*

L.W.B.

Labour and the war

38655

Labour defends Parliament

D

But the mass of ordinary simple men of goodwill have always desired the same simple ordinary things. They have set before them as their goal a world where men can work in and dignity, security, with a fair return for their toil and equal opportunities for their children; a world in which women can work if they wish, or devote themselves without fear to the welfare of their families; a world in which little children can play with safety and grow to citizenship surrounded and moulded by all the influences which make for gentleness and justice.

sent

Philosophers and poets throughout the ages have painted the heartening pictures of such a world. While our paths may have run in varying directions, in the end they have always met <sup>in</sup> the same city of our dreams. One of the tragedies of life is that in the clash of opinion we sometimes forget the unity of our purposes.

I have recently read a statement of labour's case in this war, written by the late Honourable Arthur Greenwood. In pointing out that labour has always stood for the down-trodden and the oppressed, for the fulfilment of democratic ideals so that individuals and nations alike may live their lives in freedom, he has listed the things which labour has to defend.

Foremost amongst them he has placed a free parliament. I think that he has done that because it has been one of the glories of British labour that it has always preferred peaceful evolution of disciplined liberty to a red revolution of chaos and bloodshed.

Parliament, he says, is the outward and visible sign of the whole world of freedom of the British people, and is perhaps the one thing more than any other that Hitler wishes to destroy. In that school of thought Canadian labour has also been nurtured. Like their British brothers, Canadian workmen have hated war, but have loved freedom with a much stronger passion than hate. They have known that no sacrifice is too great to defend it, and that none but the bravest men can maintain it. [Together with Parliament go the free institutions of local government. I doubt whether a purer democracy flourishes anywhere than in the councils of the cities and towns and villages of Canada, where men without reward, and often without thanks, accept the plain, ordinary duties of neighbourliness and citizenship.

(To be continued)

~~the threats to their existence. In those democracies, <sup>to</sup> force can be greater than the truth in labour's heart and the strength of labour's arm. (x)~~

1402d  
 What are the concrete things which labour defends and which Naziism seeks to destroy? Labour defends the right of the downtrodden and the oppressed to be freed and uplifted. It defends parliamentary institutions and local governments where man, with the discipline that comes from within, is free to express himself for the common good. Labour defends too, the trade unions <sup>and the cooperatives</sup> which have <sup>and the cooperative movement since 1844</sup> humanized industry, helped to save capital from its errors and constituted the strongest bulwark against revolution and chaos. There is not a labour man who does not know that Naziism will mark the end of the organized power of labour and its power to organize.

1402d

Labour does not believe that the destiny of man is to work like a slave for the machinery of totalitarian industry until the moment comes when he is called upon to die for the machinery of totalitarian government.

It believes in the right of men to cooperate together "each for all and all for each" -- the full and free right of cooperation by producer, by consumer, or by any group of

(x) Topic 11 omitted because it is largely covered by what follows and is rather an elaborate although excellent treatment of a single item.



*Word  
search*

shores. ] [ In Europe, we are sharing the burden of the defence of Britain and we are helping with all our might and main, our heart and soul, our will and strength to destroy the Nazi menace. On this continent, through joint action with the United States we have constituted ourselves also the second line of defence of all free peoples, prepared to withstand attack whence soever it comes. Both tasks are essential, the one no less than the other, if we are to do our full duty to ourselves and to the cause of freedom.

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On our side fights time and the conscience of men. The British Navy is stronger than it was when war began. The tonnage of British ships is greater than it was one year ago. Our air forces daily increase in strength and number. And let me say here that the losses of German planes and pilots and British planes and pilots as given by official British sources are correct. The German figures are false.

*Went*

**D** 38660

D  
38661

- 7 -

*Granger*  
Have no doubt about that. The figures published by Great Britain are confirmed by the confidential despatches which I receive.

From the great democracy to the south has come the encouragement of practical sympathy. I shall speak to you in a few minutes of the new rainbow that spans the Atlantic.

What do we mean by the democracy we have sought to build in this new world? I think we mean a world in which men and women, regardless of race, creed, or class, can live their lives in freedom and without fear. We mean a world in which men have the right to enjoy the fruits of their honest labour. We mean a world which gives a "Value immeasurable and eternal to the humblest of human lives". We mean a world which cherishes the ideals of freedom: the right to speak, the right to worship, the right to think, the right to organize, the right to work.

In our cities, our villages and our frontier communities, we have learned what democracy really means. To us it has meant the dignity of man and the right and the power of the many to a full development of their powers and talents, to equality of opportunity and the freedom to enjoy under the protection of those laws which we have ourselves made, an adequate and just measure of the fruits of our labours. By tradition, by ancestry, by choice, we have instinctively hated with passionate hatred the doctrines, the practices and the ideals which inspire the totalitarian states. We have never believed that the march of freedom was a mechanical goose-step marking time under the lash of a tyrant.

Canada, like the United States, has been peopled largely by men and women of British stock. They brought with them to this continent not only British law and British respect for law, but the fruits of their struggle for freedom in Britain. Above all, they bore in their hearts and minds the determination to maintain and extend their freedom in the new land which beckoned them to its shores.

*From*  
The ancestors of our French-Canadian fellow citizens sprang from those who had sailed the seas, tilled the soil, carried the faith and fashioned the folk songs of the countryside of Normandy and Brittany. Amongst them were many men who could proudly trace their descent from the brotherhood of ancient guilds of free workmen whose skill and devotion raised the great French cathedrals to the glory of God. Upon the foundations of their ancestral freedom, the men and women of British and French stock built their new freedom.

As the years passed, the homeless, the oppressed, the adventurous, from every country in Europe came amongst us, seeking a new homeland where human personality and life were sacred things, where tyranny and slavery could be nothing but a far-off memory, where the state existed for man and not man

for the state. They were accepted into our great family of free men and became the heirs of the liberty which had preceded them.

The traditions of freedom have grown and flourished in our Canadian homeland. The frontiers of freedom, like the frontiers of settlement, have been steadily pushed back. Each generation has added something to the freedom it inherited. We have always kept before us the vision of a better world for our children. Today, in the midst of a desperate struggle to maintain our freedom, we have not lost the determination to extend it.

The freedom which Labour enjoys on this North American continent is a freedom to share in the choice of government, to organize, to improve the conditions of work, to strive for a better way of life. For more than a century, that freedom has never been challenged from without. It has been based upon the traditions and the history of free peoples, it has been safeguarded by the immensity of wide seas. North America has been blessed by history and by geography. They have joined together to make possible a free way of life in which ~~our~~ men and women <sup>who</sup> ~~will~~ bear the burden of a nation's work, have a voice in the nation's destiny.

September 1, 1940

LABOUR DAY BROADCAST

D 32666

*Labour and the war*  
Some days ago, I received from one of the *as you would need a subtitle a second leading night to a very man in mind* working men of our country a letter in which he suggested that on the Sunday before Labour Day, as a former Minister of Labour, I might be willing to give a national message to the workers of Canada.

A day or two later, I received a letter also from the Director of Public Information, inviting me to be the speaker for tonight in the radio series known as "Let's Face the Facts". The writer of the second letter suggested that as this date corresponded with the first anniversary of the war, a talk by myself on its events and lessons might be welcomed by the people of Canada.

My purpose this evening is to endeavour to meet both those requests. I shall try to summarize the facts which stand out after one year of the war, and to relate them to the world situation as we know it today, and to the alternatives which the future may hold in store.

*a word to and from labour*  
I need scarcely say that I felt much honoured that from one who holds the position of Secretary of the Labour Council in one of the leading cities of the Dominion, I should have received the particular invitation I have mentioned. From my early years, I have been deeply interested in the problems of Labour. One reason, I believe, is that

believe, is that Labour's main concern along the path of life, has been a continuous struggle against adversity and poverty. Labour, too represents, so overwhelming a proportion of mankind, that it is almost synonymous with Humanity itself.

The plain picture of the ordinary man, working with the strength of his arm and the skill of his hand, to feed, to clothe and to shelter his fellows, has always seemed to me to represent Humanity in one of the noblest of its moods. To improve conditions of Labour is to better the human lot on this earth. That, I suppose, is the motive which most of us have closest to our heart when the enthusiasm of young manhood, and the realization of the duties of citizenship, begin to mould our conscience and our conduct. It is one of the tragedies of life, that, amid the complexities of the struggle for existence, the enthusiasm and the realization are so often lost. To my mind, the measure of human greatness is the degree to which we continue to hold to the end of our days, an enthusiasm for human betterment.

Let me then talk to you tonight of this war, not only in relation to the broad aspects to which I have referred, but in its relation particularly to Labour. Let us consider together what the winning of this war may mean to Labour.

may mean to Labour. Let us ponder what the loss of this war will certainly mean to Labour. Let us think together for a few minutes of what Labour has done, and can do for the winning of the war. In this, throughout, let us face the facts.

*A year of war in review*

On this day one year ago, a world that had watched with anxious but hopeful eyes, while men of good-will laboured with all their strength for peace, saw war, with indescribable savagery, begin the devastation of Europe. During the months that have since passed, freedom fleeing from many desolate lands, has followed peace into exile.

At the end of a year, silence and darkness have fallen upon Poland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland. We mourn, too, the tragedy of a broken France. With her withdrawal from the conflict, we lost a gallant ally. With the entry of Italy on the side of Germany, we faced another treacherous and rapacious foe.

The few nations of the continent of Europe that have not already been subjugated, either tremble or bow before the might and violence of the aggressor.

Fire and slaughter have spread to Africa and the near East. There is an ominous glow on the

horizons of the middle East.

horizons of the middle East. In many parts of the world, the thunder of the storm is heard, even though the lightning has not yet struck. Ships have battled on all the seven seas. From the skies, over the continent of Europe and the British Isles, aerial warfare continues to rain death and destruction. Millions of innocent, peace-loving, plain, ordinary, simple men and women, who have asked nothing more than to live their daily lives in the quiet of their own homes and the shelter of their native valleys, have been dispossessed, robbed and enslaved.

Many Nations had fondly hoped to find security in scrupulous neutrality. They found, instead, that neutrality was only an invitation to invasion, pillage, and enslavement. The souls and minds of the men of many lands to which the world is indebted for art, science, literature, invention, religious thought, and most of the other precious gifts of human life are imprisoned in the bondage of a barbarous and inhuman conqueror.

This year that has just ended was one of the blackest years in human history. These things are not the visions of a prophet of evil, they are not the imaginings of a horrid dream, they are the facts before our very eyes. Let us face them squarely.

Exactly one year ago,

*The Significance of the War for Canada*

Exactly one year ago, it was my duty to speak to you of the great decision which the people of Canada would be called upon to make, of a call to duty which Canadians in their hearts had already answered. Speaking on that occasion, I used these words:

"There is no home in Canada, no family, and no individual whose fortune 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 world knows how nobly and with what unanimity the people of Canada answered that appeal. No one today can deny the truth of the words, that there is no home in Canada, no family and no individual whose fortunes and freedom are not bound up in the present struggle. How true these words are will be even more apparent when we consider the next outstanding fact to which I would draw your attention.

Today, the nations of the British Commonwealth alone, champion, in their full strength, the rights of free men. Britain stands majestic and undaunted. To her have rallied those who once caught her great accents

of liberty,

of liberty, and learnt from her the lesson of obedience to the law. In this hour of supreme peril, there have come also to her side men of Norway, of Holland, of Belgium, of Czechoslovakia, of Poland and of France. These men are not the ghosts of brave lands that are dead. They are the souls of brave lands that still live, and will, once again, rise in the full dignity of their freedom, and the renewed vigour of indomitable youth. Nevertheless, we and they fight alone.

*The Significance of Labour Day*  
Let me now speak of another anniversary.

Tomorrow, Labour in Canada will celebrate in complete freedom, a day, which by Act of Parliament, has been set apart to honour the place which Labour has gained and holds in our national life. It is deeply significant that such a celebration is possible at the end of a year of total war in Europe.

The position of Labour in Canada, its dignity and its freedom, can be fully appreciated only in the light of both history and geography.

Canada, and likewise the United States, have been peopled largely by men and women of British stock. They brought with them to this continent not only British law and British respect for law, but other fruits of the struggles in Britain for religious and civil freedom.

Above all,

Above all, they bore in their hearts and minds the determination to maintain and extend their freedom in the new land which beckoned them to its shores.

The ancestors of our French-Canadian fellow citizens also were of those who sailed the seas, and left their native land for a continent whose broad horizons offered larger opportunities of human happiness. They brought with them skill in the arts and trades, a great capacity for work, a love of home and ~~the~~ simple joys, and a sustaining faith. Upon these ancestral foundations, the men and women of British and French stock built their new freedom.

*No historical and propoganda basis, freedom in Canada*  
As the years passed, the adventurous, <sup>and</sup> the oppressed, ~~the homeless~~, from every country in Europe, came amongst us, seeking a new homeland where life and human personality were held as sacred things, where tyranny and slavery could be nothing but a far-off memory, where the state existed for man, and not man for the state. ~~They were accepted into our great family of free men, and became the heirs of the liberty which had preceded them. The toiling hands and the unwearied feet of those who went before us never rested. They never lost, as we have never lost, the vision of progress and the determination to achieve it.~~

The frontiers of freedom,

The frontiers of freedom, like the frontiers of settlement, have steadily widened. They, too, have had their forts which consolidated the victories of the past, and protected the onward march of the future.

We have cause for gratitude, for the freedom recorded in our romantic history. We can be equally thankful for the security which geography has given us. We have grown to nationhood in a land separated by the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, from the threat of a sudden invasion of its shores. The British navy, and for the last one hundred years, the navy of the United States patrolling the waters of its oceans, have given to our own rising national power a further sense of safety.

Time and space have worked for Canada. To the inheritance of free political institutions, thus assured, and safeguarded by historical association and geographical position, democracy on this North American continent owes its existence today.

*Labour Day a Gift House of Democracy*

Now what is this democracy to which we so often refer? To me, democracy means that state of organized society which recognizes the right of its members to equality of opportunity. It means the power of the many in increasing measure, to develop in complete freedom their latent strength and talent. It means

the freedom

the freedom of the many to enjoy, under the protection of those laws which they themselves have made, an adequate and just measure of the fruits of their own labours.

Every Labour Day is a lighthouse of democracy. As its rays revolve, we see beneath them the freedom and the well-being which we have achieved. As its light flashes tonight, we catch a glimpse of the land of our dreams. We can see the Canada we have longed for and worked for, a land in which men and women, regardless of race, creed or class, can live their lives without fear. For we have cherished the realities of freedom which are also its ideals: the right to think, the right to speak, the right to organize, the right to work, the right to worship.

We believe in the right of men to enjoy the fruits of their honest labour. We believe in the sanctity of humanity, and in man's progressive capacity to take upon himself more of the attributes of Divinity. However much we have failed in what we have done, nevertheless, in our innermost hearts, I believe we have given a "value immeasurable and eternal to the humblest of human lives."

*circulation of my uncle's Democracy*  
France until recently was of this household of democracy. So also were Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium.

and Belgium. Within the space of a single year, we have witnessed the extinction of democracy on the continent of Europe. Beyond the confines of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America, democracy scarcely survives in the world today. That is the next great fact which we have now to face.

We have not needed Hitler and Mussolini to tell us that dictatorship is at war with democracy. In a world of narrowing distances, there is no longer room for these two systems to survive side by side. Sooner or later, the one will extinguish the other. Light will fade into darkness or the darkness will vanish before the light. As has so frequently been said, it is just as true of the world today as it was of the American Union, in Lincoln's day, that society no longer can continue to exist half-slave and half-free.

*Garland's mid-night hour*  
Recently I re-read the little poem entitled "Abraham Lincoln walks at Midnight". It seems to me to reflect, the tragedy, and the hope of this zero hour. It pictures that great figure, restless upon his native hillside, contemplating the sickness of the world, the bitterness, the folly, the pain and the black terror that have come upon the homesteads of men. Listen to these words:

"He cannot rest

"He cannot rest until a spirit-dawn  
Shall come: -- the shining hope of Europe free;  
The league of sober folk, the Workers' Earth,  
Bringing long peace to Cornland, Alp and Sea."

Europe has reached that midnight hour. Whether Labour Day in Canada a year hence will witness the spirit-dawn of a Europe free, or the night of Naziism casting its gloom in deepening shadows over this North American continent, will depend upon the strength, the will, and the untiring work not of one democracy but of all the democracies that have survived. In their combined effort, no force can be greater than the truth in Labour's heart and the strength of Labour's arm.

If we lack the vision to see the peril, and the strength to meet it, we, on this North American continent, like the nations of Europe, may come to disaster in one of two ways. This continent might be dominated through actual invasion and conquest. On the other hand, if we fail to carry on the struggle in Europe until tyranny is destroyed, disaster will follow, no less surely, even though not one Nazi soldier were to land upon our shores.

The triumph of the Nazis in Europe would involve for the peoples of this continent, the substitution of fear for freedom, and of economic domination for social progress. It would spell the doom of democracy in the new world.

In considering the fate

D 38677

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*the added strength of the Nazi menace*

In considering the fate of the democracies, there is another grim fact which we must face. <sup>as was ~~thought~~ *thought* 2 year ago.</sup> It bears immediately, both on the possibilities of invasion, and upon the perils of competing industrial standards. This fact is, that Nazi Germany has added to her own resources, those of the countries she has subjugated. She has acquired a vast supply of the materials and equipment of war which, at the outbreak of war, it was expected would never be used at all, or, if they were, would be used against her. All France, as we know, is in the control of the enemy; the whole western seaboard of Europe from Norway to Spain is in German hands. All the ports and airfields of this continental coast line, once in possession of friendly or allied powers, today provide the bases from which the enemy pursues his course across the skies and seas. In addition to the resources of their own land and of France, the Nazis have seized, and now possess, the resources, the equipment, and the manufacturing plants of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium. Let me give a fact or two in detail.

Including the conquered areas, the Nazis now have capacity for producing 42 million tons of steel annually, as compared with the capacity in British countries of 17 million tons, and the capacity of the United States to produce 51 million tons.

In addition to steel,

In addition to steel, Germany has added ~~very~~ <sup>enormously</sup> ~~considerably~~ to her capacity to produce ships, aircraft, motorized equipment, armour plate and munitions. ~~The motor works and aircraft factories of France and the great armament factories of Schneider-Creuzot in France and of Skoda in Czechoslovakia today work for Germany. The great Swedish firm of Bofors can sell its anti-aircraft guns only to Germany and Soviet Russia.~~

It is a fact that the great tanks built in the arsenals of Czechoslovakia were used for the destruction of France, Belgium and Holland.

It is equally a fact that in Nazi hands the iron and steel, machines and munitions of France and Belgium ~~today~~ <sup>today</sup> bring death and destruction to the British Isles.

Great Britain, Canada, and the other nations of the Commonwealth ~~today~~ <sup>now</sup> fight some 120 million Germans and Italians who have acquired resources, and control factories, far in excess of the resources and factories of their own lands.

As a result of conquering most of the industrial nations of Europe, and smashing their state organizations, social institutions and trade unions, Hitler has masses of impoverished men and women, numbering more than 80,000,000 forced by dire need

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forced by dire need to work for the lowest possible wages. However unwilling may be their obedience, however reluctant their contributions to the Nazi masters, they do represent a powerful addition to the effective strength of the enemy.

~~Common interest of the British Empire and the United States~~  
It was the recognition of these facts which led the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom to declare recently in the parliament at Westminster that the two great organizations of the English-speaking democracies, the British Empire and the United States, will have to be somewhat mixed up together, in some of their affairs, for mutual and general advantage. "Some months ago", said Mr. Churchill, "we came to the conclusion that the interests of the United States and of the British Empire both required that the United States should have facilities for the naval and air defence of the Western Hemisphere against the attack of a Nazi power, which might have temporary but lengthy control of a large part of Western Europe and its resources.

"We have therefore decided, spontaneously and without being asked or offered any inducement, to inform the Government of the United States that we should be glad to place such defence facilities at their disposal by leasing suitable sites in our transatlantic possessions  
for their greater security

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for their greater security against the unmeasured dangers of the future."

*The Canada-United States Joint Board on Defence*  
The principle of association of their interests

for the common advantage of Great Britain and the United States was thus stated by Mr. Churchill on August 20th. This principle had already been recognized in the relations between Canada and the United States, in an equally practical, and an even more immediate manner, in the joint declaration made at Ogdensburg, by President Roosevelt and myself a fortnight ago today. The declaration set forth the agreement reached on August 17th for the establishment of a Permanent Joint Board concerned with the mutual problems of defence in relation to the safety of Canada and the United States. As you are aware, the Permanent Board on Defence has since been duly constituted, and is at present engaged upon its studies of sea, land and air problems immediately related to the north half of the Western hemisphere.

The establishment of the Permanent Joint Board is the logical, I might even say the inevitable outcome of two significant declarations made on Canadian soil in August of 1938. The first of these was made on August 18th, at Queen's University in Kingston, by President Roosevelt in these words:

"The Dominion of Canada

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"The Dominion of Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other empire."

On behalf of the people of Canada, two days later, in a speech at Woodbridge, <sup>Ontario</sup> ~~North York~~, I acknowledged Mr. Roosevelt's declaration in these words:

"We, too, have our obligations as a good friendly neighbour, and one of them is to see that, at our own instance, our country is made as immune from attack or possible invasion as we can reasonably be expected to make it, and that, should the occasion ever arise, enemy forces should not be able to pursue their way, either by land, sea, or air to the United States, across Canadian territory."

These declarations marked the first explicit recognition by both countries of their reciprocity in defence.

*The survival of the independence of democracy*

The events of the two troubled years which have followed have served to emphasize, in both Canada and the United States, the necessity for reciprocal concern for each other's security. They have also allayed the

fears of those

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fears of those who felt that closer relations with the United States would weaken Canada's ties with the other British nations. The truth has been the exact opposite.

The declaration of Ogdensburg and the policy from which it sprang represent an increase, and not a decrease, in Canada's responsibilities. Canada and the United States have undertaken to share the burdens of maintaining their joint security; neither has shifted the burden to the other. We have recognized that our united strength will be something more than the strength of both acting separately. Reciprocity in defence involves reciprocal duties as well as reciprocal advantages. Canada gladly accepts both.

Canada has indeed become, as I have pointed out before, the bridge which joins the new freedom of the North American continent with the ancient freedom of Britain.

May we not see in the means now being taken to secure the common interests of the British Commonwealth and the United States, not only the surest of the safeguards of Democracy, but a promise of peace and understanding, and an enduring contribution to the cause of freedom in the world.

*Freedom of Europe essential to North American freedom*  
So much for North American security from

invasion. That, however, is not enough. Unless Naziism

in Europe

in Europe is destroyed, the threat of world domination by a ruthless foe will hang continuously over our heads, just as, in recent years, the threat of invasion and domination, has hung over the heads of the free peoples of Europe. To meet that threat, our own standards of behaviour and living would increasingly become those of the totalitarian states. Our democratic institutions, one by one, would disappear, and with them what we have won of freedom.

Unless the enemy is defeated, and the enslaved countries of Europe restored to freedom, there will be no prospect of improving, or even of maintaining the standards of Canadian life, which Canadian energy and Canadian skill have won; no hope of enlarging the opportunities for the happiness of our own or succeeding generations. Free labour will have to compete with slave labour. Men who have hitherto had the right to choose where they would work, and at what they would work, will find themselves in hopeless competition with conscript labour, automatic, soulless, driven by the merciless lash of a ruthless state.]

[Moreover, <sup>and political</sup> ~~economic~~ <sup>consequences of failure to free Europe</sup> failure to free the peoples of Europe from their present thralldom, will mean confining within narrowing limits the areas in which the democracies, should they survive, can hope to develop intercourse in trade or friendship.]

The markets

~~many of~~  
The markets in which the workmen and the producers of the North American continent have sold their goods will certainly disappear. Overseas we will be forced to compete with men who know no standards, and with states that will sacrifice every standard. We, in North America, will be subjected to competition from totalitarian economies. In a vain effort to maintain our standards, we will be driven to trade almost exclusively with ourselves. As a last impelling alternative, slowly, certainly and inexorably, we too will become conscripts in the regimentation of the state, and the hewers of wood, and the drawers of water, for the new economic masters of the world.

To Labour, these facts have spoken, and will speak, with emphasis and conviction. Labour knows the stake in the struggle between dictatorship and democracy. Labour knows what it will lose in the defeat of democracy. It understands the difference between rule by force, by those who seek a monopoly of power, and government by consent for the common good. It knows the difference between men who despise equality, and seek privilege, possessions and power, and those who believe in the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God.

In war,

*Labour its ally of the fighting forces*

In war, no work, no effort, can compare with the sacrifice of the soldier, the sailor and the airman. Their sacrifice is uppermost in the thoughts of this nation; it will live in its memories. But Canadians will remember too the <sup>heavy</sup> debt to Labour, ~~in this war~~. In Canada, Labour has extended its hours, surrendered its holidays, and in its determination to increase and advance production, has taught the young and the inexperienced, the intricacies of complicated trades. It will be the duty of the people of Canada, realizing these things now, to remember them in the hour of victory.

In the deeds of the men who on land, on sea and in the air, offer their lives to save us, Labour is the partner and the ally. Hundreds of skilful hands, unerring eyes, and strong arms, helped to create the Canadian planes in which, on Friday last, our own Canadian fighter squadron made the skies of the British Isles, vivid with the swift adventure of their skill and courage. How proud Labour must feel to have worked for such men!

*that with Labour rests the power to shorten the duration of war, and to save the lives of human beings.*

Every workman knows that every bolt, every piece of steel, every bullet, every machine part, fashioned in Canada is a work for victory. Every workman knows that lacking the machines of war, the bravest men in the world will avail nothing.

My fellow citizens:

-21-

*In the great brotherhoods*

My fellow citizens: A distinguished British journalist who recently visited us, said that he found Canada at war with Hitler and at peace with herself. We are at war, and we shall remain united in will and purpose. But we can only remain at peace with ourselves if shirking no effort, withholding no wealth, and sparing no sacrifice, we prove ourselves worthy of our two great brotherhoods - the brotherhood of the brave who fight for us, and the brotherhood of labour that works for their victory.

## OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

22. 8. 40

## MEMORANDUM

Prime Minister:

Re Broadcast

Attached are drafts of two sections I have prepared. I am also having Mr. Ferns do some paragraphs. He writes well and is greatly interested in the subject.

J.W.P.

Additional material will be submitted this afternoon. \*

D 38687

JWP/PM  
21,8.40

The two aims of the Nazi regime.

D38688

One of the secrets of the Nazi success has been the skillful perversion of the two words which make up the name of their party: national and socialism. Each <sup>had</sup> ~~had~~ its appeal to a section of the German people.

The national aspect of the movement appealed to pride of race, desire for revenge, the sense of frustration born of defeat, and the militarism which created and sustained the Germany created by Prussian arms and the Prussian spirit.

Nationalism in a people may be likened to personality in an individual. It may be good or bad, beneficent or malevolent, depending upon its inherent nature and the way in which it is developed. The nationalism which gives to a people common ideals, pride of achievement, a devotion to their language, culture and literature, and a capacity to work together for common ends, is not only good in itself but it represents the only stable foundation upon which international justice and a good feeling can be erected. The kind of nationalism, on the other hand, which exalts a race above common humanity, which inspires a desire for domination, a disregard for the rights of other peoples, and a ruthless contempt for common humanity, is wholly evil. The tragedy of Germany, of Europe, and of all

the world is that German nationalism of the evil sort overcame the free, progressive and humane national spirit in Germany and under the Nazis has, for a time being, crushed it out altogether. The national spirit which Hitler has fostered is based upon the false doctrine of a superior race claiming the right to dominate and enslave other peoples, of aspiring to transform the whole world, as Europe is being transformed, into one master nation dominating subordinate nations of enslaved individuals.

The socialism in the Nazi name is as evil and as false as the nationalism. It is not based upon a doctrine of equal rights for all men. It is not even based upon the doctrine of equal rights for all Germans. It offers the illusion of security as a reward for the surrender of all those rights of free speech, free association, freedom of worship, freedom to choose and to reject their governments, upon which the progress of humanity, and particularly of the common man has depended. The Nazis have made the most of all the imperfections, of all the weaknesses, of all the unfulfilled hopes of free peoples. They borrowed from the socialists their denunciation of capitalism, of international finance, and of social injustices. They denounced the democracies as plutocracies. They promised to destroy

the existing inequalities, but their real aim was not to replace them with equality and justice, but to create greater and permanent inequalities in their place.

Nazis have two aims which are in reality a single aim. They aim to make the German nation dominant among the nations of the world, and they aim to make the Nazi party - - a privileged group among the Germans - - dominant over the German people. National socialism, is, they claim, fresh, vigorous and dynamic; the world of free men old, decadent and static. They have falsified the whole of human history. Theirs is but the tyranny of old clothed in a new garb, arrayed against the age-old but ever new aspirations of humanity for a freer and a better world.

D 38691

Naziism: Revolution of Destruction

The Nazi aim of world domination, they do not seek to achieve merely by the old-fashioned method of warfare between nations. Against nearby countries their method has been aggression, conquest and subjugation. But they have always sought to destroy from within before conquest is attempted from without.

Against more remote lands their instrument has been propaganda. They have sought to divide peoples from their governments; to foment internal dissension, to widen existing differences, to exaggerate social conflicts, to spread every form of disunity through the creation of suspicion, fear and hatred.

The Nazis seek always to postpone their attack until they have weakened or destroyed the will of the prospective victim to resist. Their real instruments in this work of internal destruction through propaganda are generally well meaning people, completely unconscious that they are being used as the tools of their future conquerors. The Nazis believe that by fostering world unrest they can destroy freedom, and that finally they will dominate the world by virtue of racial superiority.

Naziism must be fought not only with men and machines - and with better men and machines than the Nazis themselves have - but also with ideas - and with better ideas and greater hopes for humanity than the Nazis falsely offer. It is not enough to adopt a defensive attitude. If the Nazi revolution of destruction is to be destroyed, the forces of freedom must be prepared to take the offensive in the war of ideas, with a better conception of society and greater hopes for the ordinary man and woman.

We cannot be content merely to defend. We must also extend the frontiers of freedom. We must extend them, now, in the free countries, while we are fighting the destroyers of freedom. We must make ready to extend freedom once more to the countries enslaved by Naziism, when the destroyers of freedom have themselves been destroyed.

Naziism is a revolutionary force in the sense that its technique is revolutionary and that it aims to subvert and destroy existing institutions. In every country conquered by the Nazis they have destroyed every institution, every right, and every liberty of the common man. But the Nazi revolution is not a forward-looking revolution. In reality, it is revolutionary only in its means, reactionary in its ends. Everywhere it has triumphed, brutal and naked

tyranny has been established. Against this revolution of destruction we must be ready not merely to defend existing institutions but to improve - where necessary to build anew - a better society based firmly on the rights of all humanity.

Defeat may come in two ways. The onward march of Nazi aggression has convinced all but the blindest among us that Hitler will be content with nothing less than the domination of the world. We are coming to realize that the Nazis need not conquer the whole world in order to dominate it. Free peoples have been defeated in two ways. In Europe many nations have been invaded, overrun, and subdued; others, while retaining technical neutrality, have been dominated by fear.

Defeat may come to us in these two ways if we lack the vision to see the peril and the strength to meet it. Defeat may come through actual invasion and conquest if we do not prepare to meet and repel invasion, but defeat may also come without a single Nazi landing on our shores if we fail to maintain the struggle in Europe and ultimately to destroy aggression at its very base.

On this continent we are preparing, through joint action with the United States, to repel the invader. In Europe we are sharing the burden of the defence of Britain and we are helping to build up the strength to destroy the Nazi menace. Both tasks are essential; neither must be left undone. We will not submit to slavery, and we have learned that the world, like a nation, cannot exist half slave and half free.

D 38695

Topic 19: Victory depends on the efforts of labour

We have recognized from the outset that victory in modern mechanized warfare depends upon a constant and increasing supply of munitions, equipment and supplies. We have realized, too, that the mobilization of manpower in industry is just as vital as the mobilization of the armed forces. The worker in the factory is helping to defend democracy just as surely as the soldier, the sailor and the airman. The instruments of Nazi aggression have been forged by the enslaved workers of Germany; the instruments of Nazi defeat are being forged by the free workers of democracy.

Topic 18: The significance of the struggle realized by Labour

No body of men has seized the inner significance of the present war with deeper understanding and insight than the workers of Britain, Canada, and, I believe, the United States. The stirring words of their leaders have spoken no more eloquently than the strong arms and trained hands of their comrades. Workmen, skilled and unskilled, have brought to their daily tasks unquenched enthusiasm, memorable determination, and a burning passion for victory. They know that in this war the bravest and the strongest soldiers in the world cannot stand against an overwhelming weight of machines and metal. The early German successes were won in the workshops of Germany. Our victory is being forged by the willing hands of free men in the workshops of Britain, Canada and the United States.

The history of Canadian labour throughout this war is the history of honest work, unselfish cooperation and wholehearted endeavour. The workmen of Canada have known that behind the strength of their arm is the strength of the cause for which their brothers fight. When it has been necessary they have extended the hours of labour; they have given up their holidays; they have worked overtime, because they know they fight an enemy who neither slumbers nor rests from his work of bloodshed and devastation.

D 38697

There has been a magnificent effort to recapture the cunning and the skill which the prolonged depression had forced men to forget. Experienced workmen have taught young men and unskilled men the intricacies and the secrets of complicated trades. They have done these things because every working man and woman knows that the defeat of Britain and the nations of the commonwealth will blast the hopes of labour, and turn back to the darkness of barbarism the hosts of struggling and marching humanity.

Topic 17: The destruction of the Nazi menace  
essential to the preservation of  
democracy.

D38698

But, as I have already said, the maintenance of democracy on this continent depends not only on keeping the invader from our shores, but also on defeating and destroying the Nazi menace at its very base.

We must all realize, and labour especially must know that, unless the enemy is defeated and the enslaved countries of Europe restored to freedom, there will be no hope in our generation of maintaining the standards of life, of enlarging the opportunities for the happiness of their children, or even of maintaining the standards which their energy and skill have won. Unless Germany is defeated, free labour will compete with slave labour. Men who have hitherto had the right to choose where they should work, and at what they should work, will find themselves in hopeless competition with conscript labour, soulless, automatic, and driven by the merciless lash of a ruthless state.

The markets in which the workmen and the producers of the North American continent have sold their goods will disappear. We shall be obliged to

D 38699

reduce our standards and our opportunities, and thereby to hamper and hinder the forward march of our youth to higher and better things. We shall be forced to compete in a reduced and restricted area with men who know no standards, and with states that will sacrifice every standard. We shall be driven to trade only with ourselves, and, as a last impelling alternative, slowly, certainly and inexorably, we too will become conscripts in the regimentation of the state, and the hewers of wood and the drawers of water for the new economic masters of the world.

The triumph of the Nazis in Europe, even if no Nazi ever set foot on North American soil, would involve for us the substitution of fear for freedom, and of economic domination for social progress. It would spell the doom of democracy in the new world.

Wherever Hitler and his storm troopers have passed they have destroyed the institutions and the rights essential to the existence of men and women as civilized human beings. Under the Nazis the responsibility of the government to the people has been wiped out. We in Canada know that the first of all our struggles was a struggle for responsible government, and we have known that struggle was worth while because it has guaranteed that no Canadian government and no Canadian party can rule without consent of the people. We have learnt that there is no man and no party so wise that their wisdom cannot be improved by consulting the opinion of their fellow-citizens. We know, too, that no individual and no group of individuals is safe unless they can place their case fully and fearlessly before the whole nation. Only a party which preys upon the people and puts its interest above that of the nation, refuses to consult the people, and to discuss its policies openly in a Parliament of freely-elected representatives.

D 38701

What are the concrete things which Labour defends and which Naziism seeks to destroy? Labour defends the right of the down-trodden and the oppressed to be freed and uplifted. Labour defends, too, the ~~free~~ trade unions which have humanized industry, helped to save capital from its errors and constituted the strongest bulwark against revolution and chaos. There is not a Labour man who does not know that Naziism will mark the end of the organized power of labour and its power to organize.

Labour does not believe that the destiny of man is to work like a slave for the machinery of totalitarian industry until the moment comes when he is called upon to die for the machinery of totalitarian government.

It believes in the right of men to co-operate together "each for all and all for each"--the full and free right of co-operation by producer, by consumer, or by any group of men wherever they may be banding themselves together in free association for the improvement of their economic life.

If sometimes we tire of hearing speeches on freedom of organization, freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of worship, let us never forget how precious these things really are. They are like

D 38702

-2-

health to a sick man. They are only held in their true value when they are endangered or destroyed, but their defence is the defence of the economic, the religious and the moral life of every home in Canada.

D38703

*of better values*

Topic 20. The maintenance and extension of freedom.

This war began as the struggle of man against machine. It will end as the struggle of machine against machine. But in the days to come the struggle against the machine will continue. It will be the struggle to harness the machine for man's leisure and happiness against the Nazi determination to harness it for his enslavement and destruction.

Naziism must, therefore, be fought not only with men and machines, but also with ideas and ideals. It is not enough to defend the freedom we have. We must take the offensive in freedom as well as in war. To the false Nazi dynamic of conquest and domination we must oppose the true democratic dynamic of freedom and social justice.

Labour can help in winning the war not only by its superhuman toil, <sup>but</sup> by holding its faith in the democratic ideal, by keeping clear its vision of social justice, and by striving always for human brotherhood.

From the outbreak of war, Canada has recognized the vital importance to the winning of the war of keeping alive our democratic ideals and maintaining our democratic standards.

Almost the first wartime action of the government was the establishment of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board which is vigorously engaged in protecting the standard of living of Canadian labour from the ravages of the would-be profiteer.

The heaviest burden of our war finance has been placed, with justice, upon those of our people who are best able to make sacrifices without neglecting the provision for themselves and their families of those things which are essential to well-being.

We have not been content merely to maintain the social justice already achieved; at the recent session of Parliament we took a notable step forward on the road of social progress. Unemployment Insurance has been established. Its operations will increase the security and well-being of over two million Canadian workers who, with their families, comprise more than forty percent. of our people.

We are faced with a challenge to the whole idea of democracy. We can meet the challenge only by moving constantly and steadily forward with unwavering determination to prove that dictatorship offers no good that democracy cannot surpass.

For six years Hitler prepared the German people for war. Had the marvels of labour and ingenuity which have produced his powerful weapons of aggression been directed to the construction of things useful and necessary to the German people, the citizens of the Reich would, to-day, be among the richest in the world. Instead, Hitler has constructed the means of destroying the independence of other peoples.

The conquests of Hitler have been made in the name and for the benefit of the ruling caste of a single race which boasts its superiority to the rest of humanity. In a Nazi world the rights of man would disappear. All but the few would be enslaved to satisfy the lust of the conquerors for power.

The immediate task is the destruction of the ghastly threat of universal human slavery. In that task I have indicated the vital part which labour is playing. In defeating Hitler, labour is doing more than defending what it has achieved. It is also safeguarding its hopes, and its right to hope, for a better world. The democracy we are defending is not a Utopia. It does not satisfy all human aspirations. It does give to its citizens in every walk of life the right, and indeed the duty, to work for human betterment and human brotherhood.

Topic 23: Labour to share in the fruits of victory

D38706

To destroy the Nazi menace we are forced to-day to devote a large part of the production of our labour and our skill to <sup>the</sup> needs of war. We are demonstrating that democracy can equal the Nazi feats of production and organization. At the same time, we are increasing our production beyond previous levels. We are determined that when victory is won, this increased productiveness will be used to raise our standards of life to new heights and to achieve greater security for all.

In achieving this social progress labour will have won by its efforts a larger voice. In dealing with social problems I have always adhered to the principle that there are four parties co-operating in productive work; Labour, Capital, Management and the Community. My experience has been that these four parties can come to an agreement beneficial to all, and that those who teach a policy of class against class and race against race fill the world with poison and despair. I believe that only the democratic state can preserve the interests of these four parties to production, and it is only by dealing justly among all that we can preserve peace in the place of war, and brotherly love in the place of hatred. I believe in this principle of co-operation because experience proves that it is the foundation of the good life - while philosophies of force and hatred lead to destruction, disease

and death. The state of Europe to-day is the best proof that democracy must be preserved in order to maintain the social equilibrium which makes peace and civilization possible.

Like other democratic peoples, we in Canada oppose to the Nazi doctrine of racial superiority and the hatred it breeds, a democratic citizenship based on tolerance, social well-being, security, freedom and justice. There is no place in Canada for racism. We are a people sprung from many races and it would be madness to accept the principle of racism in place of the Christian concept of human equality and human dignity. We can only live by mutual tolerance, co-operation and good-will; any other principles would lead to destruction and bloodshed. It is, therefore, that we plan to defend our country and the British Commonwealth of Nations, to carry our country forward to new stages of development and progress, and to make of our nation a united, strong and free community of healthy civilized human beings.

Hitler has recently honoured a great armaments manufacturer. We in Canada honour to-day not those who profit from war, but those men and women who work with their hands and their brains to preserve the democracy which is essential to their well-being and progress. We Canadians, of all classes, of all races, of all conditions of life, are united to-day as we never have been before to defend our country and to liberate ourselves from all threats of tyranny so that once more we may have peace, liberty, equality and human brotherhood for ourselves and for all men.

Memorandum for the Prime Minister . Broadcast  
Joint draft from J.W.P. & L.S.B.

One page by way of presentation &  
Conclusion. will follow.

Respectfully submitted .

J.W.P.  
L.S.B.

D38709

No body of men has seized the inner significance of the present war with deeper understanding and insight than the workers of Britain, Canada, and I believe the United States. The stirring words of their leaders have spoken no more eloquently than the strong arms and trained hands of their comrades. Workmen, skilled and unskilled, have brought to their daily tasks unquenched enthusiasm, ~~memorable-determination~~, and a burning passion for victory. They know that in this war the bravest and the strongest soldiers in the world cannot stand against an overwhelming weight of machines and metal. The early German successes were won in the workshops of Germany. Our victory is being forged by the willing hands of free men in the workshops of Britain, Canada and the United States.

The history of Canadian labour throughout this war is the history of honest work, unselfish cooperation and whole-hearted endeavour. The workmen of Canada have known that behind the strength of their arm is the strength of the cause for which their brothers fight. When it has been necessary they have extended the hours of labour;

D 38711

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they have given up their holidays; they have worked overtime because they know they fight an enemy who never slumbers nor rests from his work of bloodshed and devastation.

There has been a magnificent effort to recapture the cunning and the skill which the prolonged depression had forced men to forget. Experienced workmen have taught young men and unskilled men the intricacies and the secrets of complicated trades. They have done these things because every working man and woman knows that the defeat of Britain and the nations of the commonwealth will blast the hopes of labour, and turn back to the darkness of barbarism the hosts of struggling and marching humanity. Canadian and American workmen in particular, know that unless the enemy is defeated and the enslaved countries of Europe restored to freedom, there will be no hope in our generation of maintaining the standards of life, of enlarging the opportunities for the happiness of their children or even of maintaining the standards which their energy and skill have won. Unless Germany is defeated, free labour will compete with slave labour. Men who have

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hitherto had the right to choose where they should work, and at what they should work, will find themselves in hopeless competition with conscript labour, soulless, automatic, and driven by the merciless lash of a ruthless state.

If Hitler fulfils his purpose,  
The markets in which the workmen and the producers of the North American continent have sold their goods will disappear. We shall be obliged to reduce our standards and our opportunities, and thereby to hamper and hinder the forward march of our youth to higher and better things. We shall be forced to compete in a reduced and restricted area with men who know no standards, and with states that will sacrifice every standard. We shall be driven ~~either~~ to trade only with ourselves, and perhaps as a last impelling alternative, slowly, certainly and inexorably, we too will become conscripts in the regimentation of the state or the hewers of wood and the drawers of water for our new economic masters.

The leaders of labour have seen these things. One has only to read the speeches of labour leaders in Britain, and those who led the workers of France when they were free to speak, to recognize the truth of what I have said.

What are the concrete things which labour defends and which Naziism will destroy? Labour defends the right of the downtrodden and the oppressed to be freed and uplifted. It guards the institution of free parliaments. Parliaments and local assembly, said Mr. Arthur Greenwood, the British labour leader, are the outward and visible signs of the whole world of freedom of the British people. Parliament is, perhaps, the one thing more than any other that Hitler wishes to destroy. In that school of thought Canadian labour has been nurtured, for it, too, has believed in the peaceful evolution of disciplined liberty.

#### The Destruction of Responsible Government

Wherever Hitler and his storm troopers have passed they have destroyed the institutions and the rights essential to the existence of men and women as civilized human beings. Under the Nazis the responsibility of the government to the people has been wiped out. We in Canada know that the first of all our struggles was a struggle for responsible government, and we have known that struggle was worth while because it has guaranteed that no Canadian government and no Canadian party can rule without consent of the people. We have learnt that there is no man and

no party so wise that their wisdom cannot be improved by consulting the opinion of their fellow-citizens. We know, too, that no individual and no group of individuals is safe unless they can place their case fully and fearlessly before the whole nation. Only a party which preys upon the people and puts its interest above that of the nation, refuses to consult the people, and to discuss its policies openly in a Parliament of freely-elected representatives.

Labour will defend, too, the free trade unions which have humanized industry, helped to save capital from its errors and constituted the strongest bulwark against revolution and chaos. There is not a labour man who does not know that Naziism will mark the end of the organized power of labour and its power to organize.

Labour does not believe that the destiny of man is to work like a slave for the machinery of totalitarian industry until the moment comes when he is called upon to die for the machinery of totalitarian government.

Labour believes not only in the freedom to enquire into the truth, but also in the right to publish the truth to the world. For truth is free and invincible

*or enslaved*

~~as England~~ and cannot be coerced by any tyrant however great his power.

It believes in the right of men to co-operate together "each for all and all for each"--the full and free right of co-operation by producer, by consumer, or by any group of men wherever they may be banding themselves together in free association for the improvement of their economic life.

If sometimes we tire of hearing speeches on freedom of organization, freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of worship, let us never forget how precious these things really are. They are like health to a sick man. They are only held in their true value when they are endangered or destroyed, but their defence is the defence of the economic, the religious and the moral life of every home in Canada.

The best aspirations of labour are the ideals of every free country. We share them with the land of Britain, we share them with the United States of America. It is because the two northern nations of this hemisphere share them, and so many other things in common, that the President of the United States and myself were able to sit down together a few days ago and reduce to simple

language, in a few brief hours, an agreement for the common defence of our two countries which may well mark a new era of peace and hope, not only for Canada and the United States, but for the British Commonwealth of nations and the world at large. Over a hundred years of peace, many years of understanding, a unity of interests, a harmony of ideals, a common sympathy with the cause of Britain and her allies--all these made this possible. In the conference at Ogdensburg, interests and ideals met together on a common ground and plighted their troth.

Behind the confines of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States, freedom has all but vanished from the world. Happily, the relations between the British nations and the United States have grown steadily more intimate.

Only a few days ago, the Prime Minister of Great Britain announced the spontaneous decision of the British government to place at the disposal of the United States suitable sites on this side of the Atlantic to improve the naval and air defences of the western hemisphere against the possible attack of any combination of powers which might gain temporary but

nevertheless lengthy control of a large part of western Europe and its resources.

In making this announcement, Mr. Churchill used these memorable words:

"Undoubtedly this process means that these two great organizations of the English-speaking democracies the British Empire and the United States, will have to be somewhat mixed up together in some of their affairs for mutual and general advantage.

For my part, looking out upon the future, I do not view the process with any misgivings. No one can stop it."

Mr. Churchill's words constitute a declaration of faith in the fundamental unity of freedom and in the common interest of free peoples in its maintenance.

It is not without significance that, just as the British and Canadian trade agreements with the United States were signed on the same day in 1938, so, in 1940, Mr. Churchill's announcement should have had its parallel in the conference between President Roosevelt and myself which resulted in the creation of the Permanent Joint Defence Board.

The establishment of the Permanent Joint Board is the logical, almost the inevitable outcome of two declarations made on Canadian soil in August of 1938. The first of these was made at Queen's University in Kingston by President Roosevelt in these words:

"The Dominion of Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other empire."

Two days later, I acknowledge Mr. Roosevelt's declaration on behalf of the people of Canada, in these words:

"We, too, have our obligations as a good friendly neighbour, and one of them is to see that, at our own instance, our country is made as immune from attack or possible invasion as we can reasonably be expected to make it, and that, should the occasion <sup>ever</sup> arise, enemy forces should not be able to pursue their way, either by land, sea or air to the United States, across Canadian territory."

These declarations marked the first explicit recognition by both countries of their reciprocity in defence.

I made it clear that these reciprocal responsibilities for the defence of our homeland in North America in no way diminished the responsibility of Canada as a nation of the British Commonwealth. I believe they have increased it.

I pointed out, too, that President Roosevelt had recognized the double responsibility of the Canadian people. Let me repeat my words:

"The common concern which each part would be expected to have for the whole was recognized by the president, when, in conveying the assurance he did, he prefaced his words by explicitly pointing out that the Dominion of Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British empire."

