

### Halton's Federal Member Speaks

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should be set up for the armed forces. I would urge that every member of our armed forces while serving in Canada, should receive an additional \$1 per day, and, while in active service overseas, an additional \$3 per day. These savings should not be paid now, but at the end of the war. When the boys return, some will want to complete their education. Many of them will marry. Certainly all of them will find it difficult to get back into civilian life. None of the money would have to be paid now. This would not detract from the war effort. It would be no hardship to continue war-time taxation for a few years after the war. There is another feature about this. The proposed payments would establish a tremendous reservoir of consumer demand for goods at a time when this country will badly need a consumer demand for goods to start the industries going again in peacetime operations, turning over from wartime operations.

In some communities considerable harm is being done to the war effort through the high wages being paid, especially on piece work, in war-time industry. In this regard I have a suggestion to go again in peacetime operations, turning over from wartime operations. In some communities considerable harm is being done to the war effort through the high wages being paid, especially on piece work, in war-time industry. In this regard I have a suggestion to go again in peacetime operations, turning over from wartime operations.

I said a moment ago that I would not deny any man the wage he earns. I would pay him the balance of his wages in a non-negotiable war savings certificate, which he could not cash, pledge, nor give away until the war is over. Thereby you would be doing two things beneficial to this war effort. You would be preventing that man from selling his earnings for consumer goods, using up materials which should go into the war effort, and you would also be building up a postponed consumer demand which will come in very handy when the war is over.

I now come to a subject which I hesitate to discuss, because I do not think that, during a war such as this, any workman in Canada should receive in cash more than the equivalent of what he would receive were he in the army. Of course it must be kept in mind that in the army there are varying rates of pay; non-commissioned officers and commissioned officers receive more money. In the factories, superintendents would have to get more money. But my suggestion is that, in the main, the cash wage to the worker of Canada should be the equivalent of the cash wage he would receive if he were in the army.

I freely admit that I have already dictated and thrown away a number of speeches for this debate, and I am not satisfied with my speech today; it is not good enough for the times. It is a shame that in the midst of the present life-and-death struggle we should have to take time to discuss anything but the war effort. However, during the few days that this house has been in session, and throughout the country, so much has been said about the present government being a single-party government, motivated by the party spirit, that I feel I should frankly express my views.

thought that the best way to take politics out of the war effort was the formation of a national government composed of leading men of both parties. This suggestion had considerable merit; it was a view honestly reached by the Conservative party, and no one has any right to question their sincerity or loyalty in arriving at this decision.

The Liberal party, though seeking the same end, took a totally different view of the problem. We thought the best way to take politics out of the war effort was to divorce the war effort from the government, to let the army heads run the army, the air heads run the air force, and the navy heads run the navy. As to production of goods, we thought the best way to take politics out of Canada's war effort was to cast the leading industrialists from across Canada, irrespective of political affiliation, and say to them: Look after Canada's war production.

Those two points of view, both seeking the same end, but in method as wide apart as the poles, were placed before the Canadian people. Both were eloquently argued, over the air, on the public platform, and in the press. When voting day came, the Canadian people, fortunately for Canada, spoke very decisively; there was no room for doubt. The Canadian people had a right to choose the form of government they thought would be strongest in time of war, and, rightly or wrongly, they chose a single-party government.

The promise made by the Liberal party has been fully carried out. I have yet to hear of one criticism, in this house or in the corridors, of political interference in regard to any of the armed forces. I have yet to hear one criticism on the floor of this house in regard to political interference in letting a war contract. It is a well-known fact that well over three-quarters of all army, navy and air force officers are Conservatives. It is well known that a considerable number of men in the Department of Munitions and Supply are Conservatives, and they are doing a wonderful job. Take for example, Mr. Ian Nicholson, the timber controller. He comes from my home town of Burlington. He was urged to contest the 1940 election as a Conservative candidate. He is today vice-president of the Conservative association in my riding. Will anybody suggest that he is a political appointee? And he has done a wonderful job for Canada in connection with the war effort. He has saved this country millions of dollars in the purchase of timber and lumber.

