

**GLIMPSSES
— OF —
PARLIAMENT**

By Hughes Cleaver, M.P.

In my last report I promised that I would this week give verbatim extracts from the speeches in the House by Rt. Hon. R. B. Hanson and the Prime Minister. They are as follows:

HON. R. B. HANSON (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, we are met here again, at the beginning of the third session of this parliament, under conditions which stagger and appal our thoughts and imagination. Literally the whole world is at war, and we as Canadians are, by free choice and inclination, belligerents in the most momentous conflict in the world's history.

I desire to ask this house and the country two questions: Has Canada fully mobilized her material resources? Has Canada fully mobilized her man and woman power to wage total war? Now, what are the requisites of total war as applied to Canada this critical juncture of our history? I have given considerable thought to this problem, and here is my blue-print of the principles underlying a total war effort for Canada to-day. It may not be complete, but such as it is I offer it to the house and to the country.

1. To muster, equip and train as many and as strong forces as possible to meet and defeat the enemy in whatever theatre of war he may be found.
2. To defend Canada and to prevent the invasion of Canada. And I point out, without arguing the question, that there is a distinction between the two.

3. To mobilize by any and every necessary means the wealth and material resources of the nation in order to provide the implements of war for our armed forces and to provide for the other services which are necessary for the carrying out of total war.

4. To mobilize and organize Canadian agriculture to produce and supply to our armed forces and to our allies as much food as it is possible to transport to them, as well as to supply our civilian population.

5. To mobilize and organize Canadian industry to produce as great quantities of armament and munitions as our facilities and available materials will permit.

6. To build and man transport ships and more ships to carry our products of food, munitions and armament to the scene of conflict.

7. Finally, and perhaps not so important, to mobilize and organize the material wealth and resources of the nation, and such of the personnel of its civilian population as are not immediately required for the armed forces and other war services, to ensure the continuance, under restricted conditions, of such peace-time activities and supplies as are reasonably necessary to

maintain the physical and mental health of our own people.

My own view is that, "at this time of greatest crisis in the world's history"—to use the words of the speech from the throne—the course suggested by the government is the greatest exhibition of lack of national leadership this country has ever witnessed. It is a masterpiece of bad publicity for Canada among the allied nations. As one newspaper has said, "never were so many people humiliated by so few."

It is a deliberate attempt to evade responsibility and save the face of the ministry, and particularly the face of the Prime Minister. It is the negation of responsible government as we know it and practice it.

We cannot win this war by a plebiscite. Germany does not carry on war by plebiscites. The first function of government is to secure the safety of the state, and the government that fails in that duty commits the cardinal, the unpardonable sin. Let this government rise to the level of its duty; let it not be afraid to lead. A plebiscite is not a policy; it is a negation, it is the avoidance of a policy. It is merely an unworthy expedient to avoid facing a vital issue. Its purpose is to avoid rather than to face responsibility.

I turn now to the question of a plebiscite. Let me say at the outset that the loyal people of Canada will and do feel deeply humiliated by the declaration that we are to hold a plebiscite to ascertain if the people will relieve the ministry and, in particular, the Prime Minister, from the position in which he finds himself and which he took prior to the last election, by his own volition and initiative.

We are, in the words of Premier Bracken, to have "this crowning indignity." We are to be asked to take money needed for the war and spend it in order to relieve our Prime Minister of his own obligation.

MR. HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING: I desire briefly to review Canada's record of achievement in the present war. It will be seen that we have developed our effort in all its aspects simultaneously. Equally, we have sought to maintain the proper balance between production and the armed forces, and, among the armed forces themselves, between the needs of the navy, the army and the air force. The foundations of Canada's war effort along these lines were laid in the closing months of 1939. At that time, I stressed the importance of preparing for a long and terrible struggle in which staying power, the power to hold out to the end, might well be decisive.

From the very outset, we took a broad view of Canada's tasks in this war and organized our national effort on all fronts. I turn now to what has been achieved.

First, as respects the navy: At the outbreak of war, there were some 20 ships and less than 2,000 men in the Royal Canadian Navy.