The events of the two troubled years which have followed have served to emphasize, in both Canada and the United States, the necessity for reciprocal concern for each other's security. They have also allayed the fears of those who felt that closer relations with the United States would weaken Canada's ties with the other British nations. The truth has been the exact opposite.

Canada has instead become, as I have pointed out before, the bridge which joins the new freedom of the North American continent with the ancient freedom of Britain. We have, in recent days, found the means to strengthen that bridge at both ends. To help Britain to face the immediate emergency of this summer we have contributed to the utmost limit of our immediately available resources. We have speeded up our preparations for the bitter months and years ahead. Yet we have found time, too, to strengthen our bonds with our great and friendly neighbour.

The joint declaration at Ogdensburg was, as I have said, the logical development of the reciprocal declarations of 1938. It was, at the same time, an unprecedented departure in international relations.

Once we have recognized our responsibilities for each other's defence, what is more natural than that we should study the means and concert the plans to protect one another against possible threats to our safety. Yet where else in the world can two nations be found, one at war, the other neutral, freely associated in formal discussions for the organization of their common security?

There is one point, above all, I should like to stress. The declaration of Ogdensburg and the policy from which it sprang represent an increase, and not a decrease, in Canada's responsibilities. Canada and the United States have undertaken to share the burdens of maintaining their joint security; neither has shifted the burden to the other. We have recognized that our united strength will be something more than the strength of both acting separately. Reciprocity in defence involves reciprocal duties as well as reciprocal advantages. Canada accepts both with a willing heart.

The establishment of the Permanent Joint Defence Board has set the seal of permanent understanding and mutual confidence upon the honourable history of two nations. That history has been a record of misunderstandings overcome, of suspicions defeated, of differences adjusted, of ancient controversies forgotten. It is in the very truth what Shakespeare describes as a marriage of true minds. For in this lasting bond the interests of both our nations and the ideals of both our nations are wedded together.

These things are sure. If the establishment of the

27. D 38722

joint board is significant and beneficial to Canada,  
it is significant and beneficial to the United States.  
If it is significant and beneficial to Canada and the  
United States, it is significant and beneficial to the  
whole British Commonwealth. If it is significant and  
beneficial to the United States and to the British  
Commonwealth, it has within it a promise of peace and  
understanding for the whole world of men.

Germany's determination to destroy all other nations.

Hitler and his Nazi associates have fastened a yoke of servitude upon the people of Europe. When I say this I am not using a mere figure of rhetoric. Let us examine what Hitler's vaunted revolution has meant to the people who have experienced its horrors. Firstly, it has meant the destruction of the national independence of peoples. For five hundred years, men who have loved liberty have striven for the independence of their compatriots from foreign overlords and powerful dynasties. They sacrificed themselves on behalf of national independence, because the right of a people to use its language, to follow its own religious beliefs, to determine its own form of government and to enjoy its inherited cultural habits is the foundation of all personal self-respect, well-being and liberty. This, the Nazis and their Fascist allies, have taken from the Austrians, the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Poles, the Norwegians, the Danes, the Dutch, the Belgians, the Albanians, the Abyssinians and the French.

The great Czech universities have been closed; the Czech cultural organizations have been banned; the character of the Czech government is determined by their German masters. Nothing remains for the Czech people except to labour for their foreign overlords.

D 38724

The Poles have suffered a like fate, and all the best land of Poland has been taken from the Polish people, and those Poles who have not been herded together in the looted central area of the old Polish state are forced to work as day labourers on German farms, denied the right to use their own language and even to live with their own families.

In France, we see the same sickening spectacle of a people robbed of their liberty and their property, their fairest provinces, and even their great capital in the possession of foreign and pagan soldiers. These unhappy people have not even found the peace of slavery, for Hitler has seized their ports, their arms, their air fields and their factories for the purpose of carrying on warfare against those who are still fighting to maintain their independence.

Hitler's determination to destroy democracy

Hitler has frequently told us that he is the leader of a dynamic revolution which is aimed at the overthrow of the plutocratic democracies. Let us examine a second aspect of what this revolution has meant to the people of Europe.

Democracy is not just a word. It is embodied in social, political and economic institutions, the purposes of which are the economic well-being of the individual, the preservation of his self-respect, the preservation of the ideals of his religion and his philosophy, and the protection of his person and his property. The institutions and rights of the democratic state are the product of the age-long and noble struggle of human beings for a better, a juster and a more civilized life.

D 38726

The Destruction of Responsible Government

Wherever Hitler and his stormtroopers have passed they have destroyed the institutions and the rights essential to the existence of men and women as civilized human beings. Under the Nazis the responsibility of the government to the people has been wiped out. We in Canada know that the first of all our struggles was a struggle for responsible government, and we have thought that struggle worth while because it has guaranteed that no Canadian government and no Canadian party can rule without<sup>the</sup> consent of the people. We know that there is no man and no party so wise that their wisdom cannot be improved by consulting the opinion of their fellow-citizens. We know, too, that no individual and no interest is safe unless they can place their case fully before the whole nation. Only a party which preys upon the people and puts its interest above that<sup>of</sup> the nation refuses to consult the people, and to discuss its policies openly in a Parliament of freely elected representatives.

D38727

The Destruction of Free Speech and a Free Press.

There is no need for me to describe the way in which the Nazis have destroyed the right of the individual to worship God, to think freely, and to place his ideas before the people. There is no free religious organization in the whole of Europe which has been able to come to terms with Hitler's government. This is not strange ~~strange~~ because Hitler demands that all religious teachings be subordinate to the teachings of the Nazi party. Men and women are not allowed to acknowledge God as a power above the Fuehrer, or as a guiding influence in their life.

We have been treated to the tragic spectacle of a declaration by the once great University of Berlin that the work of Einstein is useless because he is a Jew, We have seen humane and tolerant men badgered, imprisoned and killed. Carl von Ossietzky, whose work for peace was honoured by all Europe and to whom the Nobel Peace Prize was given, was locked in a concentration camp and only released to die from his sufferings.

There is not a single man or woman in Canada whose conscience, soul and mind is not threatened by the Nazis and the Fascists.

The Destruction of the Trade Unions

The greatest bulwarks of the well-being of the working people - the trade unions - have been destroyed by this man and his party.

Let me read to you a brief description of what this means, written by a well-known European economist, G. W. Guillebaud:

".....the State imposes the duty to work, and this is a very far-reaching obligation. It can mean that the State has the right to lay down the conditions under which a man shall work. The State can say to a man: You shall work in this occupation; you shall work for ten hours a day and for these wages; and you shall work where you are told to work even though it is a different district from that in which you are now living."<sup>1</sup>

The fate of man under the Nazis is to work like a slave until the moment comes when he is called upon to die for a state machine in the operation of which he has no part and whose interests are not his own.

<sup>1</sup> C. W. Guillebaud: The Economic Recovery of Germany, 1933-1938, (London, MacMillan, 1939), Page 225

Germany a Slave State

The fact is that Europe under the Nazis is being turned into a continent of slaves. Because the institutions which guarantee the conscience, the thought, the wages, the conditions and the property of men have been destroyed there is no class, no religion, no school of thought, no family, no man, no woman, no child who is not at the mercy of a small group of unprincipled politicians who know no humanity, no scruple, and no God.

D 38730

The Defence and Extension of liberty and  
Social Justice.

The essence of Naziism and Fascism is not new, even though Hitler rides in automobiles and his soldiers speed to their work of destruction in tanks and aeroplanes. It is a return to the pagan, feudal tyranny which the sacrifices of our forefathers banished from Western Europe and America in the past. We are engaged once more in the struggle for the liberty, equality and brotherhood of mankind.

We do not intend to fight Hitler by building only armies, navies and airfleets which out-match his. We are engaged in defending and developing a better and a more worth while society than that which the Nazis wish to impose on mankind, and than that which we, ourselves, have known in the past. What have we done to realize that better society?

The preservation of political liberty

The government of Canada has in no way impaired the political liberty of our citizens. When the government took the decision to declare war, it consulted the elected representatives of the Canadian people. Subsequently, the government went directly to the people and placed its record before the electors for their judgment. In the session of Parliament, now adjourned, a full and free enquiry was made into every aspect of the government's policy and administrative record. The Defence of Canada Regulations, against which criticism had been directed from several quarters, were carefully examined by a committee of the House of Commons. No man can with conscience or reason say that the government of Canada has impaired the traditional and hard-won liberties of the Canadian people. I can assure my fellow-countrymen that, so long as I remain Prime Minister of Canada, those political and personal liberties which we today enjoy will be preserved.

Social Liberty

Political and personal freedom is an empty thing without a reasonable and just measure of social and economic equality and security. It is an unchallengable fact that the vast majority of the Canadian people enjoy one of the highest standards of living of any nation in the world.

It is our intention to preserve our standard of living insofar as the necessities of our defence will allow. What is more important, we intend to preserve and develop the means of maintaining economic equality and security. In the recently adjourned session of Parliament the government introduced two measures with profound and far-reaching consequences to the people of this country. The Unemployment Insurance Act has created a fund which will increase the security and well-being of over two million Canadian workers who, with their families, comprise more than forty percent of our people. The heaviest burden of our war finance has been placed, with justice, upon those of our people who are best able to make sacrifices without neglecting the provision for themselves and their families of those things which are essential to well-being. Finally, I wish to mention

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the work of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board which is vigorously engaged in the prevention of profiteering. These policies of the government indicate that social justice is the aim of our society, and even in war time an increased measure of social justice is being achieved.

D38734

Personal faith in co-operation.

In dealing with social problems I have always adhered to the principle that there are four parties co-operating in productive work; Labour, Capital, Management and the Community. My experience has been that these four parties can come to an agreement beneficial to all, and that those who teach a policy of class against class and race against race fill the world with poison and despair. I believe that only the democratic state can preserve the interests of these four parties to production, and it is only by dealing justly among all that we can preserve peace in the place of war, and brotherly love in the place of hatred. I believe in this principle of co-operation because experience proves that it is the foundation of the good life, while philosophies of force and hatred lead to destruction, disease and death. The state of Europe today is the best proof that democracy must be preserved in order to maintain the social equilibrium which makes peace and civilization possible.

D38735

How we shall meet the Nazi challenge.

For seven years Hitler prepared the German people for war. Had the marvels of labour and ingenuity which have produced his powerful weapons of aggression been directed to the construction of things useful and necessary to the German people, the citizens of the Reich would, to-day, be among the richest in the world. Instead, Hitler has constructed the means of destroying the independence of other peoples, and this is the measure of his crime. We are united in our resolution to resist his aggressions.

In meeting his challenge we are demonstrating that a democratic nation can equal the Nazi feats of production and organization. But we intend to direct our skill and ingenuity first to the defence of our country and then to the solution of our social and economic problems. We are rapidly raising the production of our country, and we intend that, once the war is over, this productiveness shall raise our standard of life to new levels and achieve security for all.

In place of Hitler's racial hatred we are pledging ourselves to create a Canadian citizenship which means tolerance, social well-being, security, liberty and

D 38736

justice. There is no place in Canada for racism. We are a people sprung from many races and it would be madness to accept the principle of racism in place of the Christian concept of human equality and human dignity. We can only live by mutual tolerance, co-operation and good-will; any other principles would lead to destruction and bloodshed. It is, therefore, that we plan to defend our country and the British Commonwealth of Nations, to carry our country forward to new stages of development and progress, and to make of our nation a united, strong and free community of healthy civilized human beings.

Hitler has just honoured a certain man - Herr von Krupp von Bohlen - a great armaments manufacturer. We in Canada honour today not those who profit from war, but those men and women who work with their hands and their brains to preserve the democracy which is essential to their well-being and progress. We Canadians, of all classes, of all races, of all conditions of life are united today as we never have been before to defend our country and to liberate ourselves from all threats of tyranny so that once more we may have peace, liberty, equality and fraternity for ourselves and for all men.

D 38737

(a)

In facing the facts, there are three which, at the end of a year, have come to be outstanding:

(1) Practically the whole of Europe is today, as the result of invasion, in enemy hands or under enemy control;

(2) The peoples of Europe and, in particular, <sup>the</sup> industrial populations have been reduced to a condition of servitude, liable to the regimentation of a totalitarian state. No longer is there between the workers, the freedom of voluntary organization or of co-operative effort, or of those human rights and liberties which serve to distinguish democracies from dictatorships;

(3) Viewing the world as a whole, the surviving democracies are comprised pretty much in their entirety by the peoples of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the peoples of the United States. In most other quarters of the globe where the lives of men are not subject to the totalitarian state, they are threatened by its existence and its expansion. It must <sup>be</sup> perfectly clear to all that the struggle, from the outset, has been one of the dictatorships versus the democracies. This indeed was inevitable since neither can long exist in the presence of the other.

These facts bring to the fore two <sup>facts</sup> others that were not equally apparent a year ago. The first is that our own country and indeed the entire continent of North

Canada v Britain

D 38738

There are two lands which are always in our hearts in these days. First, and naturally first, is the land which has given us birth or has sheltered us with all the kindness and hospitality of a great-hearted people -- our mother, our foster mother, Canada.

The distinguished London editor of the Manchester Guardian who visited us the other day, said that to visit Canada at this time was an exhilarating experience for an Englishman. He was kind enough to praise our strength, our vigour, our youth and the resilience with which we have marched breast-forward against the violence of evil. "I found," said he, "a land at war with Hitler and at peace with itself."

We are at peace with ourselves because we are at peace with our own consciences. Our soldiers, our air-men, our ships guard the shores of Britain. We man the outposts of Iceland, Newfoundland and the islands of the Caribbean. The whole remaining manpower of the country stands ready to fulfil its first duty of citizenship, to protect our native land from the enemy without and the traitor within.

Our factories forge the implements of war. A bountiful harvest has rewarded the care and toil of the husbandman.

Every man, woman and child in Canada sees the issues of the war in terms not only of Canada and of the British Commonwealth, but of humanity itself. We have no illusions about the length of the struggle, or the strength of the foe. We have no illusions either about the certainty of victory.

A pioneer people, we meet sanguine and undismayed, the realities of the dangers which beset us. We have been true to ourselves, to North America, to the ancient land of Britain, the fount and origin of our free institutions. As Canadians we fight with Britain for Canada. As North Americans, our high historic task has been to wipe out the memories of "old, unhappy, far-off things, and battles long ago", and to have opened a new mansion in the house of the great English-speaking democracies.

Amid the clouds of war a rainbow spans the Atlantic. It has been at once our pride, our duty and the fulfilment of our national destiny to help to fashion the arch of conciliation and reconciliation.

Yes, we are at peace with ourselves. But we are at war with Hitler and there we shall remain as long as falsehood, violence, rapine, brutality, paganism are exalted, and until the innocent victims of tyranny enter once again into their free inheritance.

The other land in our hearts is Britain -- those brave and beleaguered islands that personify all the more precious things that mankind has won on his journey from darkness to light, from barbarism to civilization. Britain stands in the panoply of war like some great chieftain at the gathering of the clans of free men from every glen and hill.

To her standard have rallied those who speak her tongue and have caught her great accents. There have come too, the men of Norway, of Holland, Belgium, of Czechoslovakia, Poland and France. Those men are not the ghosts of the brave lands that are dead. They are the souls of brave lands that still live and will once again rise in the full dignity of their freedom.

How could we be at peace with ourselves unless with all our will, and our strength we were ~~we~~ there with them in the suffering, the sacrifice and the triumph.

D38741

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

I am very sorry that I have been rather muzzy-headed lately and apologize for the dearth and delay.

I am attaching some very preliminary drafts of a few unrelated sections. More will follow in the course of the day, particularly

1. Analysis of war.
2. The war in terms of a man, a woman and a child.
3. Hitler and Labour's appreciation based upon Greenwood's story of Labour and the War.
4. Conclusion.

Respectfully submitted,

August 22, 1940.

L.W.B.

INTRODUCTION:

I speak to you at the close of this quiet Canadian Sunday, when hundreds of thousands of you, in churches throughout the land, and in the silence of your own hearts, have found refuge and strength in the faith of your fathers.

Often throughout this day you have turned your thoughts, no doubt, as I have turned mine, to the fatherhood of God in which we have set our trust, and to the brotherhood of man on which we have built out hope.

On this day it is particularly fitting that we should take time for the contemplation of that faith and that hope. For today is the first anniversary of the first Sunday in September, 1939, when Britain declared war on tyranny in order that true freedom and a lasting peace might come once again to the troubled earth.

On that day which now seems so far away, I spoke to you of a great decision which the people of Canada would be called upon to make, of a call to duty which Canadians in their hearts had already answered.

Speaking to you on that occasion I used these 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."

The world knows how nobly the people of Canada answered that appeal.

Today is also the eve of Labour Day -- that anniversary when men and women, with the dignity that comes from toil, and the compassion that has come from suffering, proclaim their belief in justice and liberty, and salute the coming triumph of the rights of man.

On this double anniversary which marks a noble decision and a noble cause, I want to speak for a few minutes to you as you sit with those who are dear to you in the sanctity of the homes of Canada.

I want you to consider with me the happenings of this war, the facts which face us at the end of this first year, the prospects of the coming year, and the hopes of victory which sustain us.

I want also to ask you to consider with me what the struggle signifies in the terms of our common humanity, what it means, in short, to the man, the woman and the child who sit together at the fireside as I speak to you today.

But before I begin that discussion, will you pardon me a few personal remarks. Throughout my life, I have loved simple things -- the peace of the countryside, the talks of friends and their kindly laughter, the companionship of books, the shouts of children at their play, and the wistfulness of sharing with my neighbours all those tender little things which make up the joys and sorrows of life.

I have found comfort and whatever strength I possess to face the tasks of my daily work in the faith which I learned at my Mother's knee. I have loved peace as you have loved peace. I have hated cruelty and violence, tyranny and greed, as you have hated them. I have longed,

and in spite of many failings, have worked for a world in which men and women and children of all races, creeds and colours could live their simple lives without fear.

I have believed passionately in the right of men to enjoy the fruits of their honest labour. I have held to a faith, perhaps a mystical faith, that man was destined as the years rolled by, to take upon himself more of the attributes of God.

It has been my belief from which I have never wavered, that the pilgrimage of man on this earth was a journey towards the light, that the horizons of human happiness were forever widening.

I have believed in the sanctity of humanity and have often echoed in my own heart the prayer of the great English statesman that the coming years would give a value immeasurable and eternal to the humblest of human lives.

I have cherished, as you have cherished, the realities of freedom which are also its ideals, the right to speak, the right to worship, the right to think, the right to organize, the right to work.

I have known, as every man who toils has known, that there can be no justice without freedom, and no freedom without justice, that liberty alone can add a final dignity to human life.

I believe that in the statement of a simple creed I have expressed also the faith of the overwhelming majority of my fellow countrymen.

Those thoughts have come to me as I have considered the aspirations of labour and the issues of this war.

Today I re-read a little American poem entitled "Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight". It pictures that great figure restless upon his native hillside, contemplating the sickness of the world, the bitterness, the folly, the pain, and the black terror that has come upon the homesteads of men.

The poet put in one short verse the vision which inspires us all:

"He cannot rest until a spirit-dawn  
Shall come;--the shining hope of Europe free:  
The league of sober folk, the Workers' Earth,  
Bringing long peace to Cornland, Alp and Sea."

Canadian Labour and the War:

The history of Canadian labour throughout this war is the history of honest work, unselfish cooperation, and the wholehearted endeavour of men who from the beginning have seen with clear eyes the issue of this war. The workmen of Canada have helped to mobilize on the side of Britain and her Allies the conscience of Canada. There has been a willingness practically universal to extend the hours of labour when necessary, to work overtime when necessary, to forego holidays when necessary. There has been a magnificent effort to bring back to willing hands the cunning and the skill which the prolonged depression had forced into disuse. There has been an enthusiasm on the part of experienced workmen to teach the young workmen and the unskilled workmen the skilful intricacies and the secrets of complicated trades.

Particularly has this been noticeable in the shipbuilding industry. What are called the bottle necks in labour have been avoided wherever possible. When the history of this war is written, the people of Canada will not forget how Canadian workmen steeled their arms and bent their backs to the task of defeating once and forever the enemies of labour.

These things have been made possible primarily by the recognition of every working man and woman that the defeat of Britain and the nations of the commonwealth will turn back to darkness and barbarism the hosts of struggling and marching humanity.

It will be the duty of every government, and not least the government of Canada, when this war is over, to see that that faith is justified, and that confidence rewarded.

On the other side the employer has done his part. I asked a leading representative of labour the other day if he could sum up for me in a sentence what the attitude of capital had been in Canada during this war. He said that with very few exceptions -- and there are always exceptions -- capital has played and is playing the game. The government on its part -- and when I say the government I do not speak in any partisan sense, -- I include all the parties in the state -- has from the beginning determined that no class in the community should take advantage of other people's sacrifice and suffering.

The Wartime Prices and Trade Board has seen to it that the necessities of life have not risen unduly. The cost of living in Canada today is in most respects less than it was in 1930.

The conscience of the country aided by the government and supported by all parties, has seen to it that all contracts have provided for fair wages and minimum profits. Our industrial effort which every day gains in strength, momentum and speed, has been in very truth a great national cooperation between those who plan and those whose skill and strength manage the machines of industry which are the implements of victory.

The right to mobilize men and machines, man power and industry, capital and labour, fairly, justly, indiscriminately, has been taken by the state, and what is far more important, willingly given by the citizen.

## OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

16-viii-40

MEMORANDUM

Prime Minister

re Labour Broadcast

I have tried to  
work out a purely  
tentative skeleton  
for a broadcast  
along lines you  
have indicated.

I thought you  
might wish to see  
it at this stage in  
case any comments  
occurred to you.

JWP.

Mr Brockington  
has seen the outline.

D 38750

Suggested topical heads for broadcast on  
The War and Labour

1. September 1st anniversary of outbreak of hostilities in Europe:

Canada's position unchanged but more clearly appreciated.

(See closing words Prime Minister's broadcast of Sept. 3, 1939)

2. Two aspects of the war:

1. international -- German aim to dominate all other nations (Prime Minister's broadcast Oct. 27, 1939);

2. social -- autocracy vs. democracy; the revival of the "slave state", Nazi supermen to rule inferior, subject peoples (See Chester Bloom article attached);

3. Nazi claim to oppose only the leaders is a propagandist sham (Hitler's peace speech in the Reichstag)

An attempt to divide people from their governments as a prelude to their national destruction -- e.g. attacks on Churchill, etc.

In subject states the Nazis have destroyed every institution, every right, every liberty of the common man.

4. Naziism: a backward looking revolution

Must be fought not only with men and machines, but with ideas.

A defensive attitude is not enough: we must look forward and prepare to take the offensive with a better conception of society.

Not merely to defend, but also to extend the frontiers of freedom (Prime Minister's August 8, 1939).

5. The foundations of a free society:

Not merely personal and political liberty (traditional with British peoples);

but also social freedom:

rights of labour to organize, to bargain collectively, to form co-operative associations, to share in government of industry, to an increasing measure of security.

6. Personal note: life long interest in the cause of social freedom and social progress.

Landmarks to be noted culminating in Unemployment Insurance introduced in war time.

Industrial development: four parties to industry.

7. Nazi presentation of the war issue essentially false:

revolution v. reaction (capitalist democracy)  
dynamic v. static

8. Progress based on the eternal verities of freedom and equal rights for all men.

It is the old struggle between autocracy and democracy, tyranny and

freedom in a new disguise;

Action for action's sake is the  
Nazi dynamic -- nothing creative;

Democracy must restore its vigour  
and its capacity for action, not  
for its own sake, but towards the  
goal of increased human freedom and  
human happiness.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> Free Press

Date Aug. 12 /40

Subject

## Awaiting Willkie's Word

By Chester A. Bloom.

WASHINGTON: Will Wendell L. W. Willkie, standard-bearer of the revived Republican party against President F. D. Roosevelt, be true to the immortal principles of his adopted party's great father, Abraham Lincoln?

Will he, as Lincoln did, denounce the monstrous slave power again devouring human liberty?

Mr. Willkie, in his speech accepting the Republican nomination, on Saturday, August 17 next, will outline his domestic and foreign policy. What he says, or fails to say, against the rebirth of slavery worse than Lincoln ever knew, will be American history.

The new world slavers and free Britons alike wait his word; more, perhaps, than you in Canada realize. For it is touch and go which of these two men shall lead the United States after next January; and Wendell Willkie's words may affect vital decisions even before then.

Before this issue of world slavery, all others between Roosevelt and Willkie fade to nothingness. They are two men strangely alike in personality, claiming the same democratic principles, the same love of freedom. Before Mr. Willkie's nomination, he spoke words of hope to the Allied forces fighting the Nazi slave power.

Since his nomination, he has been silent on the topic. The lower type of his political associates are already beginning to urge this strong man to weasel. Some of them, listening to vocal minorities, are weakening on compulsory military service to build American defences; they're beginning to think it is unpopular among the masses. So now they're urging Mr. Willkie to come out against it as a step toward involving the United States in the war.

Wendell Willkie has given no sign that he is listening to the lure of votes; reserving his decisions

for public announcement on Aug. 17.

On the subject of the reborn slave power, it is pertinent to recall here some words from a historic United States Supreme Court decision. Eighty-three years old, they prove that the principles of Nazi world slavery are no new thing. They prove that the slave power never dies because it lives in the dark corners of the human heart.

I quote Supreme Court Justice Roger B. Taney in the famous Dred Scott slave case, delivered in March, 1857. Note the parallelism of Judge Taney's dictum with Hitler's Nazi philosophy. For slavery progresses too with the times. The philosophy of the superior race which extended then to Africans has been widened by the Nazis to Jews and Czechs and Poles, and now to all the conquered races; only the German Nazis are really human.

Justice Taney was arguing that the American Declaration of Independence written in 1776 did not intend to include "the class of persons who have been imported as slaves, nor their descendants, whether they had become free or not." (Read the Nazi Aryan law on this point of descendants.)

"They had," wrote Justice Taney, referring to the slaves, "for more than a century been regarded as beings of an inferior order . . . unfit to associate with the white race . . . no rights which the white man was bound to respect . . . bought and sold and treated as an ordinary article of merchandise and traffic."

Then, quoting those famous words from the Declaration, "that all men are created equal," the eminent justice said that while they would seem to include the whole human family, "it is too clear for dispute that the enslaved African race were not intended to be included."

The point is not the technicality

of whether the Declaration intended to or did not include slaves. That was adequately answered in dissenting opinions. The point is the exact parallelism with Nazi philosophy that for the benefit of a member of a superior race, an inferior might, as Justice Taney put it, "justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery."

When Abraham Lincoln was accused of wanting to mix white blood with black by giving freedom to the slaves, he replied: "There is a physical difference between the two which, in my judgment, will probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality . . . but I hold that, notwithstanding all this, there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence—the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

That's the difference between the Nazi and the civilized creed. We hope Mr. Willkie is pondering his great predecessor's dictum.

D 28755

D 38756

*Canada at the Side of Britain*

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BROADCAST BY

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

*Prime Minister of Canada*

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1939

(The day upon which H.M. The King proclaimed a state of war  
between the United Kingdom and Germany)



OTTAWA  
J. O. PATENAUDE, I.S.O.  
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY  
1939

D 38757

*Canada at the Side of Britain*

BROADCAST BY

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

*Prime Minister of Canada*

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1939

(The day upon which H.M. The King proclaimed a state of war  
between the United Kingdom and Germany)

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For months, indeed for years, the shadow of impending conflict in Europe has been ever present. Through these troubled years, no stone has been left unturned, no road unexplored in the patient search for peace.

Unhappily for the world, Herr Hitler and the Nazi regime in Germany have persisted in their attempt to extend their control over other peoples and countries, and to pursue their aggressive designs in wanton disregard of all treaty obligations, and peaceful methods of adjusting international disputes. They have had resort increasingly to agencies of deception, terrorism, and violence. It is this reliance upon force, this lust for conquest, this determination to dominate throughout the world, which is the real cause of the war that to-day threatens the freedom of mankind.

**The real issue of the war**

The fate of a single city, the preservation of the independence of a particular nation, are the occasion, not the real cause of the present conflict. The forces of evil have been loosed in the world in a struggle between the pagan conception of a social order which ignores the individual and is based upon the doctrine of might, and a civilization based upon the Christian conception of the brotherhood of man, with its regard for the sanctity of contractual relations and the sacredness of human personality.

As President Roosevelt said on opening Congress on January 4:

“There comes a time in the affairs of men when they must prepare to defend not their homes alone, but the tenets of faiths and humanity on which their churches, their governments, and their very civilization are founded. The defence of religion, of democracy, and of good faith among nations is all the same fight. To save one, we must make up our minds to save all.”

This, I believe, is the position in which all nations that cherish free institutions, individual liberty and social justice, find themselves to-day.

#### **Canada prepared for effective co-operation**

I need not review the events of the last few days. They must be present in the minds of all. Despite her unceasing efforts to preserve the peace of Europe, the United Kingdom has to-day, in the determination to honour her pledges and meet her treaty obligations, become involved in war.

This morning, the King, speaking to his peoples at home and across the seas, appealed to all, to make their own, the cause of freedom, which Britain again has taken up. Canada has already answered that call. On Friday last, the government, speaking on behalf of the Canadian people, announced that in the event of the United Kingdom becoming engaged in war in the effort to resist aggression, they would, as soon as parliament meets, seek its authority for effective co-operation by Canada at the side of Britain.

As you are aware, I have all along felt that the danger of war was such that parliament should not be dissolved, but be available to consider any emergency that might arise.

Parliament will meet Thursday next. Between now and then, all necessary measures will be taken for the defence of Canada. Consultations with the United Kingdom will be continued. In the light of all the information at its disposal, the government will then recommend to parliament the measures which it believes to be the most effective for co-operation and defence.

That parliament will sanction all necessary measures, I have not the least doubt. Already, I have received from the Leader of

the Opposition and from representatives of the other parties in the House of Commons, assurances of their full appreciation of the gravity of the situation, and of their desire to see that such measures are adopted as, in the present crisis, will best serve the national interest.

### Measures for defence of Canada

Our first concern is with the defence of Canada. To be helpful to others, we must ourselves be strong, secure, and united. In anticipation of a state of war, the government has already availed itself of the provisions of the War Measures Act, to take essential measures for the defence of our coasts, our land and our people. As has already been announced, the militia of Canada, the naval service and the air force are already on active service.

This morning these measures were supplemented by others including the putting into effect of the "Defence of Canada Regulations." Measures have also been taken to prevent profiteering in the necessaries of life. Of the latter measures my colleague, the Minister of Labour, will speak to you in a moment.

In what manner and to what extent Canada may most effectively be able to co-operate in the common cause is, as I have already stated, something which parliament itself will decide. All I need to add at the moment is that Canada, as a free nation of the British Commonwealth, is bringing her co-operation voluntarily. Our effort will be voluntary.

### Appeal to unite in National effort

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.

*See 10, 11, 12, 13*

*Mr. Mackenzie King*  
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# Twenty Years of Liberal Leadership

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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.

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(2) 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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Party True to its Principles and Leader

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

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

#### Efforts to extend and to defend Freedom

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### **The Dangers of Third Parties and of a Single Party.**

In this connection, may I say a word with regard to the part played by major political parties as a means of preserving national unity and national freedom. A government and an opposition are, I believe, essential to the administration of public affairs under the British system of government. Both, I believe, are secured most effectively 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

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

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

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

#### **Humanity the Chief Concern**

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

#### **The Freedom of Mankind**

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

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*The Issue in the Present War*

BROADCAST BY

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

*Prime Minister of Canada*

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1939



OTTAWA  
J. O. PATENAUDE, I.S.O.  
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY  
1939

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Fellow Canadians:

On Sunday, September the 3rd, His Majesty the King appealed to his peoples, at home and across the seas, to make their own the cause of freedom, which, on that day, Britain had taken up.

Speaking over a world-wide network the same afternoon, I was able to say that Canada had already answered that call. On the Friday previous, September the 1st, the Canadian Parliament had been summoned to meet on September the 7th. At the time of making the announcement, I stated that in the event of the United Kingdom becoming engaged in war, in the effort to resist aggression, our government would immediately seek the authority of Parliament for effective co-operation by Canada at the side of Britain.

On Thursday, September the 7th, Parliament met. On Saturday, the 9th, by an all but unanimous adoption of the Address, the necessary authority was secured. On the following day, September the 10th, a state of war between Canada and Germany was proclaimed by the King.

Since the entry of our country into the war, the time of the government has been occupied with the steps necessary to place Canada on a war footing. For weeks before, as the clouds were gathering, we had quietly, but none the less effectively, been

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preparing for the eventuality of war. With what forethought and precision every essential detail had been anticipated became apparent the moment war broke out in Europe.

I intend, for the present, to make two broadcasts. In the broadcast I am now making, I shall endeavour to clarify the issue, in order better to define the war aims. In the second broadcast, to be delivered on Tuesday evening next, I shall outline Canada's war effort as organized by the government from the time of the meeting of Parliament to the present.

*The nature of the conflict*

In the broadcast of September the 3rd, I stated that the fate of a single city, the preservation of the independence of a particular nation, were the occasion, not the real cause of the present conflict. I added that the forces of evil had been loosed in the world in a struggle between the pagan conception of a social order which ignores the individual and is based upon the doctrine of Might, and a civilization founded upon the Christian conception of the brotherhood of man, with its regard for the sanctity of contractual relations, and the sacredness of human personality.

To understand the struggle, we must first understand how the pagan conception came to dominate Germany.

For years past, we have witnessed within Germany the growth in power of a single political party which has secured not merely the control of government, but, for the time being, at least, an all but complete domination over the minds and will of the German people. This the party has been able to do by a skilfully worked out system of terrorization. Individuals who have dared to express opinions contrary to the government in power have been **threatened**; many have actually suffered imprisonment or death.

The party has succeeded in identifying itself with the State. It has taken the position that whatever is contrary to the policy of the party is opposed to the interest of Germany. It has increased its power by propaganda specially designed to poison at their source, the springs of information and opinion. By these and other

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methods, the party has sought to instil in the minds of all, and particularly of the young, doctrines entirely opposed to those on which human relations are based in free countries, or on which they were based in the Germany of other times.

*Naziism founded on the doctrine of Force*

We teach our children to believe in the power of Truth and Right and Justice; in the value of a man's word, in obedience to laws framed by free representative assemblies, in the sanctity of contracts, whether between individuals or between nations. We ourselves have come to see that these concepts are the essentials of peace and freedom; that it is only in this way that human liberties can be preserved. Under the regime which has held power in Germany for nearly seven years, the youth of that country have been increasingly taught not to place their trust in the pledged word, the written contract, and the power of representative assemblies and courts to defend the right and secure freedom, but to look to Force as the one instrument in national and international relations on which to place reliance. Of the merits of any alternative to Force, there has been no opportunity for discussion or debate. Opposition has been silenced by threats, by the concentration camp, or by death. Parliament, in Germany, has ceased to exist, except when it is called to register the will of the dictator.

The political party in Germany that has thus identified itself with the State is the Nazi party. Its head is Herr Hitler. It is Naziism and Hitlerism, as thus understood, which has produced the present war, and which threatens, if it is not overthrown, to extend its tyrannical power to all nations.

It is necessary to keep this danger in mind in order to understand why Great Britain and France found it imperative to pledge their support to Poland. It was a pledge given in the hope that it might prevent more in the way of aggression. When Herr Hitler and the Nazi rulers who surround him disclosed their unwillingness to settle differences between the two countries by

peaceful methods of conference and agreement, but, instead, made clear their determination to gain their objectives by force, Britain and France were bound to oppose, with all the resources at their command, this further employment of force.

*The rise of Nazism in Germany*

How is it that the German people, many of whom love freedom and desire peace quite as much as the peoples of other countries, have come to submit to such a regime? This is a question which naturally arises in our minds. The answer to it affords the key to much that has taken place, and which it would otherwise be difficult to explain. It lies in the sort of beneficent role which, in the eyes of a large proportion of the German people, Force has actually come to assume.

Germany was slow to recover from the humiliation of defeat in the last war. The Republic which was set up in 1919 was associated in the popular mind with the shame of the peace treaty. The government of the Republic seemed powerless to cope with the social problems which followed in the wake of the war. To add to its difficulties, the discontent of the twenties began to breed Communism and to further its spread. Amid the existing demoralization, the Communist party employed its growing strength to undermine the country's social and industrial life.

It has been asserted that the Communists had little or no chance of gaining power. Many Germans, however, were afraid of the Communist influence. They had fresh in their memories, and before their very eyes, the results of the Russian revolution. Herr Hitler claimed to understand and to foresee the dangers to Germany of the Communist movement. He became a leader against it. He sought to identify Communist with Jewish control of opinion and finance. Thereby, he satisfied a bitter personal prejudice, and gained much anti-Semitic support. Powerful industrial and financial interests became his allies. Hitler and his associates came in time to be widely accepted as the champions of the German people against what he called the Jewish Communist menace.

With the aid of the financial interests, who supported him as a bulwark against Communism, Hitler became Chancellor. From that time on the political party, of which he was the head, wielded absolute power. The government of Germany became a dictatorship based upon Force. The German people were taught to view democracies with contempt.

*The threat and use of force within Germany*

To the youth of Germany, Hitler sought to make the doctrine of Force especially attractive. As he glorified youth, so also he glorified arms. Youth was taught that together they symbolized the future power of the Reich. Force, the Nazis claimed, would be effective where Reason had failed. Sir Nevile Henderson, the former British Ambassador to Berlin, cites the following statement as having been made by Hitler himself: "If you wish to obtain your objectives by force, you must be strong; if you wish to obtain them by negotiation, you must be stronger still." Henderson says that this remark expresses, in its most concise form, the Hitler technique.

The first use made of force by Hitler and his associates was in the internal affairs of Germany. In order to give to the Nazi party a monopoly of power in the State, not only the Communists, but Socialists, Liberals, Catholics, and even Conservative Nationalists were persecuted and their political parties suppressed. Labour unions and co-operatives were destroyed, religious bodies were terrorized, Religion itself was made subservient to the pagan gospel of racial superiority. The treatment of the Jews became steadily more brutal. At the same time the increasing regimentation of the labour and resources of Germany for rearmament on a colossal scale, and with unprecedented rapidity, served gradually to end unemployment. The superficial and temporary prosperity produced by this rearmament helped to give an appearance of order to Germany and to restore its self-respect.

*The threat and use of force against other Countries*

It was not long before the threat of force was tried in the international field. It was contended by Hitler that the Treaty of Versailles had reduced Germany to an inferior position among the nations

of the world. In addition to being stripped of a part of her territory, Germany had also been disarmed. Other nations, it was pointed out, had retained or were increasing their arms. Hitler told the German people that he and his party would throw off this yoke of German inferiority. Rearmament was thus given a fresh excuse and a new impetus. Germany began with all her might to develop her military power. It is not without significance that this step was taken in defiance of treaty obligation.

To end alleged injustices, by restoring to the German Reich peoples of German stock and territories formerly German, was an ambition which, naturally, made an appeal to the German people. The restoration of the Saar territory to Germany in 1935 was Hitler's first international triumph. Although the Saar was returned to Germany after a plebiscite, the Nazis told the German people that, without the threat of force, the British and French would not have agreed to the holding of the plebiscite. The incorporation of the Saar into Germany became a symbol of the restoration of the territory as well as of the power of the former Reich. Such a result seemed, within Germany, to justify an unlimited development of military strength. From that time on, the whole of Germany was organized into a vast military machine.

#### *The technique of Nazi aggression*

Within Germany, this machine was increasingly used to destroy individual liberty, and to place the German people more than ever under the power of the Nazi party which controlled and identified itself with the State. Beyond the confines of Germany, the military might of Germany was increasingly employed as an instrument of threat and terror to other nations.

The Nazi leaders were well aware that the countries of Europe generally were not anxious for another war. They assumed that this desire to avoid war would ensure the localization of conflicts, particularly those with countries immediately adjacent to Germany. On this assumption, the party began to develop its technique for the absorption, by threat of force, of those nearby countries in which there were peoples of German stock.

The technique employed was, first of all, to develop a quarrel with the government of the State to be absorbed. With passions aroused, some incident was surreptitiously fomented, demands were thereupon presented, supported by the threat of force. The demands were so framed, and so timed, as to make acceptance impossible within the limits prescribed. As a part of the technique, all opinion on the issue, except the Nazi version, was suppressed in Germany. Adverse opinion from outside Germany was excluded from the country. Worst of all, the German people were deluged by a never ending stream of lying propaganda.

#### *Apparent success of Nazi methods*

The technique worked with Austria. It worked again at Munich. It worked once more in the extinction of Czechoslovakia and the recovery of Memel. Hitler believed it would work in the case of Poland. On each occasion, the alleged purpose and the method were the same. The German people were told that an old wrong was being righted, that German territories or peoples of the Germanic race were being restored to and incorporated in the greater Reich. Each time, however, aggression went a step farther. Germany began to include peoples who were not Germanic in origin, and territory which had never before been German. Moreover, the conquered peoples and possessions were utilized, as the wealth of the oppressed Jews within Germany itself had been, to augment the growing power of Nazidom. All the while, Hitler and his Nazi associates continued to count on the unwillingness of other nations, by opposing aggression, to risk setting all Europe aflame.

Aggression pursued in this fashion worked for a while. As, however, its real significance came to be understood, it was realized that it constituted a threat, not to the countries of Europe only, but to those of the entire world. A system which deliberately and successfully defies judicial methods of righting wrongs, and of adjusting by peaceful means national and international disputes, cannot continue without ultimately destroying national and international order and justice.

Moreover, reliance upon Force, as opposed to Reason, inevitably brings into association with itself the many agencies of, and evils attendant upon, terror and violence. Gangster methods supplant the rule of law. Sooner or later, all the powers of darkness and evil are loosed. They gain increasing sway.

Here is the explanation of why, when Germany began to adopt toward Poland methods similar to those which she had employed in the case of Austria and Czechoslovakia, the British and French governments, first of all, earnestly worked for an adjustment of the differences by peaceful means. It explains why, later on, regardless of the cost to themselves, they found it necessary to pledge their word to Poland, and to take up arms on her behalf. It was the one and only means left of checking more in the way of German aggression.

*The Nazi ambition of world domination*

The invasion of Poland by Germany was, as I have said, the immediate occasion, not the cause, of the present war. Germany's defiance of peaceful methods of adjusting international differences is a defiance and a threat to all peoples and countries which still seek to base their freedom upon the rule of law, the sanctity of contracts, and the sacredness of human personality. When Nazi Germany deliberately fomented the dispute with Poland, German aggression and German power had reached a place where, to save the civilization enjoyed by free countries, it became necessary for one or more of the great powers to say that Nazi aggression must cease. Great Britain and France had been driven to believe that it is better to risk all, in an effort to save those things which make life worth living, than to continue to endure the fear of unending aggression, and the gradual dominance of the world by Force.

It must never be forgotten that behind all we have seen and felt of Nazi methods and aims during recent years, lies the Nazi doctrine of racial superiority. It appears to me as the pagan parallel of the doctrine of the divine right of Kings. In the gospel of Hitler, the German people, the so-called Nordic race, are the chosen people.

They alone have the right to rule. All other peoples are to be subordinated to the sons of Wotan. They are to dominate the world.

Although the Nazis have a single aim—world domination—the methods being employed to achieve that end are many. Against neighbouring peoples the method is aggression, conquest, and subjugation. Against more remote lands, they have proceeded by planting centres of Nazi influence. To achieve their ends, they are, as the pact with Soviet Russia has shown, even willing to aid in the spread of Communism which they formerly claimed was the enemy of civilization. They seem to believe that, by fostering world unrest, they will be assisted in the destruction of freedom, but that, in the end, the Nazis will dominate by virtue of their racial superiority.

If there was ever a doubt that the ultimate—one might almost say the immediate—aim of Nazified Germany, was the domination of Europe, as a step towards world domination, that doubt has surely been removed by what was witnessed in the first six weeks of war. The highly mechanized military machine that rolled in upon Poland, and crushed the Polish armies almost as rapidly as they came into the field; the air armada which rained death and destruction from the skies on unfortified communities and civilian populations; the presence and use of submarines over the areas and on the scale on which they have been employed, were never intended for the defence of Germany against possible invaders of her territory. They are clearly the evidence of a reliance upon Force sufficiently strong to work the will of its masters in whatever direction may best serve their lust for power.

*Hatred of war and dictatorship—Efforts to preserve Peace*

May I now say a few words that are more or less personal. I have participated in the public life of Canada for many years. My views and aims are pretty well known to all of you. No one, I believe, would accuse me of being an exhibitionist, a firebrand or a jingo. If one purpose above another has dominated my life, that purpose has been the promotion and preservation of peace. In industrial and international relations, I have striven to foster good-will.

I have had, all my life, a positive hatred of war. In season and out, in our own Parliament, at Imperial Conferences in London, at the League of Nations in Geneva, in all our relations with other countries, I have sought to shape and to expound the policies of our country so as to remove the danger of involving Canada in war, and, if possible, to avert war itself. I have not been satisfied with adopting a merely negative attitude. I have seized every opportunity to foster, in positive ways, the friendliest relations between classes, and races, and countries, believing that only on a basis of friendship and good-will could nations hope to enjoy an enduring peace.

In recent years, I have followed, with the deepest concern, political trends in some other lands. I hate dictatorship no less than I hate war. Since a love of freedom is to be found in every human breast, it has always seemed to me that, sooner or later, the yoke of dictatorship could result only in war or revolution. I have dreaded dictatorship not so much for its effect upon the peoples in the particular countries which are prepared to tolerate it, even for a time, as for its undermining effect upon the free institutions of other lands.

Dictatorship is necessarily based upon Force. Force developed in one country, unless faced by superior force elsewhere, constitutes, for other countries, an immediate and constant menace. Free nations, in order to preserve their freedom, are compelled to change their mode and method of life, to concentrate on building up armaments, or run the risk of sacrificing their very existence. That kind of thing, obviously, cannot go on indefinitely without many nations being brought to the edge of an abyss. It is upon the edge of an abyss that mankind is standing today. Because of Nazi Germany, the free nations have been compelled every year to devote more and more of their resources to arming. Even so, more than one free nation has already perished before our very eyes. Should Naziism triumph in Europe, what will become of freedom in other quarters of the globe?

*The need to withstand aggression*

This is a question which I have had to ask myself over and over again, as I have watched the growing power of dictatorships in Europe, and the onward sweep of the forces of aggression. No

one, I think, has been more anxious than I have to prevent Canada being drawn into the maelstrom of European conflict. No one, except the colleagues who share with me the obligations of government, carries so great a measure of responsibility for the consequences of Canada's participation in war. Had I been afraid of responsibility, I would have abandoned public life long before this. It is because I hoped that, in the end, I might use such power and influence as my position gives me, in the effort to incline the scales of international relations to the side of peace, that I welcomed the larger measure of responsibility which came with the return of my party to power four years ago. If, today, I am prepared to continue to lead a government, charged with the awful responsibility of prosecuting a war, it is because, contrary to every hope and wish I have ever entertained, I have been compelled to believe that only by the destruction of Naziism, and the resistance of ruthless aggression, can the nations of the British Commonwealth hope to continue to enjoy the liberties which are theirs under the British Crown, and the world itself be spared a descent into a new and terrible age of barbarism.

The growth of my own conviction has, I believe, been more or less paralleled in the minds of most of the men and women of Canada. To-day it represents the mind of Canada itself.

I doubt if two years ago the Canadian people could have been persuaded to participate in another European war. Like Britain, like France, we were determined first to exhaust every possibility of peaceful negotiation in the settlement of international differences. It was not until we beheld every structure of peace destroyed, as quickly as it was erected, that our worst fears became confirmed. We saw forces being loosed upon the world which, if not subdued and conquered overseas, sooner or later would be at our very doors.

*The preservation of Christian civilization*

If I were called upon to sacrifice out of my life all save one of the influences of the past, or of my present possessions, the one thing I would wish to retain is the influence of the Christian training of my childhood days. That has been a sheet anchor

through life. Without it, life for me would lose its warmth, its beauty, its colour, its sustaining power in times of adversity, the inspiration of its best endeavours. It would be a dreary, mechanical existence at best. Knowing how true this is, I do not wish to see the young people of our Dominion deprived of so precious a heritage, or future generations enslaved by the false doctrines which would rob them of it. That early Christian influence is what above all else, were it in my power so to do, I would wish to bequeath to all who have the battle of life to face.

The Nazi doctrine of Force is the very antithesis of what one finds in the Christian Gospel. If it prevails, there will be, as I see it, an end to our Christian civilization. It will prevail unless men are prepared to sacrifice their lives in opposing it. That is why the present war is for the Allied Forces a crusade.

The time has come when, to save our Christian civilization, we must be prepared to lay down our lives for its preservation. The young men who are enlisting in our forces today, to serve on land, on the sea and in the air, are first and foremost defenders of the Faith. Like others who have gone forth to battle in the past, they are placing their lives at the service of King and Country, but theirs is an even greater mission. It is the preservation, for our own and future generations, of the freedom begotten of persecutions, martyrdoms, and centuries of struggle. It is the preservation not alone of national and of personal freedom, but of freedom also of the mind and of the soul.