Every dollar's worth of goods bought for war purposes is bought on competitive tender, or, if a type where competitive tender is not possible, is purchased in a businesslike manner from the source that can best supply it. Though hundreds of millions of dollars are being spent monthly, we have yet to hear of any serious misconduct or any political favoritism.

Right here, with all these facts in mind, I implore the opposition to cease making the charge that this is a party government motivated by party feelings. The charge is not true. Hon. members who make such a charge are not being fair to themselves or to the Canadian people. It is harmful to our war effort to stir up in the public mind distrust of the war government. We have honestly tried to take politics out of the war effort. If some are still playing politics, I say to the opposition, denounce them; give us the particulars; let us smoke them out and punish them. So far as I am concerned I owe it to the Conservative party organization in my riding to say that they have fully cooperated with me in the past, and I am confident that this will continue in the future as long as the war lasts. Personally I renounced party politics the very day war was declared. Since September, 1939, I have not made one single political appointment. At the time of the national registration, after consulting with the defeated Conservative candidate I suggested for nomination the president of the Conservative association and the president of the Liberal association as the two key men in my riding to take the national registration. These men made fifty-fifty appointments in every ward in the riding; the entire work was done on a fifty-fifty co-operative basis, and not one man accepted one dollar for his work. The national registration in Halton county cost this country nothing except the cost of printing and advertising.

In this connection let me make a suggestion in regard to the plebiscite. Halton county is going to take the plebiscite vote in the same way; it will not cost this country one dollar in Halton county except for the printing and advertising.

As I have heard over the radio and read in the press the many ill-adviced, unfair and bitter attacks which are now being made, I have asked myself this question: Do these men know that they are doing exactly what Hitler would want them to do? I just toyed with this idea: What would I do if I were a paid German agent hired by Hitler to try to thwart this country's war effort?

In the first place, just as soon as a campaign was launched for voluntary enlistments, I would immediately sponsor conscription. I would tell of all the evils and weaknesses of voluntary enlistment, and I would be all out for conscription. Why? Not because I wanted men; not because I wanted to help the war effort, but because I wanted to harm the war effort and dry up voluntary enlistment.

In the second place, when a victory loan campaign was announced, I would at once charge the government with reckless and extravagant expenditures, with throwing away money in taking a plebiscite, and so on. I would charge them with anything that would undermine public confidence in the government.

In the third place there would be only one thing I could do, other than blow up a factory. I would try deliberately to undermine public confidence in the government by bringing about disunity among the people. I would charge the government with complacency. By doing this I would hope to alienate from the government all the impulsive and restless people

who are never satisfied, no matter what is being done, unless they are doing it themselves.

Then I would take the other tack; I would also charge the government with being too ruthless and too energetic in the prosecution of the war. I would charge it with interfering with business; I would charge it with doing public business by order in council; I would charge it with failing to trust the people. By doing all of these things as a paid agent of Hitler I would hope to overthrow the government and so disturb the public mind that unity would be lost.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Speaker, is carrying a terrific load. The ministers of the five war departments are working to the extreme limit of their strength. Where I ask would you find five better men in Canada than Hon. J. L. Haldane, Hon. O. G. Power, Hon. Angus Macdonald, Hon. C. D. Howe, and Hon. J. T. Thomson? I sometimes wonder if the Canadian people realize the load these men are carrying, and the load being carried by our Minister of Finance (Mr. Mackenzie King), the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Gardiner), and every other minister of the crown.

What about this complaint about lack of leadership? What man in Canada today other than Mackenzie King could have organized our war effort as successfully as it has been organized? What other public man in Canada today holds the confidence of all groups as he does? But, Mr. Speaker, the results speak far more eloquently than I can speak, so let us look at the results. What of Canada's morale? Are the Canadian people tired of this war? They are paying heavy taxes; they are making no profits; we are interfering with their private business, but notwithstanding all this what do we find? Instead of being tired of the war the Canadian people today are demanding a still greater war effort.

If these results do not prove mastery leadership, then I do not know what leadership means.