At the beginning of 1940 the navy had grown to 80 ships, and over 5,000 men; at the beginning of 1941 the

numbers had risen to 175 ships, and 14,000 men. At the beginning of this year the navy comprised over 250 ships and 37,000 men.

From the beginning of the war, the navy has assumed a steadily growing share of convoy work in the North Atlantic. Canadian ships of war have shared in the protection of Britain from the threat of invasion. Officers of the Canadian navy have served and are serving in all the seven seas, either in Canadian or in British ships. Canada's pride in the navy is reflected in the long waiting list of young men seeking to join the service.

As respects the army: At the outbreak of war the permanent active militia, as Canada's regular army was then called, included about 4,500 men. By the end of 1939, the Canadian Active Service Force, to give the army its name at that date, had increased to 64,000 men. The first Canadian division had just arrived in Britain.

At the close of 1940, the active army included almost 170,000 men. A Canadian corps of two divisions had already been formed in Britain. Canadian troops were also on active service in Newfoundland, the British West Indies and Ireland.

At the close of 1941, there were more than 200,000 men in the Canadian active army, enlisted for service in any part of the world. About half this number were on active service outside Canada. A third infantry division, an armoured division, an army tank brigade, forestry troops, and other specialized units, and thousands of reinforcements were in Britain, in addition to the original corps of two divisions.

Canadian troops continued to serve in Newfoundland and the West Indies. Two Canadian regiments recently added a new chapter of valour in the heroic defence of Hong Kong.

In addition to the active army, several thousand young men had, during 1941, been called up for military training and service in Canada under the National Resources Mobilization Act. Of this number, a considerable proportion had enlisted in the active army, the navy, and the air force. Some thousands more had been assigned to duties in Canada, thus relieving enlisted men for service elsewhere.

Mention should also be made of the reserve army, in which at the end of 1941, some 140,000 men were enrolled.

As respects the air force: At the outbreak of war the active strength of the Royal Canadian Air Force was some 4,000 all ranks. By the close of 1939, its strength had risen to over 8,000; by the close of 1940, it had reached 43,000; by the close of 1941, it exceeded 100,000 men.

In addition to the home defence duties which began with the outbreak of war, the air force was engaged, in the closing months of 1939, in planning and arranging the organizational details of the gigantic British Commonwealth air training plan.

The year 1940 was a year of construction development for the plan. But, in spite of the strain which was then placed upon the force, Canada's three squadrons which were sent over-

seas did valiant service in the Battle of Britain.

At the outbreak of war, the production of war materials in Canada was on an exceedingly small scale and was confined to a very limited range of equipment.

Throughout the closing months of 1939 and the early months of 1940 Canada passed through the stage of organization. Plants were established, tools and raw materials and labour mobilized; and the ground work of production laid. But apart from a few lines, such as personal equipment for our fighting men, there was little to show for our manufacturing efforts, except a steadily rising total of orders placed, and contracts let. We did, however, achieve a vast expansion of the output of essential raw materials both for our own and for British production.

In two years of war, Canada has experienced an industrial revolution. Our country is now producing almost every type of machine and equipment called for in our munitions programme. In some directions, this production has reached staggering proportions. In others it is mounting steadily.

Let me cite a few details: Our present ship-building programme involves a total expenditure of over \$500,000,000. We have built and are building large numbers of corvettes, minesweepers, patrol boats and motor torpedo boats. We are engaged in a merchant ship building programme of considerable proportions, so great in fact as nearly to equal Britain's own programme. Canada is also engaged upon the construction of destroyers.

We are making guns of all kinds: anti-aircraft guns, field guns, naval guns, tank and anti-tank guns, several types of machine guns, anti-tank rifles, sub-machine guns, rifles, trench mortars, bomb throwers, and smoke projectors.