Add to: Labour and the War:

Labour will resolutely defend also the free trade unions which have been borne of the struggles of a century. Trades-unionism has not only saved the masses from exploitation by the greedy and the thoughtless. It has not only immeasurably improved the working conditions and wages of those who toil. It has humanized industry, saved capital from its own errors, and constituted the strongest bulwark against revolution and chaos.

There is not a labour man who does not know that Naziism will mark the end of the organized power of labour and of its power of organization.

Labour is interested too, in the maintenance of the free association of the cooperative movement. As Mr. Greenwood says, "each for all and all for each" is unrealizable by aggression under Hitlerism." Self help and enlightened cooperation disappear forever when the state is omnipotent. With all these material things, labour defends the elementary rights of man.

We have heard a great deal in recent months about freedom of speech, freedom of organization, freedom of thought, freedom of the press and freedom of worship. Some people may perhaps think that we hear too much about

them in times of war and too little about them in times of peace. They are like health to a sick man; they are only held in their true value when they are endangered or destroyed. But their defence is the defence of the moral and religious life of every home in Canada.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Star

Date Sept. 2/40

D 38791

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## Premier King Praises Labor's

### War Effort

THE combined effort of two Canadian brotherhoods, "the brotherhood of the brave who fight for us and the brotherhood of labor", while the rest of Canada strives to prove worthy of its fighting and its working heroes, was the theme of the address given last night by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, in a broadcast address under the series "Let's Face the Facts." He pointed to the tremendous superiority in producing power which the dictatorships have acquired by vanquishing the other nations of Europe, and urged that "if machines of war are lacking, the bravest men in the world avail nothing."

It was useless trying merely to defend North America, he said, because unless Nazism were crushed it would force down standards of living on this continent until economic pressure forced North America into the totalitarian picture.

Premier King said:

#### Labor Day Talk Asked to Give

"Some days ago, I received from one of the working men of our country a letter in which he suggested that on the Sunday before Labor Day, as a former Minister of Labor, I might be willing to give a national message to the workers of Canada.

"A day or two later, I received a letter also from the Director of Public Information inviting me to be the speaker for tonight in the radio series, 'Let's Face the Facts.'

"The writer of the second letter suggested that as this date corresponded with the first anniversary of the war, a talk by myself on its events and lessons might be welcomed by the people of Canada.

"My purpose this evening is to endeavor to meet both requests. I shall try to summarize the facts which stand out after one year of the war; and to relate them to the world situation as we know it today, and the alternatives which the future might hold in store. I need scarcely say that I felt much honored that from one who holds the position of secretary of the Labor Council in one of the leading cities of the Dominion, I should have received the particular invitation I have mentioned. From my early

years, I have been deeply interested in the problems of labor. One reason, I believe, is that labor's main concern along the path of life has been a continuous struggle against poverty and adversity. Labor, too, represents so overwhelming a proportion of mankind that it is almost synonymous with humanity itself. A plain picture of the ordinary man working with the strength of his arms and the skill of his hands to feed and clothe and shelter his fellows has always seemed to me to represent humanity in one of the noblest of its moods.

"To improve conditions of labor is to better the human lot on this earth. That, I suppose, is the motive which most of us have closest to our heart, when the enthusiasm of young manhood and the realization of the duties of citizenship begin to mould our conscience and our conduct. It is one of the tragedies of life, that during the struggle for existence the enthusiasm and the realization are so often lost. To my mind, the measure of human greatness is the degree to which we continue to hold to the end of our days the enthusiasm for human betterment."

#### War in Relation To Labor Discussed

"Let me then talk to you tonight of this war, not only in relation to the particular aspects to which I have referred, but in its relation particularly to labor. Let us consider together what the winning of this war may mean to labor. Let us ponder what the loss of this war will certainly mean to labor."

"Let us think together for a few minutes of what labor has done and can do for the winning of the war. Let us face the facts.

"On this day, one year ago, the world as it watched with anxious but hopeful eyes while men of good will labored with all their strength, for peace, saw war with indescribable savagery begin the devastation of Europe. During the months that have since passed, freedom, fleeing from many a desolate land, has followed peace into exile. At the end of a year, silence and darkness have fallen upon Poland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland. And we have seen the tragedy of a broken France. With her withdrawal from the conflict, we lost a gallant ally. With the entry of Italy on the side of Germany, we found another treacherous and rapacious foe.

"The few nations of Europe that have not already been subjugated either tremble or bow before the might and violence of the aggressor. Fear and hatred have sped the work of the conqueror. And now there is a menace floating on the horizon of many parts of the world. The thunder of the storm is heard, although the lightning has not yet struck. Ships have fought on all the seven seas. From the skies over the continent of Europe and the British Isles, aerial warfare continues to rain death and destruction. Millions of innocent, peace-loving, plain, ordinary, simple men and women, who asked nothing more than to live their lives in the safety of their own homes and the shelter of their native valleys, have been dispossessed, robbed, enslaved. Many nations who thought to find safety in scrupulous neutrality have found instead that neutrality was only an invitation to invade and pillage and enslave. Men and women in many lands to which the world is indebted for great contributions in art, literature, invention, religious thought and most of the more precious things of human life, are imprisoned under the bondage of an inhuman conqueror."

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

D 38792

## Blackest Year In Human History

"This year that has just passed, has been one of the blackest years in human history. These things are not the visions of some prophet of evil. They are the facts; before our very eyes. Let us face them squarely.

"Exactly one year ago it was my duty to speak to you of the great decision which the people of Canada would be called upon to make, a call to duty which Canadians in their hearts had already answered. Speaking on that occasion I used these words: 'There is no home in Canada, no family, no individual whose fortune and whose 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 world knows how nobly and with what unanimity the people of Canada answered that appeal.

None today can deny the truth of the words that there is no home in Canada, no family, and no individual whose fortunes and freedom are not bound up in the present struggle. How true these words are will be even more apparent when we consider the next outstanding fact to which I would draw your attention.

"Today the nations of the British Commonwealth alone champion in their full strength the rights of free men. Britain stands majestic and undaunted. To her side have rallied those who once caught her accents of liberty and learned from her the lesson of obedience to the law. In this hour of supreme trial, there have come also to her side men of Norway, of Holland, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland and France. These men are not the ghosts of brave lands that are dead. They are the souls of brave lands that will live and will again rise in the full dignity of their freedom and the renewed vigor of indomitable faith. Nevertheless, we and they fight alone.

## Celebrate in Complete Freedom

"Let us now speak of another anniversary. Tomorrow, labor in Canada celebrates in complete freedom a day which by Act of Parliament has been set apart to honor the place which labor has gained and holds in our national life. It is doubly significant that such a celebration is possible at the end of a year of total war in Europe. The position of labor in Canada, its dignity and its freedom, can be fully appreciated only in the light of both history and geography.

"Canada and likewise the United States have been peopled largely by men and women of British stock. They brought with them to this continent not only British law and British respect for law, but the other fruits of the struggle in Britain for religious and political freedom. Above all they bore in their hearts and minds the determination to maintain and extend their freedom in the new land which beckoned them to its shores.

"The ancestors of our French-Canadian fellow citizens also were those who sailed the seas and left their native land for a continent whose broad vistas offered high hope to human beings. They brought with them skill in the arts and trades, great capacity for work, and a sustaining faith.

"Upon these ancestral foundations the men and women of British and French stock built their new home. As the years passed the adventurous and the oppressed from other countries of Europe came amongst us, seeking a new homeland where life and human personality were held sacred, where

tyranny and slavery could be nothing but a far-off memory; where the State existed for man, and not man for the State. The frontiers of Freedom, like the frontiers of settlement, have steadily widened. They too have had their forts which consolidated the victories of the past and protected the onward march of the future. We have cause for gratitude for the freedom recorded in our romantic history. We can be glad this day for the protection which geography has given us. We have grown up in a land separated by the Atlantic on one side and the Pacific on the other, from the threat of invasion.

"The British Navy on the one side, and for the past hundred years, the Navy of the United States on the other, have given to our young, rising national life a further sense of safety. Time and space have worked for Canada. To the inheritance of free political institutions, assured and safeguarded by historical association and geographical position, democracy on this North American continent owes its existence today.

## Rights Recognized In Democracy

"Now, what is this democracy to which we so often refer? To my mind, it means that state of organized society which recognizes the right of its members to equality of opportunity. It means the power of the many, in ever increasing measure, to develop in complete freedom their latent strength and talents. It means freedom of the

many to enjoy under the protection of those laws which they themselves have made, an adequate and just measure of the fruits of their own labor.

"Every Labor Day is a lighthouse of democracy. As its rays revolve, we see beneath them the freedom and wellbeing which we have achieved. As its light flashes tonight we catch a glimpse of the land of our dreams, the Canada we have loved and worked for, a land in which men and women, regardless of race, creed or class, can live their lives without fear, for we have cherished the dream of a freedom of ideals, the right to think, to speak, to work, to organize. We believe in the right of men to enjoy the fruits of their honest labor. We believe in the sanctity of humanity and in man's progressive capacity to take upon himself more of the attributes of divinity.

"France until recently was within the household of democracy. She also has gone the way of Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium.

"Within the space of a single year we have witnessed the extinction of democracy on the continent of Europe. Beyond the confines of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America, democracy scarcely survives in the world today.

"That is the next great fact which we have now to face. We have no need of Hitler or Mussolini to tell us that dictatorship is waging war on democracy. There is no longer room for these two systems to survive side by side. Sooner or later, the one will annihilate the other. The light will either fade into darkness, or else darkness will fail before the light, and it is just as true of the world today as before the American union in Lincoln's day, that society no long-

er can continue to exist half slave and half free."

## Europe Reaches Midnight Hour

After quoting from a poem he had read recently, "Abraham Lincoln at Midnight," he continued: "Europe has reached that 'midnight hour'. Whether Labor Day in Canada a year hence will witness a free Europe or the night of Nazism casting its gloom in deepening shadows over this North American continent, will depend upon the strength, the will and the untiring work not only of one democracy, but of all the democracies that have survived.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

"Neither blind strength nor force can be better than the truth in labor's heart and the strength of labor's work. Lacking the vision to see the peril and the strength to meet it, we on this North American continent, like the nations of Europe can come to disaster, in one of two ways. This continent may be dominated through actual invasion and conquest. On the other hand, if we fail to carry on the struggle in Europe until tyranny is destroyed, disaster will follow no less surely, even though not one Nazi soldier were to land upon our shores. The triumph of the Nazis in Europe would involve, for the peoples of this continent, a substitution of fear for freedom and of economic domination for social progress. It would spell the doom of democracy in the new world.

"No, considering the fate of the democracies, there is another grim fact we must face. It was thought of a year ago. It bears immediately upon the possibilities of invasion, and the perils of competing industrial standards. This fact is, that Nazi Germany has added to her own resources those of the countries she has subjugated. She has acquired a vast supply of materials and equipment of war which at the outbreak of war, it was expected would never be used at all, or if used would be used against her.

### Western Europe Under Nazis

"Now that France is under the control of the enemy, the whole of Western Europe is in German hands. All the ports and air fields of this continental coast line today provide the bases from which the enemy pursues his course across the skies to us. In addition to the resources of their own land and those of France, they have seized and now possess the resources of Austria, Czecho Slovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium. Let me give a fact or two on this.

"Including conquered areas, the Nazis now have a capacity for 42,000,000 tons of steel annually, compared with the capacity of the British countries of about 17,000,000 tons, and of the United States, about 51,000,000 tons. In addition to steel, Germany has added enormously to her capacity to produce ships, aircraft, motorized equipment, armored plate and munitions. It is a fact that the great tanks built in Czecho-Slovakia were used in the destruction of France, Belgium and Holland. It is equally a fact that, in Nazi hands, the iron, steel, machines, etc., of France and Belgium today

bring death and destruction to the British Isles. Great Britain, Canada and the other nations of the Commonwealth now fight some 120,000,000 Germans and Italians who have acquired resources and control factories far in excess of the resources of their own lands. As a result of conquering most of the industrial nations of Europe and smashing their state organization, social institutions and trade unions, Hitler has masses of impoverished men and women, numbering more than 80,000,000, forced by dire need to work for the lowest possible wages. However unwilling their work, however reluctant their contributions to Nazi munitions, they do represent a powerful addition to the effective strength of the enemy.

### Churchill's Famous Speech Recalled

"It was a recognition of these facts which led the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom to declare recently in the Parliament of Westminster, that the two great organizations of English speaking democracy, the British Empire and the United States, will have to be somewhat mixed up together in some of their affairs for mutual and general advantage. 'Some months ago,' said Mr. Churchill, 'we came to the conclusion that the interests of the United States and of the British Empire both required that the United States should have facilities for naval and air defence of the western hemisphere against an attack of a Nazi power which might have temporary but lengthy control of a large part of Europe and its resources. We have therefore decided spontaneously, and without being asked or offered any inducement, to inform the government of the United States that we should be glad to place such defence facilities at their disposal, by leasing suitable sites in our Trans-Atlantic possessions for their protection.'

"The principle of association of their interests for the common advantage of Britain and the United States was thus set up by Mr. Churchill, on August 20. This principle had already been recognized in the relations between Canada and the United States in the declaration made by President Roosevelt with myself a fortnight ago. That declaration set forth the agreement reached on August 17, for the establishment of a permanent joint board to deal with the mutual problems of defence in relation to the safety of Canada and the United States. As you are aware, the permanent joint board has been since constituted, and is at present entering upon its studies.

"The establishment of the permanent joint board is the inevitable outcome of two significant declarations made on Canadian soil in August 1938. The first was on August 18, at Queen's University, Kingston, by President Roosevelt: 'The Dominion of Canada is a part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by in face of domination of Canadian soil threatened by any other empire.'

### Canada Ready To Give and Take

"And two days later, I acknow-

ledged Mr. Roosevelt's declaration in these words: 'We too have our obligations, and one of them is to see that, at our own instance, our country is made as immune to attack or possible attack as we can reasonably be expected to make it, to the end that in coming years an enemy force should not be able to pursue its way by land or air to the United States across Canada's territory.' These declarations mark the first recognition on both sides, of their reciprocity in defence. Reciprocity in defence involves reciprocal duties as well as reciprocal advantages. Canada gladly accepts both.

"May we not see in the means now being taken to secure the common interests of the British Commonwealth and of the United States, not only the means of safeguarding democracy, but a great promise of peace and understanding and an outstanding contribution to the cause of peace in the world?

"Freedom from the fear of invasion in America, however, is not enough. Unless Nazism in Europe is destroyed, the threat of world domination by the totalitarian forces will never cease for an hour. Under such conditions, the standards of living here would increasingly become those of the totalitarian states. Democracy and its institutions would disappear entirely. Unless the enemy is destroyed and the enslaved countries of Europe restored to freedom, there will be no possible way of maintaining Canadian standards. The markets in which the workmen and the producers of the North American continent have sold their goods would certainly disappear. Overseas, we would be forced to compete with people who know no standard, and with states that will sacrifice every known standard. We in North America will be increasingly subjected to competition from regimented countries.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

D  
38794

"As a last, impelling alternative, we shall be driven to become conscribed in the regimentation of the state, the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the new economic masters of the world.

"To labor, these facts have spoken and will speak with emphasis and effect. Labor knows the struggle between dictatorship and democracy. Labor knows what it will lose in the defeat of democracy. It understands the difference between rule by force by those who seek monopoly of power, and government in the interests of the common good. It knows the difference between government by those who seek privilege, position and power, and by those who believe in the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God.

### **Canadians Will Remember Labor**

"Canadians will not readily forget the sacrifices of our soldiers, our sailors, our airmen. But Canadians will remember, too, the debt they owe to labor. In Canada labor has extended its hours, surrendered its rights, and in its determination to increase and advance production has taught to the young and inexperienced the intricacies of complicated trades. It will be the duty of the people of Canada to remember this in the hour of victory. We do honor to the men who on land, on sea and in the air offer

their lives to save us. Labor is also doing its share. Hundreds of skilful hands, hundreds of unerring eyes, helped to create the Canadian planes in which on Friday last our Canadian flyers made the skies of the British Isles vivid with their exploits. Canadian labor must indeed feel proud to be working for such men.

"Every workman knows, that if the machines of war are lacking, the bravest men in the world will avail nothing.

"Fellow citizens, a distinguished British journalist who recently visited us said he found Canada at war with Hitler and at peace with herself. We are at war, and we shall remain imbued with one purpose, to remain at peace with ourselves, while shirking no effort, withholding no service, and sparing no sacrifice, to show ourselves worthy of our two brotherhoods, the brotherhood of the brave who fight for us, and the brotherhood of labor that works for victory."

Translation and summary of article by Leopold Richer  
in Le Devoir, Sept. 6, 1940.

140

*Mr. King's broadcast* D 33795

"We are fighting for democracy. In 1914 Canada entered the war against Germany to defend democratic liberty. In 1939 - 25 years later, the same cause demanded the same sacrifice. So speak our politicians, and the propaganda of the press and the radio! Canada, a democratic country, heroically accepts the task of saving democracy in the world twice in a quarter of a century. We are the bastion of democratic liberties. The European countries may have other war aims, we have only one: to re-establish democracy in the countries which have lost it, even in the countries which have rejected it because it does not suit them, and, at the same time, to strengthen it here where it is seriously menaced by Nazism, Fascism, Communism, Imperialism, Colonialism, finance and electoralism.

"But what is democracy? That was the question that the Prime Minister put in his broadcast of Sunday, September the 1st." (The article then quotes the Prime Minister's definition). "If we take the trouble to compare this definition with Canadian, American or English democracy, or democracy as it existed in France before the armistice, we will probably be surprised to discover that democracy is nowhere found in the pure and ideal state, and that what is

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**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

called the democratic regime and democratic liberty are only caricatures of true democracy and of genuine liberty. But let us not quibble with the Prime Minister regarding the definition that he has given of democracy. Mr. Mackenzie King, like the rest of us, must have dreams and imaginings to live on."

The article then quotes the paragraphs from the broadcast regarding the destruction of democracy in Europe, and the fact that it is today confined practically to the British Commonwealth and the United States.

The article points out that this fact is true and that the Prime Minister is right in emphasizing it. "But", it continues, "the Prime Minister is much less right in affirming that democracy and dictatorship must necessarily engage in war with one another, and what is more serious, engage in a war of extermination. Why can democracy and dictatorship not live side by side? Mr. Mackenzie King claims that there is not room in the world for these two forms of government. Sooner, or later, he says, one must exterminate the other.....These words go beyond the thought of the Prime Minister. He is the first to realize that dictatorship and democracy can live side by side in the world, without engaging in a war of extermination. The facts are there to prove it."

The article then goes on to point out that the United States has been able to live peacefully with the nations of Latin America, which are not democratic, and that the United States has never intervened in these countries in order to establish democracy. "Consequently", the article continues, "on this side of the Atlantic the thesis of an inevitable war of extermination between democracy and dictatorship is a myth."

The article states that, in Europe, there have been dictatorships which have never injured anyone. It refers to the dictatorship of Chancellor Dolfuss in Austria which did not threaten democracy. As evidence that dictatorship and democracy can live side by side, the article points to the friendship which exists between Greece and Great Britain, between Portugal and the United Kingdom, and to the British efforts to secure the military support of Turkey in recent months, just as France and England sought the support, a few months before the declaration of war, of the worst of all the dictatorships - Soviet Russia. It asks whether Poland, which was a virtual dictatorship, threatened the great democracies of the world. The article then maintains that all these facts show how exaggerated Mr. King's statement is. It states that

Mussolini and Hitler have not taught us that dictatorship and democracy cannot exist side by side.

"What they have taught, and what Mr. Mackenzie King knows well, is not that dictatorship must necessarily engage in war with democracy, but that great nations, animated with an equal and tenacious voracity cannot remain at peace with one another. The present war, like that of 1914, is not a war between two ideologies, but between several imperialisms. England has no need to conceal it. Her cause is no worse than in 1914. Were Germany and Austria Hungary dictatorships twenty-five years ago? Yet, then, as now, we were told that it was a question of defending democracy. Rival imperialisms are what make war inevitable. To adapt the expression of Mr. Mackenzie King, there is not room in the world for several imperialisms unless each of them possesses a well-defined sphere of influence. When, as in Europe, five imperialisms exist on the same continent, durable peace is impossible.

"To maintain, as Mr. King has done, that sooner or later, dictatorship and democracy must join in a war of destruction, is to wish to impose a uniform political regime on all the nations. That is a strange democracy and an

even stranger liberty. Democracy does not suit some nations. There are democracies which do not deserve to survive, and nations which do not know what to do with so-called democratic liberties."

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press

Date Aug. 31 /40

D 38800

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## Premier King to Speak

The Sunday evening broadcasts in the series "Let's Face the Facts" has been a very successful feature of the C.B.C. We have had a number of informative, able and forceful addresses, some of them by speakers from the United States.

Tomorrow evening, Prime Minister King will speak and he will no doubt have something to say about the intensification of Canada's war effort and the new co-operation between Canada and the United States in defensive preparations.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date.....

SEP 2 1940

D38801

Subject.....

## Canada-U.S. Pact a Mutual Gain, Mackenzie King Says in Broadcast

By F. C. MEARS.

(Gazette Resident Correspondent.)

Ottawa, September 1. — "Canada and the United States have undertaken to share the burdens of maintaining their joint security, but neither has shifted the burden of responsibility to the other," declared Prime Minister Mackenzie King in a radio broadcast to the nation tonight on the first anniversary of the war's beginning with Hitler's invasion of Poland and on the eve of another Labor Day.

"We have recognized," said Premier King in his first extended reference to the Ogdensburg pact concluded two weeks ago, "that our united strength will be something more than the strength of both acting separately. Reciprocity in defence involves reciprocal duties as well as reciprocal advantages. Canada gladly accepts both. Canada, indeed, has become the bridge which joins the new freedom of the North American Continent with the ancient freedom of Britain."

The Prime Minister reminded his listeners that some time ago the British Prime Minister, Right Hon. Winston Churchill, told the world of the need of Britain and the United States get together "for mutual and general advantage," and that shortly afterwards Britain leased to the American republic certain sea bases in the Western Atlantic.

This principle of association for mutual advantage between Britain and the United States, Premier King said, had already been enunciated. It had found expression in the Ogdensburg agreement of August 17 and two years earlier in President Roosevelt's declaration at Kingston and Mr. King's own statement at Woodbridge, Ontario.

"The events of the two troubled years (since 1938)" said the Prime Minister, "have served to emphasize, in both Canada and the United States, the necessity for reciprocal concern for each other's security. They also allayed the fears of those who felt that closer relations with the United States

would weaken Canada's ties with the other British nations. The truth has been the exact opposite.

"If we lack the vision," the Prime Minister declared, "to see the peril, and the strength to meet it, we on this North American Continent, like the nations of Europe, may come to disaster in one of two ways. This continent might be dominated through actual invasion and conquest. On the other hand, if we fail to carry on the struggle in Europe until tyranny is destroyed, disaster will follow no less surely even though not one Nazi soldier were to land upon our shores. The triumph of the Nazis in Europe would involve for the people of this continent the substitution of fear for freedom, and of economic domination for social progress. It would spell the doom of democracy in the new world."

Briefly reviewing the tragic events of the past year the Prime Minister declared that "during the months that have since passed freedom fleeing from many desolate lands has followed peace into exile." Silence and darkness had fallen upon many European countries. "We mourn," he said, "the tragedy of a broken France."

"With her withdrawal from the conflict," said Premier King, "we have lost a gallant ally. With the entry of Italy on the side of Germany, we face another treacherous and rapacious foe."

Many nations, the Prime Minister recalled, "had fondly hoped to find security in a scrupulous neutrality," but they found neutrality an invitation to invasion and pillage. "This year," he summarized, "was one of the blackest years in human history."

Prime Minister King saw untold gains for Labor in a victory over Hitler and concluded by declaring: "we will become conscripts in the regimentation of the state, and the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the new economic masters of the world"—that is, if the enemy wins. But there were two brotherhoods that would win against Hitler, the brotherhood of the brave "who fight for us, and the brotherhood of labor that works for their victory."

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

SEP 2 1940

D 38802

Subject.....

## Mr. King Voices Admiration Of Brave Children

**Says Torpedoing of Ship  
Carrying Young Refu-  
gees to Canada Fills Mind  
With Sense of Horror.**

Prime Minister Mackenzie King said last night he believed Friday's torpedoing of a liner bringing British evacuee children to Canada could not fail to "fill the minds of all humane people with a sense of horror, and stir the consciences of all who seek to protect innocent and tender lives."

Mr. King said he felt it would be the wish of all Canadians that their sympathy should be expressed to the parents of the children in their anxiety, as well as their admiration of the presence of mind, courage and discipline displayed by the children in the face of so great a peril.

Hon. T. A. Crerar, minister of mines and resources, who is the government's representative in the work of receiving and caring for young Britons coming to Canada to escape the rigors of war, also expressed gratitude for the rescue of all 320 of those on the torpedoed liner.

"I am profoundly grateful that the children were saved," Mr. Crerar said when advised of the attack on the British liner. "This is another evidence of Hitler's tactics," he added. "I hope it will not have the effect of deterring further evacuation of children to Canada."

### Expect Thousands.

It has only been in recent weeks that arrangements were completed for bringing large numbers of British children to Canada for temporary adoption in Canadian homes for the duration of the war.

About 1,500 children have already arrived under the sponsored scheme by which the British government sends them to Canada, the Dominion government receives and transports them to various points in the provinces, and provincial governments handle their allocation to homes.

It is known here that a large number of children are expected in the near future and homes have been promised for many thousands. Before the sponsored scheme became effective about 4,500 children had already reached Canada under private arrangement, including a number of private schools which moved to the Dominion in a body and now are being established here.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date..... SEP 2 1940

D 38803

Subject.....

## Require Vision, Strength, Says Prime Minister

### Liberation of Europe From "Night of Naziism" De- pends Not On One De- mocracy But On All.

Liberation of Europe from "the night of Nazism" will depend upon the strength and will "not of democracy but of all the democracies that have survived," Prime Minister Mackenzie King declared in a broadcast address here last night.

#### If Vision Lacking.

"If we lack the vision to see the peril and the strength to meet it, we on the North American continent, like the nations of Europe, may come to disaster," the Prime Minister said.

Mr. King spoke in the "Let's Face the Facts" series over a coast-to-coast network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and combined his address with a Labor Day message to workers.

#### Not Enough.

Commenting with satisfaction on the co-operation on North American defence now underway between Canada and the United States, Mr. King said defence of the continent would not be enough.

Even if the continent is not invaded the continued domination of Europe by totalitarian states would, by economic pressure, force New World democracies to regimentation and make them "hewers of wood and drawers of water for the new economic masters of the world."

While paying high tribute to those who daily offer their lives in defence of democracy, on the land, the sea and in the air, Mr. King praised labor as "the partner and ally," working long hours and giving freely of their skill and strength to produce those essentials required by the fighting forces.

To the labor organizations Mr. King expressed his gratitude in being asked to deliver a Labor Day message. "From my early years I have been deeply interested in the problems of labor," he said. (He was minister of labor and was largely responsible for creating the department 40 years ago.)

"One reason I believe, is that labor's main concern along the path of life has been a continuous struggle against adversity and poverty.

"Labor too represents so overwhelming a proportion of mankind that it is almost synonymous with humanity itself. To improve conditions of labor is to better the human lot on this earth."

Mr. King discussed the war in relation to labor, what it would mean to labor if the war were lost and what victory would mean to the working class. He reviewed the events of the first year of war during which "freedom fleeing from many lands has followed peace into exile."

#### Recalls Message.

The year just ended was "one of the blackest years in human history," Mr. King said. He recalled his message to the people a year ago when Canada freely entered the conflict. At that time he warned that the fortune and freedom of every Canadian was bound up in the present struggle and called upon his fellow citizens to unite in a national effort.

"The world knows how nobly and with what unanimity the people of Canada answered that appeal," he said.

Today the British Empire stood alone as champions of the rights of free men, aided by the loyal remnants of forces of those countries which have fallen under German domination.

It was significant, Mr. King said, that the celebration of Labor Day—a day set apart by Parliament "to honor the place labor has gained and holds in our national

life," could be conducted peacefully in Canada after a year of war.

"Every Labor Day is a lighthouse of democracy. As its rays revolve we see beneath them the freedom and well-being which we have achieved. As its light flashes tonight we catch a glimpse of the land of our dreams. . . .

"We believe in the right of men to enjoy the fruits of their honest labor. We believe in the sanctity of humanity and in man's progressive capacity to take upon himself more of the attributes of divinity.

"Within the space of a single year we have witnessed the extinction of democracy on the continent of Europe. Beyond the confines of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America, democracy scarcely survives in the world today."

#### Strength and Will.

Whether Labor Day a year hence would see a free Europe "or the night of Naziism casting its gloom in deepening shadows over this North American continent," will depend, the Prime Minister said, "upon the strength, the will and the untiring work not only of one democracy but of all the democracies that have survived."

Lacking the vision to see the peril and the strength to meet it the North American continent, like the continent of Europe may come to disaster in one of two ways, he said.

"This continent might be dominated through actual invasion and conquest. On the other hand, if we fail to carry on the struggle in Europe until tyranny is destroyed, disaster will follow no less surely even though not one Nazi soldier were to land upon our shores.

"The triumph of the Nazis in Europe would involve, for the peoples of this continent, a substitution of fear for freedom and of economic domination for social progress. It would spell the doom of democracy in the New World."

#### Fact To Be Faced.

Germany has acquired vast new resources in her career of conquest, the Prime Minister said, and this was a fact that had to be faced. With the conquered areas, Germany now has a capacity for producing 42,000,000 tons of steel annually as compared with a British capacity for 17,000,000 tons and the United States 51,000,000 tons.

## PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

### Require Vision, Strength, Says Prime Minister

#### Liberation of Europe From "Night of Naziism" De- pends Not On One De- mocracy But On All.

Liberation of Europe from "the night of Naziism" will depend upon the strength and will "not of democracy but of all the democracies that have survived," Prime Minister Mackenzie King declared in a broadcast address here last night.

#### If Vision Lacking.

"If we lack the vision to see the peril and the strength to meet it, we on the North American continent, like the nations of Europe, may come to disaster," the Prime Minister said.

Mr. King spoke in the "Let's Face the Facts" series over a coast-to-coast network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and combined his address with a Labor Day message to workers.

#### Not Enough.

Commenting with satisfaction on the co-operation on North American defence now underway between Canada and the United States, Mr. King said defence of the continent would not be enough.

Even if the continent is not invaded the continued domination of Europe by totalitarian states would, by economic pressure, force New World democracies to regimentation and make them "hewers of wood and drawers of water for the new economic masters of the world."

While paying high tribute to those who daily offer their lives in defence of democracy, on the land, the sea and in the air, Mr. King praised labor as "the partner and ally," working long hours and giving freely of their skill and strength to produce those essentials required by the fighting forces.

To the labor organizations Mr. King expressed his gratitude in being asked to deliver a Labor Day message. "From my early years I have been deeply interested in the problems of labor," he said. (He was minister of labor and was largely responsible for creating the department 40 years ago.)

"One reason I believe, is that labor's main concern along the path of life has been a continuous struggle against adversity and poverty.

"Labor too represents so overwhelming a proportion of mankind that it is almost synonymous with humanity itself. To improve conditions of labor is to better the human lot on this earth."

Mr. King discussed the war in relation to labor, what it would mean to labor if the war were lost and what victory would mean to the working class. He reviewed the events of the first year of war during which "freedom fleeing from many lands has followed peace into exile."

#### Recalls Message.

The year just ended was "one of the blackest years in human history," Mr. King said. He recalled his message to the people a year ago when Canada freely entered the conflict. At that time he warned that the fortune and freedom of every Canadian was bound up in the present struggle and called upon his fellow citizens to unite in a national effort.

"The world knows how nobly and with what unanimity the people of Canada answered that appeal," he said.

Today the British Empire stood alone as champions of the rights of free men, aided by the loyal remnants of forces of those countries which have fallen under German domination.

It was significant, Mr. King said, that the celebration of Labor Day—a day set apart by Parliament "to honor the place labor has gained and holds in our national

life," could be conducted peacefully in Canada after a year of war.

"Every Labor Day is a lighthouse of democracy. As its rays revolve we see beneath them the freedom and well-being which we have achieved. As its light flashes tonight we catch a glimpse of the land of our dreams. . . .

"We believe in the right of men to enjoy the fruits of their honest labor. We believe in the sanctity of humanity and in man's progressive capacity to take upon himself more of the attributes of divinity.

"Within the space of a single year we have witnessed the extinction of democracy on the continent of Europe. Beyond the confines of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America, democracy scarcely survives in the world today."

#### Strength and Will.

Whether Labor Day a year hence would see a free Europe "or the night of Naziism casting its gloom in deepening shadows over this North American continent," will depend, the Prime Minister said, "upon the strength, the will and the untiring work not only of one democracy but of all the democracies that have survived."

Lacking the vision to see the peril and the strength to meet it the North American continent, like the continent of Europe may come to disaster in one of two ways, he said.

"This continent might be dominated through actual invasion and conquest. On the other hand, if we fail to carry on the struggle in Europe until tyranny is destroyed, disaster will follow no less surely even though not one Nazi soldier were to land upon our shores.

"The triumph of the Nazis in Europe would involve, for the peoples of this continent, a substitution of fear for freedom and of economic domination for social progress. It would spell the doom of democracy in the New World."

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**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... D 38801

Date.....

Subject.....

In addition Germany has acquired additional capacity enormously increasing her power to produce all type of war equipment.

"Great Britain, Canada and other nations of the Commonwealth now fight some 120,000,000 Germans and Italians who have acquired resources and control factories far in excess of the resources of their own lands."

As a result of conquest Germany has "masses of impoverished men and women numbering more than 80,000,000 forced by dire need to work for the lowest possible wage."

It was recognition of these facts that recently prompted Prime Minister Churchill to say that the British Empire and the United States would have to be "mixed up together in some of their affairs for mutual and general advantage," Mr. King said.

He commented on the recent creation of a joint Canada-United States permanent defence board as a "practical" recognition of the principle laid down by Mr. Churchill when the British Prime Minister, on Aug. 20 last, announced the readiness of Britain to lease suitable sites to the United States for defence bases.

#### **Inevitable Outcome.**

This co-operative action of Canada and the United States on the problem of defending North America was the "inevitable outcome" of President Roosevelt's pledge of United States assistance to Canada if invasion threatened, given at Kingston Aug. 18, 1938, and his own statement two days later declaring Canada too had the obligation of so preparing that the United States would not be in danger of attack by an enemy crossing Canadian territory.

"The events of the two troubled years which have followed have served to emphasize, in both Canada and the United States, the necessity for reciprocal concern for each other's security."

Canada and the United States had recognized that their united strength would be something more than the strength of both acting separately. "Reciprocity in defence involves reciprocal duties as well as reciprocal advantages. Canada gladly accepts both."

But defence of North America would not be enough, Mr. King said. Naziism must be destroyed and the countries of Europe set free. Failure to do that would be to confine within narrow limits the areas in which democracies could hope to develop trade and friendship.

"The markets in which the workmen and the producers of the North American continent have sold their goods will certainly disappear.

"Overseas we will be forced to compete with those who know no standards and with states that will sacrifice every standard we in North America will be increasingly subjected to competition from regimented countries.

"As a last impelling alternative, slowly, certainly and inexorably, we, too, will become conscripts in the regimentation of the state, and the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the new economic masters of the world."

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL  
Date..... SEP 2 1940  
Subject.....

## KING TERMS DANGER REAL TO AMERICAS

Declares Economic  
Peril Is Faced Even  
if Continent Free

PRAISES LABOR

Ottawa, Sept. 1 (CP).—Liberation of Europe from "the night of Nazism" will depend upon the strength and will "not of one democracy but of all the democracies that have survived," Prime Minister Mackenzie King declared in a broadcast address here tonight.

"If we lack the vision to see the peril and the strength to meet it, we on the North American Continent, like the nations of Europe, may come to disaster," the Prime Minister said.

Mr. King spoke in the "Let's Face the Facts" series over a coast-to-coast network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and combined his address with a Labor Day message to workers.

Commenting with satisfaction on the co-operation on North American defense, now under way between Canada and the United States, Mr. King said defense of the continent would not be enough.

### Sees Economic Pressure.

Even if the continent is not invaded the continued domination of Europe by totalitarian states would, by economic pressure, force New World democracies to regimentation and make them "hewers of wood and drawers of water for the new economic masters of the world."

While paying high tribute to those who daily offer their lives in defense of democracy, on the land, the sea and in the air, Mr. King praised labor as "the partner and ally," working long hours and giving freely of their skill and strength to produce those essentials required by the fighting forces. To the labor organizations Mr. King expressed his gratitude in being asked

to deliver a Labor Day message.

"From my early years I have been deeply interested in the problems of labor," he said. (He was Minister of Labor and was largely responsible for creating the department forty years ago.)

"One reason, I believe, is that labor's main concern along the path of life has been a continuous struggle against adversity and poverty.

### Means Humanity Itself.

"Labor, too, represents so overwhelming a proportion of mankind that it is almost synonymous with humanity itself. To improve conditions of labor is to better the human lot on this earth."

Mr. King discussed the war in relation to labor, what it would mean to labor if the war were lost and what victory would mean to the working class. He reviewed the events of the first year of the war during which "freedom fleeing from many lands has followed peace into exile."

The year just ended was "one of the blackest years in human history," Mr. King said. He recalled his message to the people a year ago when Canada freely entered the conflict. At that time he warned that the fortune and freedom of every Canadian was bound up in the struggle and called upon his fellow citizens to unite in a national effort.

"The world knows how nobly and with what unanimity the people of Canada answered that appeal," he said.

Today the British Empire stood alone as champions of the rights of free men, aided by the loyal remnants of forces of those countries which have fallen under German domination.

### "Lighthouse of Democracy." . . .

It was significant, Mr. King said, that tomorrow's celebration of Labor Day—a day set apart by Parliament "to honor the place Labor has gained and holds in our national life"—could be celebrated peacefully in Canada after a year of war.

"Every Labor Day is a lighthouse of democracy. As its rays revolve we see beneath them the freedom and well-being which we have achieved. As its light flashes tonight we catch a glimpse of the land of our dreams . . .

"We believe in the right of men to enjoy the fruits of their honest labor. We believe in the sanctity of humanity and in man's progressive capacity to take upon him-

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

D 38896

Date.....

Subject.....

self more of the attributes of divinity . . .

"Within the space of a single year we have witnessed the extinction of democracy on the Continent of Europe. Beyond the confines of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America, democracy scarcely survives in the world today."

Whether Labor Day a year hence would see a free Europe "or the night of nazism casting its gloom in deepening shadows over this North American Continent" will depend, the Prime Minister said, "upon the strength, the will and the untiring work not only of one democracy, but of all the democracies that have survived."

#### Fear Would Oust Freedom.

Lacking the vision to see the peril and the strength to meet it, the North American Continent, like the Continent of Europe, might come to disaster in one of two ways, he said.

"This continent might be domi-

nated through actual invasion and conquest. On the other hand, if we fail to carry on the struggle in Europe until tyranny is destroyed, disaster will follow no less surely, even though not one Nazi soldier were to land upon our shores.

"The triumph of the Nazis in Europe would involve, for the peoples of this continent, a substitution of fear for freedom and of economic domination for social progress. It would spell the doom of democracy in the New World."

Germany has acquired vast new resources in her career of conquest, the Prime Minister said, and this was a fact that had to be faced. With the conquered areas, Germany now had a capacity for producing 42,000,000 tons of steel annually, as compared with a British capacity for 17,000,000 tons and the United States, 51,000,000 tons.

In addition, Germany had acquired additional capacity enormously increasing her power to produce all types of war equipment.

"Great Britain, Canada and other nations of the Commonwealth now fight some 120,000,000 Germans and Italians who have acquired resources and control factories far in excess of the resources of their own lands," he said.

As a result of conquest, Germany has "masses of impoverished men and women numbering more than 80,000,000 forced by dire need to work for the lowest possible wage."

#### Cites Churchill Statement.

It was recognition of these facts that recently prompted Prime Minister Churchill to say that the British Empire and the United States would have to be "mixed up together in some of their affairs for mutual and general advantage," Mr. King said.

He commented on the recent creation of a joint Canada-United States permanent defense board as a "practical" recognition of the principle laid down by Mr. Churchill when the British Prime Minister, on Aug. 20 last, announced the readiness of Britain to lease suitable sites to the United States for defense bases.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg Tribune

Date Sept. 2/40

D 38807

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## Tribute To Labor

PREMIER KING in his broadcast Sunday night paid fitting and eloquent tribute to Labor as the "partner and ally" of the fighting forces. At the close of the first year of war, "the darkest year in modern times," and on the eve of Labor Day, the Prime Minister's formal recognition of the fine spirit in which the workmen of Canada have shared in the nation's war effort constituted a national tribute to which all Canadians give hearty accord.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Vancouver Province

D 38808

Date Sept. 2 /40

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## The Danger of Dictatorship

MR. MACKENZIE KING'S urgent plea in his Sunday broadcast for unity among the democracies seemed to be aimed at an audience beyond his Canadian listeners. The Canadian people have been aware of their duty in the war for months now and have been ahead of Mr. King himself in their appreciation of the gravity of the situation. It is good, however, to hear the Prime Minister's voice added to those which have been insisting that this is a war in which there can really be no spectators. All must be participants.

It is a war of the foes of democracy against democracy. It is a war of ideologies. It is a war of the people who think the state supreme and the individual nothing against those who insist upon the essential greatness and dignity of the individual and hold the state is nothing more than the sum of the individuals who compose it. It is the fight of the dictators who pretend that the state—their state—is an organism with a soul of its own which is a sort of supreme soul, against the individuals who would direct their own lives in their own way.

Mr. King made the usual point that the democracies of this continent are in danger from the aggressive nations, which, if victorious, might invade this continent and impose their will upon the people living on this side of the Atlantic. But he made another point too—that even if there is no invasion, this continent will still be in danger unless the dictators are defeated and their pretensions flattened out. For, so long as there is a threat across the Atlantic, there can be no maximum of social progress on this side. There will

always be fear. There will always be the necessity of taking the greatest precautions. There will always be the necessity of piling up defenses.

As President Roosevelt put it once, the dictators are a continuing menace to the democracies because they turn the democracies into barrack yards.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Star

Date Sept. 2 /40

D 38809

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## THE STRENGTH OF UNITY

**W**HEN Premier King told the nation in his broadcast last night that the united strength of Canada and the United States, as a result of mutual defence agreements, would be "something more than the strength of both acting separately," he was undoubtedly aware of the understatement in the phrase. He might have used much stronger terms without exaggerating the importance of the arrangements recently concluded by the two countries, for the defence pact is without question the most significant step in the relations between this Dominion and the U.S.A. since each nation decided to go separate political ways, the one as part of the British Empire, the other as an independent State struggling for a wider freedom.

Mr. King did well to emphasize that reciprocity in defence involves reciprocal duties as well as reciprocal advantages. The Canadian people since the beginning of the war have come to realize more fully than ever before in their history the significance in human affairs of the concept of "duty." So that when the Premier declares that "Canada has become the bridge which links the new freedom of the North American continent with the ancient freedom of Britain," he says nothing that the people have not already concluded for themselves. We have become accustomed to regard ourselves as the interpreter of Britain to the United States, and we shall fill the wider role with even greater eagerness because the past year has made us realize that we stand not merely as a link between two political cultures but as a bastion of civilization itself.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Name of Publication.....

Date..... SEP 2 1940

D 38810

Subject.....

## Says Defence Of Continent Not Enough

Liberation of Europe from "the night of Nazism" will depend upon the strength and will "not of one democracy but of all the democracies that have survived", Prime Minister Mackenzie King declared in a broadcast address here Sunday night.

"If we lack the vision to see the peril and the strength to meet it, we on the North American Continent, like the nations of Europe, may come to disaster", the Prime Minister said.

Mr. King spoke in the "let's face the facts" series over a coast-to-coast network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and combined his address with a Labor Day message to workers.

**Commenting with Satisfaction on the co-operation on North American defence now underway between Canada and the United States, Mr. King said defence of the continent would not be enough.**

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vaded the continued domination of Europe by totalitarian states would, by economic pressure, force New World democracies to regimentation and make them "hewers of wood and drawers of water for the new economic masters of the world".

### Partner and Ally.

While paying high tribute to those who daily offer their lives in defence of democracy, on the land, the sea and in the air, Mr. King praised labor as "the partner and ally", working long hours and giving freely of their skill and strength to produce those essentials required by the fighting forces.

To the labor organizations Mr. King expressed his gratitude in being asked to deliver a Labor

Day message. "From my early years I have been deeply interested in the problems of labor", he said.

"One reason, I believe, is that labor's main concern along the path of life has been a continuous struggle against adversity and poverty.

"Labor, too, represents so overwhelming a proportion of mankind that it is almost synonymous with humanity itself. To improve conditions of labor is to better the human lot on this earth."

**Mr. King discussed the war in relation to labor, what it would mean to labor if the war were lost, and what victory would mean to the working class. He reviewed the events of the first year of war, during which "freedom fleeing from many lands has followed peace into exile".**

The year just ended was "one of the blackest years in human history", Mr. King said. He recalled his message to the people a year ago when Canada freely entered the conflict. At that time he warned that the fortune and freedom of every Canadian was bound up in the present struggle and called upon his fellow citizens to unite in a national effort.

"The world knows how nobly and with what unanimity the people of Canada answered that appeal", he said.

### Britain Lone Champion.

Today the British Empire stood alone as champion of the rights of free men, aided by the loyal remnants of forces of those countries which have fallen under German domination.

It was significant, Mr. King said, that tomorrow's celebration of Labor Day—a day set apart by Parliament "to honor the place labor has gained and holds in our national life", could be celebrated peacefully in Canada after a year of war.

"Every Labor Day is a lighthouse of Democracy. As its rays revolve we see beneath them the freedom and well-being which we have achieved. As its light flashes tonight we catch a glimpse of the land of our dreams. . . .

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Whether Labor Day a year hence would see a free Europe "or the night of Nazism casting its gloom in deepening shadows over this North American Continent", will depend, the Prime Minister said, "upon the strength, the will and the untiring work not only of one democracy but of all the democracies that have survived."

### May Come to Disaster.

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**"The triumph of the Nazis in Europe would involve, for the peoples of this continent, a substitution of fear for freedom and of economic domination for social progress. It would spell the doom of democracy in the New world."**

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Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication

OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date

SEP 2 1945

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**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....  
Date.....  
Subject.....

D 38811

"Great Britain, Canada and other nations of the Commonwealth now fight some 120,000,000 Germans and Italians who have acquired resources and control factories far in excess of the resources of their own lands."

As a result of conquest Germany has "masses of improvised men and women numbering more than 80,000,000 forced by dire need to work for the lowest possible wage."

#### For Mutual Advantage.

It was recognition of these facts that recently prompted Prime Minister Churchill to say that the British Empire and the United States would have to be "mixed up together in some of their affairs for mutual and general advantage", Mr. King said.

He commented on the recent creation of a joint Canada-United States permanent defence board as a "practical" recognition of the principle laid down by Mr. Churchill when the British Prime Minister, on Aug. 20 last, announced the readiness of Britain to lease suitable sites to the United States for defence bases.

This co-operative action of Canada and the United States on the problem of defending North America was the "inevitable outcome" of President Roosevelt's pledge of United States assistance to Canada if invasion threatened, given at Kingston Aug. 18, 1938, and his own statement two days

later declaring Canada too had the obligation of so preparing that the United States would not be in danger of attack by an enemy crossing Canadian territory.

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## PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Sept. 3/40

D 38812

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

# Mackenzie King Pays Tribute To Labor

## CANADIANS WILL REMEMBER TOO, 'THEIR DEBT TO LABOR'

Prime Minister Warns That  
Dominion Must Appreciate  
Task's Magnitude

### CALLS FOR STRENGTH

The following is the text of the radio speech delivered by the Rt. Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, prime minister, in the series, "Let's Face the Facts," Sunday night:

Some days ago, I received from one of the working men of our country a letter in which he suggested that on the Sunday before Labor Day, as a former minister of labor, I might be willing to give a national message to the workers of Canada.

A day or two later, I received a letter also from the director of public information inviting me to be the speaker for tonight in the radio series known as "Let's Face the Facts." The writer of the second letter suggested that as this date corresponded with the first anniversary of the war, a talk by myself on its events and lessons might be welcomed by the people of Canada.

### Interested in Labor

My purpose this evening is to endeavor to meet both those requests. I shall try to summarize the facts which stand out after one year of the war, and to relate them to the world situation as we know it today, and to the alternatives which the future may hold in store.

I need scarcely say that I felt much honored that from one who holds the position of secretary of the labor council in one of the leading cities of the Dominion, I should have received the particular invitation I have mentioned. From my early years, I have been deeply interested in the problems of labor. One reason, I believe, is that labor's main concern along the path of life, has been a continuous struggle against adversity and poverty. Labor too represents so overwhelming a proportion of mankind that it is almost synonymous with humanity itself.

