

# North York Member Reviews War Situation As He Urges Members Support Repeal of Section Which Provides Limitation In Respect Overseas Service

### Enemy Attacks Must Be Met Before They Reach Canadian Territory — Warns Against False Optimism—Hansard Report of the Speech Delivered in the House of Commons June 24 By Hon. W. P. Mulock, Postmaster General and Member for North York



HON. W. P. MULOCK

Mr. Speaker, we the members of the House of Commons are the representatives of the people of Canada at the hour of her gravest danger, at a time when her very existence is threatened and when defeat means death or slavery to our people. Under conditions such as these one thing and one alone should be considered; that is, how can Canada and the Canadian people make the most effective effort to help the freedom-loving nations of the world, and to save themselves from the perils which day by day are coming closer to our shores? This is no time for false optimism. The months before us will be filled with grave danger; they will test the resources of the united nations and the character of their peoples to the utmost limits. Let us not take it for granted that we are sure to win this war. If we and the united nations have the will to win; if we and our people and the peoples of the united nations are prepared to make sacrifices, increasing sacrifices, under more difficult and trying conditions, then we shall win. But if we are not prepared to make those sacrifices, we will not win.

Let us consider the conditions and the outlook facing Canada to-day. On the Atlantic, German submarines are sinking ships along the American coast; not off the coast of the United States alone and in the Caribbean, but off our coasts, off Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Quebec, right in the St. Lawrence. On the island of Newfoundland our troops stand side by side with their brothers in arms from the great republic to the south, defending the approaches to Canada and the North American continent from the forces of the axis powers. Farther to the east and north the United States has assumed the protection of Greenland and Iceland. In the case of Iceland they relieved troops from Great Britain and from Canada, which fortunately arrived in Iceland before the invasion forces from Nazi Germany were able to do so.

Farther to the east and south we have Great Britain with a large army together with our own Canadian army of volunteers overseas who stand on guard protecting Britain itself and preparing for the day when a second front can be established on the continent of Europe. It is well for us to remember the important part played by our first division overseas when, after Dunkirk, in so far as organized land forces were concerned, they would to a great extent have been called upon to bear the brunt of any attempt of invasion of Britain. We all remember the terrible air attacks of the German Luftwaffe, and the destruction, suffering and death they brought to the British people. But even that terrorism could not break the morale of the British; their courage saw them through. Nor did those attacks lessen their grim determination to resist aggression.

I wish to pay tribute to the men of the Royal Air Force whose courage and determination stood between a victorious German army and the world domination which they nearly achieved at that time. We as Canadians are proud to know that many from Canada were in those immortal squadrons that saved the freedom-loving peoples of the world at that time. The names of those airmen of ours will never die. As long as freedom exists in the world their achievements will never be forgotten.

In more recent days the forces of the British empire have been joined overseas by large numbers of troops from the United States of America, who came to play their part in the fight for freedom in the world. Still farther to the east across the continent of Europe, in a battle line stretching from the Arctic ocean to the Black sea, thousands of miles in length, we have Russia, a nation of 190,000,000 people, locked in a life-and-death struggle in battles that may well become the greatest ever to take place upon the face of the earth. Russia, in spite of straining every nerve to produce the equipment she requires, must have help from the other united nations to aid her in equipping her armed services. We are all indeed glad that Great Britain, the United States and Canada are giving that assistance in increasing measure.

In North Africa we have suffered a disastrous defeat, toward the end of the third year of the war. That defeat has imperiled the whole position of the united nations in the east. Throughout Europe the nations which have been overrun and whose spirits remain unbroken and whose people are still unconquered are seething with unrest. Those freedom-loving peoples have fought and are fighting for us with every means at their disposal. They are fighting for the cause of liberty and for the very existence of this country.

To the west the present situation from the point of view of the united nations is no brighter. On December 7 last Japan entered the war, entered it in such a manner that she sacrificed her national honour for all time to come. She had pledged her word, and without warning she broke it. Sheaped the treachery of her axis partners. Deeply though that treachery is resented by the people of the world, we must admit that in a period of less than seven months the Japanese have made substantial conquests. They have taken Guam and Wake islands,

Hong Kong and the Philippines, Malaya and Singapore, the Dutch East Indies and part of Borneo, the Andaman islands and Burma. They have made heavy attacks on Hawaii and Australia. They have greatly increased the tempo and ferocity of their attacks on China, I believe with the idea of opening land communications with Burma, thus releasing a large quantity of their merchant shipping for other purposes. It appears to me that the Japanese problem at this time is one of transportation, not man-power. Japan is a nation of 70,000,000 people; she has a tremendous army; millions of men, experienced troops, well equipped; men who have been brought up from childhood to glorify war, who believe that the greatest honour they can receive is to be killed in action on the field of battle for their Mikado and for the Japanese empire, and that such a death gives them a passport to the heaven that they envisage. She has an army of soldiers who believe in conquest, into whose minds hatred and jealousy of the white nations have been inculcated for many years. Even when they were our allies in the last war they had no love for either the Canadian or the United States troops. I believe that Japan has been working according to a plan carefully prepared over a period of many, many years. It was at the end of the last war that they obtained their foothold in Manchuria. They made large investments of capital in the city of Harbin, and it now appears clear that they were only waiting for the most opportune occasion for Japanese troops to follow their investments, for the conquest of Manchuria.