In the production of aircraft, Canada's experience has not differed from that of other countries. We have had our full share of problems, delays and disappointments. At one time or another, since the war began, fifteen types of aircraft have been produced in Canada. Production is now going to be concentrated on seven modern types: an elementary trainer, two advanced trainers, two bombing and gunnery trainers, a flying boat, a twin-engine fighter and a long-range bomber. In addition to the production of new planes, some thirty plants distributed across Canada from Halifax to Vancouver are engaged in the overhaul and repair of planes. In order to meet the growing need, these facilities will require to be doubled during the next twelve months.

One of the most spectacular achievements has been the production of army vehicles. Nearly 300,000 of all types have already been delivered. Army vehicles made in Canada are in use on every battlefield of this world-wide war. A large number of tanks and universal carriers have already been in action in Russia.

I shall not attempt to catalogue the whole range of Canadian war production, but special mention should be made of the hundreds of thousands of bombs; the millions of shells; the hundreds of millions of rounds of small

arms ammunition; and the hundreds of millions of pounds of explosives and chemicals already made in Canada. Not only are we making these munitions for our own forces and for Britain, but vast quantities have been made available to the United States.

The United States, as well as Britain, look to Canada for a part of their supply of essential base metals. Canadian production of aluminum, copper, nickel, lead and zinc has grown steadily in volume. Our steel production—the foundation of our industrial war effort—is still expanding. Since the invasion of Norway cut off all European supply, Canadian timber has been vital to Britain's war effort.

A most striking fact about our war production is that the value of the supplies we have provided for Britain since the war began has been at least as great as the cost of raising, equipping and maintaining Canada's own armed forces. In the first two years of war their value exceeded \$1,000,000,000. Britain's need for these supplies has been so urgent that, in some cases, our own forces have gone short in order to fill more pressing requirements for the armed forces of Britain.

To achieve a total national effort everyone must contribute to the effort either directly or indirectly. All cannot do the same work. As far as possible, each must be fitted into the appropriate task. Many, perhaps the majority, can find the appropriate place for themselves, and, as Mr. Churchill said, save "vast government machinery." Certainly no government is wise enough to decide the appropriate task for every individual in the nation. And, even if governments were all-knowing, the war would not wait while this stupendous job was being performed. What the government can do, and what we propose to undertake to do, is to meet the urgent needs by the best means we can devise.

Outside parliament altogether, the political skies have now become so overcast with controversy, promoted by high-pressure methods and highly financed publicity, that the nature and extent of Canada's war effort is not only being obscured, but is in danger of being seriously impaired.

If the issue of conscription for service overseas is to be fought out, the place for it to be fought out is on the floor of this parliament. If, however, members of the government and, indeed, members of this house of Commons generally, are to be free to express their views irrespective of any previous commitments, it is necessary that all members be released from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service.

In a world situation so involved, with enemies on every front, with no one able to say what the outcome of battle in other parts of the world may bring of immediate and increased danger to our own land, the government feels strongly that it should be perfectly free to recommend to parliament whatever course of action it deems essential to the security of our own country, and to the preservation of freedom in our own and other lands.

The strongest of reasons why the government should be given a free hand to take, subject to its respon-



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bully to parliament, any course of action which it may believe to be necessary at a time of war is that the government itself alone can know all the circumstances and reasons which necessitate a particular course of action. These reasons cannot all be made public, linked as they are with the combined plans of other countries, with questions of military strategy, and the necessity of such matters being carefully concealed from the enemy.

The government, having, for the reasons I have mentioned, decided to seek from the people, by means of a plebiscite, release from any obligation arising out of any past commitments, proposals, without delay, to introduce legislation to set up the required machinery for conducting the plebiscite at the earliest possible date. The plebiscite will be taken with the minimum of expense consistent with equitable and efficient provision for a full and honest expression of the views of the people.

I shall not go into detail regarding the procedure to be followed in holding the proposed plebiscite. The question which the government proposes to submit to the people is the simple and straightforward question:

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

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 2. Bringing supplies to the mills and shipping pulp and paper out gives employment to railway and steamship workers. How much does transportation cost the industry a year?
 3. What is the yearly bill for chemicals?
 4. The butcher and baker depend on your wages. How much is paid out by the industry in a year for salaries and wages?
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