The plain picture of the ordinary man, working with the strength of his arm and the skill of his hand to feed, to clothe and to shelter his fellows, has always seemed to me to represent humanity in one of the noblest of its moods. To improve conditions of labor is to better the human lot on this earth. That, I

suppose, is the motive which most of us have closest to our heart when the enthusiasm of young manhood and the realization of the duties of citizenship begin to mould our conscience and our conduct. It is one of the tragedies of life that amid the complexities of the struggle for existence, the enthusiasm and the realization are so often lost. To my mind, the measure of human greatness is the degree to which we continue to hold to the end of our days, an enthusiasm for human betterment.

### "Let Us Face Facts"

Let me then talk to you tonight of this war not only in relation to the broad aspects to which I have referred, but in its relation particularly to labor. Let us consider together what the winning of this war may mean to labor. Let us ponder what the loss of this war will certainly mean to labor. Let us think together for a few minutes of what labor has done, and can do for the winning of the war. In this throughout, let us face the facts.

On this day one year ago, a world that had watched with anxious but hopeful eyes, while men of goodwill labored with all their strength for peace, saw war, with indescribable savagery begin the devastation of Europe. During the months that have since passed, freedom fleeing from many desolate lands, has followed peace into exile.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

D 33813

At the end of the year, silence and darkness have fallen upon Poland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland. We mourn, too, the tragedy of a broken France. With her withdrawal from the conflict, we lost a gallant ally. With the entry of Italy on the side of Germany, we faced another treacherous and rapacious foe. The few nations of the continent of Europe that have not already been subjugated either tremble or bow before the might and violence of the aggressor.

#### Fire and Slaughter

Fire and slaughter have spread to Africa and the Near East. There is an ominous glow on the horizons of the Middle East. In many parts of the world, the thunder of the storm is heard, even though the lightning has not yet struck. Ships have battled on all the seven seas. From the skies, over the continent of Europe and the British Isles, aerial warfare continues to rain death and destruction. Millions of innocent, peace-loving, plain, ordinary, simple men and women, who have asked nothing more than to live their daily lives in the quiet of their own homes and the shelter

of their native valleys, have been dispossessed, robbed and enslaved.

Many nations had fondly hoped to find security in scrupulous neutrality. They found, instead, that neutrality was only an invitation to invasion, pillage, and enslavement. The souls and minds of the men of many lands to which the world is indebted for art, science, literature, invention, religious thought and most of the other precious gifts of human life are imprisoned in the bondage of a barbarous and inhuman conqueror.

#### History's Blackest Year

This year that has just ended was one of the blackest years in human history. These things are not the visions of a prophet of evil; they are not the imaginings of a horrid dream; they are the facts before our very eyes. Let us face them squarely.

Exactly one year ago it was my duty to speak to you of the great decision which the people of Canada would be called upon to make, of a call to duty which Canadians in their hearts had already answered. Speaking on that occasion, I used these words:

"There is no home in Canada, no family, and no individual whose fortune 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 world knows how nobly and with what unanimity the people of Canada answered that appeal. No one today can deny the truth of the words that there is no home in Canada, no family and no individual whose fortunes and freedom are not bound up in the present struggle. How true these words are will be even more apparent when we consider the next outstanding fact to which I would draw your attention.

Today the nations of the British commonwealth alone champion in their full strength the rights of free men. Britain stands majestic and undaunted. To her have rallied those who once caught her great accents of liberty, and learned from her the lesson of obedience to the law. In this hour of supreme peril there have come also to her side men of Norway, of Holland, of Belgium, of Czechoslovakia, of Poland and of France. These men are not the ghosts of brave lands that are dead. They are the souls of brave lands that still live, and will, once again, rise in the full dignity of their freedom and the renewed vigor of indomitable youth. Nevertheless, we and they fight alone.

#### Day Honoring Labor

Let me now speak of another anniversary. Tomorrow, labor in Canada will celebrate in complete freedom a day, which by act of parliament has been set apart to honor the place which labor has gained and holds in our national life. It is deeply significant that such a celebration is possible at the end of a year of total war in Europe.

The position of labor in Canada, its dignity and its freedom, can be fully appreciated only in the light of both history and geography.

Canada, and likewise the United States, have been peopled largely by men and women of British stock. They brought with them to this continent not only British law and British respect for law, but other fruits of the struggles in Britain for religious and civil freedom. Above all, they bore in their hearts and minds the determination to maintain and extend their freedom in the

new land which beckoned them to its shores.

#### Built New Freedom

The ancestors of our French-Canadian fellow citizens also were of those who sailed the seas, and left their native land for a continent whose broad horizons offered larger opportunities of human happiness. They brought with them skill in the arts and trades, a great capacity for work, a love of home and the simple joys and a sustaining faith. Upon these ancestral foundations, the men and women of British and French stock built their new freedom.

As the years passed, the adventurous and the oppressed from every country in Europe came amongst us, seeking a new homeland where life and human personality were held as sacred things, where tyranny and slavery could be nothing but a far-off memory, where the state existed for man and not man for the state.

The frontiers of freedom, like the frontiers of settlement, have steadily widened. They, too, have had their forts which consolidated the victories of the past, and protected the onward march of the future.

#### Cause for Gratitude

We have cause for gratitude, for the freedom recorded in our romantic history. We can be equally thankful for the security which geography has given us. We have grown to nationhood in a land separated by the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, from the threat of a sudden invasion of its shores. The British navy, and for the last 100 years, the navy of the United States patrolling the waters of its oceans, have given to our own rising national power a further sense of safety.

Time and space have worked for Canada. To the inheritance of free political institutions, thus assured and safeguarded by historical association and geographical position, democracy on this North American continent owes its existence today.

Now what is this democracy to which we so often refer? To me, democracy means that state of organized society which recognizes the right of its members to equality of opportunity. It means the power of the many in increasing measure to develop in complete freedom their latent strength and talent. It means the freedom of the many to enjoy under the protection of those laws which they themselves have made, an adequate and just measure of the fruits of their own labors.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

D 38814

Every Labor Day is a lighthouse of democracy. As its rays revolve, we see beneath them the freedom and the well-being which we have achieved. As its light flashes tonight, we catch a glimpse of the land of our dreams. We can see the Canada we have longed for and worked for, a land in which men and women, regardless of race, creed or class, can live their lives without fear. For we have cherished the realities of freedom which are also its ideals; the right to think, the right to speak, the right to organize, the right to work, the right to worship.

We believe in the right of men to enjoy the fruits of their honest labor. We believe in the sanctity of humanity, and in man's progressive capacity to take upon himself more of the attributes of Divinity.

However much we have failed in what we have done, nevertheless in our innermost hearts I believe we have given a "value immeasurable and eternal to the humblest of human lives."

#### Were in the Household

France until recently was of this household of democracy. So also were Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium. Within the space of a single year, we have witnessed the extinction of democracy on the continent of Europe. Beyond the confines of the British Commonwealth of nations and the United States of America, democracy scarcely survives in the world today. That is the next great fact which we have now to face.

We have not needed Hitler and Mussolini to tell us that dictatorship is at war with democracy. In a world of narrowing distances, there is no longer room for those two systems to survive side by side. Sooner or later, the one will extinguish the other. Light will fade into darkness or the darkness will vanish before the light. As has so frequently been said, it is just as true of the world today as it was of the American Union in Lincoln's day, that society no longer can continue to exist half-slave and half-free.

Recently I re-read the little poem entitled "Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight." It seems to me to reflect the tragedy and the hope of this zero hour. It pictures that great figure restless upon his native hillside, contemplating the sickness of the world, the bitterness, the folly, the pain and the black terror that have come upon the homesteads of men. Listen to these words:

"He cannot rest until a spirit-dawn Shall come—the shining hope of Europe free;

The league of sober folk, the workers' earth,  
Bringing long peace to cornland,  
Alp and sea."

#### At Midnight Hour

Europe has reached that midnight hour. Whether Labor Day in Canada a year hence will witness the spirit-dawn of a Europe free, or the night of Nazism casting its gloom in deepening shadows over this North American continent, will depend upon the strength, the will, and the untiring work not of one democracy but of all the democracies that have survived. In their combined effort, no force can be greater than the truth in labor's heart and the strength of labor's arm.

If we lack the vision to see the peril and the strength to meet it, we, on this North American continent, like the nations of Europe, may come to disaster in one of two days. This continent might be dominated through actual invasion and conquest. On the other hand, if we fail to carry on the struggle in Europe until tyranny is destroyed, disaster will follow no less surely even though not one Nazi soldier were to land upon our shores.

#### Fear Not Freedom

The triumph of the Nazis in Europe would involve for the peoples of this continent the substitution of fear for freedom, and of economic domination for social progress. It would spell the doom

of democracy in the new world.

In considering the fate of the democracies, there is another grim fact which we must face. It was absent a year ago. It bears immediately both on the possibilities of invasion, and upon the perils of competing industrial standards. This fact is that Nazi Germany has added to her own resources those of the countries she has subjugated. She has acquired a vast supply of the materials and equipment of war which, at the outbreak of war, it was expected would never be used at all, or if they were would be used against her. All France, as we know, is in the control of the enemy; the whole western seaboard of Europe from Norway to Spain is in German hands. All the ports and airfields of this continental coast line, once in possession of friendly or allied powers, today provide the bases from which the enemy pursues his course across the skies and seas. In addition to the

resources of their own land and of France, the Nazis have seized and now possess the resources, the equipment, and the manufacturing plants of Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium. Let me give a fact or two in detail.

#### Nazi Steel Production

Including the conquered areas, the Nazis now have capacity for producing 42 million tons of steel annually, as compared with the capacity in British countries of 17 million tons, and the capacity of the United States to produce 51 million tons.

In addition to steel, Germany has added very considerably to her capacity to produce ships, aircraft, motorized equipment, armor plate and munitions.

It is a fact that the great tanks built in the arsenals of Czecho-slovakia were used for the destruction of France, Belgium and Holland.

It is equally a fact that in Nazi hands the iron and steel, machines and munitions of France and Belgium today bring death and destruction to the British Isles.

Great Britain, Canada, and the other nations of the Commonwealth now fight some 120 million Germans and Italians who have acquired resources and control factories far in excess of the resources and factories of their own lands.

As a result of conquering most of the industrial nations of Europe, and smashing their state organizations, social institutions and trade unions, Hitler has masses of im-

poverished men and women numbering more than 80,000,000 forced by dire need to work for the lowest possible wages. However unwilling may be their obedience, however reluctant their contributions to the Nazi masters, they do represent a powerful addition to the effective strength of the enemy.

#### For Mutual Advantage

It was the recognition of these facts which led the prime minister of the United Kingdom to declare recently in the parliament at Westminster that the two great organizations of the English-speaking democracies, the British Empire and the United States, will have to be somewhat mixed up together in some of their affairs for mutual and general advantage. "Some

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication \_\_\_\_\_

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**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

138815

months ago," said Mr. Churchill, "we came to the conclusion that the interests of the United States and of the British Empire both required that the United States should have facilities for the naval and air defence of the western hemisphere against the attack of a Nazi power which might have temporary but lengthy control of a large part of western Europe and its resources.

"We have therefore decided, spontaneously and without being asked or offered any inducement, to inform the government of the United States that we should be glad to place such defence facilities at their disposal by leasing suitable sites in our transatlantic possessions for their greater security against the unmeasured dangers of the future."

#### Set Forth Agreement

The principle of association of their interests for the common advantage of Great Britain and the United States was thus stated by Mr. Churchill on Aug. 20. This principle had already been recognized in the relations between Canada and the United States, in an equally practical, and an even more immediate manner, in the joint declaration made at Ogdensburg by President Roosevelt and myself a fortnight ago today. The declaration set forth the agreement reached on Aug. 17 for the establishment of a permanent joint board concerned with the mutual problems of defence in relation to the safety of Canada and the United States. As you are aware, the permanent board on defence has since been duly constituted and is at present engaged upon its studies of sea, land and air problems immediately related to the north half of the western hemisphere.

The establishment of the permanent joint board is the logical, I might say the inevitable outcome of two significant declarations made on Canadian soil in August of 1938. The first of these was made on Aug. 18 at Queen's University in Kingston by President Roosevelt in these words:

"The Dominion of Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British empire. I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other empire."

On behalf of the people of Canada, two days later, in a speech at Woodbridge, Ontario, I acknowledged Mr. Roosevelt's declaration in these words:

"We, too, have our obligations as a good friendly neighbor, and one of them is to see that, at our own instance, our country is made as immune from attack or possible invasion as we can reasonably be expected to make it, and that, should the occasion ever arise, enemy forces should not be able to pursue their way, either by land, sea, or air to the United States, across Canadian territory."

These declarations marked the first explicit recognition by both countries of their reciprocity in defence.

The events of the two troubled years which have followed have served to emphasize, in both Canada and the United States, the necessity for reciprocal concern for each other's security. They have also allayed the fears of those who felt that closer relations with the United States would weaken Canada's ties with the other British nations. The truth has been the exact opposite.

#### More Responsibilities

The declaration of Ogdensburg and the policy from which it sprang represent an increase, and not a decrease, in Canada's responsibilities. Canada and the United States have undertaken to share the burdens of maintaining their joint security; neither has shifted the burden to the other. We have recognized that our united strength will be something more than the strength of both acting separately. Reciprocity in defence involves reciprocal duties as well as reciprocal advantages. Canada gladly accepts both.

Canada has indeed become, as I have pointed out before, the bridge which joins the new freedom of the North American continent with the ancient freedom of Britain.

May we not see in the means now being taken to secure the common interests of the British Commonwealth and the United States, not only the surest of the safeguards of democracy, but a promise of peace and understanding, an enduring contribution to the cause of freedom of the world.

So much for North American security from invasion. That, however, is not enough. Unless Naziism in Europe is destroyed, the threat of world domination by a ruthless foe will hang continuously over our heads just as, in recent years, the threat of invasion and domination has hung over the heads of

the free peoples of Europe. To meet that threat, our own standards of behavior and living would increasingly become those of the totalitarian states. Our democratic institutions, one by one, would disappear, and with them what we have won of freedom.

#### Free or Slave Labor

Unless the enemy is defeated and the enslaved countries of Europe restored to freedom, there will be no prospect of improving or even of maintaining the standards of Canadian life which Canadian energy and Canadian skill have won, no hope of enlarging the opportunities for the happiness of our own or succeeding generations. Free labor will have to compete with slave labor. Men who have hitherto had the right to choose where they would work, and at what they would work, will find themselves in hopeless competition with conscript labor, automatic, soulless, driven by the merciless lash of a ruthless state.

Moreover, failure to free the peoples of Europe from their present thralldom, will mean confining within narrowing limits the areas in which the democracies, should they survive, can hope to develop intercourse in trade or friendship.

The markets in which the workmen and the producers of the North American continent have sold their

goods will certainly disappear. Overseas we will be forced to compete with those who know no standards, and with states that will sacrifice every standard. We, in North America, will be increasingly subjected to competition from other regimented countries. In a vain effort to maintain our standards, we will be driven to trade almost exclusively with ourselves. As a last impelling alternative, slowly, certainly and inexorably, we too will become conscripts in the regimentation of the state, and the hewers of wood and the drawers of water for the new economic masters of the world.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication \_\_\_\_\_

D 38816

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

To labor, these facts have spoken and will speak with emphasis and conviction. Labor knows the stake in the struggle between dictatorship and democracy. Labor knows what it will lose in the defeat of democracy. It understands the difference between rule by force by those who seek a monopoly of power, and government by consent for the common good. It knows the difference between men who despise equality, and seek privilege, possessions and power, and those who believe in the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God.

In war, no work, no effort, can compare with the sacrifice of the soldier, the sailor and the airman. Their sacrifice is uppermost in the thoughts of this nation; it will live in its memories. But Canadians will remember too their debt to labor. In Canada, labor has extended its hours, surrendered its holidays, and in its determination to increase and advance production, as taught the young and the inexperienced the intricacies of complicated trades. It will be the duty of the people of Canada, realizing these things now, to remember them in the hour of victory.

#### Labor Parties Aid Ally

In the deeds of the men who on land, on sea and in the air, offer their lives to save us, labor is the partner and the ally. Hundreds of skilful hands, unerring eyes and strong arms helped to create the Canadian planes in which, on Friday last, our own Canadian fighter squadron made the skies of the British Isles vivid with the swift adventure of their skill and courage. How proud labor must feel to have worked for such men!

Every workman knows that every bolt, every piece of steel, every bullet, every machine part fashioned in Canada is a work for victory. Every workman knows that lacking the machines of war, the bravest men in the world will avail nothing.

My fellow citizens. A distinguished British journalist who recently visited us, said that he found Canada at war with Hitler and at peace with herself. We are at war, and we shall remain united in will and purpose. But we can only remain at peace with ourselves if shirking no effort, withholding no wealth, and sparing no sacrifice, we prove ourselves worthy of our two great brotherhoods—the brotherhood of the brave who fight for us, and the brotherhood of labor that works for their victory.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... Toronto Star  
Date..... Sept. 4/40  
Subject.....

D 38817

## The Shining Hope of Europe Free

In his address to Labor the other day, Premier King quoted from a poem by Nicholas Vachel Lindsay—"Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight." The writer pictures Lincoln brooding upon the sickness of the world, upon the darkness that had descended on mankind:

"He cannot rest until a spirit-dawn  
Shall come—the shining hope of Europe free;  
The league of sober folk, the workers' earth,  
Bringing long peace to cornland, Alp and  
sea."

Europe, in a midnight blacker than it has known in ages, again awaits the dawn. Said Mr. King:

"Europe has reached that midnight hour. Whether Labor Day in Canada a year hence will witness the spirit-dawn of a Europe free, or the night of Naziism casting its gloom in deepening shadows over this North American continent, will depend upon the strength, the will and the untiring work not of one democracy but of all the democracies that have survived. In their combined effort, no force can be greater than the truth in Labor's heart and the strength of Labor's arm."

Every word of it is true. Of all wars, this may most appropriately be called Labor's war, and for two reasons: First, because Labor stands to lose so heavily if the war is lost; second, because Labor can do so much to prevent it being lost. The preservation of democracy means the preservation of the rights of Labor. The preservation of democracy in a mechanized war depends upon the activity and the faithfulness of Labor—"the truth in Labor's heart and the strength of Labor's arm."

Britain's ultimate victory will mean more than the continuance of liberty in the countries which are still unconquered. It will mean the restoration of liberty to countries which have lost it. "The shining hope of Europe free" is the hope which Mr. King cherishes, which every lover of democracy should cherish; the hope, as another poet has put it, that "just beyond the darkest midnight gleam the banners of the dawn."

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date SEP 3 1940

**D** 38818

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## London Papers Take Confident View of Future

**British Press Reviews First  
Year of War With Daily  
Telegraph Lauding Mr.  
Mackenzie King's Speech**

LONDON, Sept. 3—(C.P. Cable) — Britain's morning newspapers, taking the first anniversary of the war as the keynote of their editorial comment, viewed the future with confidence today but recalled the dark days of the French collapse.

### **Praise King's Speech.**

The Daily Telegraph, under the heading "Dictators' Doom" said that "no rulers of nations before them have had such success in arraying the world against the spirit of barbaric tyranny" as Hitler and Mussolini. Referring to Prime Minister Mackenzie King's Sunday evening address, the Telegraph said Mr. King "put the case in memorable words. Just as the one object and effort to the Roman republic was that Carthage must be destroyed, so freemen of the Western Hemisphere are aware that all mankind will not be safe while the dictators are not crushed."

The newspaper felt that his theme was appropriate to Labor Day.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

D 38819

Date SEP 3 1940

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## Germany's Swollen Strength

Prime Minister Mackenzie King said some things that needed saying in his "Let's Face the Facts" broadcast on Sunday night. Although of a somewhat discursive nature, his talk did stress probably the two most important facts before the Canadian people as they enter the second year of the struggle.

One is that while it is highly desirable that the United States and Canada get together on problems of mutual defence, the battle front is still in Britain and Europe and that unless Nazism is vanquished where it now rules the chance of North American survival on a democratic basis is small.

The second fact is that Germany has enormously gained in productive strength as a result of her conquests since the war began. Mr. King pointed out that, with the invaded areas under her domination, she now has a steel-producing capacity of 42,000,000 tons a year, as compared with British capacity of 17,000,000 tons and United States capacity of 51,000,000 tons.

In addition, Germany has acquired additional capacity to produce all types of war equipment. Great Britain and the other nations of the Commonwealth are now fighting 120,000,000 Germans and Italians. There are also 80,000,000 conquered men and women who are being forced to work for the Nazis in order to exist. In other words, Germany now controls the lives of 200,000,000 persons, against whom are ranged the 86,000,000 of the British race.

On this bare basis of manpower, the task of Britain and the Empire is a formidable one. The figures reveal the proportions of the mighty effort that lies ahead. But while they bring home to us the seriousness of the situation, they should not dismay us. The balance of strength is not so overwhelmingly against us as at first it seems.

The first factor of importance is that the resources of the United States as an industrial nation are behind Britain (on a cash basis, of course) and that once the American productive machine is geared to full strength it can outbid the whole of Europe. The second factor is that among Germany's conquered millions are a majority who chafe under the Nazi yoke and are our potential friends. It is these factors that will tell in the long run.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL  
Date..... SEP 3 1940  
Subject.....

## DEMOCRACY LABOR'S SAFEGUARD.

The threat to the masses of North America was stated fairly by Mr. Mackenzie King in his broadcast on Sunday night when he said that even if this continent is not invaded the continued domination of Europe by totalitarian States would, by economic pressure, force New World democracies to regimentation and make them hewers of wood and drawers of water for the new economic masters of the world.

We do not contemplate the defeat of Britain. Nor do we believe that as long as the Royal Navy and the Royal Air Force remain unconquered there is possibility of successful invasion of North America. On the contrary, we are convinced that the Axis Powers will eventually crumble before the cumulative strength of the Empire and its friends. It is certain, however, that until peace and order are restored in Europe world trade, commodity prices and wage standards will be disorganized.

The Prime Minister pointed out that as a result of conquest by Germany masses of impoverished men and women numbering more than 80,000,000 are forced by dire need to work for the lowest possible wage. What has happened in the subjugated countries justifies the conclusion that the triumph of the Nazis in Europe would involve for the peoples of this continent a substitution of fear for freedom and of economic domination for social progress.

Mr. Tom Moore, the veteran president of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, holds that trade unions are possible only where democratic institutions flourish. As the first step toward dictatorship, the once-powerful unions of Italy, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia and Austria were destroyed. Unions were in all cases the first institutions to be suppressed, because enemies of democracy know full well that in them lay the greatest bulwark of freedom. Organized labor is now on the scrap heap in France, the hard-won privileges and rights of the workers in the discard, the artisans and unskilled workers reduced to the level of slaves.

Nor are the employed masses in Germany much better off than the working classes in the conquered countries. Men and women no longer are free citizens in the Reich. They exist in a state of peonage, receiving for their herculean labors barely enough for a miserable existence. Before Hitler, Germany was rated as one of the most progressive countries in the world so far as the position of organized labor was concerned, the most striking advances having been made in industrial relations after the Great War.

In the opinion of Dr. W. A. Robson of the London School of Economics, Germany remained substantially in advance of England and the United States in the protection afforded to her workers against excessively long hours of work prior to the advent of Hitlerism. Works councils which protected the common interests of the employees against the employer were held to be the most important feature of working-class progress in the Reich. Under the Weimar Republic great advances were made in the power of trade unions; a vast extension took place in the scope of collective bargaining; works councils enabled the employees to safeguard and uphold the rights of the workers in a new and unprecedented manner; labor courts provided for judicial determination of industrial disputes; conciliatory machinery did much to promote the peaceful settlement of large-scale conflicts.

Hitler became Chancellor in January, 1933. Four months later the Nazis seized all trade union buildings, arrested all union leaders and

confiscated trade union property. In the following month the Social Democratic Party was suppressed and the few remaining leaders taken into custody. The formation of all new parties was forbidden. From that moment the German labor movement was liquidated, and Germany no longer has any working-class organization in the accepted meaning of the term. In his recent pamphlet, "Labor Under Nazi Rule," Dr. Robson says German workers have entered a state of peonage the like of which has not been seen in the countries of Western Europe for centuries.

Nor is it necessary to impose nazism on the Western World to annul labor's achievements here. Its standards would be destroyed by dictatorial control of Europe's economic policies in competitive trade. Labor on this continent would have to compete with the peonage system of which Dr. Robson speaks, thus being reduced to slavery almost as effectively as if it were directly under Nazi oppression. The preservation of democratic institutions is not more urgent for any class of American citizens than those who compose the rank and file of organized unions. It is because the labor leaders of Canada and Britain and their intelligent followers realize that the status, the freedom, the power and the conditions of work of all who labor by hand and brain are at stake in this terrible conflict that no effort can be spared to overthrow Hitlerism.

## PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication..... TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL  
Date..... SEP 3 1940  
Subject.....

### DEMOCRACY LABOR'S SAFEGUARD.

The threat to the masses of North America was stated fairly by Mr. Mackenzie King in his broadcast on Sunday night when he said that even if this continent is not invaded the continued domination of Europe by totalitarian States would, by economic pressure, force New World democracies to regimentation and make them hewers of wood and drawers of water for the new economic masters of the world.

We do not contemplate the defeat of Britain. Nor do we believe that as long as the Royal Navy and the Royal Air Force remain unconquered there is possibility of successful invasion of North America. On the contrary, we are convinced that the Axis Powers will eventually crumble before the cumulative strength of the Empire and its friends. It is certain, however, that until peace and order are restored in Europe world trade, commodity prices and wage standards will be disorganized.

The Prime Minister pointed out that as a result of conquest by Germany masses of impoverished men and women numbering more than 80,000,000 are forced by dire need to work for the lowest possible wage. What has happened in the subjugated countries justifies the conclusion that the triumph of the Nazis in Europe would involve for the peoples of this continent a substitution of fear for freedom and of economic domination for social progress.

Mr. Tom Moore, the veteran president of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, holds that trade unions are possible only where democratic institutions flourish. As the first step toward dictatorship, the once-powerful unions of Italy, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia and Austria were destroyed. Unions were in all cases the first institutions to be suppressed, because enemies of democracy know full well that in them lay the greatest bulwark of freedom. Organized labor is now on the scrap heap in France, the hard-won privileges and rights of the workers in the discard, the artisans and unskilled workers reduced to the level of slaves.

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confiscated trade union property. In the following month the Social Democratic Party was suppressed and the few remaining leaders taken into custody. The formation of all new parties was forbidden. From that moment the German labor movement was liquidated, and Germany no longer has any working-class organization in the accepted meaning of the term. In his recent pamphlet, "Labor Under Nazi Rule," Dr. Robson says German workers have entered a state of peonage the like of which has not been seen in the countries of Western Europe for centuries.

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**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Le Devoir  
Date Sept. 3-/40  
Subject \_\_\_\_\_

D 38821

## UN DISCOURS DE M. KING

A l'occasion de la fête du Travail, le premier ministre a prononcé un discours à la radio dans lequel il a surtout parlé de la nécessité, en Amérique, de la collaboration du Canada et des Etats-Unis.

L'Allemagne est beaucoup plus forte aujourd'hui qu'elle ne l'était en septembre 1939, dit-il. Elle possède aujourd'hui une capacité de production de 42,000,000 de tonnes d'acier par an, comparativement aux capacités respectives de 17,000,000 et de 51,000,000 de tonnes qu'ont l'Empire britannique et les Etats-Unis. Il s'ensuit donc que la Grande-Bretagne, dans sa lutte pour la liberté des peuples, a besoin de l'Amérique. Non seulement le Canada et les Etats-Unis doivent-ils voir à la défense de l'Amérique mais ils doivent contribuer à la libération de l'Europe. Une fois le continent européen entièrement subjugué par les forces de Hitler, l'Amérique ne pourrait plus faire concurrence à la Grande-Allemagne, elle devrait lui abandonner tous ses marchés étrangers.

Depuis les conversations d'Ogdensburg et l'accord qui en est résulté, M. King dit qu'Ottawa est devenu comme le trait d'union entre Londres et Washington. Ces trois pays doivent marcher la main dans la main pour la défense et le maintien de leurs intérêts devenus communs.

## M. HANSON REpond A M. KING

L'accord d'Ogdensburg est cependant loin de satisfaire le leader du parti conservateur à la Chambre des Communes, M. R.-B. Hanson. Dans un discours qu'il prononçait, hier, à Toronto, celui-ci l'a dénoncé comme une manœuvre politique et électorale du président Roosevelt.

"Ce ne sont pas les Etats-Unis qui assurent notre défense, dit M. Hanson, mais bien la Grande-Bretagne. Le problème de notre défense, comme de celle des Etats-Unis, ne sera résolu que par une victoire de la Grande-Bretagne, parce que la Grande-Bretagne constitue notre première et seule ligne de défense".

"Cette guerre sera gagnée là-bas et non ici. La marine et l'aviation britanniques sont les seuls défenseurs du continent nord-américain et je crois que nos bons voisins du Sud commencent à s'en apercevoir".

Le leader conservateur est d'avis que c'est M. Roosevelt et non M. King qui a pris l'initiative des conversations d'Ogdensburg: "Si je comprends bien l'affaire, cette rencontre avait pour but, en partie du moins, d'aider le président à se maintenir à son poste".

M. Hanson n'y va pas, comme l'on voit, par quatre chemins. Il ne se cache pas non plus pour dire la méfiance qu'il entretient à l'endroit de l'aide des Etats-Unis au Canada, ce qui lui permet, à la manière des "loyalists" de Toronto, d'agiter le drapeau, de faire du "flag-waving": "Si le jour vient où nous soyons obligés d'arborer le drapeau étoilé et de nous défendre avec l'aide des armées américaines, je crains que, ce jour-là, nous soyons également obligés de descendre l'"Union Jack" pour ne plus le voir flotter au-dessus de nos têtes".

Où l'on voit que le vieux parti tory, sous la direction de M. Hanson, reste fidèle à sa tradition de loyalisme farouche et d'opposition à tout rapprochement avec les Etats-Unis. Le Canada, pour M. Hanson et les partisans de celui-ci, doit être pays de l'Empire et non pays d'Amérique. — E. B.

2-IX-40

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Windsor Star

Date Sept 3 / 40

D 38822

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## *World Slavery*

There are still some people, even in this country, who are going about in a fool's paradise engendered by the firmly held belief that German invasion of this continent can never come to pass. For them, there is a particularly strong warning in the speech delivered by Premier W. L. Mackenzie King. He points out that, even if no Nazi ever set foot in North America, a German victory would force the democracies on this continent into regimentation and make us "hewers of wood and drawers of water for the new economic masters of the world."

That is the effectual answer to all isolationists either in this country or on the other side of the border. Mr. King states in no uncertain terms that the Western Hemisphere cannot afford a Nazi victory, and anyone who looks beyond the mere physical dangers should recognize that fact at once.

It may sound strange to speak of isolationists in Canada, but we do have them here. True, everyone here wants Britain to win this war, but there are still people in this country who are lukewarm in their support of sending aid to the Mother Country, people who still cling to the theory that we should defend our own shores and let Europe look after her own problems.

These people place their dependence in the United States. They take the view, more or less openly, that Canada has nothing to fear from the Nazi menace. They believe that the United States, standing aloof from the war, would not allow Germany, no matter how great a victory she might win, to establish herself on this continent, that our American neighbors, if Germany ever came to the point of dictating terms, would step in and claim Canada, taking us under their protective wing.

That, of course, is probably exactly what would happen should the extreme of disaster occur. But, it is a thought from which we can take cold comfort indeed.

Should Germany win this war, as Mr. King points out, the nations on this continent would be the sole remaining representatives of democracy. What is more, they would be the only countries still holding firm to the sound economic doctrines which are a part of democracy.

Canada and the United States, however, cannot live to themselves economically. They are great producing countries. They must export goods, or they must stagnate in a back-wash of isolation.

What chance would we have, with Germany in control of all our European markets, of carrying on world trade on the basis of our economy? Hitler would be the dictator of the money systems of the world, the sole arbiter of trade. He would dictate his own terms, and those terms would be of a kind to force this country and the United States, either separately or jointly, to descend to his economic level or to sit tightly within their own borders and be slowly crushed to death under our surpluses.

No matter how we look on it, Hitler must not win. Such a victory means death and slavery for the world, the new as well as the old. It is not only with guns and planes and tanks that he could conquer this continent. He could strangle us to death with rubber money.

## PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Saskatoon Star-Phoenix

Date Sept. 4/40

D 38823

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

### Mr. King's Address

The speeches in the radio broadcast series, "Let's Face the Facts," have all been notable contributions to the war discussion. For the most part, starting with the address by Dorothy Thompson, they have given a picture of what the democracies of the world are facing in this struggle and have impressed on those who heard them the "fight-to-a-finish" nature of the conflict.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King, in his contribution to the series Sunday night, added another fact which must be faced, a fact which is persistently overlooked by isolationists in the United States and by certain individuals within the Empire who might be called Empire isolationists, men who fear contacts or associations outside the Empire.

Mr. King set it forth that even if this continent is not invaded, as Canadians feel quite sure it will not, the continued domination of continental Europe by the totalitarian States will mean the destruction of democracy on this side of the Atlantic by economic methods. Consequently, it is necessary to destroy the dictators' domination of Europe, it is necessary to liberate Europe as a matter of the safety of this continent, if for no other reason. It will require the combined strength of all the democracies to achieve that result. Beating off a Nazi attack in Britain alone is not sufficient to effect the liberation of Europe.

It is to be hoped that United States isolationists heard Mr. King's argument, and that Empire isolationists noted it, for it set forth the grounds on which it is necessary that the remaining democracies of the world must co-operate in dealing with a dictator-dominated Europe and the necessity for the closest co-operation in the defence of every acre of democratic territory. Such co-operation in the war, both abroad and on this side of the Atlantic, is growing rapidly. So far the greatest step yet taken is the arrangement for mutual defence between Canada and the United States which is linked with the British transfer of sites for war bases in the islands along the Atlantic coast. Total co-operation, towards which the present arrangements are a big move, is necessary to prevent Europe becoming a total economic-military state dominating the world.

## PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Le Devoir

Date Sept. 5/40

D 38824

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

### M. Mackenzie King découvre la géographie et la marine américaine

**Le rôle, soudain mis en lumière par le premier ministre, qu'ont joué dans notre protection les océans Atlantique et Pacifique et la patrouille de ces océans par les vaisseaux de nos puissants voisins — Une évolution — Vers un rapprochement anglo-américain de plus en plus étroit — M. André Siegfried et le groupe des "colonials" satisfaits**

(Par Léopold RICHER)

Ottawa, 5-IX-40 — Les Canadiens, ces jours-ci, ont mangé et bu de l'éloquence guerrière et démocratique. Plusieurs membres du cabinet et le chef de l'opposition ont fait des discours. Ça été une orgie de paroles d'un bout à l'autre du pays. Si les Canadiens ne savent pas encore pourquoi, de l'avis du gouvernement King-Lapointe, leur pays est en guerre et contre quoi il est censé combattre, ils ne peuvent tout de même pas accuser les politiciens d'Ottawa d'avoir éparigné leur salive pour tirer la population de son ignorance. Les politiciens ont tout dit ce qu'ils pouvaient dire pour justifier leur cause et ils ont, du coup, répété tout ce qu'ils avaient dit là-dessus depuis un an. L'ensemble des discours constitue un dossier considérable quant à la quantité, s'il est moins imposant quant à la qualité.

A tout seigneur tout honneur. Le premier ministre, M. Mackenzie King, a parlé à la radio dimanche soir, 1er septembre 1940, à l'occasion de l'anniversaire du début de la guerre. Comme la fête du travail tombait le lendemain, il s'est adressé aux travailleurs d'une façon toute particulière. M. Mackenzie King a parlé de bien des choses: du peuplement du Canada et des Etats-Unis par des immigrants britanniques, des pionniers français en notre pays, de la liberté, de la démocratie, de la guerre, des succès et des ressources de l'ennemi, de la coopération des Etats-Unis, du danger que l'Etat totalitaire représente pour notre continent, de l'excellence du rôle des travailleurs dans le présent conflit. Discours modéré. Des idées générales et quelques faits saillants. Le tout destiné à convaincre les Canadiens de la nécessité d'un effort de guerre accéléré.

M. Mackenzie King a fait quelques déclarations qui méritent d'être relevées. Ainsi il a souligné le rôle prépondérant joué par la géographie dans le développement du Canada et dans la paix dont nous avons joui sur le continent nord-américain. "Nous avons raison d'être fiers de la liberté telle qu'écrivent dans notre histoire romantique. *Nous devons aussi à la géographie de nous avoir assuré sa protection. Nous nous sommes développés comme nation dans un territoire isolé par les océans Atlantique et Pacifique des menaces d'une invasion soudaine.* La marine britannique, et durant le dernier siècle, la marine des Etats-Unis, qui faisaient la patrouille de ces océans, assureraient à notre développement national une pleine sécurité. Le temps et l'espace ont travaillé pour le Canada. C'est à l'héritage d'institutions politiques libres ainsi assurées et protégées par l'association de l'histoire et de la géographie, que la démocratie doit son existence même aujourd'hui sur le continent nord-américain".

#### La géographie commence à s'affirmer

Arrêtons-nous un peu. Voici que le premier ministre du Canada ose, oui, ose parler de la géographie, comme le *Devoir* en a entretenu ses lecteurs depuis des années. *Nous devons aussi à la géographie de nous avoir assuré sa protection*, a-t-il dit. Qu'est-ce que la géographie vient faire ici? Qu'a fait la géographie pour assurer notre protection? Il nous semblait, après avoir entendu les politiciens d'Ottawa depuis quatre ans, que la géographie n'avait rien eu à faire en cela. Sommes-nous pays d'Amérique? Evidemment, répondaient les politiciens, nous sommes pays d'Europe.

Name of Publication

D 38825

Date

Subject

Et tout ce qui concerne l'Europe nous concerne. Et tout ce qui affecte l'Europe nous affecte. M. André Siegfried remarquait bien, au cours de ses enquêtes chez nous, que quelques Canadiens, après avoir jeté un regard sur une carte géographique, s'avisèrent de penser que le Canada était pays d'Amérique. Mais, en bon Européen, il se réjouissait que cette croyance ne fût pas partagée par les dirigeants et le groupe des *colonials* satisfaits.

Comment le Canada s'est-il développé? Ouvrons bien les oreilles. M. Mackenzie King va le dire: "*Nous nous sommes développés comme nation dans un territoire isolé par les océans Atlantique et Pacifique des menaces d'une invasion soudaine*". Non, non, cela n'est pas possible. Il y a quelque chose qui ne va plus du tout. On nous a changé notre premier ministre depuis une quinzaine de jours. Il ne parle plus comme d'habitude. Voici que les océans Atlantique et Pacifique ont eu un rôle à jouer dans le développement de notre pays! Et — ce qui est beaucoup, beaucoup plus grave — les océans nous protègent et nous ont protégés contre les menaces d'invasion soudaine! C'est impossible, on a dû mal transcrire les paroles du premier ministre. M. Mackenzie King n'a plus le droit de parler ainsi, maintenant que nous sommes entrés en guerre parce que nous étions censés être sujets aux attaques! Allez-y voir! M. Mackenzie King a le droit de parler comme il le veut, de dire aujourd'hui ce qu'il ne voulait pas exprimer il y a un an, d'exposer maintenant une thèse qui contredit celle qu'il soutenait naguère.

Le Canada est protégé par la géographie tout d'abord, par les deux océans. Il faut l'admettre puisque M. Mackenzie King lui-même, après douze mois de guerre, l'affirme comme s'il l'avait toujours pensé. Le Canada est protégé par autre chose. "La marine britannique, a dit M. King, et, durant le dernier siècle, la marine des Etats-Unis, qui faisaient la patrouille de ces océans, assuraient à notre développement national une pleine sécurité". M. Mackenzie King doit faire erreur. Il a mal lu les discours de ses ministres et du chef de l'opposition. Ces messieurs n'ont jamais, que nous sachions, attribué le moindre rôle à la marine des Etats-Unis. Pour le Canada, la marine des Etats-Unis n'a jamais existé. Seule la marine britannique assurait la défense du Canada. La Gazette de Montréal, le

Toronto Telegram, le Globe & Mail, tous les politiciens libéraux et conservateurs d'Ottawa, les ministres, les aspirants-ministres, presque tous les députés du premier et du dernier rang ont toujours abondamment parlé de la marine britannique, mais ils n'ont jamais soupçonné l'existence de la marine américaine.

#### La marine étatsunienne

Il faut que quelque chose soit changé dans la situation internationale, pour que le premier ministre du Canada, d'un dominion, parle du rôle joué par la marine des Etats-Unis dans le développement de notre pays. Il faut que la Grande-Bretagne compte de plus en plus sur l'aide de nos voisins, pour que pareil coup puisse impunément être porté à tous nos *flag-wavers* de la politique et de la presse. Il est effrayant de constater tout ce que la réalité et l'intérêt contraignent les politiciens et les scribes de ravalier. Jamais on n'aurait cru qu'un homme pouvait dire en public que, au cours du siècle dernier, la marine des Etats-Unis a eu sa part de la protection de notre territoire et de nos institutions. La chose était tout à fait inimaginable. Ce qui aurait été interprété comme un blasphème il y a quelque temps à peine, un homme ose le dire maintenant. Et c'est le premier ministre lui-même. Inclignons-nous devant cet excès de sincérité.

L'aide des Etats-Unis, on la désire, on la veut de toutes ses forces. On la veut entière, immédiate, décisive. Dans son discours de dimanche, M. Mackenzie King a exploité l'idée que nous énoncions hier, à savoir que la perte des marchés extérieurs pourrait entraîner pour les Etats-Unis des conséquences graves. "Les marchés qui jusqu'ici étaient ouverts aux travailleurs, aux producteurs du continent nord-américain disparaîtront, a déclaré le premier ministre. Outre-mer nous serons forcés de rivaliser avec des déclassés. Nous, du continent nord-américain, serons de plus en plus sujets à la compétition de pays enrégimentés. Dans un vain effort pour maintenir notre façon de vivre, nous serons forcés de faire du commerce presque exclusivement entre nous. Et len-

tement, certainement et inexorablement nous aussi nous deviendrons des conscrits". Par conséquent si les Américains ne veulent pas devenir des conscrits, ils savent ce qu'ils ont à faire. Voilà comment le premier ministre du Canada envisage son rôle. Il veut être l'instrument d'un

rapprochement pratique et efficace anglo-américain. Ainsi s'explique la part qu'il attribue subitement, dans le développement du Canada, à la géographie et à la marine des Etats-Unis.

Léopold RICHER

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Saturday Night

Date Sept. 7 /40

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

D 38826

## The Long War is Beginning

THE Prime Minister's speech on Sunday was clearly intended as an attempt to dissuade the Canadian, and probably also the American, people from running away with the idea that the war is now won because Hitler's bombers have not succeeded in paralyzing either the munitions production or the will to fight of the people of Great Britain. As such it was a much-needed pronouncement. The people of this continent, the Americans even more than ourselves, are prone to extremes of optimism and pessimism; a conflict, with us, is always either being rapidly won or rapidly lost, according to the appearances at the moment, and we do not understand the situation in which there is good hope for a win IF we put forth our utmost exertions for a long time, and every prospect of a loss IF we slacken off in our endeavors. Six weeks ago many Americans had the British Empire all washed out, and quite a number of Canadians were ready to go with them and start figuring out a new world with London reduced to the status of Lisbon or present-day Vienna. Today the same Americans, and some of the same Canadians, are talking as if we were never going to need the Empire Air Training Scheme except for the next war, the present one being finished in our favor already.

Mr. King reminded us that the Germans have scarcely begun as yet to cash in on the economic withdrawn from circulation without visible cause, that nobody is paying any attention. In matters of this kind the daily newspapers have long ceased to reflect the interests and attitudes of a large part of the population. The *Montreal Gazette* and *Le Canada* can be perfectly contented in these days without their contentment affording any proof of a similar condition among the masses in their province. The *Toronto Telegram* and *l'Action Catholique* of Quebec are different in many respects, but they are much alike in their readiness to see Communism where the working people of their respective communities see only an ardent interest in the advancement of the working classes.

And we may add that there is likely to be as much resentment among working people about the persons, not labor leaders, who are being released from internment as about the persons who are being subjected to it, and this also finds no reflection in the daily press.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Financial Post

Date Sept. 7 /40

D 38827

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## Let's Face These Facts

This week Canada's Prime Minister made a talk on a subject near to his heart: the place of labor in the modern world. He appeared on the "Let's Face the Facts" series of broadcasts.

A set of facts which the P. M. did not face either in his broadcast or in his administration is giving industrialists and governmental executives some sleepless nights.

Here are the facts:

1. There is a shortage of highly skilled men in many key industries. To keep up to schedules, industry cannot afford to lose even for a month any man whose work cannot be done by someone else.

2. The National Labor Supply Council, appointed by the Government to deal with such questions, recognized the problem and worked out a system of exemptions and "staggered" training.

3. Ignoring the urgent necessities of war supply and forgetting the existence of the Labor Council, the Departments of National Defense and of National War Services decided that there would be no exemptions from the military training drafts.

\* \* \*

This week industrialists were pressing upon Ottawa their claim to be allowed to keep those keymen who cannot be replaced and who are worth—in war effort—as much as a hundred ordinary draftees. Mr. King was forced to turn from the delivery of an academic speech on labor to deal with a real labor problem that had grown up because no one was co-ordinating the war efforts of his various departments. It looked as though some departments of Government were slated to retrace some of their steps so that all could get pointed in the same direction.

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Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Financial Post

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3. Ignoring the urgent necessities of war supply and forgetting the existence of the Labor Council, the Departments of National Defense and of National War Services decided that there would be no exemptions from the military training drafts.

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This week industrialists were pressing upon Ottawa their claim to be allowed to keep those keymen who cannot be replaced and who are worth—in war effort—as much as a hundred ordinary draftees. Mr. King was forced to turn from the delivery of an academic speech on labor to deal with a real labor problem that had grown up because no one was co-ordinating the war efforts of his various departments. It looked as though some departments of Government were slated to retrace some of their steps so that all could get pointed in the same direction.

**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
63		United States Journalists, Dinner in Honour of. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Sept. 1940	D 38828 - D 38903	
63		Red Cross Appeal "The Voices of Mercy", Speeches outside Parliament	29 Sept. 1940	D 38904 - D 38924	
64		Red Cross Appeal, Radio Broadcast	29 Sept. 1940	D 38925 - D 38931	
64		Training of British Pilots in Canada	1940	D 38932 - D 38949	
64		Speech on Address. Speeches in Parliament	12 Nov. 1940	D 38950 - D 38951	
64		The International Scene	12 Nov. 1940	D 38952 - D 39036	
64		"The Present Situation". Speeches in Parliament	2 Dec. 1940	D 39037 - D 39094	
64		St. Lawrence Waterways. Statement in Parliament	6 Dec. 1940	D 39095	
64		Canadian Tuberculosis Association Radio Broadcast	8 Dec. 1940	D 39096 - D 39098	
64		Christmas Radio Broadcast to W.W. II Canadian Armed Forces. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Dec. 1940	D 39099 - D 39126	

25 Sept 1940

Pres - U.S.

D38828

Speech by the Prime Minister at the dinner  
in honour of United States Journalists  
September 25, 1940.

Mr. Reid, Mr. Howell,

other members of the Press of the United States,  
and other gentlemen present.

Purpose of tour - no speeches.

I have been told by Mr. Davies and other officers of the Canadian Press who have had in hand the arrangements for the tour of visiting journalists from the United States that the purpose of the tour is one of observation in relation more particularly to Canada's war effort.

I have also been told that such moments of recreation as might be afforded en route were not to be marred by speeches either before or after dinner -- particularly speeches by politicians -- whose measure is usually much better known to members of the journalistic profession than to themselves.

I wish, therefore, immediately to assure all present that unless it would occasion disappointment to others not to be called upon, mine will be the only speech to which, out of courtesy, you may be called upon to listen. I promise you that it will be brief.

Names of journalists -  
Compliment and national honour - acknowledgment of.  
Thanks to those present (1) who planned tour,  
(2) who out of busy and important lives give up a week.

When my colleagues and I received the names of those who had accepted the invitation of the Canadian Press to participate in the present tour, we felt that the compliment paid in this way to Canada had been a very real one, and that it would be the wish of the citizens of our country that we should view it as a national honour, and avail ourselves of some appropriate occasion so to express their feelings as well as our own. It is with this in mind, that I should like, while we are gathered in the informal manner in which we are about this table this evening, to thank (1) those present to whom Canada owes the inauguration of the tour and its planning and, (2) particularly, those present who, out of very busy and important lives, have generously been prepared to give an entire week to form, with their neighbours, a more intimate acquaintance, and to learn at first hand, something more of Canada's part in the present war.

Thanks to Davies and Sifton -  
tour a contribution to war effort.

Perhaps I may be pardoned if I express, first of all, to Mr. Davies, the President of the Canadian Press, and Mr. Victor Sifton, the Vice-President, and through them the

other officers and members, the very warm thanks of the Government for the thought of the tour and its arrangements, and for the admirable manner in which, I understand, it is being carried out. A service of the kind, at a time such as the present, is in itself a very real contribution to the war effort not of our country only but to that of the British Commonwealth of Nations as a whole.

To U. S. visitors - time and thought - a privilege - a bright page.