The load being carried by the Prime Minister today in directing Canada's war effort is not by any means his sole task. It is fortunate for Canada, fortunate for the British Commonwealth of nations and indeed for all the democracies of the world that at this time Canada should have as Prime Minister a personal friend of the President of the United States. Friend and foe alike agree that this fortunate circumstance has, during both peace and war, served as a valuable liaison between Great Britain and the United States. It is strange but true, Mr. Speaker, that no really great man is universally recognized as such during his lifetime. I believe history will record the fact that in our present war leader we have the greatest statesman Canada has yet produced. I do not for a moment expect my hon. friends of the opposition to concur in my view; but I say, irrespective of the views they hold of the Prime Minister, that he was chosen by the people of Canada to lead our war effort. And, health permitting, he will lead Canada until victory is won.

Now just a word about conscription and the plebiscite, and I am through. We had conscription for ten months of the last war, and the total number of troops raised during that ten-month period was less than 30,000. If any hon. gentleman wishes to check that up I shall be glad to give him the reference. During the past seven months of this war we have had voluntary enlistments at the rate of nearly 30,000 a month. As long as voluntary enlistments can be maintained at this rate, conscription would do more harm than good to Canada's war effort. During this period when conscription is unnecessary, many people are opposed to it; and I want to say that they are not all in

French Canada, as some would lead us to believe.

Mr. JOHNSON (How River): Then why the plebiscite? Mr. CLEAVER: If the hon. gentleman will just possess himself in patience for a moment, I am coming to that. If the time ever comes when voluntary enlistments fail to supply our needs, all Canadians, French Canadians and those of British stock, will support conscription; make no mistake about that. Forcing the issue now, before it is necessary, will do untold harm. My hon. friend shakes his head. I am just as sincere in my views as he is in his.

Mr. JOHNSON (How River): The Minister of Justice does not take that stand.

Mr. CLEAVER: This may be a long war. Voluntary recruiting may become inadequate. The government realizes that the time may come in the future when conscription may be necessary. At the general election of 1940 both major parties solemnly pledged themselves against conscription. Looking to needs which may arise in the future, the government is asking the people, by a plebiscite, to cancel this non-conscription pledge. This is a democratic means of seeking the cancellation of a pledge made to the electors. The pledge was given to them, and only they can release the government from it. Every loyal Canadian who wants an all-out war effort in the final analysis must support the plebiscite. The Duplessis rabble in Quebec are opposed to any war effort at all. Out of course they will vote against the plebiscite, but the loyal French Canadians—and they form a large majority—will carry the plebiscite in Quebec. As to the rest of Canada, there are some disgruntled politicians who wish to embarrass this government. There are some selfish business interests who do not like to pay taxes, who yearn for the excess pro-

fits which they enjoyed during the last war. These people, in balking against there is nothing else to call it—see today making statements of which I predict they will very soon be ashamed. The great middle class of this country will once again assert themselves, and will carry this plebiscite with a splendid majority.

The resolution I am about to read, which was passed at a caucus of Ontario Liberal members held yesterday, gives our answer to one public man in Canada today who thinks he is thinking but is only rearranging his girdles:

Whereas the Liberal members of the House of Commons from the province of Ontario, in caucus assembled, desire at this time to reaffirm their loyalty to and their confidence in the leadership of the Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada;

And whereas the Premier of Ontario, Mitchell F. Hepburn, for some time has directed his efforts toward embarrassing and insulting the Prime Minister of Canada;

And whereas Mitchell F. Hepburn, the premier of Ontario, is now endeavouring to discredit and to undermine the present government of Canada by indiscriminate and ill-considered criticisms of the measures taken for the effective prosecution of the war;

And whereas he is presently seeking to defeat a minister of the crown who would be helpful to the government and to the Canadian people at this critical time;

Now, therefore, the Liberal members of the House of Commons from the province of Ontario desire to record their loyalty to and their confidence in the Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King as Prime Minister of Canada and as leader of the Liberal party.

It is with regret that the said Liberal members of the House of Com-

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SECOND

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Subscriptions may be made through any Victory Loan Salesman, the National War Finance Committee or any representative thereof, any branch in Canada of any Chartered Bank, or any authorized Savings Bank, Trust or Loan Company, from whom may be obtained application forms and copies of the Official Prospectus containing complete details of the loan.

The lists will open on 16th February 1942, and will close on or about 7th March 1942, with or without notice, at the discretion of the Minister of Finance.

Department of Finance, Ottawa, 14th February 1942.