To you, gentlemen, whose time and thought is given so completely (1) to the dissemination of accurate information and (2) the moulding of public thought and opinion, and who are (3) so representative of all that is best in journalism in the United States, I should like to say that, as individuals, we feel privileged indeed to have this opportunity of meeting so many of those whose names are so familiar to all of us but whom, thus far, most of us have not had the pleasure of meeting, and that collectively the people of Canada will view, as a bright page of this country at a time of war, the one which for all time will record the pleasure of your visit in our midst.

To see Canada at a time of war and at war.  
Welcome as neighbours and allies.  
Visit evidence of interest in cause.  
Grateful for sympathy and co-operation.

You have come to see Canada, not only at a time of war, but to see Canada at war -- at war with the most powerful enemy that, thus far, has threatened the freedom and well-being of mankind. We welcome you as neighbours, as friends, as well-wishers, and, so far as the laws of a neutral country will permit, or can be stretched, as allies in a great cause to which we have pledged ourselves, our honour, our loyalty, our material resources, and our lives. We know that were it not for (1) the profound interest which you have in the cause for which we are fighting, were it not (2) for the full appreciation you have of the significance of the conflict in its relation to your own country and all that pertains to its freedom, you would not be here tonight, and certainly would not be spending a week in our midst. We are therefore deeply grateful for this very generous and very practical expression of your sympathy, good-will and, may I add, co-operation.

Other visits of journalists - time of need -  
None so expressive of friendship.

We have had, during this period of war, many visits from individual journalists, some from the United Kingdom, and many, I am happy to say, from the United States. In times of peace, we have also had memorable visits from associations

of journalists within and without the Empire. At no time, however, more than the present, could it so truly be said that a friend in need was a friend indeed, and of no visit that it could have expressed more in the way of friendship. For this, alike in the name of the Government and of the people of Canada, I should like to thank you most warmly.

Opportunity to gain fullest information and knowledge.  
Nothing to conceal - intentions or actions.

I need scarcely say that the Government shall welcome your being given every opportunity of gaining the fullest possible knowledge of what, in the present war, this young country, with its population distinctly limited in numbers, has contributed, is contributing, and hopes to be able to continue to contribute to the successful prosecution of the war. We would like you, at the time at your disposal, to see as much as you possibly can, and, in other ways, to gain as much information as you possibly can. There is nothing in our intentions or in our actions that we desire to conceal beyond what, if disclosed, would be of service to a common enemy. At a time of war, as at no other time, it can truly be said that "actions are louder than words".

Only half picture of war effort in Canada.  
At entry of war scene of hostilities distant.

There is one thing, however, that I would ask you to keep in mind. It is that, at most, but half the picture of Canada's war effort is to be gained from anything you may see in Canada itself. When Canada entered the war, which she did within ten days after the German forces had rolled in upon Poland, the scene of hostilities was far distant. We had no illusions about the danger of its spread or how wide it was likely to prove. Indeed, I think it is true to say that, from the beginning, we visualized a possible emergence into a world conflict. What we did not see was the rapidity with which events would take place nor the very great power and ruthlessness of the enemy. We believed time to be on our side.

Re: invasion of our own land. - 3 lines of defence.

As regards the possibility of invasion of our own land, we recognized three major lines of defence: the Maginot line was one, the British Channel was another, and our own Atlantic seaboard and coasts the third. From the outset, our strategy, based on that of the allied powers, was that of having war waged as largely as possible on the most distant front, and making our contribution accordingly. In consultation

and co-operation with the British authorities, our effort accordingly was directed to the sending of men, munitions and supplies across the seas and in planning to do this in the manner likely to be most effective in a war that, in all probability, would last for three or four years.

Maginot Line no longer a first defence -  
British Channel - London.  
Our Forces placed at disposal of Britain.  
Not sufficient to see war organization at home.

In this war, to thwart aggression which aims at world domination, the Maginot Line is no longer a line of first defence. That line, as we all know only too well, is now the British Channel. Behind it, the city of London has become the citadel of the world's freedom. As the British Isles have become increasingly the centre of hostilities, and Britain has found it increasingly necessary to protect her own land and shores by such military, naval and air forces as were immediately at her command, we in Canada have increasingly placed at the disposal of Britain herself in the manner that might most effectively meet the present situation, what, in the way of fighting forces and material, we have been able to send. In seeking to visualize in its true proportion such contributions as Canada has, thus far, been able to make, it is not sufficient that you should see something of our war organization at home:

100,000 men under arms in Canada today,  
the training camps,  
the coast defences and naval stations,  
the progress of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan,  
the munitions and war equipment industries,  
the steps more recently taken for the mobilization of  
our human and material resources,

not to mention lesser incidental matters such as:

the internment camps for war prisoners, and refugees,  
the care of children from overseas,  
the extent of taxation and borrowing, by which the  
entire effort is supported,

you must also allow your mind to dwell upon (1) the Canadian divisions which narrowly escaped active service on the coasts of Norway and on the fields of France and which today constitute all but in name the major portion of the best equipped army corps in the British Isles. You have also to think of (2) Canadian battalions that, for months past, have been in New Foundland, Iceland, Bermuda, and in the West Indies; (3) of a Canadian Naval Service, small but efficient, which, from the outbreak of war, has assisted in convoy duty between this new world and the old, and has not hesitated to send what few destroyers it had into European waters, leaving our own coasts, for the time being, largely undefended; and, finally (4) a Canadian Air Force that already has contributed numbers of men to the Royal Air Force, and has fighting squadrons of its own actively participating in the battles of the air in the defence of Britain.

You have also to recall that we have not hesitated, realizing how emergent the situation is, to part with a not inconsiderable portion of our own equipment and munitions, aircraft, guns, and other supplies, believing, as I have said that victory to cause and country alike would, in the end, be won with greater certainty and more quickly by the extent to which it is possible to support the first line of defence.

Anglo-American Relations.

Mention of these facts brings me, naturally and inevitably, to just a word about Anglo-American relations of which I hope I may, without danger of being either misunderstood or misinterpreted, say just a word. What we have done and are doing in the directions I have mentioned has been done and is being done for Britain, it is true, but in no less certain and equal measure for ourselves. May I add that I believe it may in its effects rightly be viewed as something which has been done for the United States as well. We, each in our own way, have been looking after our own interests, but we have been helping each other as well. What, perhaps, we are coming to see more clearly than we ever have before is that what we call our own interests, in a world like that in which we are living today, are bound up immeasurably and, I might also say, irrevocably in the interests of those whose national aims, actions and ideals are similar to our own.

We are coming to discern more of the res eternitatis - the eternal truths, the scriptural truths; No man and no nation liveth to itself. We are our brothers keepers. Obviously, we could not have dared to incur the risks we have incurred had our frontier resembled that of the frontiers of the countries of Europe, or had we had, as an immediate neighbour, other than the most understanding, the most friendly, and the most powerful of nations.

Confidence given Canada by practical expression of support.

I should like you to know that that support and the practical expressions that have been given to it so constantly all along the way has enabled us to do and to risk what we have with a confidence without which it would have been extremely difficult to effect very much.

Respect for each other's common interest.

Speaking the truth, we have each seen and have each had great respect for each other's problems. What we have all come increasingly to see is the need for the closest possible co-operation in their solution and how great a community of interests we have in the preservation of the freedom on which is based the Christian civilization which we hold in common.

The Canada-United States Permanent Defence Board, the naval bases and air facilities granted the United States in Newfoundland, Bermuda, and other British possessions in the Atlantic, the destroyers transferred, or being transferred from the United States to British fleets, speak, as words could never speak, of the recognition of a common purpose, but also of a common danger, a common need, and of the necessity of action in common.

Bone -

- War with Hitler; Peace with herself.

I have made mention of the visits of other journalists to Canada. An observation, as made by one of them, has given me personally a feeling of pride, which I believe is shared by the Canadian people generally, greater than almost any which it would be difficult to express in words. The visitor was Mr. John Bohn, of the Manchester Guardian. Writing of his impressions, Mr. Bohn said: "I found in Canada a nation at war with Hitler, and at peace with herself". That, gentlemen, was a profound and penetrating perception and a very great national tribute. It revealed an insight into the very soul of the Canadian people

War with Hitler for reasons which explain peace with ourselves.

We are at war with Hitler, and the reasons help also to explain why we are at peace with ourselves.

Canada's three loyalties.

In her national and international relations, Canada has had three loyalties of which she has constantly sought to take account.

The first has been the loyalty to herself, which has made her a nation in her own right, possessing all the attributes of nationhood in her own eyes and in the eyes of others. That has relieved her citizens of any feeling of subordination, and lies at the very basis of her unity. There has been no compulsion about anything Canada has done in the present war. What she has done has been of her own volition and the free action of a free Parliament. Had there been compulsion, had there been commitments involving this country in war overseas, before the place, the time, and the cause of the war itself was fully known and understood, I question if Canada would have gone to war at all. And, if at war, certainly not as a united nation.

The second loyalty has been that which we owe to the British Commonwealth of Nations of which we are one. The loyalty begotten of the stock to which many of us belong, but even more of what we feel we owe in the way of freedom to British institutions and the security of that freedom through membership in the British Empire. In the rise of Hitlerism and the extension of Nazi power, we have seen

freedom itself menaced as never before in the history of mankind.

There has been, too, a loyalty felt, perhaps most strongly by those who were more zealously pacifist in their feelings and professions - a loyalty to the League of Nations and the principles on which that great institution was founded. This loyalty possessed in common by all political parties, over many years, had begotten a sense of obligation in particular to the smaller and less powerful nations, especially where they were the actual or threatened victims of aggression. We had watched with feelings of indignation, the marching into the Rhur in violation of obligations of Locarno; Hitler's annexation of Austria; the broken pledges of Munich, and the conquest of Czechoslovakia, with the result that when Poland next was threatened, and Britain and France had pledged their all in an effort to thwart further aggression in Europe, we had to become fully conscious of the significance of that aggression, not to Europe only, but to the world.

Reasons for prompt and united entry into war.

It is true that the many ties which have united us through the years with the British Isles, associations with the British Crown, made more real and inspiring by the recent visit to this continent of our King and Queen, and the fact

that the stocks of Canada itself is so largely those of French and British origin, and that the alliance of French and English in Europe was paralleled by the more perfect union of interest and purpose by those of English and French descent in our own land, all this helped to make natural and almost inevitable the prompt and united entry of Canada into the war.

Something more profound and beneath all this.

I believe, however, there was something even more profound than all this, and which our people with their youthful vision and idealism were quick to see and to sense. Long before the invasion of Poland, we had viewed with alarm (1) the rise of dictatorships in Europe; (2) the destruction of free political institutions; (3) the growth of the totalitarian states; (4) the substitution of force for reason in matters of government, and, above all else, (5) the use of all these instruments and instrumentalities to crush out the things that, as a people, from our earliest childhood, we had learned, above all else, to reverence; faith in God, and if not love, at least regard, for our fellowmen. In a word, all that could be best described as a Christian civilization.

War between powers of darkness and powers of light.

We have recognized this war was not so much a war between nations as a war between what we believe to be the powers of darkness and the powers of light. Having sensed all this, having felt all this, believing all this, we could not be other than at war with Hitler in the present conflict and being a country at war against what we profoundly believe to be the powers of evil, to say nothing of an enemy who we are convinced seeks to dominate the world and to rule it by force, we are a country at one with our conscience and ourselves.

World faced with democracy vs. dictatorship - freedom, tyranny.

May I say just one word in conclusion. As the war has progressed, it has become increasingly apparent that not Europe only but pretty much the entire world will soon be faced with the choice between democracy or dictatorship, the former seeking the preservation of freedom, and the latter the suppression and the establishment, for years at least, of a world tyranny.

War between opposed concepts of life - Monopoly of privilege, possessions and power vs. Liberty, equality and fraternity.

The present is something more than a war between nations or empires, it is a war between entirely opposed concepts of human life and human well-being between those who

seek a monopoly of privilege, possessions, and power, and those who are at enmity with monopoly in any shape or form. This was true of the struggle that had begun in Europe long before the war. It, above all else, lies beneath the war today, and it is the problem which, beyond the war, will still await solution.

Liberty, equality and fraternity has not perished for the time being in France alone. They are perishing, and will continue to perish, wherever democracy in the true sense of that word ceases to exist. If democracy is to be preserved on this continent, and where else it is to be found in the world today, it will not be sufficient to defeat its present enemies, it will be necessary to restore the ideals and the rights which have been trampled in the dust. To restore to France liberty, equality and fraternity will be one of the first tasks, but that task will not be accomplished apart from recognition of the fact that liberty, equality and fraternity are not the rights of Frenchmen only, but are of the essence of democracy everywhere. To that great task all lovers of freedom and all whose freedom may be preserved will have, as never before, to devote their lives. In that great task, as was said so splendidly by Mr. Moffat, the American Minister, in an address which he gave at the Canadian Club today, Canada

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and the United States, as free democracies continuing to live side by side and co-operate in all forms of highest endeavour, should be able to make a contribution not only of infinite value to themselves but to the greater good of the entire world.

September 25, 1940 **D** 38844

Remarks of Prime Minister at dinner given in honour of  
United States Journalists

Mr. Davies,  
*Mr. Davies*

Members of the Press of the United States,

and other gentlemen present.

*Purpose of visit -  
- his speech*

I have been told by Mr. Davies and other officers of the Canadian Press who have had in hand the arrangements for the tour of visiting journalists from the United States, that the purpose of the tour is one of observation in relation more particularly to Canada's war effort. I have also been told that such moments of recreation as might be afforded en route were not to be marred by speeches either before or after dinner, -- particularly speeches by politicians -- whose measure is usually much better known to members of the journalistic profession than to themselves. I wish, therefore, immediately to assure all present that unless it would occasion disappointment to others not to be called upon, mine will be the only speech to which, out of courtesy, you may be called upon to listen. I promise you that it will be brief.

*Names of Ministers*  
*Comp. list: National Bureau of Investigation*  
of those who had accepted the invitation of the Canadian  
*(1) also blessed with*  
*(2) also out of being as important to*  
*form up a unit.*

Press to participate in the present tour, we felt that the compliment paid in this way to Canada had been a very real one, and that it would be the wish of the citizens of our country that we should view it as a national honour, and avail ourselves of some appropriate occasion so to express their feelings as well as our own. It is with this in mind, that I should like, while we are gathered in the informal manner in which we are ~~gathered~~ about this table this evening, to thank those present to whom Canada owes the inauguration of the tour and its planning and, <sup>(2)</sup> particularly, those present who, out of very busy and important lives, have generously been prepared to give an entire week to form, with their neighbors, a more intimate acquaintance, and to learn at first hand something more ~~than~~ Canada's part in the present war.

*Thanks to Commissioner  
Lester a contribution to our effort*

Perhaps I may be pardoned if I express, first of all, to Mr. Davies, the President of the Canadian Press, and Mr. Victor Sifton, the Vice-President, and through them the other officers and members, the very warm thanks of the Government for the thought of the tour and its arrangements, and for the admirable ~~measure~~ <sup>process</sup> in which, I understand, it is being carried out. A service of the kind, at a time such as the present, is in itself a very real contribution to the war effort not of our country

only but to that of the British Commonwealth of Nations  
as a whole.

*To US. in info: time & thought  
of bridge - names distinguished  
& bright days*

To you, gentlemen, whose time and thought  
is given so completely<sup>(1)</sup> to the dissemination of accurate  
information and <sup>(2)</sup> the moulding of public opinion, and who  
are <sup>(3)</sup> so representative of all that is best in journalism  
in the United States, I should like to say that, as  
individuals, we feel privileged indeed to have this  
opportunity of meeting so many of those whose names are  
so familiar to all of us but whom, thus far, most of us  
have not had the pleasure of meeting, and that collectively  
the people of Canada will view, as a bright page of this  
country at a time of war, the one which for all time will  
record the pleasure of your visit in our midst.

You have come to see Canada, not only at a  
time of war, but <sup>to see</sup> Canada at war.-- at war with the most  
powerful enemy that, thus far, has threatened the freedom  
and well-being of mankind. We welcome you as neighbours,  
as friends, as well-wishers, and, so far as the laws of  
a neutral country will permit, or can be stretched, as  
allies in a great cause to which we have pledged ourselves,  
our honour, our loyalty, our material resources, and our  
lives. / We know that were it not for <sup>(4)</sup> the profound interest

*To see Canada  
at a time of war  
is a privilege  
welcomes as neighbours  
as friends  
as well-wishers  
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our honour  
loyalty  
material resources  
lives*

which you have in the cause for which we are fighting, were it not <sup>(2)</sup> for the full appreciation you have of the significance of the conflict in its relation to your own country and all that pertains to its freedom, you would not be here tonight, and certainly would not be spending a week in our midst. We are therefore deeply grateful for this very generous and very practical expression of your sympathy, good-will and, may I add, co-operation.

*Other visits of journalists - time of need - some so experienced & friendly*

We have had during this period of war, many visits from individual journalists, some from the United Kingdom, and many, I am happy to say, from the United States. In times of peace, we have also had memorable visits from associations of journalists within and without the Empire. At no time, however, <sup>more than in present</sup> ~~can I recall that it~~ could <sup>in</sup> so truly be said that a friend in need was a friend indeed, <sup>and I do wish</sup> ~~or that~~ <sup>that it</sup> ~~a visit in itself~~ could have expressed more in the way of friendship. For this, alike in the name of the Government and of the people of Canada, I should like to thank you most warmly.

*Offering to Jani fullest in - opportunity knowledge - willing to consider action*

I need scarcely say that the Government shall welcome your being given every opportunity of gaining the fullest possible knowledge of what, in the present war, this young country, with its population distinctly limited

in numbers has contributed, is contributing and hopes to be able to continue to contribute to the successful prosecution of the war. We would like you, at the time at your disposal, to see as much as you possibly can, and, in other ways, to gain as much information as you possibly can. There is nothing in our intentions or in our actions that we desire to conceal beyond what, if disclosed, would be of service to a common enemy. At a time of war, as at no other time, it can truly be said that "actions are louder than words."

*insert as information if possible*

*Early half picture of war effort in Canada*

There is one thing, however, that I would ask you to keep in mind. It is that, at most, but half the

*At entry of war scene of hostilities in land*

picture of Canada's war effort is to be gained from anything you may see in Canada itself. When Canada entered

the war, which she did within ten days after the German forces had rolled in upon Poland, the scene of hostilities was far distant. We had no illusions about the danger of

its spread or how wide it was likely to prove. Indeed, I think it is true to say that, from the beginning, we visualized a possible emergence into a world conflict.

What we did not see was the rapidity with which events would take place nor the very great power and ruthlessness of the enemy. We believed time to be on our side.

*As regards possibility of invasion of our own land 3 lines of defence*

As regards the possibility of invasion of our own land, we recognized three major lines of defence;

*3 lines of defence*  
*strategy - distant front -*  
*contribution accordingly*

the Maginot Line was one -- the British Channel was another, and our own Atlantic seaboard and coast, the third. From the outset, <sup>based on that of the allied powers,</sup> our strategy was that of having war waged as largely as possible on the most distant front, and making our contribution accordingly. In consultation and co-operation with the British authorities, our effort accordingly was directed to the sending of men, munitions and supplies across the seas and in planning to do this in the manner likely to be most effective in a war that, in all probability, would last for three or four years.

*Changing*  
*Maginot line no longer*  
*a defence*  
*Britain's Channel*  
*London*

In this war, to thwart aggression which aims at world domination, the Maginot Line is no longer a line of first defence. That line, as we all ~~now~~ know only too well, is, <sup>now</sup> the British Channel. Behind it, the city of London has become the citadel of the world's freedom. As the British Isles have become increasingly the centre of hostilities, and Britain has found it increasingly necessary to protect her own land and shores by such military, naval and air forces as were immediately at her command, we in Canada have increasingly placed at the disposal of Britain herself in the manner that might most effectively meet the present situation, what, in the way of fighting forces and material, we have been able

*our forces placed at disposal of Britain*

Not sufficient  
to see more  
organization at  
home

to send. In seeking to visualize in its true proportion such contributions as Canada has, thus far, been able to make, it is not sufficient that ~~we~~ should see something of our war organization at home:

<sup>100,000 men under arms in Canada today.</sup>  
the training camps,  
the coast defences, ~~several stations~~  
the progress of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan,  
the munitions and war equipment industries,  
the steps more recently taken for the mobilization of our human and material resources,

not to mention lesser incidental matters such as:

the internment camps for war prisoners, and refugees,  
the care of children from overseas,  
the extent of taxation and borrowing, by which the entire effort is supported,

best or select  
for you abroad.  
army  
navy  
air

you must also allow your mind to dwell upon <sup>(1)</sup> the Canadian divisions which narrowly escaped active service on the coasts of Norway and on the fields of France and which today ~~are all~~ <sup>constitute all</sup> but in name the <sup>best portion of</sup> best equipped army corps in the British Isles. You have also to think of <sup>(2)</sup> Canadian battalions that, for months past, have been <sup>in New Foundland, in</sup> ~~in Greenland~~, Iceland ~~in Newfoundland~~, in Bermuda, and in the West Indies; <sup>(3)</sup> of a Canadian Naval Service, small but efficient, which, from the outbreak of war, has assisted in convoy duty between this new world and the old, and has not hesitated to send what few destroyers it had into European waters, leaving our own coasts, for the time being, largely undefended;

and finally, <sup>by a Canadian</sup> ~~of~~ Air Force that already has contributed numbers of men to the Royal Air Force, and has fighting squadrons of its own actively participating in the battles of the air in the defence of Britain.

*Equipment  
munitions  
air craft  
guns*

You have also to recall that we have not hesitated, realizing how emergent the situation is, to part with a not inconsiderable portion of our own equipment and munitions, aircraft, guns, and other supplies, believing, as I have said that victory to cause and country alike would be won <sup>in the end</sup> ~~in the end~~ <sup>with greater certainty and</sup> more quickly ~~in the end~~ by the extent to which it is possible to support the first line of defence.

*Anglo-American  
relations*

Mention of these facts brings me naturally, and inevitably, to just a word about Anglo-American relations of which I hope I may, without danger of being either misunderstood or misinterpreted, ~~to~~ say just a word. What we have done and are doing in the directions I have mentioned <sup>done for Britain  
for ourselves  
for you</sup> has been done and is being done for Britain, it is true, but in no less certain and equal measure for ourselves.

*done for Britain  
for ourselves  
for you*

May I add that I believe it <sup>in its effects</sup> may rightly be viewed as something which has been done <sup>the United States</sup> for you as well. We, each in our own way, have been looking after our own interests, but we have been helping each other as well. / What, perhaps, we are coming to see more clearly than we ever have before

*looking after our own interests  
helping each other as well*

is that what we call our own interests in a world like that in which we are living today, are bound up immeasurably and, I might also say, irrevocably in the interests of those whose national aims, actions and ideals are similar to our own. Obviously we could not have dared to incur the risks we have incurred had our frontier resembled that of the frontiers of the countries of Europe, or had we had, as an immediate neighbour, other than the most understanding, the most friendly, and the most powerful of nations.

*our interests - bound up in terms of similar aims, ideals & actions*

*Canada's own contribution towards peace & security of frontiers & stability of world - if possible just might have.*

*to incur the risks of the nations - small & great - to incur the risks of the nations*

*Confidence from Canada & practical expression of support*

I should like you to know that that support and the practical expressions that have been given to it so constantly all along the way has enabled us to do and to risk what we have with a confidence without which it would have been extremely difficult to effect very much.

*and the confidence & respect for each other's position - common interests*

Speaking broadly, we have each seen and have each had great respect for each other's problems. What we have all come increasingly to see is the need for the closest possible co-operation in their solution and how great a community of interests we have in the preservation of the freedom <sup>on</sup> which is based the Christian civilization which we hold in common.

The Canada-United States Permanent Defence Board, the naval bases and air facilities granted the United States

is that what we call our own interests in a world like  
that in which we are living today, are bound up immeasur-  
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that of the frontiers of the countries of Europe, or had  
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understanding, the most friendly, and the most powerful  
of nations.

*our interests -  
bound up in  
interests of similar  
aims, ideals  
& actions*

*Canada's  
own contribution  
friendly  
understanding  
friendly  
if possible not only here.*

*As an country in  
discern more of the  
the liberal thought  
the original  
less than  
the national  
small to  
itself  
we are  
over brotherly  
helpful*

*Confidence from Canada  
of practical expression  
of support*

I should like you to know that that support  
and the practical expressions that have been given to it  
so constantly all along the way has enabled us to do and  
to risk what we have with a confidence without which it  
would have been extremely difficult to effect very much.

*Let the contribution  
- that for*

*Post-incident  
position  
respect for each other's  
common interests*

Speaking broadly, we have each seen and have each had  
great respect for each other's problems. What we have  
all come increasingly to see is the need for the closest  
possible co-operation in their solution and how great a  
community of interests we have in the preservation of  
the freedom <sup>on</sup> which is based the Christian civilization  
which we hold in common.

The Canada-United States Permanent Defence Board,  
the naval bases and air facilities granted the United States

**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

in Newfoundland, Bermuda and other British possessions in the Atlantic, the destroyers transferred, or being transferred from the United States to British fleets speak as words could never speak of the recognition of ~~a common purpose, but also of~~ a common danger, a common need and of the necessity of action in common.

*to show - was with Hitler, peace with Germany*

I have made mention of the visits of other journalists to Canada. An observation, as made by one of them has given me personally a feeling of pride which, I believe, is shared by the Canadian people generally greater than almost any which it would be difficult to express in words. The visitor was Mr. John Bohm of the Manchester Guardian. Writing of his impressions Mr. Bohm said: "I found in Canada a nation at war with Hitler, and at peace with herself." That, gentlemen, was a profound and penetrating perception and a very great national tribute. It revealed an insight into the very soul of the Canadian people. A nation at war with Hitler. *[*We are at war with Hitler, and <sup>the</sup> ~~for~~ reasons *]* which help also to explain why we are at peace with ourselves.

*was with Hitler for reasons which explain peace with ourselves*

Canada's three loyalties

In her national and international relations, Canada has had three loyalties of which she has constantly sought to take account.

*to herself  
- a nation*

The first has been the loyalty to herself which has made her a nation in her own right, possessing all the attributes of nationhood in her own eyes and in the eyes of others. That has relieved her citizens of any feeling of subordination, and lies at the very basis of her unity. There has been no compulsion about anything Canada has done in the present war. What she has done has been of her own volition and the free action of a free parliament. Had there been compulsion, had there been commitments involving this country in war overseas, before the place, the time, and the cause of the war itself were fully known and understood, I question if Canada would have gone to war at all. And, if at war, certainly not as a united nation.

*No subordination  
or compulsion  
unity*

*British Commonwealth*

The second loyalty has been that which we owe to the British Commonwealth of Nations of which we are one. The loyalty begotten of the stock to which many of us belong, but even more of what we feel we owe in the way of freedom to British institutions and the security of that freedom through membership in the British Empire.

*British stock  
British institutions*

*freedom secured*

In the rise of Hitlerism and the extension of Nazi power, we have seen freedom itself menaced as never before in the history of mankind.

*menaced by Hitler*

*Loyalty to League  
of Nations*

There has been, too, a loyalty felt perhaps more strongly by those who were more zealously pacifist in their feelings and professions - a loyalty to the League of Nations and the principles on which that great institution was founded. This loyalty possessed in common by all political parties, over many years, had begotten

*begetting sense of  
obligation*

a sense of obligation in particular to the smaller and less powerful nations, especially where they were the actual or threatened victims of aggression. We had watched with feelings of indignation, the <sup>marshaling into the</sup> invasion of

*Program of Hitler's  
Aggression*

the Rhur in violation of obligations of Locarno, Hitler's annexation of Austria, the broken pledges of Munich and the conquest of Czechoslovakia, with the result that when Poland next was threatened, and Britain and France had pledged their all in an effort to thwart further aggression in Europe, we had to become fully conscious of the significance of that aggression not to Europe only but to the world.

*Consciousness of  
significance  
of aggression*

*Reasons for  
bringing  
United States  
into war*

It is true that the many ties which have united us through the years with the British Isles, associations with the British Crown made more real and inspiring by the recent visit to this continent of our King and Queen, and the fact that the stocks of Canada itself is so largely those of French and British origin, and that the alliance

of French and English in Europe was paralleled by the more perfect union of interest and purpose by those of English and French descent in our own land, all this helped to make natural and almost inevitable the prompt and united entry of Canada into the war.

*Something more profound & beneath all this.*

I believe, however, there was something even more profound than all this, and which our people with their youthful vision and idealism were quick to see and to sense. Long before the invasion of Poland, we had viewed with alarm <sup>(1)</sup> the rise of dictatorships in Europe, the <sup>(2)</sup> destruction of free political institutions, <sup>(3)</sup> the growth of the totalitarian states, and, above all, <sup>(4)</sup> the substitution of force for reason in matters of government <sup>(5)</sup> and the use of all the instruments and instrumentalities to crush out the things that, as a people, from our earliest childhood, we had learned, above all else, to reverence: faith in God and <sup>(6)</sup> love of our fellowmen. In a word, all that could be best described as a Christian civilization.

*viewed with alarm  
ruin of dictatorships*

*Crushing Christian Civilization*

We have recognized this war was not so much

a war between nations as a war between what we believe to be the powers of darkness and the powers of light.

*war between powers of darkness & powers of light*

Having sensed all this, having felt all this, believing

all this, we could not be other than at war with Hitler in the present conflict and being a country at war against what we profoundly believe to be the powers of evil, to say nothing of an enemy who we are convinced seeks to dominate the world and to rule it by force, we are a country at one with our conscience and ourselves.

*Conclusion - forward  
darkness - light  
substance*

*world faced  
will be  
on a...  
freedom  
tyranny*

May I say just one word in conclusion. As the world faced war has progressed, it has become increasingly apparent that not Europe only but pretty much the entire world will soon be faced with the choice between democracy or dictatorship, the former ~~aiming at~~ <sup>seeking</sup> the preservation of freedom, and the latter at ~~its~~ <sup>the</sup> suppression and the establishment, for years at least, of a world tyranny.

The present is something more than a war between nations or empires, it is a war between entirely opposed concepts of human life and human well-being

*two beliefs  
opposed concepts of life  
struggle of  
freedom, power  
vs. the...  
tyranny*

between those who seek a monopoly of privilege, possessions and power, and those who are at enmity with monopoly in any shape or form. This was true of the struggle that had begun in Europe long before the war. It, above all else, lies beneath the war today, and it is the problem which, beyond the war, will still await solution.

Liberty, equality and fraternity has not perished for the time being in France alone. They are perishing

and will continue to perish wherever democracy in the true sense of that word ceases to exist. / If democracy is to be preserved on this continent and where else it is to be found in the world today, it will not be sufficient to defeat its present enemies, it will be necessary to restore the ideals and the rights which have been trampled in the dust. / To restore to France liberty, equality and fraternity will be one of the first tasks but that task will not be accomplished apart from recognition of the fact that liberty, equality and fraternity are not the rights of Frenchmen only but are of the essence of democracy everywhere. / <sup>To that great task</sup> all lovers of freedom and all whose freedom may be preserved will have, as never before, to devote their lives. / In that great task as was said so splendidly by Mr. Moffat, the American Minister, in an address which he gave at the Canadian Club today, Canada and the United States, as free democracies continuing to live side by side and co-operate in all forms of highest endeavour, should be able to make a contribution not only of infinite value to themselves, but to the greater good of the entire world.

*If democracy is to be preserved it will not be sufficient to defeat its present enemies.*

*For France*

*all lovers of freedom will have, as never before, to devote their lives.*

*Canada and the United States, as free democracies continuing to live side by side and co-operate in all forms of highest endeavour, should be able to make a contribution not only of infinite value to themselves, but to the greater good of the entire world.*

United States Journalists  
Dinner in Honor of  
25-9-40.

D 38859

Refer to Mr. Davies, President  
Canadian Press;

Mr. Victor Sifton,  
Vice-President.

Pleasure of visit.

Thanks to journalists. ( guests of the  
country.  
Thanks to Canadian Press(

Those present at table  
representative of British Empire,  
of United States.

(Refer to new public spirit).

Purpose of visit -

see Canada - at war.

Privilege of visit.

Express appreciation of U.S. in war

1. co-operation
2. propaganda
3. our attitude towards U.S. opinion;

Express appreciation of relations  
with U. S.

Express view on war chart -

Before the war	(	Class revolution
	)	
Beneath the war	(	" betrayal
	)	
Beyond the war	(	Democracy.
	)	

Expansion of England - Seeley

A national ideal  
 substitution of reason for force -  
 world freedom.

Expansion of North American ideal -

an international ideal.

Why Germany cannot win..

Test is endurance, based on whether  
course of action is one that can  
be indefinitely maintained.

The difference between right  
 and wrong.

Bohn - a country at war  
 " peace -

plumb the depths of our lives  
 emotions  
 thoughts  
 words.

Hilton - deep answering unto deep.

D38861

Purpose of Dinner

Thanks  
Welcome

Government work re information

Canada at War

1/2 picture overseas  
Strategy, etc.

3 lines of defence

Anglo-American relations

done for Britain  
" " ourselves  
" " United States  
thanks for

At War with Hitler

3 loyalties  
beneath all -- Christian civilization  
darkness or light

Conclusion

Dictatorship vs. Democracy  
different concepts of life

before,  
beneath,  
beyond.

Privilege, possessions, power vs.  
liberty, equality, fraternity.

25/9/40

D 38862

Mr. Reid, Mr. Howell,  
other members of press of U. S.,  
other gentlemen present

Purpose of Tour --

observation of war effort  
no speeches by politicians

Purpose of dinner

acknowledge National honour  
thanks to Davies, Sifton  
thanks to U. S. press  
privilege to meet  
bright page of country at time of war

welcome -- as neighbours, friends  
and well-wishers -- allies  
interest in cause  
significance of conflict

many visits -- this most memorable  
friend in need

Government's wish to gain information

attitude towards

Canada at War -- only half picture

basis of our strategy

3 lines of defence

war organization at home  
what sent overseas

Anglo-American relations

done for Britain  
" " ourselves  
" " United States  
how possible  
each for ourselves  
helping one another

thanks for U.S. assistance  
come to see community of interests

Canada at War with Hitler

peace herself  
                  ) self  
3 loyalties)---Great Britain  
                  ) League of Nations

beneath all Christian civilization  
a war between Darkness and Light

Conclusion

Dictatorship vs. Democracy for world  
different concepts of life

before ) *Material things,* Privilege, possessions,  
          ) power  
beneath) *Things of the spirit: the spirit* liberty, equality,  
          ) fraternity  
beyond)

D 38864

25.ix.40

Dinner in honour of U.S. Journalists

Purpose of tour -  
No speeches.

Names of journalists -  
Compliment and national honour.  
Acknowledgment of.

Thanks to those present:  
(1) who planned tour,  
(2) who out of busy and important  
lives give up a week.

Thanks to Davies and Sifton.  
Tour - a contribution to war effort.

To U.S. visitors - time and thought.  
A privilege - names distinguished.  
A bright page.

To see Canada at a time of war,  
and at war.

Welcome as neighbours and allies.

Visit evidence of interest in cause.

Grateful for sympathy and co-operation.

Other visits of journalists -  
Time of need.  
None so expressive of friendship.

Opportunity to gain fullest knowledge and  
information.

Nothing to conceal -  
intentions or actions.

Only half picture of war effort in  
Canada.

At entry of war, scene of hostilities  
distant.

Re invasion of our own land:  
3 lines of defence.

Strategy - distant front.  
Contribution accordingly.

Maginot Line, no longer a first defence.

British Channel; London.

Our forces placed at disposal of Britain.

Not sufficient to see war organization  
at home,

but on what has gone abroad.

Army,  
Navy,  
Air Force.

Equipment and munitions,  
aircraft, guns.

Anglo-American Relations.

Done for Britain,  
for ourselves,  
for you.

Looking after our own interests,  
helping each other as well.

Our interests bound up in note of  
similar aims, ideals and actions.

Canada's contribution possible because  
of understanding, friendly and  
powerful neighbour.

Confidence given Canada by practical  
expression of support.

List contributions and thank for.

Past and present position,  
respect for each other's problems,  
common interest.

Bohn - war with Hitler - peace with  
herself..

War with Hitler for reasons help explain  
peace with ourselves.

Canada's three loyalties:

1. to herself - a nation  
no subordination or compulsion  
unity.
2. to British Commonwealth -  
British stock, British institu-  
tions;  
freedom secured menaced by Hitler
3. to League of Nations -  
begetting sense of obligation  
progress of Hitler's aggression  
conscious of significance of aggression.

Reasons for prompt and united entry  
into war.

Something more profound beneath all this.

Viewed with alarm rise of dictatorships.

Crushing Christian civilization.

War between powers of darkness and  
powers of light.

Conclusion

Darkness and light; everywhere world  
faced with democracy or dictatorship  
freedom - tyranny.

War between opposed concepts of life.

Monopoly of privilege, possessions and  
power, as liberty, equality and  
fraternity.

If democracy to be preserved - must  
defeat enemies and restore ideals  
and rights,

first to France

All lovers of freedom to seek to further.

Canada and U.S. working together

D 38868

NOTES FOR DINNER, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER THE 25TH.

" I find in Canada a nation at war with Hitler  
and at peace with herself"

Canada at War with Hitler, because:

1. Gradual realization of the fate that would  
overtake the world if Nazi philosophy  
is allowed to dominate mankind.
2. That realization became vivid because of  
the following historical facts:
3. the persecution of scientists, writers, Jews,  
priests, and ministers of the Gospel,  
and the methods taken to silence  
political and personal opposition;
4. hatred of religion and the persistent attempt  
to substitute paganism for Christianity;
5. the repeated disregard of treaties, contracts  
and pledged word;
6. German preparations for war and education of  
Nazi youth in the creed of blood and iron;
7. Succession of wanton acts of aggression;
8. Avowed Nazi preparation for world domination  
and war against the democracies;

2.

9. Invasion of Poland;
10. the ties that bind us to ancient loyalties,  
our ancestral relationship of blood  
and tradition with Great Britain  
and France;
11. the maintenance of our political and sentimental  
associations with Great Britain;
12. the realization that the free institutions  
which came to us as a heritage from  
Great Britain and the free institutions  
of free men everywhere ~~have~~ been placed  
in danger by the German lust for  
conquest;
13. The dawning of the realization now shared by  
all in the full light of day that  
North American civilization and  
British civilization with <sup>their</sup> ~~its~~ standards  
of conduct and living are in danger  
of annihilation by the new forces of  
~~social~~ international and economic tyranny.

## 3.

Canada is at peace with herself, because:

1. Our conscience is at rest because we believe we have done our duty as Canadians, members of the British Commonwealth and North Americans.
2. We fight on the ramparts we watch.
3. We came into the war of our own free will; we were not forced in. We entered as a result of a free Act by a free Parliament.
4. We are united - English speaking and French speaking because we could not stand idly by and watch the death of freedom.
5. We are doing all we can in men, material and money.
6. We have no ambitions territorial or otherwise. We only defend those ideals which are common to the British and American peoples.

4.

7. We should have been untrue to our religious faith, our history, the reconciliation between races which we have preached and practised, our British freedom, if we had deserted Britain and her allies in what we believe to be a holy crusade.

*and Canada*  
American aid to Great Britain/during the war.

1. Amendment of Neutrality Act to permit of cash and carry transactions, which in actual operation favoured only Britain and her allies - November 1940.
2. Establishment of British and Canadian Purchasing Commissions in the United States, which have contracted for hundreds of millions of dollars of war supplies. Americans have, in many cases, willingly granted priority to British orders.
3. Regular delivery of aircraft since amendment to Neutrality Act.
4. Purchase by Britain from United States government stocks of 80,000 machine guns, 500,000 Lee-Enfield rifles, 750 mm. field pieces, with huge stocks of munitions - June and July 1940.
5. Ogdensburg Agreement as to joint defence of Canada and United States - establishment of a Permanent Joint Board on Defence - August 1940.
6. Transfer of fifty American destroyers in exchange for naval and air bases - September 1940.

7. Purchase by Canada of 80,000 rifles from United States government stocks - September 11, 1940.
8. Over 200 American tanks made available to Canada for training purposes - September 1940.
9. Arrangement whereby Great Britain is permitted to purchase about 40% of the planes<sup>made</sup> in United States during the next 18 months - announced by W. S. Knudsen, September 23rd, 1940.

D 38874

*Headings are suggestions only and  
Prime Minister may wish to omit many items.*

NOTES FOR PRIME MINISTER AT DINNER FOR VISITING  
AMERICAN EDITORS, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER, 25TH.

*Editors, publishers*

Welcome on behalf of government -

Cordial relationship of governments.

Friendly associations personally with U. S.

Welcome also to Canadian newspapermen -

Reference to those who arranged tour.

Significance of their chosen field today -

*free  
separate hat  
re. C.P.  
port*

Hold in trust rights and principles of free press.

Free press as bulwark of freedom everywhere.

Responsibility for guiding public opinion at

time when opinions of free men intimately

connected with very survival.

Reference to tour -

Hope some opportunity for rest and relaxation.

Should be sort of working holiday.

Certainly no need of listening to lengthy speeches.

2.

Able to move about freely -

As most newspapermen, will likely ask all kinds of questions.

Will not find a people afraid to ask and answer questions or express opinions.

Suggestion and criticism still welcomed here.

Even possible some might be found who would criticize<sup>ic</sup> government - still a favourite recreation.

But seriously would dislike to see latter disappear - e.g., dictator-ridden countries where it has.

Purpose of visit -

Not come to see Capital and leaders of government.

Have come to see our nation and our people, -  
more particularly our nation and our people at war.

D<sub>38876</sub>

3.

Many not strangers to Canada -

In any event will see country much like own.  
Similarity of people, physical characteristics  
of country.

More important: kinship of thought, ideals, principles-

Has meant we are able to understand each other.  
No misgivings in past year as to American  
feeling and opinion.

Appreciate moral and material support -

Mutual understanding and sympathy has <sup>Not only been a help in achievement, and a direct element</sup>  
important effect on war.

I believe American nation has long since  
judged issue.

Unqualified moral support of your nation  
an assurance of ultimate victory.

4.

American sympathy also expressed in material way -

- 2x War materials steadily flowing to British countries.
- 2 Many Americans serving with R.A.F., R.C.A.F., and other branches of service.
- 2 Turning over of destroyers to R.N., and R.C.N. most recent and heartening development.

Destroyer transfer part of agreement for hemisphere defence -

- 4 Appointment of joint defence board a realization of common defence interests of two countries.

Extent of Canada's Contribution -

- Will have opportunity of judging extent of Canada's contribution.

5.

Canada's war effort well advanced -

particularly in field of organization,  
e. g., air training plan, national  
registration completed, compulsory  
military training already under way  
(men to be called in two week's time),  
production of war supplies at ever-  
increasing rate.

Canada's effort concentrated overseas -

No tour of Canada adequately discloses  
extent of overseas contribution.

Two divisions overseas have received  
high praise.

Canadian naval units playing an ever-  
increasing part.

Our airmen have demonstrated qualities  
as a fighting unit - these men but  
beginning of a rising tide of air  
strength moving overseas.

D 38879

6.

*Canada contribute to us*

Canada firmly believes in contributing to Battle of  
Britain -

During past year Canada contributing her  
utmost to war in its various phases -  
will continue to do all in her power.  
Canadians realized from outset danger of  
waiting for war to come to us.  
Too many evidences of success of Hitler's  
"divide and conquer".

Each nation must decide course of action for itself -

It will be agreed that Canada has made no  
effort to influence decision of U.S.  
We are sure of cause for which we are fighting -  
Equally sure that cause of freedom needs no  
special pleading in your country.  
United States will make its decision as  
has Canada, freely, on judgment of  
its own people, <sup>without</sup> ~~and~~ unwarranted prompting  
from others.

D 38800

7.

Canada seeking continuation of long friendship -

Do not wish to see any barriers raised along  
the undefended frontier.

While appreciating difficulties of situation,  
regret institution of passport system  
and other regulatory steps.

Glad at least that you may return and help  
serve to bring all your people to  
better understanding of Canada.

Looking to days when peace is restored, we  
see Canadian-American friendship an  
example and a bulwark of a better world.

MEMORANDUM

September 20, 1940

For the Prime Minister:

I attach a rough draft. I have made it fairly light and very brief.

The reference to Thomas Jefferson with which I have ended, is found in the book, "The American Ideal", a copy of which you were good enough to accept at my hands.

L.W.B.

D 38882

Gentlemen:

It is my honour and delight ~~tonight~~, on behalf of the Government of Canada, to welcome you. Your presence at this little dinner party has brought pleasure to us all. We greet you gentlemen from the United States most cordially for many reasons; above all because you are our friends, our neighbours, and our well-wishers. I do not suppose that any Prime Minister of Canada has ever faced a more magnificent clinical opportunity than I do tonight. For you journalists occupy much the same position in regard to the body politic as doctors do to the body physical. You are political physicians. We can be thankful sometimes that you are not political surgeons as well. You analyze the symptoms of the body politic, you expose the weaknesses of its organs and its structure, you segregate and identify its symptoms, you diagnose the diseases and prescribe the remedies with unflinching vigour, if not with unerring accuracy. If all is not well, <sup>it would be your fault;</sup> you may well attribute <sup>any</sup> ~~our~~ prevailing ill health to the failure of the people to perform the necessary operation.

*Beaver*

No. No.

*Emerson*

In one of his most dyspeptic moods Emerson once said that democracy is "government by bullies tempered by editors". While even the more implacable of my political foes would hesitate to describe me as a swash-buckler or a bully, it is probably due not to any inherent meekness on my part, but to the fact that throughout my long public life I have been subjected to a continuous process of tempering by editors."

To speak seriously, as I shall briefly, I am particularly glad to welcome you gentlemen of the American Press. In a world distracted by propaganda, turmoiled falsehood, and deafened by the voice of special pleading, you are the guarantee that in the greatest of all democracies truth will not be the first casualty, but the last.

*Mr.*

You are here, as I understand, to see what Canada is doing today in the defence of the cause to which she has pledged her honour, and her strength and her loyalty. Every door is open to you, no blinds have been drawn on our windows. There are no dark, secret places; there are no skeletons in our national cupboards. In your enquiries, your journeyings and the gatherings of your observations, you will receive from all Canadians, official, semi-official, public and private, all the assistance which it is in our power to give. We

non

want you to find out the facts for yourselves. We in Canada have made no attempt to influence American thinking, and least of all, American action. I think, perhaps, we have failed sometimes in not telling you enough facts about ourselves. Your visit will do much to save us from our own silence. We have been most concerned, of course, that you should think well of us and we are most concerned that you continue to think well of us. We have never been concerned, and will never be concerned in presuming to suggest to you a course of national or international action. As a friend of mine said recently, the cause of liberty needs no lobby in the United States of America. We have always known where the sympathy of your people would be as the months rolled by. Our rhythms, our accents, our ideals, our interests are the rhythms, the accents, the ideals, and the interests of the United States of America.

NRC

It has become increasingly clear to us, as it has become increasingly clear to you, that this war, no matter how it appeared when it began, is not a war between nations, but a war between ideas. As Mr. James Hilton said the other day when he was speaking to our people, "This is not a new battle. The struggle of

brute force against the conscience of mankind began  
at the moment when that conscience was born - which  
was also the moment when civilization was born."

I do not believe that brute force will triumph, but I have no doubt that a Nazi victory would mean not only the triumph of the German nation, but the triumph of the rule of absolute ruthlessness. Our enemies have given a new and terrible meaning to the principle of divide and conquer. We Canadians, British, and Americans, alike, who have rested the foundations of our life upon <sup>Christian</sup> ~~Canadian~~ ideals have come to recognize that there is only one answer to "divide and conquer". The answer has come to us gradually, spontaneously, but surely. It is to be found not only in the internal unity of our nations, but in the determination within the varying degrees of responsibility and action to maintain between us some form of international unity. We who love the same things, and hate the same things, must stand together. The greatest encouragement that free men have found in the dark present and will find in the brighter future is the desire for closer relationship and deeper understanding between Canada and the United States, and the British Commonwealth. Such a

realization is a triumph of common sense - common to us and common to you. It involves not only the union of irresistible moral and spiritual forces, but a practical, material relationship that can be resolved in terms of planes, guns, munitions, air bases, naval bases, and destroyers.

*now*

You are about to see Canada at war. You will find this nation united as it never has been before. It knows that Britain and all of France that is free, aided by free men from many lands and encouraged by the prayers of free men in every land, are fighting on the ramparts which democracy watches. You will see only a part of Canada at war. If you wish to see the rest of Canada at war, it will be necessary for you to journey to Britain, to Iceland, to Newfoundland, to the West Indies, or to the Atlantic (and Pacific) oceans. Abroad we fight for freedom; at home we prepare for our security and for yours. We have placed no limitations on our pledge, our determination or our sacrifice.

All our human and material resources have been mobilized and will be mobilized. What we are doing, we are doing in association with the United States of America, and with the complete approval of the Government of the United Kingdom.

now  
The cause of freedom is common to us all, whether it be in jeopardy in Europe or on this peaceful hemisphere. The very fact that in this room tonight there gathers together the most representative delegation of experienced and thoughtful journalists that ever visited us from the United States is in itself a significant fact. I believe that it marks not only the sympathy of your hearts with our cause, but a recognition of the knowledge that for better, and never for worse, Canadians, Americans and Britons have in their keeping the only hope of the world. There have been ancient bitternesses, no doubt,-- the alchemy of time has sweetened them; there have been ancient differences-- the passage of the years has removed them; there have been gulfs between us -- mutual understanding and respect have bridged them.

The other day I read a little essay on Thomas Jefferson. It told how he prayed that he might be spared to see the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of that great charter of human liberty, a part of our heritage as well as of yours-- the Declaration of Independence. He was spared to see the light of that morning-- he died before the sun of that day had set. A few days before he died, he wrote a letter. It contained, I believe, the last words written by that eloquent pen.

In it was this passage:

"We are destined to be a barrier against the return of ignorance and barbarism. As for me, I like the dreams of the future better than the history of the past. And so, good-night."

Gentlemen, your presence amongst us is at once a pleasure and inspiration to us all. I hope that you will never regret your visit to a land which delights to honour you.

D38889

September 25, 1940

Remarks of Prime Minister at dinner given in honour of  
United States Journalists

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_,

Members of the Press of the United States,  
and other gentlemen present.

I have been told by Mr. Davies and other officers of the Canadian Press who have had in hand the arrangements for the tour of visiting journalists from the United States, that the purpose of the tour is one of observation in relation more particularly to Canada's war effort. I have also been told that such moments of recreation as might be afforded en route were not to be marred by speeches either before or after dinner, -- particularly speeches by politicians -- whose measure is usually much better known to members of the journalistic profession than to themselves. I wish, therefore, immediately to assure all present that unless it would occasion disappointment to others not to be called upon, mine will be the only speech to which, out of courtesy, you may be called upon to listen. I promise you that it will be brief.

When my colleagues and I received the names of those who had accepted the invitation of the Canadian

Press to participate in the present tour, we felt that the compliment paid in this way to Canada had been a very real one, and that it would be the wish of the citizens of our country that we should view it as a national honour, and avail ourselves of some appropriate occasion so to express their feelings as well as our own. It is with this in mind that I should like, while we are gathered in the informal manner in which we are gathered about this table this evening, to thank those present to whom Canada owes the inauguration of the tour and its planning and, particularly, those present who, out of very busy and important lives, have generously been prepared to give an entire week to form, with their neighbors, a more intimate acquaintance and to learn at first hand something more than Canada's part in the present war.

Perhaps I may be pardoned if I express, first of all, to Mr. Davies, the President of the Canadian Press, and Mr. Victor Sifton, the Vice-President, and through them the other officers and members, the very warm thanks of the Government for the thought of the tour and its arrangements, and for the admirable measure in which, I understand, it is being carried out. A service of the kind, at a time such as the present, is in itself a very real contribution to the war effort not of our country

only but to that of the British Commonwealth of Nations as a whole.

To you, gentlemen, whose time and thought is given so completely to the dissemination of accurate information and the moulding of public opinion, and who are so representative of all that is best in journalism in the United States. I should like to say that, as individuals, we feel privileged indeed to have this opportunity of meeting so many of those whose names are so familiar to all of us but whom, thus far, most of us have not had the pleasure of meeting and that collectively the people of Canada will view, as a bright page of this country at a time of war, the one which for all time will record the pleasure of your visit in our midst.

You have come to see Canada, not only at a time of war, but Canada at war.-- at war with the most powerful enemy that, thus far, has threatened the freedom and well-being of mankind. We welcome you as neighbours, as friends, as well-wishers, and, so far as the laws of a neutral country will permit or can be stretched, as allies in a great cause to which we have pledged ourselves, our honour, our loyalty, our material resources, and our lives. We know that were it not for the profound interest

which you have in the cause for which we are fighting, were it not for the full appreciation you have of the significance of the conflict in its relation to your own country and all that pertains to its freedom, you would not be here tonight, and certainly would not be spending a week in our midst. We are therefore deeply grateful for this very generous and very practical expression of your sympathy, good-will and, may I add, co-operation.

We have had during this period of war, many visits from individual journalists, some from the United Kingdom and many, I am happy to say, from the United States. In times of peace, we have also had memorable visits from associations of journalists within and without the Empire. At no time, however, can I recall that it could so truly be said that a friend in need was a friend indeed, or that a visit in itself could have expressed more in the way of friendship. For this, alike in the name of the Government and of the people of Canada, I should like to thank you most warmly.

I need scarcely say that the Government shall welcome your being given every opportunity of gaining the fullest possible knowledge of what, in the present war, this young country, with its population distinctly limited

in numbers has contributed, is contributing and hopes to be able to continue to contribute to the successful prosecution of the war. We would like you, at the time at your disposal, to see as much as you possibly can, and, in other ways, to gain as much information as you possibly can. There is nothing in our intentions or in our actions that we desire to conceal beyond what, if disclosed, would be of service to a common enemy. At a time of war, as at no other time, it can truly be said that actions are louder than words.

There is one thing, however, that I would ask you to keep in mind. It is that, at most, but half the picture of Canada's war effort is to be gained from anything you may see in Canada itself. When Canada entered the war, which she did within ten days after the German forces had rolled in upon Poland, the scene of hostilities was far distant. We had no illusions about the danger of its spread or how wide it was likely to prove. Indeed, I think it is true to say that, from the beginning, we visualized a possible emergence into a world conflict. What we did not see was the rapidity with which events would take place nor the very great power and ruthlessness of the enemy. We believed time to be on our side.

As regards the possibility of invasion of our own land, we recognized three major lines of defence;

the Maginot Line was one -- the British Channel was another, and our own Atlantic seaboard and coast, the third. From the outset our strategy was that of having war waged as largely as possible on the most distant front, and making our contribution accordingly. In consultation and co-operation with the British authorities, our effort accordingly was directed to the sending of men, munitions and supplies across the seas and in planning to do this in the manner likely to be most effective in a war that, in all probability, would last for three or four years.

In this war to thwart aggression which aims at world domination, the Maginot Line is no longer a line of first defence. That line, as we all now know only too well, is the British Channel. Behind it, the city of London has become the citadel of the world's freedom. As the British Isles have become increasingly the centre of hostilities, and Britain has found it increasingly necessary to protect her own land and shores by such military, naval and air forces as were immediately at her command, we in Canada have increasingly placed at the disposal of Britain herself in the manner that might most effectively meet the present situation, what, in the way of fighting forces and material, we have been able

to send. In seeking to visualize in its true proportion such contributions as Canada has, thus far, been able to make, it is not sufficient that we should see something of our war organization at home:

the training camps,  
the coast defences,  
the progress of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan,  
the munitions and war equipment industries,  
the steps more recently taken for the mobilization  
of our human and material resources,

not to mention lesser incidental matters such as:

the internment camps for war prisoners and refugees,  
the care of children from overseas,  
the extent of taxation and borrowing, by which the  
entire effort is supported,

you must also allow your mind to dwell upon the Canadian divisions which narrowly escaped active service on the coasts of Norway and on the fields of France and which today are all but in name the best equipped armed corps in the British Isles. You have also to think of Canadian battalions that, for months past, have been in Greenland, Iceland in Newfoundland, in Bermuda, and in the West Indies; of a Canadian Naval Service, small but efficient, which, from the outbreak of war, has assisted in convoy duty between this new world and the old, and has not hesitated to send what few destroyers it had into European waters, leaving our own coasts, for the time being, largely undefended;

and finally, of an Air Force that already has contributed numbers of men to the Royal Air Force and has fighting squadrons of its own actively participating in the battles of the air in the defence of Britain.

You have also to recall that we have not hesitated, realizing how emergent the situation is, to part with a not inconsiderable portion of our own equipment and munitions, aircraft, guns, and other supplies, believing, as I have said that victory to cause and country alike would be won more quickly in the end by the extent to which it is possible to support the first line of defence.

Mention of these facts brings me naturally, and inevitably, to just a word about Anglo-American relations of which, I hope, I may, without danger of being either misunderstood or misinterpreted ~~to~~ say just a word. What we have done and are doing in the directions I have mentioned has been done and is being done for Britain, it is true, but in no less certain and equal measure for ourselves. May I add that I believe it may rightly be viewed as something which has been done for you as well. We, each in our own way, have been looking after our own interests, but we have been helping each other as well. What, perhaps, we are coming to see more clearly than we ever have before

is that what we call our own interests in a world like that in which we are living today, are bound up immeasurably and, I might also say, irrevocably in the interests of those whose national aims, actions and ideals are similar to our own. Obviously we could not have dared to incur the risks we have incurred had our frontier resembled that of the frontiers of the countries of Europe, or have we had, as an immediate neighbour, other than the most understanding, the most friendly, and the most powerful of nations.

I should like you to know that that support and the practical expressions that have been given to it so constantly all along the way has enabled us to do and to risk what we have with a confidence without which it would have been extremely difficult to effect very much. Speaking broadly we have each seen and have each had great ~~respect~~ for each other's problems. What we have all come increasingly to see is the need for the closest possible co-operation in their solution and how great a community of interests we have in the preservation of the freedom<sup>on</sup> which is based the Christian civilization which we hold in common.

The Canada-United States Permanent Defence Board, the naval bases and air facilities granted the United States

in Newfoundland, Bermuda and other British possessions in the Atlantic, the destroyers transferred, or being transferred from the United States to British fleets speak as words could never speak of the recognition of a common danger, a common need and of the necessity of action in common.

I have made mention of the visits of other journalists to Canada. An observation, as made by one of them has given me personally a feeling of pride which, I believe, is shared by the Canadian people generally greater than almost any which it would be difficult to express in words. The visitor was Mr. John Bohm of the Manchester Guardian. Writing of his impressions Mr. Bohm said: "I found in Canada a nation at war with Hitler and at peace with herself." That, gentlemen, was a profound and penetrating perception and a very great national tribute. It revealed an insight into the very soul of the Canadian people. A nation at war with Hitler. We are at war with Hitler, and for reasons which help also to explain why we are at peace with ourselves.

In her national and international relations, Canada has had three loyalties of which she has constantly sought to take account.

The first has been the loyalty to herself which has made her a nation in her own right, possessing all the attributes of nationhood in her own eyes and in the eyes of others. That has relieved her citizens of any feeling of subordination, and lies at the very basis of her unity. There has been no compulsion about anything Canada has done in the present war. What she has done has been of her own volition and the free action of a free parliament. Had there been compulsion, had there been commitments involving this country in war overseas, before the place, the time, and the cause of the war itself were fully known and understood, I question if Canada would have gone to war at all. And, if at war, certainly not as a united nation.

The second loyalty has been that which we owe to the British Commonwealth of Nations of which we are one. The loyalty begotten of the stock to which many of us belong, but even more of what we feel we owe in the way of freedom to British institutions and the security of that freedom through membership in the British Empire. In the rise of Hitlerism and the extension of Nazi power we have seen freedom itself menaced as never before in the history of mankind.

There has been, too, a loyalty felt perhaps more strongly by those who were more zealously pacifist in their feelings and professions - a loyalty to the League of Nations and the principle on which that great institution was founded. This loyalty possessed in common by all political parties, over many years, had begotten a sense of obligation in particular to the smaller and less powerful nations, especially where they were the actual or threatened victims of aggression. We had watched with feelings of indignation, the invasion of the Rhur in violation of obligations of Locarno, Hitler's annexation of Austria, the broken pledges of Munich and the conquest of Czechoslovakia, with the result that when Poland next was threatened, and Britain and France had pledged their all in an effort to thwart further aggression in Europe, we had to become fully conscious of the significance of that aggression not to Europe only but to the world.

It is true that the many ties which have united us through the years with the British Isles, associations with the British Crown made more real and inspiring by the recent visit to this continent of our King and Queen, and the fact that the stocks of Canada itself is so largely those of French and British origin, and that the alliance

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**REPEAT  
REPETITION**

of French and English in Europe was paralleled by the more perfect union of interest and purpose by those of English and French descent in our own land. All this helped to make natural and almost inevitable the prompt and united entry of Canada into the war.

I believe, however, there was something even more profound than all this and which our people with their youthful vision and idealism were quick to see and to sense. Long before the invasion of Poland, we had viewed with alarm the rise of dictatorships in Europe, the destruction of free political institutions, the growth of the totalitarian states, and, above all, the substitution of force for reason in matters of government and the use of all the instruments and instrumentalities to crush out the things that, as a people, from our earliest childhood, we had learned, above all else, to reverence: faith in God and love of our fellowmen. In a word, all that could be best described as a Christian civilization.

We have recognized this war was not so much a war between nations as a war between what we believe to be the powers of darkness and the powers of light. Having sensed all this, having felt all this, believing

all this, we could not be other than at war with Hitler in the present conflict and being a country at war against what we profoundly believe to be the powers of evil, to say nothing of an enemy who we are convinced seeks to dominate the world and to rule it by force, we are a country at one with our conscience and ourselves.

May I say just one word in conclusion. As the war has progressed, it has become increasingly apparent that not Europe only but pretty much the entire world will soon be faced with the choice between democracy or dictatorship, the former aiming at the preservation of freedom, and the latter at its suppression and the establishment, for years at least, of a world tyranny.

The present is something more than a war between nations or empires, it is a war between entirely opposed concepts of human life and human well-being between those who seek a monopoly of privilege, possessions and power, and those who are at enmity with monopoly in any shape or form. This was true of the struggle that had begun in Europe long before the war. It, above all else, lies beneath the war today, and it is the problem which, beyond the war, will still await solution.

Liberty, equality and fraternity has not perished for the time being in France alone. They are perishing

and will continue to perish wherever democracy in the true sense of that word ceases to exist. If democracy is to be preserved on this continent and where else it is to be found in the world today, it will not be sufficient to defeat its present enemies, it will be necessary to restore the ideals and the rights which have been trampled in the dust. To restore to France liberty, equality and fraternity will be one of the first tasks but that task will not be accomplished apart from recognition of the fact that liberty, equality and fraternity are not the rights of Frenchmen only but are of the essence of democracy everywhere. <sup>To that great task</sup> All lovers of freedom and all whose freedom may be preserved will have, as never before, to devote their lives. In that great task as was said so splendidly by Mr. Moffat, the American Minister, in an address which he gave at the Canadian Club today, Canada and the United States, as free democracies continuing to live side by side and co-operate in all forms of highest endeavour, should be able to make a contribution not only of infinite value to themselves but to the greater good of the entire world.

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63		United States Journalists, Dinner in Honour of. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Sept. 1940	D 38828 - D 38903	
63		Red Cross Appeal "The Voices of Mercy", Speeches outside Parliament	29 Sept. 1940	D 38904 - D 38924	
64		Red Cross Appeal, Radio Broadcast	29 Sept. 1940	D 38925 - D 38931	
64		Training of British Pilots in Canada	1940	D 38932 - D 38949	
64		Speech on Address. Speeches in Parliament	12 Nov. 1940	D 38950 - D 38951	
64		The International Scene	12 Nov. 1940	D 38952 - D 39036	
64		"The Present Situation". Speeches in Parliament	2 Dec. 1940	D 39037 - D 39094	
64		St. Lawrence Waterways. Statement in Parliament	6 Dec. 1940	D 39095	
64		Canadian Tuberculosis Association Radio Broadcast	8 Dec. 1940	D 39096 - D 39098	
64		Christmas Radio Broadcast to W.W. II Canadian Armed Forces. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Dec. 1940	D 39099 - D 39126	

29 Sept 1940

Radio

Can Red Cross

Not to be released  
before broadcast,  
8 P.M., E.D.T.

September 29, 1940

File

RED CROSS APPEAL BY THE PRIME MINISTER

D 38901-901  
V. 41

"The Voices of Mercy"

N 305-16  
1940

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Tonight the Canadian Red Cross Society is appealing for five million dollars to help Canadian and British men, women and children in the hours of their greatest need. Assisting the Society in its appeal, Canadian and British artists, whose names are among the greatest in the entertainment world, are making a free-will offering of their exceptional gifts. Their voices will be heard in song, in mirth and in drama. You will also hear, in the concert to which you will be privileged to listen, the voices of the five little girls whose lives, from the day of their birth, have been a centre of interest to millions of kind-hearted people, and a special care of the State.

The world famous men and women who are bringing for your inspiration and enjoyment, the gifts with which they have been blessed, are placing their special talents on the altar of our common humanity with the spontaneous generosity which is typical of the great profession to which they belong. To them, I offer, in the name of the people of Canada, a nation's thanks. To our little friends at Callander, and to Dr. Dafoe, I also send the grateful good wishes of us all.

Noted by  
Miss Walker

As we listen

As we listen in the quiet of this Sunday hour to the voices of the great actors, famous musicians, and happy children who sing, or speak, or play for us, I should like you to think especially of the sorrowing and suffering ones, on whose behalf their individual contributions are being made. I should like each one to ask himself to what extent can I also immediately contribute to the fund of the Red Cross in order that its voice, too, may be heard, in fuller and deeper tones, amid the cruelties and anguish of war.

The voice of the Red Cross is the voice of Humanity. It calls to us tonight from scenes of unparalleled horror and unprecedented tragedy. It is to be heard amidst the devastation of ancient monuments and humble homes, and from the waves of the storm swept sea. It is the voice of our own bravest sons and daughters, and of their kinsmen and allies beyond the seas, who lie wounded, crippled, dying in order that we may live. It is the voice not only of brave men prepared to meet death and to suffer agonies and privations for us, but also the voice of women and little children, appealing to God for rescue, from the barbarities of a foe who has substituted a deity of iron and steel for the Source of Light and Love in the human heart.

Tonight, amidst man's inhumanity

Tonight, amidst man's inhumanity to man, the voice of the Red Cross pleads the cause of man's humanity to man. It is the voice of compassion, of pity, of loving kindness, of Christ-like ministrations. Its work unites into one great community of mercy, all creeds, all classes, all races. Under its banner, doctors and nurses brave pestilence and death. Beneath the sign of its holy symbol, men and women comfort the afflicted, welcome the refugee, feed the hungry, shelter the homeless, tend the sick, aid the wounded, and bring hope to the dying. It is this great humanitarian service which, at this time, we are being called upon to aid.

Our own hearts will need much in the way of consolation before this terrible and ever widening conflict is at an end. In what we, ourselves, have done to lessen its sacrifices and its sorrows, will lie the only real consolation we shall ever have.

Ladies and gentlemen: Many voices appeal to you tonight. Strongest perhaps, is the voice of Conscience, - the celestial and immortal voice - it has been called. Of your generous response to the eloquent appeal of these many voices, I am not the least in doubt.

Communiqué aux journaux  
Ne pas publier avant la diffusion  
à 8 heures du soir

29 septembre 1940

D 38907

APPEL DU PREMIER MINISTRE EN FAVEUR DE LA CROIX-ROUGE

"La voix de la charité"

Mesdames et messieurs,

Ce soir, la Société canadienne de la Croix-Rouge demande 5 millions de dollars pour venir en aide à la population canadienne et britannique à l'heure où elle en a le plus grand besoin. Se joignant à la Société dans cet appel, des artistes du Canada et de l'Angleterre, dont les noms comptent parmi les plus connus dans le monde du spectacle, apportent la contribution volontaire de leurs talents remarquables. Ils se feront entendre dans un programme de chant et de comédie. Vous entendrez également, au cours du concert qu'il vous sera donné d'écouter, la voix de cinq fillettes dont l'existence, depuis leur naissance, a captivé l'intérêt de millions de personnes sympathiques, et a fait l'objet d'une sollicitude spéciale de la part de l'Etat.

Les célébrités mondiales, qui feront servir les dons que la Providence leur a prodigués à élever et égayer votre esprit, offrent ces talents sur l'autel de l'humanitarisme avec un élan de générosité qui est le propre de la noble profession qu'ils exercent. Je leur offre donc, au nom de la

*Noted by  
Miss Walker*

population canadienne, les remerciements de tout un peuple. A nos petites amies de Callender et au docteur Dafoe, je transmets également l'expression de notre gratitude et de nos souhaits.

Tout en écoutant, dans le calme de cette heure dominicale, les grands acteurs, les musiciens célèbres et les charmantes enfants qui chantent, parlent ou jouent à notre intention, je vous saurais gré de reporter votre pensée à ceux qui sont dans la tristesse et la souffrance, car c'est pour eux que ces artistes et se devouent ainsi. Je souhaiterais que chacun se demandât combien il est en mesure de contribuer sur-le-champ à la caisse de la Croix-Rouge, afin que la voix de celle-ci soit également entendue, de façon plus vibrante, au milieu des horreurs et des angoisses de la guerre.

La voix de la Croix-Rouge est celle de l'humanité. Elle nous vient ce soir du théâtre de détresses sans égales et de drames sans précédent. Elle s'élèvera au bruit de la destruction de monuments antiques et de modestes habitations, et au bruit des vagues de la mer balayée par la tempête. C'est la voix des plus braves parmi nos propres fils et filles; c'est la voix de leurs proches, et de leurs alliés d'outre-mer, qui, pour assurer notre survivance gisent en ce moment blèssés, estropiés, mourant. C'est la voix, non

seulement de héros prêts à mourir, à souffrir, à manquer de tout pour notre salut, mais aussi celle de femmes et de petits enfants qui implorent Dieu de les arracher aux cruautés d'un ennemi qui, à la Source de lumière et de charité dans le coeur de l'homme, a substitué une divinité de fer et d'acier.

Ce soir, en face de l'inhumanité de l'homme envers l'homme, la voix de la Croix-Rouge vient plaider la cause de l'humanité de l'homme envers l'homme. C'est la voix de la compassion, de la pitié, de l'amour, de la charité inspirée par le Christ. Par son oeuvre, elle réunit en une grande collectivité de bienfaisance les gens de toutes croyances, classes ou races. Sous sa bannière, médecins et infirmières affrontent les épidémies et la mort. Sous le signe de son symbole sacré, hommes et femmes consolent les affligés, accueillent les réfugiés, nourrissent ceux qui ont faim, abritent les sans-foyer, soignent les malades, se portent au secours des blessés et assistent les mourants. Voilà le noble service humanitaire auquel, à ce moment-ci, on nous invite à participer.

Avant que prenne fin ce conflit terrible et sans cesse grandissant, nos propres coeurs auront assurément besoin de fortes consolations. Et la seule consolation véritable que nous puissions espérer proviendra de ce que nous aurons fait nous-mêmes pour atténuer les sacrifices et la douleur qu'il occasionne.

. Mesdames et messieurs, vous entendrez plusieurs voix ce soir. La plus puissante, c'est celle de la Conscience, que l'on a appelée la voix du ciel et de l'immortalité. Je n'en ai pas le moindre doute, vous saurez répondre avec libéralité au vibrant appel de ces voix.



EARNSCLIFFE  
LINEN BOND  
MADE IN CANADA



également entendue, de façon plus vibrante, au milieu des ~~XXXX~~ horreurs ~~XXXX~~ et des ~~XXXXXXXX~~ angoisses de la guerre.

La voix de la Croix-~~Rouge~~ est celle de l'humanité. Elle nous vient ce soir du théâtre de détresses sans égales et de drames sans précédent. Elle s'élèvera ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ au bruit de la destruction de monuments antiques et de ~~foyers~~ <sup>habitations</sup> modestes, et au bruit des vagues ~~XXXX~~ de la ~~mer~~ balayée ~~XXXXXX~~ par la tempête. C'est la voix des plus braves parmi nos propres fils et filles; ~~XX~~ c'est la voix de leurs ~~propres~~ <sup>ch</sup> ~~propres~~, et de leurs alliés d'outre-mer, qui, ~~en ce moment~~ <sup>pour assurer notre survivance</sup> gisent ~~blessés~~, <sup>en ce moment blessés,</sup> estropiés ~~et~~ mourant ~~pour assurer notre survivance~~. C'est la voix, non seulement de héros prêts à ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ mourir, à souffrir, à manquer de tout pour notre salut, mais aussi celle de femmes et de petits enfants qui ~~implore~~ <sup>arracher aux</sup> ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Dieu de les ~~sauver~~ ~~des~~ cruautés d'un ennemi qui, à la source de lumière et de charité dans le cœur de l'homme, a ~~XXXXX~~ substitué une divinité de fer et d'acier.

Ce soir, en face de l'inhumanité de l'homme envers l'homme, la voix de la Croix-~~Rouge~~ vient plaider la cause de l'humanité de l'homme envers l'homme. C'est la voix de la compassion, de la pitié, de l'amour, de la charité inspirée par le Christ. Par son oeuvre, elle réunit en une grande collectivité <sup>de bienfaisance</sup> ~~d'assistance~~ les gens de toutes ~~XXX~~ croyances, classes ou races. Sous sa bannière, ~~les~~ médecins et ~~les~~ infirmières affrontent les épidémies et la mort. Sous le ~~XX~~ signe de son symbole sacré, hommes et femmes consolent les affligés, accueillent les réfugiés, nourrissent ceux qui ont faim, abritent les sans-foyer, soignent les malades, se portent au secours des blessés et assistent les mourants. Voilà le noble service humanitaire auquel, à ce moment-ci, on nous invite à ~~appuyer~~ <sup>participer</sup>.

Avant que prenne fin ce conflit terrible et sans cesse grandissant, nos propres cœurs auront assurément besoin de fortes consolations, Et la seule consolation véritable que nous puissions espérer proviendra de ce que nous aurons fait nous-mêmes pour atténuer les sacrifices et

la douleur

-3-

D 38913

~~à douter~~  
les déboires qu'il occasionne.

vous entendrez

Mesadmes et messieurs, / plusieurs voix ce soir.

La plus puissante, c'est celle de la Conscience ~~qui nous~~,  
que l'on a appelée la voix du ciel et de l'immortalité. Je  
n'en ai pas le moindre doute, vous saurez répondre avec ~~lib~~  
libéralité au vibrant appel de ces ~~voix~~ voix .

12476  
Space for  
cover page Sept 1st

1st proof

D38914

CANADA AND THE WAR

THE VOICES OF MERCY

*Large type  
see Sept. 1st.* — *An Appeal for the Canadian Red Cross*  
↓

BROADCAST BY

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

*Prime Minister of Canada*

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1940



OTTAWA  
J. O. PATENAUDE, I.S.O.  
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY  
1940

7A  
24-25

D 38915

D 38916

Repeat title -  
set up as for Sept. 1st.

## THE VOICES OF MERCY

*Red Cross Appeal by the Prime Minister*

September 29, 1940

*Ladies and Gentlemen:*

To-night the Canadian Red Cross Society is appealing for five million dollars to help Canadian and British men, women and children in the hours of their greatest need. Assisting the Society in its appeal, Canadian and British artists, whose names are among the greatest in the entertainment world, are making a free-will offering of their exceptional gifts. Their voices will be heard in song, in mirth and in drama. You will also hear, in the concert to which you will be privileged to listen, the voices of the five little girls whose lives, from the day of their birth, have been a centre of interest to millions of kind-hearted people, and a special care of the State.

### *The Nation's Thanks to Contributing Artists*

The world famous men and women who are bringing for your inspiration and enjoyment, the gifts with which they have been blessed, are placing their special talents on the altar of our common humanity with the spontaneous generosity which is typical of the great profession to which they belong. To them, I offer, in the name of the people of Canada, a nation's thanks. To our little friends at Callander, and to Dr. Dafoe, I also send the grateful good wishes of us all.

As we listen in the quiet of this Sunday hour to the voices of the great actors, famous musicians, and happy children who sing, or speak, or play for us, I should like you to think especially of the sorrowing and suffering ones, on whose behalf their individual

contributions are being made. I should like each one to ask himself to what extent can I also immediately contribute to the fund of the Red Cross in order that its voice, too, may be heard, in fuller and deeper tones, amid the cruelties and anguish of war.

*The Voice of the Red Cross: the Voice of Humanity*

The voice of the Red Cross is the voice of humanity. It calls to us to-night from scenes of unparalleled horror and unprecedented tragedy. It is to be heard amidst the devastation of ancient monuments and humble homes, and from the waves of the storm swept sea. It is the voice of our own bravest sons and daughters, and of their kinsmen and allies beyond the seas, who lie wounded, crippled, dying in order that we may live. It is the voice not only of brave men prepared to meet death and to suffer agonies and privations for us, but also the voice of women and little children, appealing to God for rescue, from the barbarities of a foe who has substituted a deity of iron and steel for the Source of Light and Love in the human heart.

To-night, amidst man's inhumanity to man, the voice of the Red Cross pleads the cause of man's humanity to man. It is the voice of compassion, of pity, of loving kindness, of Christ-like ministrations. Its work unites into one great community of mercy, all creeds, all classes, all races. Under its banner, doctors and nurses brave pestilence and death. Beneath the sign of its holy symbol, men and women comfort the afflicted, welcome the refugee, feed the hungry, shelter the homeless, tend the sick, aid the wounded, and bring hope to the dying. It is this great humanitarian service which, at this time, we are being called upon to aid.

*The Appeal of the Voice of Conscience*

Our own hearts will need much in the way of consolation before this terrible and ever widening conflict is at an end. In what we, ourselves, have done to lessen its sacrifices and its sorrows, will lie the only real consolation we shall ever have.

Ladies and gentlemen: Many voices appeal to you to-night. Strongest perhaps, is the voice of Conscience—the celestial and immortal voice—it has been called. Of your generous response to the eloquent appeal of these many voices, I am not the least in doubt.

Not to be released before  
broadcast, 8 P.M., E.D.T.

September 29, 1940.

**D** 38918

RED CROSS APPEAL BY THE PRIME MINISTER

"The Voices of Mercy"

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Tonight the Canadian Red Cross Society is appealing for five million dollars to help Canadian and British men, women and children in the hours of their greatest need. Assisting the Society in its appeal, Canadian and British artists, whose names are among the greatest in the entertainment world, are making a free-will offering of their exceptional gifts. Their voices will be heard in song, in mirth and in drama. You will also hear, in the concert to which you will be privileged to listen, the voices of the five little girls whose lives, from the day of their birth, have been a centre of interest to millions of kind-hearted people, and a special care of the State.

(1) — The world famous men and women who are bringing for your inspiration and enjoyment, the gifts with which they have been blessed, are placing their special talents on the altar of our common humanity with the spontaneous generosity which is typical of the great profession to which they belong. To them, I offer, in the name of the people of Canada, a nation's thanks. To our little friends at Callander, and to Dr. Dafoe, I also send the grateful good wishes of us all.

As we listen

As we listen in the quiet of this Sunday hour to the voices of the great actors, famous musicians, and happy children who sing, or speak, or play for us, I should like you to think especially of the sorrowing and suffering ones, on whose behalf their individual contributions are being made. I should like each one to ask himself to what extent can I also immediately contribute to the fund of the Red Cross in order that its voice, too, may be heard, in fuller and deeper tones, amid the cruelties and anguish of war.

2 — The voice of the Red Cross is the voice of Humanity. It calls to us tonight from scenes of unparalleled horror and unprecedented tragedy. It is to be heard amidst the devastation of ancient monuments and humble homes, and from the waves of the storm swept sea. It is the voice of our own bravest sons and daughters, and of their kinsmen and allies beyond the seas, who lie wounded, crippled, dying in order that we may live. It is the voice not only of brave men prepared to meet death and to suffer agonies and privations for us, but also the voice of women and little children, appealing to God for rescue, from the barbarities of a foe who has substituted a deity of iron and steel for the Source of Light and Love in the human heart.

Tonight, amidst man's inhumanity

Tonight, amidst man's inhumanity to man, the voice of the Red Cross pleads the cause of man's humanity to man. It is the voice of compassion, of pity, of loving kindness, of Christ-like ministrations. Its work unites into one great community of mercy, all creeds, all classes, all races. Under its banner, doctors and nurses brave pestilence and death. Beneath the sign of its holy symbol, men and women comfort the afflicted, welcome the refugee, feed the hungry, shelter the homeless, tend the sick, aid the wounded, and bring hope to the dying. It is this great humanitarian service which, at this time, we are being called upon to aid.

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12476

*Ex. Affairs  
2 page proofs  
to Mr. Mahoney*

D 38921

CANADA AND THE WAR

THE VOICES OF MERCY

An Appeal for the Canadian Red Cross

BROADCAST BY

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

PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1940.

*East*

*Imprint*

28 pieces  
11 pt. S. L. C.

September 29, 1940.

D 38922

14 pt. G. L. C.

RED CROSS APPEAL BY THE PRIME MINISTER

"The Voices of Mercy"

18 pt. 21 R

St.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

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Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel/Bobine
63		United States Journalists, Dinner in Honour of. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Sept. 1940	D 38828 - D 38903	
63		Red Cross Appeal "The Voices of Mercy", Speeches outside Parliament	29 Sept. 1940	D 38904 - D 38924	
64		Red Cross Appeal, Radio Broadcast	29 Sept. 1940	D 38925 - D 38931	
64		Training of British Pilots in Canada	1940	D 38932 - D 38949	
64		Speech on Address. Speeches in Parliament	12 Nov. 1940	D 38950 - D 38951	
64		The International Scene	12 Nov. 1940	D 38952 - D 39036	
64		"The Present Situation". Speeches in Parliament	2 Dec. 1940	D 39037 - D 39094	
64		St. Lawrence Waterways. Statement in Parliament	6 Dec. 1940	D 39095	
64		Canadian Tuberculosis Association Radio Broadcast	8 Dec. 1940	D 39096 - D 39098	
64		Christmas Radio Broadcast to W.W. II Canadian Armed Forces. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Dec. 1940	D 39099 - D 39126	

KING, William Lyon Mackenzie: Speeches Series

MG 26, J 5, Volume 64, pages D 38925 - D 39526

29 Sept. 1940

Radio

Red Cross Appeal

25 Oct. 1920

Regina, Sask.

Reunion of Liberal Party  
with Farmers & Labour.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date SEP 3 0 1940

Subject D 28925

## To Make Voice Of Red Cross Society Fuller and Deeper

Prime Minister Mackenzie King last night urged Canadians to contribute to the \$5,000,000 drive of the Canadian Red Cross Society so that "its voice may be heard in fuller and deeper tones amid the cruelties and anguish of war."

The Prime Minister spoke at the opening of last night's Red Cross program, broadcast over a nation-wide network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

He said that the Red Cross is "the voice of compassion, of pity, of loving kindness, of Christ-like ministrations." Its men and women "comfort the afflicted, welcome the refugee, feed the hungry, shelter the homeless, tend the sick, aid the wounded, and bring hope to the dying."

Then he said:

"Our own hearts will need much in the way of consolation before this terrible and ever-widening conflict is at an end. In what we, ourselves, have done to lessen its sacrifices and its sorrows, will lie the only real consolation we shall ever have."

Mr. King thanked the Canadian and British artists for donating their time to the broadcast. He asked Canadians, as they listened, to think especially of the sorrowing and suffering men, women and children on whose behalf the artists were giving their time.

He appealed to Canadians to ask themselves: "To what extent can I immediately contribute to the fund of the Red Cross?" He added: "Of your generous response, I am not the least in doubt."

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa M. Journal

Date Sept. 30/40

D 38926

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## Premier King Makes Appeal For Red Cross

Prime Minister Mackenzie King Sunday night urged Canadians to contribute to the \$5,000,000 drive of the Canadian Red Cross Society so that "its voice may be heard in fuller and deeper tones amid the cruelties and anguish of war".

The Prime Minister spoke at the opening of last night's Red Cross program, broadcast over a nation-wide network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

He said that the Red Cross is "the voice of compassion, of pity, of loving kindness, of Christ-like ministrations". Its men and women "comfort the afflicted, welcome the refugee, feed the hungry, shelter the homeless, tend the sick, aid the wounded, and bring hope to the dying".

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He appealed to Canadians to ask themselves: "To what extent can I immediately contribute to

the fund of the Red Cross." He added: "Of your generous response, I am not the least in doubt."

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa M. Journal

Date Sept. 30/40

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

D 38976-1

## Cinema Stars Help.

TORONTO, Sept. 29 — (CP) — Hollywood's brightest stars joined with Prime Minister King and the Dionne quintuplets tonight in an inspiring radio program staged for the Red Cross emergency appeal for \$5,000,000 to aid British air raid victims.

British and Canadian motion picture stars drew on the works of English writers from Shakespeare, down through Kipling to Noel Coward to emphasize England's indomitable spirit in her present plight.

The international character of the broadcast, which was produced by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and was carried over the Mutual network in the United States, was emphasized at the close. Alan Mowbray, Master of Ceremonies, asked American listeners to sing, "My Country, 'Tis of Thee", while Canadian listeners sang "God Save the King", pointing out the music was the same.

A singer in Hollywood sang the British National Anthem.

Mr. King opened the program from Ottawa with an appeal for funds for the Red Cross and an explanation of the work it was doing. During the broadcast American sympathizers were told they could send their contributions to Mr. Bowbray at Hollywood and they would be forwarded to Canada.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date OCT 1 1940

D 38927

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## **AN INSPIRING BRITISH PROGRAM.**

Seldom, if ever, have the people of Canada been privileged to hear a more inspiring yet entertaining program than that provided on Sunday night by members of the British film colony in Hollywood in aid of the Canadian Red Cross Society, and broadcast throughout North America by the Mutual, Southern California and Canadian broadcasting chains. From the eloquent and spirited appeal of the Prime Minister of Canada to the impassioned and deeply moving closing message of Vivien Leigh, the program was maintained on a singularly high level as world-famed artists made their memorable contributions in behalf of our kinsmen across the sea who are fighting and dying that we in North America may live.

Great credit must be given to Mr. Napier Moore, the editor of Maclean's Magazine, and those who were associated with him in the arrangement of this stirring broadcast. The motion-picture stars who gave their time and talents to the program have placed the Canadian people under a great debt of gratitude to them. The artists seemed truly inspired and won the admiration of millions of listeners as they recaptured the spirit of old England and England's great heroes, in song, poetry and drama. Tears welled in the eyes of Canadians, yet their hearts stirred with pride as leading actors and actresses of the screen quoted gems of English prose or recited the works of Shakespeare and Kipling in praise of the valiant efforts of Britain's imperishable heroes.

Such a bountiful feast from the English classics not only brings comfort to anguished souls and aid to those who have suffered and are suffering in civilization's cause, but it must have kindled fires in the hearts of Americans and Canadians who appreciate the perils and dangers of these trying times and have a common interest in maintaining the British way of life. The excellent program provided by these talented artists will yield generous contributions to the Canadian Red Cross Society and ensure ample aid and comfort to those who have been stricken on the field of battle or maimed by the bombs of German raiders. But it will do much more. It will further unite the American and Canadian people in bonds of love and sympathy and understanding.

Virtually all of the screen celebrities who took part in the program are already well known and greatly admired by Canadian audiences, but their warm-hearted co-operation in this noble cause will endear them still more to their public in Canada and the British Islands. We should like to say on behalf of the people of Canada that their patriotism and public spirit have not only given the Canadian Red Cross drive a tremendous impetus, but that they have rekindled the spirit of British heroism and have strengthened our confidence in the cause for which Britons, soldiers and civilians, are fighting.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa M. Journal

Date Oct. 1/40

D 38928

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## Propaganda At Its Best.

The radio has seldom brought better fare than on Sunday evening when for an hour the Red Cross broadcast from Hollywood featured leading British and Canadian stars of the stage and screen, followed a half-hour later by the Director of Information's program, Let's Face the Facts, with Mr. ALFRED LUNT and his charming wife, Miss LYNN FONTANNE, in one of their very infrequent radio appearances. If we can have publicity and propaganda broadcasts of this calibre by all means let's have them.

Actually there were few facts in the Lunt-Fontanne program; it was pure propaganda in the best and highest meaning of that much-abused word. Their offering consisted of three short and specially written scenes from ROBERT SHERWOOD's current Broadway success "There Shall Be No Night" in which Mr. SHERWOOD uses the Finnish campaign as a background for a powerful sermon on the ideals of the present struggle. Mr. SHERWOOD wrote the radio script and this was its premiere. The announcer stated that Mr. SHERWOOD, the Lunts and cast had donated their services as a contribution to Canada's war effort. Certainly nothing could be finer than Mr. LUNT's final tribute to Canada and the Empire.

The Hollywood broadcast was an hour of sheer delight for those who want the unusual in radio entertainment. The Prime Minister was gracious, and brief, in his introduction and then the best that the British Empire has given to the silver screen took over. A roll call of the guest stars sounded like a list from Who's Who on the British stage. Everybody contributed something real, something he or she could do just a little better than most others. It ended with that grand toast to the future dignity of Britain from Cavalcade done in Miss VIVIEN LEIGH's best style and Master of Ceremonies ALAN MOWBRAY reminding all that God Save the King and My Country 'Tis of Thee were sung to the same tune. In all it was a fine contribution to Red Cross publicity.

Incidentally when There shall Be No Night visits Toronto and Ottawa as a stage presentation Mr. SHERWOOD, Mr. LUNT and Miss FONTANNE will contribute their share of the proceeds to a Canadian war charity.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication ..... Charlottetown Patriot  
Date ..... Oct. 7/40.  
Subject .....

D38929

## PUTTING THE P. M. OVER

Those who heard the Prime Minister's broadcast for the Red Cross on Sunday, says the Toronto Saturday Night, were pretty generally surprised at the improvement in his radio style. It is true that he had only a short time to speak and therefore no chance to over-elaborate his points, also that he was talking on a subject of considerable emotional value and to a continent-wide audience. But even with these advantages, the concreteness of his words and the colorful vigor of his utterance were highly impressive.

"At the dinner which he gave last week to the delegation of important American newspaper editors who were being "wised up" on Canada's war efforts, he did a very different kind of job equally well," continues our Toronto contemporary. "Here the comment of the visitors was directed to the air of sincerity with which he spoke and the entire lack of bombast or rhetoric in what he had to say. It is very important at the moment that Americans should have the utmost possible confidence both in the personal character of the head of the Canadian Government and in his ability to get done the things which we want to get done. On both these points we think that the Ottawa visit had good results, and as for what they saw in the rest of Canada, the almost exhausted visitors were loud in their admiration."

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date SEP 30 1940

D 38930

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## Hollywood Stars Join Appeal Of Premier for Red Cross

Ottawa, Sept. 29 (Staff).—Top-ranking British and Canadian stars of Hollywood fame gathered in the Hollywood Bowl tonight before an audience of 3,000 and with music, poetry and drama, appealed to the people of Canada and the United States to back the Canadian Red Cross Society in its work on behalf of air-raid victims in England, the fighting forces and the wounded.

The program, opened by Prime Minister Mackenzie King, who spoke from Ottawa, was broadcast throughout the United States and Canada. The Dionne quintuplets and Dr. Allan Roy Dafoe broadcast from Callendar.

Premier King expressed the thanks of the Dominion to the movie stars, and to Dr. Dafoe and the quintuplets, and appealed to Canadians to subscribe to the work of the Red Cross.

Thunderous applause came from the great audience gathered in the Hollywood Bowl as star after star quoted in ringing tones from old literature praising the courage of the people of England. Interspersed in the program were appeals for the help of the people of both the United States and Canada for the Canadian Red Cross. Alan Mowbray, who was master of ceremonies, asked the American listening audience to send their cheques to him directly.

Among the stars who took part were Laurence Oliver, Vivian Leigh,

Mary Pickford, Ronald Colman, Sir Cedric Hardwicke, Madelene Carroll, Gene Lockhart, Binnie Barnes, Gloria Jean, Merle Oberon and a host of others.

Gene Lockhart had written a brief sketch for the occasion. It brought roars of applause, as well as many a laugh, as it unfolded the story of a group of English people calmly trooping into a shelter during an air-raid. The chief topic discussed was cricket. Not even the news that the house of one of the occupants of the shelter had been bombed brought discouragement.

### Mother in Shelter.

Madelline Carroll, in a voice ringing with emotion, said, "My mother, who is tonight, along with countless others, in an air-raid shelter somewhere in Kent, once told me never to ask for anything unless I had first given thanks for what I have received. Tonight my heart is full of gratitude for what the people of the United States have done for Britain. I know the young people of this country and I know how, deep in their hearts, they feel for Britain."

Miss Carroll then read an editorial from The New York Times, "It's Twelve O'Clock in London," written at the time Hitler announced his intention of crushing everything in England.

"It's twelve o'clock in England," she concluded slowly and emotionally, "Let us—let's hope all is well." There were cheers from the audience.

Merle Oberon made only a brief speech, given slowly and quietly.

"A year has passed," she said, "since you women up in Canada took up your needles on behalf of the fighting forces. A year has passed since your Canadian Red Cross began shipping over to England the supplies that are now being made available to the victims of the enemy raids. The garments you made are bringing warmth to thousands of our brave people in Britain. The food you sent over is feeding the homeless."

### Mary Pickford Appeals.

Mary Pickford made a strong appeal for assistance to the people of Britain.

"I have seen the women of the Canadian Red Cross at work," she said. "I know how Canada is doing everything in its power to alleviate the suffering of the victims of the brutal enemy attacks."

In the midst of the program, the scene was shifted to Callendar, where Dr. Dafoe told the listening audience that the first visitor to the quintuplets had been a Red Cross nurse, and that Red Cross aid had meant a great deal in the lives of the famous children.

The quintuplets then sang "There'll Always Be an England" in English, and "O Canada," in French.

Back in Hollywood, the program continued with Laurence Olivier giving a magnificent recital of a scene from Shakespeare's King Henry the Fifth.

There was pin-drop silence as his challenging voice rang out in conclusion:

"The game's afoot;  
Follow your spirit; and, upon this charge  
Cry 'God for Harry, England and  
Saint George!'"

The cheers and roar of applause subsided only when Vivian Leigh appeared before the microphone.

### Ended With National Anthem.

Throughout the program, the music was of a stirring British nature. "Rule Britannia" was played frequently, and all the songs given were British. The program concluded with the singing of "God Save the King" and "My Country 'Tis of Thee." Proceeds of the Hollywood Bowl will be given to the Canadian Red Cross.

In opening the nation-wide radio broadcast, Prime Minister King appealed to every Canadian to subscribe to the \$5,000,000 Red Cross campaign "to help Canadian and British men, women and children in the hour of their greatest need."

"The voice of the Red Cross is the voice of humanity," said the Prime Minister. "It calls to us tonight from scenes of unparalleled horror and unprecedented tragedy. It is to be heard amid the devastation of ancient monuments and humble homes, and from the waves of the storm-swept sea.

"It is the voice of our own bravest sons and daughters, and of their kinsmen and allies beyond the seas, who lie wounded, crippled, dying in order that we may live. It is the voice not only of brave men prepared to meet death and to suffer agonies and privations for us, but also the voice of women and little children, appealing to God for rescue from the barbarities of a foe who has substituted a deity of iron and steel for the source of light and love in the human heart.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

D 38931

"Tonight, amid man's inhumanity to man, the voice of the Red Cross pleads the cause of man's humanity to man. It is the voice of compassion, of pity, of loving kindness, of Christ-like ministrations. Its work unites into one great community of mercy all creeds, all classes, all races. Under its banner doctors and nurses brave pestilence and death. Beneath the sign of its holy symbol men and women comfort the afflicted, welcome the refugee, feed the hungry, shelter the homeless, tend the sick, aid the wounded, and bring hope to the dying. It is this great humanitarian service which at this time we are being called upon to aid."

"Our own hearts will need much in the way of consolation before this terrible and ever-widening conflict is at an end. In what we, ourselves, have done to lessen its sacrifices and its sorrows will lie the only real consolation we shall ever have," said Mr. King.

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Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
63		United States Journalists, Dinner in Honour of. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Sept. 1940	D 38828 - D 38903	
63		Red Cross Appeal "The Voices of Mercy", Speeches outside Parliament	29 Sept. 1940	D 38904 - D 38924	
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64		The International Scene	12 Nov. 1940	D 38952 - D 39036	
64		"The Present Situation". Speeches in Parliament	2 Dec. 1940	D 39037 - D 39094	
64		St. Lawrence Waterways. Statement in Parliament	6 Dec. 1940	D 39095	
64		Canadian Tuberculosis Association Radio Broadcast	8 Dec. 1940	D 39096 - D 39098	
64		Christmas Radio Broadcast to W.W. II Canadian Armed Forces. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Dec. 1940	D 39099 - D 39126	

D38932

236

TRAINING OF BRITISH PILOTS IN CANADA

*local note  
of 1st of Feb*

1. It has been charged that the government suppressed the news that the British government was sending additional British pilots to be trained in Canada because we wished to conceal a reversal of the policy enunciated in the House of Commons on July 1, 1938. (See press reports attached "A")

This statement is not true. The news was withheld at the specific request of the United Kingdom government.

(See separate note on this point)

*in folders on Censorship and  
British Pilots*

In receiving the additional pilots for training the Canadian government was not reversing the policy outlined in 1938. In the statement I made at that time I made a careful distinction between a time of peace and a time of war. The words I used will be found in the Revised Hansard for 1938 at p.4527. Let me read them to the House.

(Here quote - Exhibit No. 1)

As a matter of fact, even had there been no such exception provided for a time of war, the present arrangement would not constitute a departure from the principle on which I insisted in 1938. The establishments

in which the British pilots are being trained are, in fact, under the administration of the Canadian government.

2. The discredited story of Canada's refusal in 1937 or 1938 to allow the training of British pilots in this country has been revived. It is now said that the British wanted to train 10,000 pilots a year. The number is decreasing. Last February the Opposition said 25,000 a year.

The truth is, and it has been pointed out repeatedly, that we did not refuse to permit the training of British pilots in Canada. In fact we offered facilities for training them in Canadian establishments. Our offer was gratefully accepted. I have never asked that my word be accepted in this matter. The acceptance of our offer is recorded in the British Hansard on July 7, 1938 in a reply by Sir Kingsley Wood, then Secretary of State for Air to a question by Mr. Attlee. These are his words:

(Here quote reply: Exhibit No. 2)

So far as the number to be trained is concerned, that matter was the subject of direct discussion between the Air Ministry in the United Kingdom and the Canadian Department of National Defence. The original suggestion

was 300, the final figure agreed upon was 50. This Parliament voted the money (\$6,000,000) in 1939 to provide for their training. The whole matter was explained to the House by the present Minister of National Defence on May 27th of this year and the record will be found on page 284 of the Unrevised Hansard. Let me refresh the memory of the Opposition:

(Here quote Hansard: Exhibit No. 3)

Surely honourable members opposite will not accuse the Minister of National Defence of falsifying the record.

3. This discredited story about pilots is always coupled with an equally fanciful story about the production of aircraft. In some mysterious way, the mythical refusal to train pilots is supposed to have prevented the British government from securing planes in Canada.

The record regarding aircraft is equally clear. 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, <sup>1938,</sup> 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.

4. I have one final observation to make. These unfounded and absurd charges relate to the year 1938. They are not true. Even if they were true they have absolutely nothing to do with the prosecution of the war in 1940 and or 1941. The only motive in making them is to sow suspicion and mistrust. The only result they can possibly have is to promote lack of confidence and disunity. In fact they serve only to discredit their authors.

My colleagues and I have made it clear, at all times, that we welcome constructive criticism of the war

effort and that, indeed, we regard such criticism as helpful and necessary. But the propagation of discredited stories, without the slightest basis in fact, is nothing more nor less than a deliberate attempt to weaken Canada's war effort.

HON. R. B. HANSON at Charlottetown, Oct. 11/40

Montreal Gazette Oct. 12/40

D 38937

A

Conservative Leader R. B. Hanson, declaring he might be interned for making the statement, said in a speech tonight Canada was going ahead with the training of 10,000 British airmen "over and above the Empire Air Training Plan."

Mr. Hanson, speaking before the annual meeting of the Queen's County Conservative Association, said Prime Minister Mackenzie had "agreed to the very same proposal that he rejected in 1938."

"Three hundred of these young British trainees are in Kingston, Ont., now," he declared. "You have not seen anything of that in the newspapers, have you? I'll tell you why."

"When the arrangement was concluded, the censorship department, which is Government-controlled, sent out what is called a press censorship directive warning the papers of Canada to make no mention of this fact."

"I may be interned for stating it, but I know it is true. I have it from the Air Ministry myself. And we are going on with the 10,000 trainee scheme, over and above the Empire Air Training Plan of which you have heard so much."

#### CITES 1938 REFUSAL.

Mr. Hanson preceded this declaration by saying the Prime Minister had "made one of the saddest mistakes any man has ever made when he refused to consider even the suggestion that England should send 10,000 airmen to be trained in this country at the expense of the British Government."

"I say his refusal, in the light of subsequent events, was the biggest crime against our war effort," the Conservative leader charged. "If he had accepted the offer of the British Government in 1938, we would now be having a steady stream of young airmen trained to fight battles. What a great advantage that would be to England, if we had that additional force to draw from!"

He continued:

"Mr. King said it would be a denial of the sovereignty of Canada to let foreign—he called them 'foreign'—troops into Canada. When pressed, he said 'We will set up an air training scheme.' They voted \$36,000,000 for air training, and how many do you think they proposed to send over under that scheme? Fifty a year. Less than one a week."

Since the closing of the last session of Parliament, the British Deputy Minister for Air had come to Canada and Mr. King had now agreed to the previous proposal.

no 1. ~~████████~~  
D 38938

Revised Hansard July 1, 1938, page 4527,  
Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King.

Re British Pilots:

"I need only add that what I have said has, of course, to be sharply distinguished from the case of actual war where a country may have to permit its partners, associates or allies to maintain, operate and control military establishments and forces within its territory, forced to do so by the actual strategic or tactical necessities and for the purposes, but only for the purposes, of the actual joint war."

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2

British House of Commons Debates

July 7th, 1938

D 38939

Page 596:

ROYAL AIR FORCE PILOTS  
(TRAINING, CANADA)

Mr. Attlee (by Private Notice) asked the Secretary of State for Air whether his attention has been drawn to the statement of the Prime Minister of Canada that the Dominions Government are prepared in connection with their own establishments to help in affording facilities for the training of pilots for the Royal Air Force, if that would be of service, and whether he has any statement to make?

Sir K. Wood: 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 to Canada immediately to explore in co-operation with the Canadian Government the possibility of working out such a scheme for training facilities in Canada.

Unrevised Hansard  
May 27th, 1940, pp. 283-4

Mr. GOLDING: My question arises from a statement made by the hon. member for Dufferin-Simcoe (Mr. Rowe) the other night. I should like to know what the cost would be to manufacture these 25,000 British fighting planes. The hon. member said, as reported on page 199 of *Hansard*.

I say that the government to your right, Mr. Speaker, will stand condemned on the pages of Canadian history for not having overseas in support of those gallant boys to-night at least twenty-five thousand British fighting planes.

I should like to know what the cost of 25,000 fighting planes would be, and the length of time it would take to manufacture, or to set up plants to manufacture, that sort of thing. We ought to keep in mind in discussing these matters the time it takes to establish plants for the manufacture of fighting machines or munitions. I had some experience as shop foreman in the plant at home during the last war. We got a contract for shells, I think in March, 1915; we had to set up the whole plant, tool the machines, and we were not shipping shells until November of that year. In addition, every machine operated in manufacturing the shells was manned by a person who had had no previous experience in machine work at all. We had to take the time not only to set up the plant and tool the machines but to train the men to operate them. Anyone who has gone through that experience will have some idea of the time it would take and the cost of setting up plants for that production. It cannot be done overnight. I am not saying this in a critical way. I just want the information, if I can get it, as to what would be the cost to Canada of supplying 25,000 fighting machines and the length of time it would take to set up plants to handle that production.

Mr. ROWE: The hon. member is asking the minister, but perhaps he will permit me to remind him that while I referred to fighting planes I meant that they would be piloted by Canadian-trained pilots. The scheme to which I had reference, according to my understanding and the general rumour throughout this country, and indeed in Great Britain, was that at that time Britain proposed to pay for the scheme herself and to train 25,000 pilots in Canada each year. Apparently our status would not permit that to be done, but now we are led to believe that same status permits us to move no faster than Great Britain asks us to move.

Mr. RALSTON: My hon. friend referred to this scheme the other night. I was not in the house at the time and I have not

taken the trouble since to answer him. I really thought that what we were engaged with was the present, not the past. Since my hon. friend has mentioned this matter again to-night, however, perhaps we can just clear it up in a few minutes; at least let me say a word about it. I want to say to my hon. friend that I have examined the records, and that the largest number ever suggested by the British government in connection with the training of pilots in Canada was in the first part of 1938, when they suggested the training of 300 pilots a year; not 25,000 but 300. There is quite some difference between those figures.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Is that proposal in writing?

Mr. RALSTON: That suggestion was submitted to the Royal Canadian Air Force; and if I remember correctly, according to the records the answer came back that instead of 300 the number might be 235, I believe 201 for Britain and 34 for Canada. That proposition was submitted to Britain, and they came back with the suggestion that the number should be 135. I should have said that when the Prime Minister made the statement in this house to the effect that he felt this should be a Canadian scheme, instead of its being suggested in the British house, that never again would Great Britain ask Canada for anything, the Minister for Air, Sir Kingsley Wood, thanked Canada for that offer. I believe that statement was made in the House of Commons and placed upon *Hansard*. Finally, the arrangement was made for 50 pilots a year, and in 1939 this house voted \$6,000,000 for the cost of that training.

That is the story with regard to the training of British pilots, as I read the records. So I do not think there is much point in anyone going back and talking about 25,000 pilots a year in connection with that previous arrangement, or saying that if the scheme had been in operation now, the training would have been completed and we would have had 25,000 pilots or any such number over there to-night if that scheme had been carried out. In point of fact, it was suggested that this should be a Canadian scheme, and the number was changed as the result of discussions carried on from time to time, discussions in which the British high commissioner participated all the way through. The British government thanked the Canadian government and accepted the proposition for the training of 50 pilots a year. That is the story with regard to that previous air training scheme, and this house voted money for it, together with money for the training of Canadian pilots.

TRAINING OF BRITISH PILOTS IN CANADA

1. It has been charged that the government suppressed the news that the British government was sending additional British pilots to be trained in Canada because we wished to conceal a reversal of the policy enunciated in the House of Commons on July 1, 1938. (See press report "A" attached)

This statement is not true. The news was withheld at the specific request of the United Kingdom government.

(See separate note/on this point)

folder on Leasonburg and  
British Pilots

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in which the British pilots are being trained are, in fact, under the administration of the Canadian government.

2. The discredited story of Canada's refusal in 1937 or 1938 to allow the training of British pilots in this country has been revived. It is now said that the British wanted to train 10,000 pilots a year. The number is decreasing. Last February the Opposition said 25,000 a year.

The truth is, and it has been pointed out repeatedly, that we did not refuse to permit the training of British pilots in Canada. In fact we offered facilities for training them in Canadian establishments. Our offer was gratefully accepted. I have never asked that my word be accepted in this matter. The acceptance of our offer is recorded in the British Hansard on July 7, 1938 in a reply by Sir Kingsley Wood, then Secretary of State for Air to a question by Mr. Attlee. These are his words:

(Here quote reply: Exhibit No. 2)

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was 300, the final figure agreed upon was 50. This Parliament voted the money (\$6,000,000) in 1939 to provide for their training. The whole matter was explained to the House by the present Minister of National Defence on May 27th of this year and the record will be found on page 284 of the Unrevised Hansard. Let me refresh the memory of the Opposition:

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3. This discredited story about pilots is always coupled with an equally fanciful story about the production of aircraft. In some mysterious way, the mythical refusal to train pilots is supposed to have prevented the British government from securing planes in Canada.

The record regarding aircraft is equally clear. 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, <sup>1938</sup> 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.

4. I have one final observation to make. These unfounded and absurd charges relate to the year 1938. They are not true. Even if they were true they have absolutely nothing to do with the prosecution of the war in 1940 and or 1941. The only motive in making them is to sow suspicion and mistrust. The only result they can possibly have is to promote lack of confidence and disunity. In fact they serve only to discredit their authors.

My colleagues and I have made it clear, at all times, that we welcome constructive criticism of the war

effort and that indeed we regard such criticism as helpful and necessary. But the propagation of discredited stories, without the slightest basis in fact, is nothing more nor less than a deliberate attempt to weaken Canada's war effort.

D 38946

"A"



Ottawa Evening Citizen

October 12, 1940

CHARLOTTETOWN, Oct. 11—  
(C.P.)—Conservative Leader R. B. Hanson, declaring he might be interned for making the statement, said in a speech tonight Canada was going ahead with the training of 10,000 British airmen "over and above the Empire Air Training Scheme."

**Says 300 at Kingston**

Mr. Hanson, speaking before the annual meeting of the Queen's County Conservative Association, said Prime Minister Mackenzie King had "agreed to the very same proposal that he rejected in 1938."

"Three hundred of these young British trainees are in Kingston (Ont.) now," he declared. "You haven't seen anything of that in the newspapers, have you? I'll tell you why.

"When the arrangement was concluded, the censorship department, which is government-controlled, sent out what is called a press censorship directive warning the papers of Canada to make no mention of this fact.

"I may be interned for stating it, but I know it is true. I have it from the air ministry, myself. And we are going on with the 10,000 trainee scheme over and above the Empire Air Training Scheme of which you have heard so much."

**Made Sad Mistake**

Mr. Hanson preceded this declaration by saying the Prime Minister had "made one of the saddest mistakes any man has ever made when he refused to consider even the suggestion that England should send 10,000 airmen to be trained in this country at the expense of the British government."

"I say his refusal, in the light of subsequent events, was the biggest crime against our war effort," the Conservative leader charged. "If he had accepted the offer of the British government in 1938, we would now be having a steady stream of young airmen trained to fight battles. What a great advantage that would be to England, if we had that additional force to draw from."

**Agrees to Proposal**

He continued:

"Mr. King said it would be a denial of the sovereignty of Canada to let foreign—he called them 'foreign'—troops into Canada. When pressed, he said, 'we will set up an air training scheme.' They voted \$36,000,000 for air training, and how many do you think they proposed to send over under that scheme? Fifty a year. Less than one a week.

Since the closing of the last session of Parliament, the British deputy minister for air had come to Canada and Mr. King had now agreed to the previous proposal.

**NO COMMENT HERE**

Air Minister Power was not available last night for comment on the Charlottetown speech of Hon. R. B. Hanson, in which the Conservative leader said Canada was going ahead with the training of 10,000 British airmen "over and above the Empire training scheme."

Mr. Power had retired when reports of Mr. Hanson's speech reached Ottawa, and his household was unwilling to disturb him.

Other air ministry officials who could be reached declined to comment on Mr. Hanson's address.

38947 No. 1,  
    

Revised Hansard July 1, 1938, page 4527,  
Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King.

Re British Pilots:

"I need only add that what I have said has, of course, to be sharply distinguished from the case of actual war where a country may have to permit its partners, associates or allies to maintain, operate and control military establishments and forces within its territory, forced to do so by the actual strategic or tactical necessities and for the purposes, but only for the purposes, of the actual joint war."

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July 7th, 1938

(2)  
D 38948

Page 596:

ROYAL AIR FORCE PILOTS

(TRAINING, CANADA)

Mr. Attlee (by Private Notice) asked the Secretary of State for Air whether his attention has been drawn to the statement of the Prime Minister of Canada that the Dominions Government are prepared in connection with their own establishments to help in affording facilities for the training of pilots for the Royal Air Force, if that would be of service, and whether he has any statement to make?

Sir K. Wood: 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 to Canada immediately to explore in co-operation with the Canadian Government the possibility of working out such a scheme for training facilities in Canada.

3

D38949

Unrevised Hansard  
May 27th, 1940, pp. 283-4

Mr. GOLDING: My question arises from a statement made by the hon. member for Dufferin-Simcoe (Mr. Rowe) the other night. I should like to know what the cost would be to manufacture these 25,000 British fighting planes. The hon. member said, as reported on page 199 of *Hansard*.

I say that the government to your right, Mr. Speaker, will stand condemned on the pages of Canadian history for not having overseas in support of those gallant boys to-night at least twenty-five thousand British fighting planes.

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Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Is that proposal in writing?

Mr. RALSTON: That suggestion was submitted to the Royal Canadian Air Force; and if I remember correctly, according to the records the answer came back that instead of 300 the number might be 235, I believe 201 for Britain and 34 for Canada. That proposition was submitted to Britain, and they came back with the suggestion that the number should be 135. I should have said that when the Prime Minister made the statement in this house to the effect that he felt this should be a Canadian scheme, instead of its being suggested in the British house, that never again would Great Britain ask Canada for anything, the Minister for Air, Sir Kingsley Wood, thanked Canada for that offer. I believe that statement was made in the House of Commons and placed upon *Hansard*. Finally, the arrangement was made for 50 pilots a year, and in 1939 this house voted \$6,000,000 for the cost of that training.

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63		United States Journalists, Dinner in Honour of. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Sept. 1940	D 38828 - D 38903	
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12 Nov. 1940

H of C

Speech on address

13 Oct. 1920

Kamloops, B.C.

Tariff Reform,  
National Railways.

November 12, 1940

DEBATE ON ADDRESS IN REPLY TO SPEECH FROM THE THRONE

D 38950

Outline of Prime Minister's Speech

Introductory - Scope of speech.

Background of the problem -  
the present in the light of the past.

Magnitude of the problem.

The new order:

- (1) as in the mind of Hitler;
- (2) developments in Europe, Asia, etc.
- (3) the objective of the democracies.

Canada's war effort:

Review of - since Parliament last met.  
General.  
In detail.

The armed forces:

services of,  
losses in.

Army,            )  
Navy,            ) numbers, etc.  
Air Force        )

Munitions and supply.

Labour: significance of,  
Unemployment Commission.  
Labour services.

War Services.

Mobilization,  
Camps.

War Finance.

OUTSTANDING DEVELOPMENTS

1. Closer relations in United Kingdom and United States.
2. North American defence.
3. Naval and air bases.
4. Permanent Joint Board on Defence.  
Statement,  
Particulars re,  
Origin of,  
Significance of,  
Appreciation - endorsement of.  
My part in, etc.

D 38951

-2-

St. Lawrence Waterways development.

Exports to Orient.

Other domestic problems.

War and Peace aims.

Canada at war with Hitler and at peace with herself.

Consider here appeal re position of France.

Canadian unity.

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64		St. Lawrence Waterways. Statement in Parliament	6 Dec. 1940	D 39095	
64		Canadian Tuberculosis Association Radio Broadcast	8 Dec. 1940	D 39096 - D 39098	
64		Christmas Radio Broadcast to W.W. II Canadian Armed Forces. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Dec. 1940	D 39099 - D 39126	

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Nov 12, 1940

THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

D 38952

The Battle of Britain

When Parliament adjourned, at the end of the first week of August, the enemy had already established his bases along the Channel Coast. With France and the Low Countries in his power, he had begun a carefully prepared and formidable attack by air on the ~~British Isles~~ <sup>United Kingdom</sup>. In the months that have followed, the attack has been pressed persistently, ruthlessly and relentlessly. It has been supplemented by long range artillery trained on the Straits, and on the streets of Dover. It has been extended to the sea, where, since August 17th, the waters around the British Isles, as in the unrestricted submarine warfare of 1917, have been declared <sup>by the Germans</sup> a zone of military operations.

The assault on Britain has not stopped at military objectives. It has been extended to open cities. It has indeed been deliberately aimed at the civil population, in the hope that incessant and merciless bombing will break down morale, and lead to the evacuation, in panic, of cities and towns, and to the disorganization of British industry.

Nevertheless the apprehension felt in those August days, when the savage onslaught was unloosed, and Britain stood, virtually alone in Europe, to face the German hordes, and the unknown destructiveness of unlimited air-war, has been dissipated for the time being at least. It has been dissipated by the magnificent skill and courage of British airmen, and by the determination of the whole population to let no attack, however ferocious or long sustained, deter them from their purpose. Not only is their purpose that of defending Britain, it has been from the outset and will continue to be that of freeing their fallen allies and, ultimately, of removing the menace of Nazi domination from Europe and the world.

The Changing balance in the air

The battle for the mastery of the air over Britain still goes on. Long, grim months of siege, with constant threat of death from the skies, still lie ahead. Nevertheless the numerical superiority which the Nazis enjoyed throughout the summer and early autumn, and which, indeed, they still enjoy, is gradually but surely being whittled down. Greater losses by the enemy of pilots and planes, combined with a smaller relative production ~~is~~ <sup>are</sup> beginning to tell <sup>their</sup> ~~its~~ tale.

The threat of invasion decreased

The British Army has been re-organized, re-equipped, and strengthened by fresh divisions and reinforcements from the Dominions overseas. The Royal Navy, has been strengthened by ~~squadrons of~~ *flotillas* destroyers from this side of the Atlantic. The whole country bristles with defences. After months of waiting, the Germany army of invasion remains impotent to cross the narrow seas that separate it from Britain's shores. In spite of all her suffering and losses Britain is stronger, and stronger by far, than when we separated in midsummer.

Canadian contribution

Members of the government of the United Kingdom have referred repeatedly in the most appreciative terms to Canada's contribution to the strengthening of the British defences. On September 17th, Lord Caldecote, speaking in the House of Lords referred, ~~in the following words,~~ to what he termed

"the invaluable co-operation and assistance which we are receiving from the Dominions in the common trouble."

He said:

"It is well known that the defences of this country include very substantial land forces from Canada, Australia and New Zealand. These forces are at present available to repel invasion, should invasion come. There are also with us units of the Royal Canadian Navy, and a naval contingent from New Zealand. In

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the air it is common knowledge that a Canadian fighter squadron has helped us immediately to increase the enemy's losses, and we have had invaluable assistance from a unit of the Royal Australian Air Force. More recently we have welcomed an air contingent from Southern Rhodesia. In our own Royal Air Force, there are many pilots from all the Dominions and indeed from all parts of the Empire. Newfoundland also has made a most substantial and indeed a remarkable contribution to the Forces defending the British Isles by sea and by land."

As recently as October 30th, the present Secretary of State for the Dominions, Lord Cranborne, told ~~his~~ audience that thousands of Canadian troops were waiting in Britain "with eager impatience for a chance to deal faithfully with Hitler's forces of invasion." He referred also <sup>to</sup> the Canadian destroyers which were in close co-operation with the Royal Navy. The following day, the British Under-Secretary for War, Lord Croft, who fought beside our Canadian troops in the last war, visited the units of the C.A.S.F. at present in the United Kingdom, and told them that the British Army Council was extremely proud of having fine Canadian formations co-operating with the great army being built up in Britain. Lord Croft also praised our Canadian airmen, and added these significant words: "When the river of supplies of pilots from the great Imperial camps in Canada turns to flood, air ascendancy will be won."

The Improved position of Britain

Everyone senses the improvement in Britain's position. The enemy's hope of a quick victory has been shattered on the rock of British resistance. He is now turning his attention in considerable measure to other regions, and to the maintenance of his supply of foodstuffs, to oil, and to other materials necessitated by a war of attrition. His great aim now is to break the stranglehold of the British blockade. At the same time, he is seeking to blockade the United Kingdom. Already destruction at sea by the U-boat has become a peril to Britain greater even than that of bombardment from the air.

The attention of the enemy turns to the Balkans

Coincident with Germany's concentration on the Battle of Britain and the consolidation of her gains in the West, events of far reaching importance have been happening in Eastern Europe. The Baltic states of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania have been taken over by the Soviets and with them a rich portion of Roumania,--the Provinces of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina. Sensing a shift in the wind, Roumania adopted the trappings of Fascism and renounced the British guarantee. Her conversion, however, came too late. At the end of August, following a conference at Vienna, she was brusquely forced to cede half of Transylvania

to Hungary and, some weeks later, the Southern Dobruja to Bulgaria. These renunciations of territories did not save her. Working, characteristically, through disaffected elements in the population, the Nazis succeeded in bringing Roumania entirely within their orbit. They secured complete control over her wheat, corn, and soya bean fields, and, most important of all her oil wells and refineries. These without doubt they will exploit to the full. German garrisons are already installed in the more important towns. A German military mission is reported to be organizing the Roumanian army on the German model. In Hungary, Jugo-Slavia and Bulgaria, Nazi policy is developing the closest possible economic collaboration. Already, however, these countries are finding that such collaboration involves political control as well.

#### The South West of Europe

At the other end of Europe the enemy is following a similar policy. Spain, like Italy at the beginning, has declared for non-belligerency, instead of neutrality. For the present, however, so far as Spain is concerned, the enemy seems to have been obliged to content himself with economic rather than military collaboration.

The general strategic picture

The position of France is more difficult and more tragic. I shall speak, later, of it, and of our relations with our once ~~great~~ <sup>honorable</sup> Ally. What I wish to point out at the moment, or rather to emphasize, is that the prestige of the smashing German victories in the West has placed almost all Europe, west of the Vistula, under German control. All the ports and air-fields from Norway to Spain are in Nazi hands. The resources, human and material, of these countries will be organized, with German method and thoroughness, in German interests alone. A formidable war potential has been placed in the hands of a ruthless enemy. It is all important that every one should realize how vastly, as compared with the last war, and the early days of the present conflict, this new augmentation ~~of~~ Nazi military power increases the difficulties which we of the British Commonwealth have to face.

The economic gains of the enemy

To indicate what I have in mind I shall speak of only one or two important commodities. Steel production is the standard index of industrial capacity. The annual production of steel in Germany was estimated at the beginning of hostilities at ~~20~~ <sup>22</sup> million tons. With <sup>the help of France and Sufound mee</sup> 23 million tons

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the countries she has conquered, or controls, and making considerable allowance for war damage in France and Belgium, German capacity for steel production now amounts annually to 42 million tons. This is to be compared with a capacity of about 18 million tons in Great Britain and other parts of the British Empire. Supplies of iron ore, so difficult for Germany to secure in the early days of the war by the precarious route through Narvik from the Swedish mines, have now become plentiful through easy access to the neighbouring mines of Luxembourg and Lorraine. Hitherto short of aluminium, so vital for the manufacture of aeroplanes, the German factories now have access to the French bauxite mines, among the richest in the world, while our own supply is correspondingly diminished. We must face the fact that control of these resources represents a powerful addition to the effective strength arrayed against us. We must also face the fact that Germany has now the great munition plants of Skoda and Creusot, as well as Krupp at her disposal. Let us not underestimate the enemy. It is in the light of facts such as these I have mentioned, that we see the significance of aid from the United States with its capacity for steel production of 50,000,000 tons a year.

Some weaknesses in this position

There are, of course, weaknesses in the imposing Nazi facade. Pillage, however systematic and well organized, cannot go on indefinitely. Subject populations, if they are to give even passive acquiescence to the designs of

the conqueror, must be left with sufficient supplies on which to exist and to work. There are a good many essential commodities such as copper, manganese, nickel and cryolite, which even the whole of Europe cannot supply in adequate quantities. Moreover, the scope of the enemy's conquests has given, as I have already indicated, a new urgency to a problem that was already vital, <sup>namely</sup> the problem of oil. Roumanian wells, even if the Germans are permitted to exploit them undisturbed, can, it is estimated, hardly produce more than five, or at the most, six million tons a year. All the rest of Europe outside of Russia can produce but another five million tons, and Russian supplies and ability to transport them are problematical. Europe's requirements for essential industries and transportation, however, are twice the amount of her total production. With supplies cut off by the blockade, it is not difficult to understand the new interest of the enemy in Irak and Iran, or the drive for control of the Mediterranean Basin.

#### The Mediterranean problem

In this region the defection of France and her African Colonies created an unexpected and exceedingly embarrassing naval and military position. Any withdrawal

of British forces from the Mediterranean was obviously impossible, first because of British commitments to Greece and Turkey; secondly, because of the importance of holding the Suez Canal; and, finally because the enemy's route to the pipe-line at Haifa and the <sup>supposedly</sup> in-exhaustible oil supplies of the Middle East lies across the Eastern Mediterranean.

These circumstances explain why Italy, a few weeks ago, suddenly discovered that Greece had made "provocative" attacks on Albania, the territory Mussolini treacherously attacked on a "Good Friday" eighteen months ago. The Italian attack upon Greece and the decision of the Greeks to resist has made a further demand upon Britain. Despite the threat of one powerful army across the English Channel, and another powerful army in the Egyptian desert, Britain is responding as best she can to this new demand. A naval and air base has already been established on the island of Crete which will extend the radius of the activities of the British navy and air force in the Eastern Mediterranean.

(It will probably be necessary to add more here at the last moment.)

The Egyptian Campaign

The British position in Africa and the Middle East was calculated on the basis of the existence of French armies in Syria, Tunis, Algeria and Morocco, on the co-operation of the French navy, and on the joint use of French naval and air bases. The collapse of French resistance destroyed these calculations and presented the British with what appeared an almost hopeless problem. The Italian army in Libya greatly outnumbered the British forces in Egypt, and there seemed a real danger that it would march forward across the desert to the Nile, and even to Suez. All through the months of threatened invasion of Britain, the policy of re-inforcing the British army in Egypt has gone forward. Today the balance of forces is much less favourable to Italy than it was in August. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that in that area the Italians still have numerical superiority. Their attack upon Greece may be designed in part to draw off British troops from Egypt to assist the Greeks and, thus, to improve the Italian position in the western desert of Egypt.

The Far East

The Battle of Britain, the Nazi pressure on the Balkans, the apparent stalemate in Africa, the Italian

attack upon Greece have not been the only events on the international scene since Parliament adjourned. The Axis powers have also sought by diplomacy, propaganda and intrigue to isolate Britain, and to begin a process of piece-meal destruction of her power and possessions. The Pact signed by Germany, Italy and Japan at Berlin on September 27th cannot be viewed as other than <sup>an</sup> instrument to that end. It contains articles providing for recognition of the respective conquests and spheres of influence of these powers: - an open avowal of their existing attitudes towards one another. Article three, however, goes much farther. It provides that the three Axis Powers will "assist one another with all political, economic, and military means, if one of the high contracting parties should be attacked by a Power not at present involved in the European war or in the Sino-Japanese conflict". A subsequent Article provides that this commitment does not affect the relations which exist between the three contracting parties and Soviet Russia. Significantly, no mention is made of the United States. The whole Agreement, and the publicity given to it, however, are obviously aimed at intimidating the United States. No matter how clear it may be that

freedom and the democratic way of life everywhere are bound up with the fate of Britain, the United States are to be prevented from moving any closer to Britain's side.

The role of Japan in the new Alliance is particularly significant. Germany and Italy have formally recognized Japanese leadership in creating a "New Order" in East-Asia. Within the sphere of this New Order lie French Indo-China and the Netherlands East Indies. The mother countries of these two rich colonies are occupied today by German troops. French Indo-China, by the Agreement of Hanoi of September 27th, opened its gates to Japanese troops in circumstances that strongly suggest German pressure. We may expect further demands on French Indo-China.

The Chinese army, though split up into small and widely scattered groups, is still actively resisting. The 710 miles of highway, known as the Burma Road, ~~from Lashio in Northern Burma to Kunming in the Yunnan Province of China~~ was, as is known, closed to the transport of gasoline, trucks and munitions, <sup>to China</sup> as an approach to Japan, <sup>this was intended</sup> which it was hoped might facilitate a possible termination of hostilities in the Far East. <sup>closing of the Burma Road</sup> This ~~step~~ having failed to accomplish its <sup>purpose</sup> ~~aim~~, <sup>it</sup> the Burma Road was reopened on October 18th. The embargo on the export of gasoline and petroleum

products, and on iron and steel scrap, established by the Government of the United States at the beginning of August is in force. ~~Canada is, of course, not an exporter of gasoline or petroleum products, but~~ <sup>from Canada</sup> scrap iron or steel has been exported since October 1939. There has not been any export, except to the United Kingdom, the Allied countries and the United States of nickel or zinc since February, of aluminium since April, and of cobalt since August last. On October 8, the same limitations were placed upon exports of copper. Shipments of other metals and minerals from Canada to destinations outside the British Empire and the Western Hemisphere have been kept within the limits of our normal peace-time trade with the other countries concerned.

The formation of the Triple Axis has, without doubt, contributed to international tension, particularly in the Far East. It has not, however, served <sup>either</sup> to intimidate the United States, or to isolate Britain. Indeed its effect has been the exact opposite. There has been a marked stiffening of policies both of the United States and of Britain in the Far East, and an intensification of sentiment in the United States in support of aid for Britain.

The "New Nazi Order"

I have endeavoured to review the developments on the international scene since the adjournment of the House in midsummer. I wish now to say something of their significance - of what they reveal of the designs of the enemy. The events of the past few months make it clearer than ever that the immediate aim of Germany is a new world order, based upon spheres of influence to be controlled by Nazi Germany and her Axis partners. Hitler plans, by holding out specious hopes of collaboration, to secure the participation of the subject peoples in the elaboration of his grand design. This is the subtle method by which he is supplementing aggression in his effort to achieve world domination.

Nazi intrigue and the deceptive cloak of collaboration fail, however, to conceal the underlying tyranny of force and fear on which the structure of the new order is to rest. It becomes more apparent, with each new development, that we are engaged in a titanic and terrible death struggle between two conflicting philosophies of human life. On the one side is tyranny; on the other, democracy. On the one side, brutality and slavery; on the other, humanity and freedom. On the one side, the law of force; on the other, the force of law.

I should like to recall to the House the words I used in this place, on September 8, 1939, at the outset of this struggle which many still regarded as no more than another European war. These were my words:

No, Mr. Speaker, the ambition of this dictator is not Poland. At one time he said it was only the areas in which there were German speaking people. But we have seen that ambition grow. That may have been the thought in his mind some years ago, but we all know how ambition feeds upon itself; we all know how the lust for power blinds men's senses to all else. We know where and how he started, first with the militarization of the Rhineland. He then said—I quote Hitler's own words—he had no thought of annexing Austria. After giving his word that there would be no further attempt at conquest, he took Czechoslovakia. Then he took Moravia and Bohemia, then Memel, now Danzig and Poland. Where is he creeping to? Into those communities of the north, some of which to-day say they are going to remain neutral. I tell them if they remain neutral in this struggle, and Britain and France go down, there is not one of them that will bear for long the name that it bears at the present time; not one of them. And if this conqueror by his methods of force, violence and terror, and other ruthless iniquities is able to crush the peoples of Europe, what is going to become of the doctrine of isolation of this North American continent? If Britain goes down, if France goes down, the whole business of isolation will prove to have been a mere myth. There will in time be no freedom on

this continent; there will in time be no liberty. Life will not be worth living. It is for all of us on this continent to do our part to save its privileged position by helping others.

At the close of the last war, there was an attempt to build up a genuine world order based on international law and international justice. The democratic nations tried, with many failures, with many weaknesses, and, perhaps at times, with too little conviction, to maintain the relations between nations on a basis of respect for the pledged word and the solemn covenant. They may, on occasion, have failed to grasp opportunities for reconciliation, but there can be no doubt of their genuine desire for the preservation of peace.

Unhappily, love of peace and respect for justice were not shared by all nations, or, at least, not by all governments. From the Japanese attack on Manchuria in 1931 to the Nazi attack on Poland in 1939, the world witnessed a steady progression of successful acts of aggression. Each of the aggressor nations has, in turn, through withdrawal from the League of Nations, expressed open contempt for the condemnation of world opinion, for the principles of international law and the rights of other nations.

From the moment that Hitler achieved power in Germany, the tempo of aggression increased. Germany herself began to re-arm. In 1934, through the murder of Dollfuss, she began to undermine the independence of Austria. In 1935, Italy attacked Ethiopia. Germany took advantage of the Ethiopian crisis to re-militarize the Rhineland. In 1936, the civil war broke out in Spain. Immediately the totalitarian powers began their sinister intervention in that struggle. In 1937, the present conflict between Japan and China began, at a moment when the Spanish Civil War threatened to embroil the whole of Europe. On March 15, 1938, the Nazis marched into Austria. In September of that year, Europe was almost plunged into war by the Sudeten crisis, which ended at Munich. In March, 1939, Germany seized the rest of Czecho-Slovakia and, a few days later, she took Memel. On Good Friday, 1939, the Italians occupied and annexed Albania. Finally, on September 1, 1939, Germany attacked Poland.

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While, at first, these acts of aggression were unrelated and unconnected, they began gradually to assume a pattern, and to be based on a time-table, which pointed to a conspiracy for world domination. The conspiracy was half avowed by the formation of the so-called Anti-Comintern pact, ostensibly directed against the menace of Communism, but, as we can now see, it was in reality a conspiracy for the destruction of freedom in the world. Individual bandits, acting alone, became gangsters acting in concert.

The formation of the Rome-Berlin axis was an open threat to the peace of the world. But, so long as Hitler had reason to believe that Russia and the Western democracies might be combined against him, he was not ready to risk actual war. His great moment came with the conclusion of the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact in August of 1939. The preliminary phase had ended. The unfolding of the Nazi world order was about to begin.

The first act in the new development was the conquest of Poland, and the destruction, with unexampled ferocity, of the Polish state. In the conquest of Poland the Nazis for the first time used actual force, rather than the threat of force to attain their ends. The brutality

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of their conduct in the subjugation of the Poles was designed not merely to crush that unhappy land, but to strike terror into the hearts of all the peoples of Europe, and to paralyze their will to resist Nazi domination.

In the destruction of Poland, Soviet Russia participated. In the weeks that followed the conquest of Poland, the Soviet government successfully extended its domination by threat of force to the smaller Baltic nations: Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia. With Finland, the same tactics were not successful. It was just a year ago that the Russians invaded Finland and, after a bitter winter campaign, broke the resistance of that heroic people and partitioned their country.

The next blow was struck, suddenly and swiftly, by the Nazis on April 9, when they occupied Denmark, almost without firing a shot, and simultaneously attacked and occupied all the principal cities of Norway. Just a month later, on May 10, came the great onslaught in the West. In a few days, Luxemburg, Holland and Belgium had been overrun. Barely five weeks had passed when French resistance collapsed, and the French government was seeking an armistice.

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With the collapse of France, practically the whole of Europe, west of Russia, lay prostrate at the feet of Hitler and his Italian ally, who, on the eve of the fall of France, had joined him in the war. The military machine of the Nazis seemed, in June, well-nigh invincible. Britain stood, alone, in the path of the onward march of the conquerors. There she stands still: the one obstacle left in the way of the establishment, in the old world, of the new Nazi order.

What Hitler has failed to accomplish by fear or force - the destruction of Britain - he has now set about attempting to effect by intrigue and guile. A new world order, based upon spheres of influence to be controlled by Nazi Germany and her axis partners, is now the immediate aim. This is the subtle method by which, as the ultimate end of aggression, Germany hopes to attain world domination. Through the alliance between Japan and the axis in Europe, the new order in Asia has been linked to the new order in Europe. The pattern is now plain. The world, as I have said, is to be divided into spheres of influence. Germany and her greater vassals are to dominate a world of lesser vassals. The new order in Asia and the islands of the Pacific is

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domination by Japan. The new order in Europe is domination by Germany. The new order in the Mediterranean and in Africa is joint domination by Germany and Italy.

By promises ~~and~~ collaboration, Hitler and Mussolini are seeking to beguile France and Spain. The areas to be dominated by the Soviets would appear, at the moment, to be a subject for further negotiation.

The subject peoples will be the menials of the new lords of creation. Their economies will be economies that satisfy the greed of their masters; their farmers will be peasants, and their workers, slaves. The new Nazi order is not in fact a new order at all. It is a return to despotism, and the age old tyranny against which mankind has ever struggled in its upward march.

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CANADA'S WAR EFFORT SINCE AUGUST

I turn now from the international scene to a review of the salient features in our national war effort in the period since Parliament adjourned on August 7th last. The House will not expect me to give the picture in detail. That task will be undertaken, as the debate proceeds, by the Ministers in charge of the several departments. The wish of the government is to inform Parliament and the country just as completely as military exigencies will permit.

In my review I shall deal first with the armed forces, next with the national registration and training, then with Munitions and Supply, Labour, and our war finances, in that order.

The Army

First the army. In the review he gave on July 29th last, the Minister of National Defence told the House that the total strength of the Canadian Active Service Force on July 21st was 133,573 officers and men. This figure had risen by November 6th to 167,417, which represents an increase of 33,844.

At that time, the strength outside Canada was 31,607. This has now risen to 52,093. The strength of the Canadian Active Service Force in Canada on November 6th was 115,324.

The First Division is an integral part of the Army Corps which, under the command of Lieutenant-General McNaughton, has taken its place in the defence of Britain. The Second Division is completing its training in preparation for incorporation in this Corps which will then become a Canadian unit.

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Canadian troops continue to share in the garrisoning of Iceland and of the British insular possessions in this hemisphere.

In Canada, apart from troops on garrison and other special duties across the country, and units still in training, the Canadian Active Service Force has been grouped under two coastal commands, one for the Atlantic and one for the Pacific. The troops in Newfoundland are under the Atlantic command.

An Armoured brigade of four Canadian Active Service Force Tank regiments was recently formed. Two hundred tanks have been secured in the United States for use in training this mechanized force.

No review of the activities of the army during recent months would be complete without a reference to the 65,000 officers and men of the Non-Permanent Active Militia who, during the summer, gave up their time and frequently their holidays, to training in the militia camps to prepare, if the need should arise, to take their part in defending the country.

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I should like, too, to pay a tribute to the officers and men on both our coasts who, throughout the year, are engaged in garrison duty which has so little of seeming glory and so much of loneliness, but which is essential to our national security.

Since the collapse of France, there has been little action for armies in this war. We cannot assume this will continue to be true. What we do know is that action may be precipitated at any moment, and that the Nazis will never be finally defeated until armies have played their active part. They must be trained, equipped and ready for that day.

The Navy

Since the outbreak of war, the development of our small Canadian navy has been little short of phenomenal. Even in the last three months its personnel has risen from about 9,000 at the beginning of August to 13,034 on November 7th.

At the beginning of August we had about 130 vessels in commission excluding destroyers. By the end of October the number had risen to over 140 and, as well, 17 corvettes and 4 minesweepers of our new construction had already been launched. In the same period, thanks to the arrangement concluded with the United States, our destroyer strength has doubled. We now have 12 destroyers in commission.

It is a tribute at once to the efficiency of our Naval Service and to the eagerness of Canadians to volunteer for the defence of their country, as no difficulty has been found in enlisting crews for the new vessels. Indeed, there are far more young Canadians eager to join the Navy, than the Navy, with its present establishment, can possibly take.

Some of our destroyers are still participating in European waters in the defence of Britain against the

threat of invasion. Our Navy too, continues its vigilant patrol of our own coasts, and takes its part in the vital task of keeping open the life-lines of Britain across the North Atlantic.

It was a source of particular satisfaction for Canadians to learn of the gallant exploit of the converted merchant cruiser "Prince Robert" in capturing the German merchant vessel "Weser", off the Pacific coast of Mexico. ~~This welcome news reminded all of us of the unceasing vigilance of the Royal Canadian Navy in patrolling the waters of the Pacific as well as the Atlantic.~~

Air Force and Air Training.

The Minister of National Defence for Air told the House last July, that on July 24th the Royal Canadian Air Force numbered 1,765 officers and 17,688 men, or 19,453 in all. By November 2nd, these numbers had risen to 2,343 officers and 28,256 men, or a total of 30,599. This represents an increase of over fifty percent.

In addition 3,187 men had enlisted for training as air crews at the beginning of August. On November 2nd, this number had reached 6,884.

The Royal Canadian Air Force continues to perform its three-fold task. Its home defence squadrons continue their constant patrols over our coasts and coastal waters. They take their part in the escort of convoys to and from our shores.

Our Air Force too, has shared in the Battle of Britain. Since the House adjourned our Canadian fighter squadron, flying planes produced in Canada, has engaged with memorable success in active combat with the enemy. The main energies of the Royal Canadian Air Force continue to be directed largely to the development of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan.

The gigantic proportions of the air-training plan are now beginning to be appreciated by the public. At the beginning of August, 24 of the training schools had been opened. By the end of October, 36 were in operation. To put it another way, throughout that period an average of one school a week was started.

On September 26th, the Minister of National Defence for Air, welcomed at Vancouver, the first detachment of Australian pupils who had come to Canada for their advanced training.

Until recently, progress reports on the air-training plan had been confined to announcements of new construction, of new schools opened, and of increases in personnel. I am happy to be able to report that the plan is already beginning to realize the ultimate purpose for which it is designed. The first group of Air Observers to be trained under the plan completed their training on October 24th.

In years to come October 24th may well become a historic date in the history of the struggle for freedom.

The progress which has been made in the air training programme has been warmly commended by the British Government. Honourable members will, perhaps, be interested in one or two of the statements which have been made. In reply to a question about the progress of the plan the British Secretary of State for Air, Sir Archibald Sinclair, told the House of Commons on August 20th last:

"I do not think I ought to give figures, but I will tell the House this, to show that substantial progress is being made. Whereas we were expecting to reach a certain figure of pilot production from Canada in July, or even as late as August, of next year, we shall reach that figure by April. I think that that will convince the House that more rapid progress than we were led to expect is being made with the Empire Air training scheme. Let me say how grateful the Government are for the energy, the enterprise and the drive which the Canadian Government and the Canadian Air Staff, with the assistance of Air Vice-Marshal McKean, who represents us there, have thrown into this Empire air training scheme."

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The Parliamentary Under Secretary of the Air Ministry, Captain H. H. Balfour, visited Canada at the beginning of September. In an interview to the press at the conclusion of his visit, he used these words:

"I am more than impressed with the progress made here on the Empire Air Training Scheme."

Just the other day the present Secretary of State for the Dominions, Lord Cranborne, said in a speech in London that the Empire Air Training Scheme when in full operation, was designed to produce 20,000 pilots and 30,000 air crews yearly, and he added these significant words:

"It is months ahead of schedule".

Honourable Members will recall that at the time the British Government proposed this great undertaking, it indicated that with the facilities which Canada possessed, this co-operative effort might prove to be of a most essential and decisive character. It is, therefore, a source of no little satisfaction to the government, as I am sure it will be to the House and to the country, to have the assurance that the plan is more than meeting the expectations of the British Government.

Casualties in the Armed Forces

Any review, however brief, of Canada's war effort demands a reference to the losses which our armed forces have sustained. The nature of the war itself has hitherto fortunately spared us from heavy casualties. Our troops, twice under orders to proceed to the front, were denied actual participation in battle, first by the withdrawal from Norway and, next, by the collapse of France.

The restriction of active warfare, since the fall of France, to Britain and the waters surrounding the British Isles, and the comparative rarity of naval engagements, have combined to restrict our losses on land and at sea. In the air, the heat and burden of battle, up to the present, have been largely borne by British pilots.

The Losses at Sea.

Our main losses have been at sea. Canada has lost three armed ships, the destroyer H.M.C.S. "Fraser", with a loss of 47 ratings; the destroyer H.M.C.S. "Margaree", with a loss of 4 officers and 136 ratings, and the armed trawler H.M.C.S. "Bras d'Or", with a loss of 5 officers and 25 ratings. In addition to these, some 24 officers and ratings have been lost in active service from various

causes. The total of the lives lost at sea up to the end of October was 241. These figures do not include the losses of Canadian merchant seamen of which, I regret to say, no accurate figures are presently available. I should like here to say just a word about the sinking of the "Empress of Britain". Although she was requisitioned by the Admiralty at the beginning of the war, and was not serving as a Canadian ship, her many associations with Canada were such that the shock of her loss brought the reality of war particularly close.

It has been my sad duty to express to the next of kin of the brave men who have died at sea the sympathy, gratitude and pride of the Canadian people. In all such expressions which have been made, and in those which may be made, I know that every member of this House will wish most sincerely to join.

Our two major losses at sea have been due to tragic accidents of war. The men who lost their lives in the sinking of the "Fraser" and the "Margaree" and the foundering of the "Bras d'Or", and the merchant sailors who have faced all the dangers of the ocean, made more perilous by a ruthless foe, have died as heroes in their country's cause.

#### The Losses in the Air

In the air, up to and including the end of October, we have lost in the Royal Canadian Air Force 27 officers and 41 airmen in Canada. Outside Canada we have lost 5 officers

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and 2 airmen. In addition to these casualties, 203 Canadians serving with the Royal Air Force have lost their lives on active service.

The men who have lost their lives in the training schools have sacrificed themselves for their comrades who will carry on their traditions in the skies of battle.

Their gallantry will long be remembered in our land.

The Losses in the Army.

The Canadian army has lost by death in action, death from wounds, from disaster, accident and misadventure, 168 officers and men. To all who remain to fight on sea, on land and in the air, it behooves every man, woman and child in the country to dedicate every hour of labour which may be necessary in order that our sailors, our soldiers and our airmen may be fully equipped to face the perils that lie before them. They deserve at our hands the best machines, the best material, the best care that money and honest labour can provide. We know how nobly and courageously they will acquit themselves. We do not doubt them. They must have no reason to doubt us.

National Registration.

May I now say a word about national registration. This gigantic task was the first undertaking of the Department of National War Services after its creation on July 12th. I do not need to tell honourable members how promptly, how vigorously, and how efficiently the registration was organized, nor how smoothly and efficiently the machinery for registration worked on August 19-20-21. I do want, however, to express to honourable members of all parties and groups, the warm appreciation that the government feels for their effective co-operation in this great national task. The cost of the registration itself was kept at a minimum owing to the enthusiastic response of citizens in all walks of life to the call for voluntary unpaid assistance in carrying through this great survey of Canada's human resources. The response of our people to this first universal call to duty was magnificent.

Rapid progress is being made in the tabulation of the results of the national registration in order to provide a complete picture of Canada's resources of man power to meet the many and varying calls for war-time service. The government did not await completion of the laborious task of tabulation before getting underway the immediate purpose of the national registration.

The first task undertaken, when the registration itself had been completed, was the preparation of the lists which have since been used for the national mobilization for basic military training of single men and childless widowers between the ages of nineteen and forty-five.

Basic Military Training.

The training itself has also got under way with amazing despatch. While the Department of National War Services was engaged in preparing the lists of men to be called for service, and setting up the thirteen national war service boards, the training camps themselves were being prepared to receive the men. Critics said it could never be done in the time set by the government. But, it was done, thanks to the untiring efforts of the officials and officers of the Departments of National Defence and of Munitions and Supply and the invaluable co-operation of the construction industry.

On the 13th day of September, a proclamation was issued calling out men for military training in the 21, 22 and 23 year old class. Shortly afterwards the registrars of the national war service boards sent out the first call for training. In response to the first call, 27,559 men appeared at the training camps. After a second medical examination, 2,034 of these men were rejected. The rest of the men have now completed their first period of training.

The national training scheme has taken the form recommended by the military advisers of the government. The present period of training was, to some extent, determined by the present availability of equipment. The experience which has been gained, and will be gained, by the men who are called up under its provisions, will be of advantage both to the armed services and to the young men who have been called up for this branch of national service. It is providing an opportunity for a careful estimate to be made of the individual capacities of our young men, to determine their aptitude for service in the army, the navy, the air force, and war industry. As time goes on, it will also mean that those who enlist for active service, having had that basic training, will be able to complete their additional training more quickly and more efficiently.

The men who have been called up have responded with an alacrity and an enthusiasm that have made us all proud of those to whose loyalty and strength the future of our country is being entrusted.

War Supply

The most graphic index of the progress made in furnishing needed munitions and other war supplies and equipment is perhaps the total of war contracts let. On August 12, we had awarded for the account of Canada, contracts to the total amount of \$302,000,000.

By November 14, that amount had been increased to more than \$443,000,000. Of the \$443,000,000 worth of contracts, 87 per cent have been placed in Canada, 8 per cent in the United Kingdom, and 5 per cent in the United States.

In addition to these amounts, Canadian industry had undertaken as of September 3, 1940, total contracts from the government of the United Kingdom in the amount of \$134,000,000 for equipment and supplies, and commitments have been made by the United Kingdom for capital expenditure of an additional \$81,000,000.

The figure of \$443,000,000 which I mentioned a few minutes ago, represents contracts for the delivery of munitions, supplies and equipment. We have also made commitments for capital expenditures in the form of plant construction and extensions to the amount of \$235,000,000. These capital commitments include:

Fifteen explosive and chemical plants  
at a total cost of \$70,000,000;

Twenty-five armament plants at a cost  
of \$66,000,000;

Forty ammunition plants at a cost of  
\$36,000,000;

Additions to automotive plants at a  
cost of \$5,000,000;

Further details and sub-divisions of these  
expenditures will be given by the Minister of  
Munitions and Supply.

The production of aircraft in Canada in the  
three months from July to the end of September increased  
more than three hundred per cent over the preceding  
three months. This rapid acceleration of production  
is still continuing.

In the production of munitions, some 70 companies  
are now at work on orders; some 44 plants are now engaged  
in the manufacture of gauges.

On the 10th October, of this year, the Minister  
of Munitions and Supply announced that designs had been  
approved of a new type of tank, and that preparations were  
under way to manufacture 3,000 of them in Canada.

I have tried in very brief form to fix, at the  
given specified dates, the increased momentum of our war  
production. The curve is rising with remarkable rapidity.

In addition to providing for our own requirements, the Department of Munitions and Supply is, as the House is aware, responsible for placing orders and securing supplies for the British government in Canada. Hon. Members will be pleased to know that our efforts in this regard have received enthusiastic commendation.

Rt. Hon. Herbert Morrison, then  
The/Minister of Supply in the United Kingdom gave an interview to the London Evening Standard on September 16th in which he said:

"If ever I was tempted to indulge in a mental slump - which I seldom am, being an incurable optimist - I immediately think of what Canada is doing and going to do. That is more than enough to knock the bottom out of any fit of blues."

In the same interview he added that Canada already had been equal to all the demands made upon her, and he referred specifically to the "colossal" quantities Canada had supplied of timber, non-ferrous metals, steel and aluminium. He concluded with words which I believe every Canadian will echo: "Whatever the demands of the future may be," he said, "I am sure of one thing - Canada will be there."

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Labour.

War production depends upon keeping up ample supplies of raw materials, and upon the organization of industry for new production. It equally depends upon skilled labour. Industrial employment in Canada has already reached a level never attained before in our history. Labour has extended its hours, surrendered its holidays, and in its determination to increase and advance production, has taught the young and the inexperienced the intricacies of complicated trades. It will be the duty of the people of Canada, realizing these things now, to remember them in the hour of victory.

War Finance.

I shall conclude my account of Canada's war effort by a very brief summary of our war finance. I need not remind the House of the principles on which the government has decided that our war effort should, as far as possible, be financed. We have relied upon taxation and upon domestic borrowing. Even if we desired to use them, foreign markets are not at present available.

In the first twelve months of the war, our expenditure was \$190,000,000 or about \$800,000 a day.

The collapse of the resistance to the Nazi offensive on the continent of Europe and the elimination thereby of many of the protective factors of time and space, were followed by an immediate increase in our financial and material responsibility. The result was a rapid and progressive rise in our war-time expenditures.

In June and July we were spending about one and a third million dollars a day. In August, nearly two million dollars a day. In the month of September we spent sixty-six million; in October our war expenditures were over \$81,000,000. The October expenditures were at the rate of almost a billion dollars a year.

Our revenues fortunately are at the highest level in Canada's history. Our second war loan of \$300,000,000

was over-subscribed. Its subscription was broadly based. It was not unduly concentrated in the hands of banks and financial institutions, but many thousands of small investors rallied to its support.

More than one million war savings certificates have been issued with an average holding of \$25.00. The original objective of \$50,000,000 in the first year has been raised to \$122,000,000.

We have recently concluded arrangements with the United Kingdom to re-purchase Canadian securities to the amount of \$109,000,000 to provide the United Kingdom with Canadian funds for war purchases in Canada.

The Minister of Finance will, of course, give a detailed report on our war finances. I should, however, not like to conclude this brief survey without pointing out that, thanks in no small measure to the excellent work of the Foreign Exchange Control/<sup>Board</sup>there has been no major disturbance in the international exchange position insofar as it affects Canada. Equally, due to the splendid services performed by the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, there has been no undue burdens placed upon Canadian consumers.

Before turning to another aspect of my subject, I should like to remind the House that the only limits the government is prepared to place upon Canada's war effort are those imposed by the extent of our resources, both human and material, and by our capacity for sacrifice. We will make financially possible, the utmost effort the people of Canada are physically and morally capable of making.

The policy of the government in this respect was clearly set forth by the present Minister of National Defence when, as Minister of Finance, he brought down the budget on June the 24th. Let me repeat his words:

"I need hardly say that our war effort is not in any sense to be limited by any such financial calculations or by what we can comfortably accomplish. We must make the maximum effort of which this country is capable. Financial provision can be made and will be made for whatever it is physically possible for us to produce or to procure in the way of war services, supplies and materials. The limits of our effort are not fiscal; if there are any such limits they are physical, mental and moral--by that I mean the physical limits of our resources and the mental and moral capacity of Canadians to bear burdens and make sacrifices."

A similar statement of government policy was made by the present Minister of Finance at the close of the review he gave the House of our war finances on July the 30th, when he said:

"See that Canada does her utmost--on the land, on the sea and in the air--and the cost,

insofar as money can meet it, will be gladly and proudly paid."

I wish now to speak of Canada's relations, and indeed of the relations of the whole British Commonwealth, with the United States, in the period under review. Before discussing these relations, I should like to say a word about how much our own Canadian war effort owes to the co-operation of the United States. Aircraft and tanks for training purposes, and destroyers for active service, are outstanding among the many essentials of warfare which the United States has so generously made available to Canada. The President's announcement on Friday last of the priorities being given to Britain and ourselves is only the most recent example of United States assistance magnanimously given to the United Kingdom and to Canada. Every member of the House will, I am sure, join with me in an expression of our appreciation and gratitude.

The turning point

When history comes to record the time and place at which the onward sweep of Nazi aggression was halted, and the tide of war turned, that place and time will be found, I believe, to be the English channel, during the months of August and September. Just as the evacuation of Dunkirk will remain a chapter unsurpassed in the history of British arms on land, on sea and in the air, so the indomitable resistance of Britain, the stout hearts of the people of London, the unflagging skill and daring of the young men in the air, and the unceasing vigilance of the navy will mark the supreme moment in the present world conflict when tyranny was halted in its threatening course, and despair was changed to hope.

There remains little doubt that when French resistance collapsed last June, the government of France and her military leaders believed that not only France but also Britain was doomed. In their despair, they thought that the Nazi onslaught was irresistible and that Britain, too, would crumble before the might of the German attack. The terms of the French surrender and much that has happened since can be understood only in the light of this conviction of Nazi invincibility.

Nor were the French alone in this appalling belief. It was generally held on the continent of Europe and, to a surprising degree, even in the United States. Public attention there became concentrated on the extent of American preparedness to meet the threat to this hemisphere which would follow the defeat of Britain. The myth of isolation was dissolved in an almost frenzied pre-occupation with self-preservation. In order to meet the requirements of United States defences on land and sea and in the air, a movement of opinion developed even to the length of urging the retention in America of supplies of equipment and munitions desperately needed by Britain. Ominous rumours spread and gained credence that Britain could not hold out.

Aid to Britain short of war

But Britain did hold out, and held out magnificently. The world's vision cleared. Great Britain stood forth as she has through the centuries, an impregnable fortress of freedom. On this side of the ocean despair vanished. The English channel came to be viewed as the first line of defence of the United States and of the new world. This break in the encircling gloom, this dawn of fresh hope on the horizon inspired in the United States a new desire to do all that was possible, short of actual war,

to aid Britain in her resistance, and in her determination to destroy the enemies of freedom.

The practical expression of that new hope was a steadily increasing supply of planes and guns and munitions and other essentials of war from the factories of the United States to the battlefield of Britain and the training fields of Canada. As each week passed British determination evoked increased admiration. As admiration increased, support also increased.

The second line of defence.

The overwhelming majority of the people of the United States came to see in Britain an outwork of their own defence. They saw the need of giving all possible assistance to Britain. But they saw, too, the need for strengthening their second line of defence. If the coasts of America were to be immune from attack, naval and air bases were needed on the islands of the Atlantic. Joint action between the United States and Canada was recognized also as necessary to their common security. From the point of view of Canada and the whole British Commonwealth, what followed constitutes the most significant development in international affairs in the three months since our

Parliament adjourned in August. In ultimate importance, it far surpasses the formation of the Triple Axis.

The Ogdensburg Agreement.

The first inkling of developments already under way was given to the public by the President of the United States, on August 16th. On that day Mr. Roosevelt announced that:

"The United States Government is holding conversations with the Government of the British Empire with regard to acquisition of naval and air bases for the defence of the Western Hemisphere and especially the Panama Canal. The United States Government is carrying on conversations with the Canadian Government on the defence of the Western hemisphere."

I shall have something to say to the House in a moment about these conversations. I wish first to recall the events which followed immediately on President Roosevelt's announcement.

The following day, which was August 17th, I met the President at Ogdensburg. Our conversations that day, in continuance of conversations previously held, culminated in the formulation of an Agreement/<sup>which</sup> was made public the next afternoon, in a joint statement issued by Mr. Roosevelt and myself. I should like now to place the joint statement on record. It has come to be known as the Ogdensburg Agreement.

These are its terms:

"The Prime Minister and the President have discussed the mutual problems of defence in relation to the safety of Canada and the United States.

It has been agreed that a Permanent Joint Board on Defence shall be set up at once by the two countries.

This Permanent Joint Board on Defence shall commence immediate studies relating to sea, land and air problems including personnel and material.

It will consider in the broad sense the defence of the North half of the Western Hemisphere.

The Permanent Joint Board on Defence will consist of four or five members from each country, most of them from the services. It will meet shortly."

The Offer of bases.

The Ogdensburg Agreement was reached, as I have said, on August 17th, and the joint statement setting forth its terms was issued on the following day. On August 20th, Mr. Churchill announced in the British House of Commons the decision of the British government "spontaneously and without being asked or offered any inducement" to offer the United States sites for naval and air bases in the British possessions in the Western Hemisphere. I should like particularly to draw the attention of the House to one sentence of Mr. Churchill's

announcement of the decision of the British government. "In all this line of thought", he said, "we found ourselves in very close harmony with the Government of Canada".

The formation of the Joint Board.

On August 22nd, the Canada-United States Permanent Joint Board on Defence was appointed. Col. O. M. Biggar, K.C., became Chairman of the Canadian Section and Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia of New York, Chairman of the United States section. The first meeting of the Board was held at Ottawa in the following week. The Board has met since on several occasions, and has been engaged upon continuous study of the sea, land and air problems immediately related to the defence of the north half of this hemisphere.

The transfer of bases and destroyers.

The next significant announcement came on September 3rd, the anniversary of the British declaration of war. On that day President Roosevelt announced that an agreement had been reached between the governments of the United Kingdom and the United States by which sites for bases in British Atlantic possessions were to be made available to the United States. In Newfoundland and Bermuda these sites were leased for no other consideration but Great Britain's

interest in the strength and security of North America. The other sites, in the Bahamas, the British West Indies and British Guiana, forming an outer ring of defence to the Panama Canal, were leased in exchange for fifty over-age United States destroyers.

The House is aware that six of the fifty destroyers have since been made available to the Royal Canadian Navy and are already in commission. During a recent visit to Halifax, I had an opportunity of visiting some of the destroyers about to be transferred and of seeing how completely they were equipped. I was also privileged to extend to the United States Admiral who brought the destroyers to Canadian waters the thanks of the government and people of Canada. I had previously written to the President to express our appreciation. Honourable Members may be interested in the contents of my letter and the President's reply.

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~~Office of the Prime Minister, Canada.~~  
Office of the Prime Minister, Canada.

Ottawa, 30th September, 1940.

Dear Mr. President,

During the last few days I have been receiving reports from the Officers in Command of our Naval Service concerning the delivery and transfer of the United States destroyers to Canada and to the United Kingdom. One of the aspects of this transfer which has been repeatedly referred to in these reports is the splendid condition in which the vessels arrived in Canada and the cordial and co-operative attitude displayed by the Officers and Crews when the transfer was actually being effected. I have been told, for example, that the vessels were so completely equipped that not only were the Mess appointments in perfect condition but the larders were stored as though the vessels were to be used for prolonged cruises with their United States personnel aboard.

I want you to know that the thoughtfulness and consideration which have been displayed in these, perhaps minor, but very characteristic actions, have been recognized and very deeply appreciated by the Canadian Naval Service and by the Government of this country as well. I hope that you will inform the responsible Officers that the way in which they have acted in arranging and carrying out the transfer of these vessels has been brought directly to my attention, and that I have asked that they should be thanked collectively and individually on behalf of the Canadian Navy, the Canadian Government and the Canadian people.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Yours very sincerely,

(39d) W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

The Honourable  
Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
President of the United States,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 17, 1940,

Dear Mr. King:

Your very cordial letter concerning the manner and condition in which our destroyers have been turned over to Canada and the United Kingdom has given me great pleasure.

I shall be happy indeed to have conveyed to the responsible officers the sentiments you have so graciously expressed.

On their behalf and that of the United States Navy please accept my sincere thanks.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Yours very sincerely,

<sup>sqd</sup>  
(Signed) Franklin D. Roosevelt

The Rt. Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King,  
Prime Minister of Canada,  
Ottawa, Canada.

The background: Conversations with the President.

Now for a word as to the conversations which preceded the Ogdensburg Agreement. The Agreement itself was not due to any sudden or precipitate action. It was the outcome of several conversations between the President and myself with respect to coastal defence on both the Atlantic and the Pacific, in which the mutual interests of Canada and the United States were discussed. It has seemed to me that I should reserve for Parliament such statement as it might be advisable to make with reference to these conversations which, in their nature, necessarily were of a highly confidential character. I might say I have received the President's permission to refer to them publicly.

In the matter of time and significance, the conversations between President Roosevelt and myself on matters pertaining to the common interest of our two countries in the defence of their coasts, divide themselves naturally into two groups: the conversations which took place prior to the commencement of the war, and those which have taken place since.

The first conversation was on the occasion of a visit I paid the President at the White House, as long ago as March, 1937. At that time, the discussion had reference

to the position on the Pacific as well as on the Atlantic coasts. It was then agreed that, at some time in the future, meetings might be arranged between the staff officers of both countries to discuss problems of common defence.

On September 30th of that year, the President paid a visit to Victoria, B.C., crossing on a United States destroyer from Seattle. This visit led to arrangements for talks between staff officers regarding Pacific coast problems, which took place in Washington in January, 1938.

I think I may say that on every occasion I have visited the President in the United States, or on which I have met the President on his visits to Canada, matters pertaining to the defence of this continent have been a subject of conversation between us.

The defences on the Atlantic were referred to particularly in our conversations in August, 1938, in the course of the President's visit to Kingston, and the opening of the Thousand Islands Bridge at Ivy Lea. At that time, it will be recalled, the President made the open declaration that the people of the United States would not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil were threatened by any other empire. To this declaration, I replied at Woodbridge, Ontario, two days later, that we too had our obligations as a good friendly neighbour.

Our common problems of defence were discussed at length, and in a more concrete and definite way, when I visited Washington, in November, 1938, to sign the new Canada-United States Trade Agreement.

In the summer of 1939, the President paid a visit to Canadian waters off the Atlantic Coast. He subsequently told me that this visit, like his similar visit to Victoria two years earlier, had been occasioned by his concern with the problem of coastal defence.

With the outbreak of war, the question of coast defences became of vital importance. At the same time, the fact that Canada was a belligerent and the United States a neutral, complicated the problem of pursuing the discussions. In the face of the European menace, it was obviously desirable to give expression to the needs of joint defence. To the means, however, of effecting this end, the most careful consideration had to be given in order that there might be no grounds for the belief that there was any attempt on Canada's part to influence the policies, or interfere in the domestic affairs, of a neutral country. Had there not been, between the President and myself, complete confidence in each other's purpose and motives, I question if the situation could have been met without occasioning genuine embarrassment to one side or the other, if not indeed to both. Fortunately, in the

light of our previous conversations, there was no danger of the position being misunderstood, and my visit with the President at Warm Springs, in April of the present year, afforded an exceptional opportunity for a careful review of the whole situation.

This is perhaps an appropriate place for me to say that, from the beginning, and at the time of each conversation, the President made it perfectly clear that his primary interest in the subject was the defence of the United States. I was equally frank in making it clear that my concern was the effective defence of Canada, and the defence of the British Commonwealth of Nations as a whole.

If one thing above another became increasingly evident in the course of our conversations, it was that our respective countries had a common interest in the matter of the defence of this continent. Since this was the case, everything pointed to the wisdom of planning carefully in advance for whatever contingency might arise.

The conversations begun between the President and myself, before the war, in the direct manner I have described, and at Warm Springs taken up anew after Canada had entered the war, were supplemented as the weeks went by, by conversations conducted through diplomatic

channels. Staff conversations followed in due course.

I should perhaps say that I gave to my colleagues who were members of the War Committee of the Cabinet, my entire confidence with respect to the conversations I had had with the President, and subsequent steps were taken with their knowledge and full approval. I should also like to say that the British Government was kept duly informed of what was taking place. The Canadian Government likewise was kept informed of the defence matters directly discussed between the British Government and the United States. The discussions naturally included questions pertaining to the leasing of air and naval bases on the Atlantic.

As I have already mentioned, the President had announced the day before our meeting at Ogdensburg that conversations had been taking place between the two governments. The Ogdensburg Agreement formally confirmed what the previous conversations and planning had initiated. It made known to the world that plans of joint defence were being studied and worked out between the two countries. It did one thing more. It made clear that the Board which was being established to make studies and recommendations was not

being formed for a single occasion to meet a particular situation, but was intended to deal with a continuing problem. The Board on Joint Defence was, therefore, declared to be permanent.

By a Minute of Council approved by His Excellency the Governor General on August the 21st, the establishment of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence was formally ratified and confirmed.

With the permission of the House, I would like to insert, in Hansard, a copy of the complete Minute. At the moment, I shall merely draw attention to the following paragraph which it contains:

"That the actions of the Prime Minister in conducting the said conversations and in agreeing, on the part of Canada, to the establishment of a Permanent Joint Board on Defence for the consideration of the defence of the north half of the Western Hemisphere, are in accord with the policy of the Government as approved on many occasions by the War Committee of the Cabinet and the Cabinet itself."

The Permanent Joint Board on Defence might well be considered a logical development from the declarations made by President Roosevelt and myself in August, 1938. Let me recall these declarations to the minds of honourable members. The vital passage in Mr. Roosevelt's declaration at Kingston on August 18th reads:

"The Dominion of Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other empire."

My acknowledgment of Mr. Roosevelt's Kingston declaration at Woodbridge, Ontario, on August 20, 1938, contained these words:

"We, too, have our obligations as a good friendly neighbour, and one of them is to see that, at our own instance, our country is made as immune from attack or possible invasion as we can reasonably be expected to make it, and that, should the occasion ever arise, enemy forces should not be able to pursue their way, either by land, sea, or air to the United States, across Canadian territory."

These declarations marked the first public recognition by both countries of their reciprocity in defence.

I should be the last to claim that the Ogdensburg Agreement was due wholly to the conversations between the President and myself, or to our reciprocal declarations in

1938. I am happy to know that, in a moment of crisis, personal friendship and mutual confidence, shared over many years between Mr. Roosevelt and myself, made it so easy for us to conclude the Agreement reached at Ogdensburg. In reality the Agreement marks the full blossoming of a long association in harmony between the people of Canada and the people of the United States, to which, I hope and believe, the President and I have also in some measure contributed. The link forged by the Canada-United States Defence Agreement is no temporary axis. It was not formed by nations whose common tie is a mutual desire for the destruction of their neighbours. It is part of the enduring foundation of a new world order, based on friendship and good-will. In the furtherance of this new world order, Canada, in liaison between the British Commonwealth and the United States, is fulfilling a manifest destiny.

It cannot be assumed that our common background would, of itself, have produced harmonious relations between the two countries, much as that background has helped to make possible a close understanding between us. The understanding which exists owes its vitality to positive and far-sighted statesmanship over more than a century.

May I recall in this connection the words I used at the opening of the Thousand Islands Bridge on August 18th, 1938: "Our populations, after all," I said, in referring to Canada and the United States, "do not differ greatly from those of Europe. Indeed, the European countries have contributed most to their composition. Each of our countries has its problems of race and creed and class; each has its full measure of political controversy. Nevertheless we seem to have found the better way to secure and maintain our peace..... In the realm of international relations, we, too, have learned to bridge our differences. We have practised the art of building bridges.... In the art of international bridge-building there are two structures, each with its association with the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, of which I should like to say just a word. They stand out as monuments of international co-operation and good-will. Each has its message for the world of today. The one is the Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817; the other, the International Joint Commission created in 1909."

The Rush-Bagot Agreement is a self-denying ordinance of mutual disarmament. The International Joint Commission is an instrument for the peaceful adjustment of differences. The Permanent Joint Board

is a mutual arrangement for common defence. All three may appear an inevitable progress dictated by ordinary common sense. But we need only to pause for a moment's reflection to realize that, in the madness of the world today, common sense is the highest statesmanship.

I doubt if any act by a Canadian government, and certainly no development in our international relations, has ever received such unanimous acclaim in this country. So far as I have been able to ascertain, not a single newspaper from coast to coast uttered a syllable of disapproval of the Ogdensburg Agreement itself. Though estimates of its importance and of the contribution made by myself may have varied, almost no voice was raised to decry its significance".

To illustrate the reception given in Canada to the Ogdensburg Agreement, I might cite three brief appreciations, all of which appeared in papers which are frequently critical of the government. The Ottawa Journal of August 19th stated:

"Because they are joint trustees of this North American continent little can be wrong about Canada and the United States setting up a permanent joint board of defence. It is a measure of sane caution."

The same day, the Toronto Globe and Mail said:

"English speaking peoples, and all who love liberty, will applaud the arrangement, which welds the bonds of friendship that have grown steadily stronger in the last century and a quarter."

The Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph echoed the same sentiments in these words:

"This decision, making the two countries a defence entity and revealing graphically how the greatly changing conditions in Europe are affecting North America's war problems and policies, will undoubtedly be warmly approved in both the United States and Canada, will be of considerable comfort to the British Empire as a whole and to the entire Christian civilized world in general."

Although the Presidential campaign was already in progress in the United States, and some effort to make political capital might perhaps have been expected, an examination of American press comment reveals a similar unanimous approval of the Ogdensburg Agreement. The general sentiment in the United States seems to have been aptly expressed by the Chicago Tribune on August 21st in these words:

"Each nation is obliged to defend the other because that is its own best defence. Common sense dictates that arrangements for such defence should be made in advance, to assure efficiency and economy of force if the necessity for co-operation arises. The making of these arrangements is to be the function of the permanent joint board on defence which President Roosevelt and Prime Minister King have agreed to establish."

The background: Canada's part in Anglo-American relations.

The realization, both in Canada and the United States, that each nation is obliged to assist in the

defence of its neighbour because that is its own best defence, has grown in the two years which elapsed between the Kingston and Woodbridge declarations and the Ogdensburg Agreement.

The events of those two momentous years have served, as well, to allay the fears of those in Canada who felt that closer relations with the United States would weaken Canada's ties with Britain. Throughout my public life, I have consistently maintained the view that the friendliest relations between Canada and the United States, far from weakening the bonds between the nations of the British Commonwealth, would, at all times, prove a source of strength. Moreover, I have always held that in the promotion of Anglo-American friendship, Canada has a very special role to play. This belief, I am happy to say, is shared, in all three countries, by those who have worked for closer relations between the English-speaking communities. It is shared in fullest measure by the present Prime Minister of Great Britain. More than ten years ago, at a time when he himself was holding no public office, Mr. Churchill expressed this belief in terms which I should like to quote from an article of his which appeared in the Saturday Evening Post of February 15, 1930.

The words gain a prophetic significance in the light of all subsequent developments, and of none more than those of the present day. I quote:

"Great Britain herself has for centuries been the proved and accepted champion of European freedom. She is the centre and head of the British Commonwealth of Nations. She is an equal partner in the English-speaking world.

It is at this point that the significance of Canada appears. Canada, which is linked to the British Empire, first by the growing importance of her own nationhood, and secondly, by many ancient and sentimental ties precious to young and strong communities, is at the same time intimately associated with the United States. The long, unguarded frontier, the habits and intercourse of daily life, the fruitful and profitable connections of business, the sympathies and even the antipathies of honest neighbourliness, make Canada a binder-together of the English-speaking peoples. She is a magnet exercising a double attraction, drawing both Great Britain and the United States towards herself and thus drawing them closer to each other. She is the only surviving bond which stretches from Europe across the Atlantic Ocean. In fact, no state, no country, no band of men can more truly be described as the linchpin of peace and world progress."

It is a happy coincidence that the soundness of this view of Canada's position as a link between the British and American peoples should have been so amply demonstrated at a moment when the one who shared it so completely, and who expressed it in such eloquent terms, has come to hold the office of Prime Minister of Great Britain.

In an editorial comment which appeared in the London TIMES on August 22nd of this year, the significance of the Ogdensburg Agreement in the wider relations between the English-speaking peoples was recognized in terms reminiscent of Mr. Churchill's utterance of ten years ago:

"The two countries" said The TIMES, "will henceforward have closer ties than they have ever had in the past, and Canada more than ever before will be the linchpin of Anglo-American relations."

Let me quote two other extracts, one from a Labour, and one from a Liberal newspaper. They serve to reveal the unanimity of view of the British press. The London Daily Herald said:

"Faith in the British system has been revitalized. So today it is with blessing we say: Canada, through you new links can be forged between us and our cousins across your unarmed frontier. Make your own decisions. They are ours."

On August 20th, The Manchester Guardian said:

"There is a close connection between the two announcements of the week-end of the negotiations with Britain for the leasing by the United States of naval and air bases in the Caribbean Sea and of

the agreement between the United States and Canada for setting up a Joint Defence Board. They are part of the preparations for the defence of the western hemisphere against the dictatorships. They have a bearing on the war and on American help for Britain."

In view of the extent to which, throughout my public life, my known attitude towards the United States has been so ~~grossly~~ <sup>greatly</sup> misrepresented, I may perhaps be pardoned if I venture to give to the House some indication of how this attitude, and my occasional visits to that country, have been viewed by those in the United Kingdom, who are perhaps in the best position to judge of their value.

In a cable which he sent to me as recently as September 13th, and which was first made public in the United Kingdom, Mr. Churchill was kind enough to use the following words:

"I am very glad to have this opportunity of thanking you personally for all you have done for the common cause and especially in promoting a harmony of sentiment throughout the new world. This deep understanding will be a dominant factor in the rescue of Europe from a relapse into the Dark Ages."

A few days later (September 17th) in the House of Lords, Lord Caldecote, who was at that time Secretary of State for the Dominions, made the following reference:

"Perhaps the most striking development in the recent weeks has been the coming together of the British Empire and the United States, as illustrated in the recent Agreement for the grant of defence bases to the United States in certain British territories and the supply of American destroyers for our naval

forces. But this is not all. It has been coupled with and indeed preceded by the Agreement between the United States and Canada for the setting up of a joint Defence Board and perhaps I may be allowed to repeat the tribute which the Prime Minister paid in a recent message to the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, for the great part which he has consistently played in promoting a harmony of sentiment between the British Empire and the United States of America. I need not remind your Lordships how pregnant with possibilities this new development may well be for peace and freedom in the years to come."

Any part which our country may have had in bringing about a harmony of sentiment between the British Empire and the United States may well be a legitimate source of pride to all Canadians. In the midst of the darkness which today ~~envelops~~<sup>enshrouds</sup> mankind, the relations between the United States and the British Commonwealth shine forth as the one great beam of hopeful light left in the world.

During the American Civil War, when the relations between Britain and the United States were strained almost to the breaking point, John Bright, speaking in the British House of Commons on June 16, 1863, used these conciliatory and prophetic words:

"I can only hope that, as time passes, and our people become better informed, they will be more just, and that ill feelings of every kind will pass away; that in future all who love freedom here will hold converse with all who love freedom there, and that the two nations, separated as they are by the ocean, come as they are, notwithstanding, of one stock, may be in future time united in soul, and may work together for the advancement of the liberties and the happiness of mankind."

What greater hope can we entertain for humanity than that the vision of John Bright for the union of souls of the British and American people may find its realization in their work together for the preservation of the liberties of mankind.

RELATIONS WITH FRANCE

The present war has, as I have shown, enlarged the opportunities and the solemn responsibility of Canada to serve as a vital link between the United States and the British Commonwealth. This role is, however, not the only one which Canada is uniquely equipped to play in international relations. There is a third great nation with whom our ties are close. I have spoken of Canada's place as an interpreter of the English-speaking peoples. Canada, however, is not merely an English-speaking nation but is also a French-speaking nation. It is, indeed, the second French-speaking nation of the world.

The agony of France has thrown upon Canada a great responsibility, and a great mission. As I pointed out at the moment of the collapse of France, "the tragic fate of France leaves to French Canada the duty of upholding the traditions of French culture and civilization, and the French passion for liberty in the world. This new responsibility will, I believe, be accepted proudly."

Events are throwing upon Canada, not only the mission of upholding the traditions of French culture and civilization, but also the duty of helping to keep alive in the hearts of Frenchmen, all but prostrate today before a brutal conqueror, their devotion to liberty and their hopes of its ultimate triumph.

In the consciousness of that mission, my colleague, the Minister of Justice, recently broadcast a message to the

French people. May I repeat a few lines from that message:

"Over there, you are our Allies because we know too well the heart of France to doubt an instant of her heart's loyalty. Because we love the same things, we know that, no matter what fate may bring to her, no matter what tribulations await her, France will never fight against the British, against us, French-Canadians, so many of whose sons have been resting in the soil of France for the past 23 years."

I appeal to honourable members in the House, and I appeal to my fellow countrymen in all parts of the Dominion to bear always in mind the task which Canada alone can perform in keeping hope alive in the hearts of the grief-stricken people of France. Let no word from Canadian lips add to the agony of her open wounds, let us inflict no new pain, and let us be ever watchful to exercise the healer's art. In the new world, which will follow the destruction of the evil thing which now crushes France, Canada's part in cementing the bonds between the French and English-speaking peoples may be just as great as her role in bringing into closer relationship, peoples of the British Commonwealth and of the United States.

WAR AND PEACE AIMS

A word in conclusion concerning our war aims, or, if the term seems preferable, our peace aims. Rightly considered, the two constitute opposite sides of the same shield. There has already been a good deal of discussion concerning aims in this war. It is said, on the one hand, that the only aim of importance is to defeat the enemy; on the other, that most important of all is to bring into being a new social order - an order in which freedom, truth and justice will increasingly prevail in the relations between individuals, between classes and among nations. Personally, I do not see that any conflict need arise between our war aims and our peace aims. If Nazi Germany is not defeated there will be little of freedom, truth and justice left in this world. If, on the other hand, we are in earnest in our desire to have freedom, truth and justice prevail in all human relations, we should be prepared to fight, as men have never fought before.

The hidden source and latent power of all human action lies in its motive. The motive of Nazi Germany is domination; its method, the most brutal and barbarous which evil minds have been able to conceive. The motive of domination to achieve its ends must be accompanied by

material power. That power may be exercised through the instruments of violence and force, or through any of the agencies of propaganda, trickery and treachery which serve to foster aggrandizement and beget fear. Material power alone, is not, however, an enduring power. Strip domination of its material trappings and there is nothing left. Freedom, truth and justice belong to a different realm. They are not material things capable of being consumed and destroyed. They are of the mind and of the spirit. They belong to the eternal realities. They are attributes of God Himself. In the end, they are certain to triumph.

In their conflict with those who make of material power an end in itself, those who treasure the world of mind and spirit may, for the preservation of their physical existence find it necessary to forge and to use against their adversaries the weapons of material power. It is well to remember that: "He that liveth by the sword shall perish by the sword" - is a part of Christian doctrine. To my mind the simple test of the right or wrong of any aim or of any institution is: Can it endure? Domination by a single dictator or group of dictators may last for a time. It may extend its sway and its sweep, but it cannot endure. Freedom, truth and justice crushed to

earth will rise again. It is the breath of God which alone gives life to the bodies of men. Freedom, truth and justice, these will endure, for not only do they give life, but they continue to give it more abundantly.

What is necessary then to win the present conflict? It is to put on the whole armour of God, not the outward material trappings only, the helmet, the sword and the shield, necessary as they may be for purposes of defence and of attack. Let it never be forgotten that "We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places." Let us make sure that the helmet is also one of salvation; the sword, one of the spirit, and the shield one of faith; that our loins are girt about with truth, and that our breastplate is one of righteousness; that our feet are shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace. If these things are ours, and I believe they are the weapons with which Britain and the Dominions seek to slay the dragon of Nazi Germany today, we shall find little difficulty in reconciling our war aims and our peace aims. To slay the dragon which has been fascinating its victims by fear, poisoning the springs of their moral and intellectual being at the source,

and <sup>which would</sup> prey upon <sup>their</sup> ~~the~~ vitals for years to come, is clearly the first task of a civilization that would save itself. In equal measure, however, <sup>we</sup> must ~~we~~ strive throughout the struggle itself, and more than ever when the evil dragon of Naziism is slain, to see that never again, in our own, or in any other land, shall the gods of material power, of worldly possessions, and of special privilege be permitted to exercise their sway. Never again must we allow any man, or any group of men, to subjugate by fear, and to crush by the power of Might, the spirit and the lives of honest and humble men.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister ✓

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Nov. 14/40

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

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*D 39031*

## Note and Comment

There were many crisp sentences in Premier King's speech this week: "Individual bandits acting alone become gangsters acting in concert." . . . "On the one side the law of force; on the other, the force of law." . . . "Common sense is the highest statesmanship." . . . "The hidden source and latent power of all human action lies in its motive."

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

D 39032  
Office of  
The Prime Minister

The PM to see  
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Name of Publication Toronto Globe & Mail

Date Nov. 14/40

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## MR. KING DEFINES THE ISSUE.

The Prime Minister's speech on Tuesday will leave no doubt in the public mind as to the official view of the seriousness of the war's demands and the gravity of the issue at stake. It coincides with the opinions of all thoughtful people who have been following the course of the conflict, which makes "more apparent with each new development that we are engaged in a titanic and terrible death struggle between two conflicting philosophies of human life." It was well, nevertheless, that he reviewed the events and warned against false hopes of an easy or early termination. The Canadian people have to steel themselves to battle to the end with the utmost determination and with sacrifices which even yet may not appear in view, notwithstanding the tremendous expenditures involved to date.

But in weighing the issue between tyranny and democracy, "brutality and slavery" on the one hand, and "humanity and freedom" on the other, Mr. King made one statement in particular which betokens confidence and cheer. In ultimate importance, he said, the joint understanding between the British Commonwealth and the United States "far surpasses the formation of the triple Axis." The "law of force" represented by Germany, Italy and Japan is being countered by the "force of law," for which the English-speaking peoples and their allies stand, and from which none is likely to waver. To Britain and Canada and the rest of the Empire, including the remnants of free peoples from conquered nations, is added the spiritual, moral and industrial strength of the United States and the South American Republics. Against this Hitler and crippled Mussolini, with the unwilling aid of their European slaves, cannot prevail indefinitely or force their dogmas on the civilized world. Like Mr. Churchill, Mr. King has nothing to offer at present but blood and sweat and tears, but the eternal verities will surely triumph in the end.

In the meantime, since Canada has to give her all, the people have a right to expect from the Government and Parliament nothing less than the use of their resources exclusively for the war effort. Opposition Leader Hanson has criticized the expenditure of some \$450,000,000 for ordinary Government purposes as against \$1,000,000,000 for war. While we are being told that money and the spirit to resist are both essential, the fact should be demonstrated in high places as well as in low.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Office of  
The Prime Minister ✓  
*The PM to see*

Name of Publication..... Toronto Star

Date..... Nov. 15/40

Subject.....

D 39033

## Mr. King's Great Address

There are at present very few great speakers among the public men of Canada; none with the pure eloquence of Laurier or the command of metaphor which distinguished Sir George Foster. Mr. Meighen is perhaps the keenest swordsman now. But among all Premier King's contemporaries, there is not one who, in a set speech, rises to such heights of noble thought, nobly expressed, as Mr. King himself achieves.

There are, of course, some people today who consider that such thought has no place in a parliamentary address; that it should consist, on the contrary, of plain facts plainly stated—or, better still, pungently stated—with no idealism, no recognition of the higher aspirations of mankind. The world would be the poorer if political leaders were to be subject to such a limitation. Certainly Mr. King is not. In his speech in parliament on Tuesday of this week he exhibited once more those fine qualities of mind and heart which have so often found expression in his addresses.

Great truths were nobly expressed by the premier when he dealt with the dependence of the dictators upon material power to achieve their ends. He said:

"Material power alone, however, is not an enduring power. Strip domination of its material trappings and there is nothing left. Freedom, truth and justice belong to a different realm. They are not material things capable of being consumed and destroyed; they are of the mind and of the spirit, they belong to the eternal realities. They are attributes of God Himself. In the end they are certain to triumph . . . Domination by a single dictator or group of dictators may last for a time. It may extend its sway and its sweep, but it cannot endure. Freedom, truth and justice crushed to earth will rise again. It is the breath of God which alone gives life to the bodies of men. Freedom, truth and justice, these will endure; for not only do they give life but they continue to give it more abundantly."

Nearly all the great speakers of Canada have drawn upon the wisdom and imagery of the Bible in their finest addresses. Mr. King did so on Tuesday. To win in the present conflict, he said, it is necessary to "put on the whole armor of God." And then:

"Let it never be forgotten that 'we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.' Let us make sure that the helmet is also one of salvation; the sword, one of the spirit; and the shield, one of faith; that our loins are girt about with truth and that our breastplate is one of righteousness, and that our feet are shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace."

To slay the dragon of Nazi Germany is, said Mr. King, the first duty. But he concluded with the following paragraph, characteristic of one whose interest has always been in the common people:

"In equal measure, however, we must strive throughout the struggle itself, and more than ever when the evil dragon of Naziism is slain, to see that never again, in our own or in any other land, shall the gods of material power, of worldly possessions and of special privilege be permitted to exercise their sway. Never again must we allow any man or any group of men to subjugate by fear and to crush by the power of might the spirit and the lives of honest and humble men."

Thoughts such as these, the thoughts of one who has been consistently humanitarian in his outlook during his long public life, become, in their nobility of expression, part of Canada's rich heritage of parliamentary eloquence.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....Winnipeg Free Press

Date.....Nov. 16/40

D 39034

Subject.....

## Mr. King's Noble Speech

By B.T.R.

OTTAWA: When in the custom that governs such things, the speeches of Mr. King are culled over and selected for publication in a volume printing the spoken words of the present Prime Minister, the speech that he delivered in Parliament last Tuesday night will inevitably be included. It will stand as one of his great orations.

It is difficult to recognize these things when one hears them, perhaps, for even Churchill has made dull speeches in his day. Mr. King has made many dull speeches. But his speech to Parliament this week had no dull spots. Sometimes the little off-repeated phrases that are the earmark of oratorical style and an annoyance to unfriendly listeners, cloyed his argument. Mr. King frequently interjects a phrase like: "I am happy to say." A hostile mind might squirm at the repetition. But that is the school of rhetoric in which the Prime Minister was trained. His speech had moments of moving eloquence, bursts of high passion, absorbing passages in which he analyzed the prospects facing this free people of Canada, intensely interesting revelations that filled in the background of recent momentous events such as the Ogdensburg Agreement, and a peroration that lifted his final argument to a high spiritual level.

\* \* \*

MR. King is not a suave Cicero to bind the legislators of Ottawa in a spell. Indeed, when he speaks in Parliament, he speaks for the record more frequently than he speaks for the effect upon the house. On Tuesday night he

was speaking for the record, and his remarks will read well in that record. He was speaking also for the sound of his words in London, in Washington, in Berlin and Rome and Tokyo. He was speaking as the first Canadian Prime Minister whose words would be studied simultaneously in those distant cities. Behind his speech was the fact of Canada's new status in the world, brother-in-arms in the democratic cause. That is why it was an historic speech.

Mr. King's central theme was Canada's role in the rise of new hope in democracy's fight against the totalitarian conspiracy against freedom, truth and justice. He was proud of Canada's role in these events, and he had reason to be. The Ogdensburg Agreement, he said, was the most significant development in international affairs since Parliament last met. It was the answer of the new democratic front to the new Triple Axis in which Berlin and Rome had taken Tokyo into partnership. "In ultimate importance," said Mr. King, "it far surpasses the formation of the Triple Axis." He said:

"The link forged by the Canada-United States Defence Agreement is no temporary axis. It was not formed by nations whose common tie is a mutual desire for the destruction of their neighbors. It is part of the enduring foundation of a new world order, based on friendship and goodwill. In the furtherance of this new world order, Canada, in liaison between the British Commonwealth and the United States is fulfilling a manifest destiny."

\* \* \*

SO the shape of the future is beginning to emerge in the darkling world. Mr. King did not mince matters in telling Parliament that the road ahead is long and terrible. He had said as much before, but words of this kind have taken on new meaning from events. Everyone who heard his speech and who reads it will have more imagination with which to judge the meaning of this: "I feel certain that right will triumph, but I believe that it is going to be a longer road, a harder road and a more terrible road than any of us at this moment begin to believe."

But if the foundations of a new democratic axis, a new order in defence of freedom, truth and justice, have been laid in these last few months, it has been because Britain held out magnificently. Mr. King put on the record the material facts that portray the spiritual regeneration that has come to everyone of democratic faith. When French resistance collapsed last June, he said, the Government of France and her military leaders believed that not only France but also Britain was doomed. This appalling belief, he added, was held in surprising degree even in the United States. The black mid-summer of 1940 will never be forgotten in Ottawa. It is something that will always touch the memory of this writer, who arrived in Ottawa on assignment for the first time soon after France fell. The record that Mr. King gave to Parliament hinges upon the one central fact that Britain stood out when all Europe wavered. It started the resurgence of spirit that will lead to victory.

# PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of  
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Name of Publication.....

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D 39035

Subject.....

In fine words the Prime Minister put in words the broad aims which are taking on living form in this new resurgence of democratic solidarity:

"We must strive throughout the struggle itself, and more than ever when the evil dragon of Nazism is slain, to see that never again, in our own or any other land, shall the gods of material power, of worldly possessions and of special privilege be permitted to exercise their sway. Never again must we allow any man, or group of men, to subjugate by fear, and to crush by the power of might, the spirit and the lives of honest and humble men."

### Our Prime Minister's Inspiring Leadership

**D**URING the week-end we have been reading one of the great documents of our time — a document which will be an inspiring record for all future generations of Canadians.

We refer to the full Hansard report of the speech which the Prime Minister delivered in Parliament at Ottawa on Tuesday last — the 31st anniversary of his entry into the House as Minister of Labor — in reply to the address in which the Hon. R. B. Hanson complained that Canada's contribution to the first Battle of Britain has been "rather pitiful."

This contribution, by the way, is the one which the Rt. Hon. Herbert Morrison, then British Minister of Supply, referred to on September 16 last as "colossal," adding:

"If ever I was tempted to indulge in a mental slump — which I seldom am, being an incurable optimist — I immediately would think of what Canada *is doing* and *going to do*. That is more than enough to knock the bottom out of any fit of the blues."

\* \* \* \* \*

**I**T HAS been said that there are none among the present public men of Canada with the pure eloquence of Laurier or the command of metaphor which distinguished Sir George Foster, but that on the other hand, among Premier King's contemporaries there is not one who rises to such heights of noble thought, nobly expressed, as Mr. King himself achieves.

That, we think, is a just estimate. Witness the peroration of the speech we have referred to — a speech occupying 20 pages of Hansard and containing a masterly and well-documented review of the war and Canada's part in it. Dealing with the dependence of the dictators upon material power to achieve their ends, he said:

"Material power alone, however, is not an enduring power. Strip domination of its material trappings and there is nothing left. Freedom, truth and justice belong to a different realm. They are not material things capable of being consumed and destroyed; they are of the mind and of the spirit, they belong to the eternal realities. They are attributes of God Himself. In the end they are certain to triumph. In their conflict with those who make of material power an end in itself, those who treasure the world of mind and spirit may, for the preservation of their physical existence, find it necessary to forge and to use against their adversaries the weapons of material power. It is well to remember

that 'he that liveth by the sword shall perish by the sword' is a part of Christian doctrine. To my mind the simple test of the right or wrong of any aim or institution is: Can it endure? Domination by a single dictator or group of dictators may last for a time. It may extend its sway and its sweep, but it cannot endure. Freedom, truth and justice crushed to earth will rise again. It is the breath of God which alone gives life to the bodies of men. Freedom, truth and justice, these will endure; for not only do they give life but they continue to give it more abundantly."

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**L**IKE so many of the great men all down through history, Mr. King is a student of the Bible and draws some of his finest inspirations from it. To win the present war, he said, it is necessary to "put on the whole armour of God," for:

"Let it never be forgotten that 'we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.' Let us make sure that the helmet is also one of salvation; the sword, one of the spirit; and the shield, one of faith; that our loins are girt about with truth and that our breastplate is one of righteousness, and that our feet are shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace."

\* \* \* \* \*

**A**ND then his last word, so characteristic of the main purpose of his life — the seeking of the greatest good for the greatest number. While emphasizing the point that the first task of a civilization which would save itself is to "slay the dragon which has been fascinating its victims by fear, poisoning the springs of their moral and intellectual being at the source and which would prey upon their vitals for years to come," he said:

"In equal measure, however, we must strive throughout the struggle itself, and more than ever when the evil dragon of Naziism is slain, to see that never again, in our or in any other land, shall the gods of material power, of worldly possessions and of special privilege be permitted to exercise their sway. Never again must we allow any man or any group of men to subjugate by fear and to crush by the power of might the spirit and the lives of honest and humble men."

Do you not agree with us when we say that this speech will be an inspiring record for all future generations — just as it is an inspiration to us of this generation, called now to the greatest task in our whole lives?

November 18, 1940.

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"Let it never be forgotten that 'we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.' Let us make sure that the helmet is also one of salvation; the sword, one of the spirit; and the shield, one of faith; that our loins are girt about with truth and that our breastplate is one of righteousness, and that our feet are shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace."

**A**ND then his last word, so characteristic of the main purpose of his life — the seeking of the greatest good for the greatest number. While emphasizing the point that the first task of a civilization which would save itself is to "slay the dragon which has been fascinating its victims by fear, poisoning the springs of their moral and intellectual being at the source and which would prey upon their vitals for years to come," he said:

"In equal measure, however, we must strive throughout the struggle itself, and more than ever when the evil dragon of Naziism is slain, to see that never again, in our or in any other land, shall the gods of material power, of worldly possessions and of special privilege be permitted to exercise their sway. Never again must we allow any man or any group of men to subjugate by fear and to crush by the power of might the spirit and the lives of honest and humble men."

Do you not agree with us when we say that this speech will be an inspiring record for all future generations — just as it is an inspiration to us of this generation, called now to the greatest task in our whole lives?

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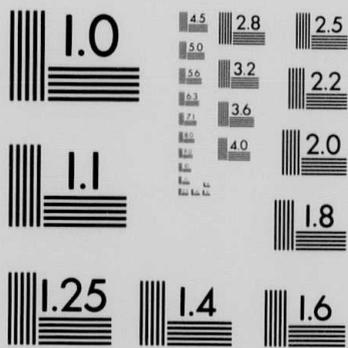
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