As I have said, their plan of action has been very carefully prepared. Every eventuality has been considered, and alternative or supplementary plans have been prepared in detail, ready to go into effect as the exigencies of the situation demand. Within the last few weeks Japan has commenced the occupation of the Aleutian islands, the stepping stones from Asia to the North American continent. These attacks on the Aleutian islands may be a great deal more dangerous and a much greater menace to the North American continent than many believe at the present time. It has been the opinion of many who are well informed and who have had much experience that attacks on our western coast are most likely to be in the nature of sporadic raids. They may be correct; I hope they are, but I believe they are wrong. The Japanese nation, which has been preparing for many years, whose forces are highly trained and well equipped, including hundreds of thousands of men with actual front-line experience in battle, is now at the peak of its military strength. Is it reasonable to expect that Japan will wait until Canada and the United States have attained their maximum power; that Japan will wait until the forces of this continent can dictate the time and place for the great battles of the future? I do not think it is. Japan realizes that the final reckoning, no matter what temporary conquests she may make in Asia, will be with the nations of the North American continent and the British empire. It is quite probable that she may try to invade this continent by way of the Aleutian islands and Alaska before we have mobilized our utmost strength. If the Japanese meet with success in the Aleutian islands, and if for the time being the balance of sea power in the Pacific shifts in their favour, I believe it quite possible that they may make an actual landing in force on the upper western coast, fortify their positions and try to hold that part of the continent until such time as they can bring up additional troops, munitions and supplies of all kinds, in the meantime fortifying their harbours and constructing airports to use in their drive southward along the Pacific coast, west of the Rocky Mountains and protected by them.

Those attacks must be stopped before they reach Canadian territory; yet there are those who would oppose the repeal of section 3 of this act and would seek to prevent our troops, raised under this act, from fighting alongside United States troops for the very protection of this continent of North America.

No one can tell where Japan will strike next; she holds the initiative.

With an improvement in her transportation problem the attack might be on India, through Burma. It might be another attack on Australia, or on Midway and Hawaii, to gain control of the mid-Pacific and so lessen the advantages of the Panama canal to the united nations. It might take the form of an attack on the Russian area from Vladivostok to Khabarovsk, not only to force the Russians to move troops from the German front but also to obtain for Japan control over an area in which airports might be located for use against her vulnerable cities.

Until such time as the allied forces are able to go on the offensive, the axis powers will to a great extent have the choice as to the location of battles and the time when those battles will be fought. With the axis powers holding the initiative we must expect a variety of attacks to be made in an attempt to divert us from our main objective, the establishment of a second front and the destruction of the German war machine. It is possible that the present axis strategy is to attack in a number of widely separated areas, with the object of creating confusion and panic among the united nations. Their great purpose, we may be sure, would be to prevent, if possible, the united nations from assembling in Great Britain the forces, munitions and transport necessary successfully to invade the European continent.

It may be that the present occupation of the islands in the Aleutian group is for this purpose. On the other hand we can be very sure that if the Japanese achieve successes, they will follow them up very quickly. It is almost a foregone conclusion that in the development of the strategical scheme Canada, with its vast air training plan, has not been overlooked by the axis powers. The German high command undoubtedly does not view with equanimity the arrival in the skies over Germany of increasing numbers of Canadian airmen. It may be that by these threats they hope to have large numbers of these airmen retained in Canada. Perhaps they expect, by engendering a feeling of panic, to create a demand in Canada that our forces now in Britain be brought back here.

With conditions as they are; with perils and dangers coming closer to our shores, unfortunately already there are some who subscribe to this view, who say that our troops should not fight alongside the armies of Great Britain, the United States or Russia, but should be kept in Canada. May I make it quite clear that I am not advocating the sending all of our troops overseas; that we would leave our coastlines undefended, or that we should not build up our coastal defences in every possible manner. But the fact remains that we in Canada are going to be in a desperate position if the time ever comes when we must defend this country with the forces that can be raised from eleven and a half millions of people, without help from other members of the united nations.

There are still those who say that the United States will protect us, that the United States will not let any other nation take Canada. I should like people having those ideas to consider this. If Canada relied on the United States to protect her and was not willing to assist the United States in the Aleutian islands, in Alaska or on their western coast, what right would Canada have to expect help from the United States if we should need it? If attacks were made on Prince Rupert, or Vancouver, or Victoria, it might be that our action in refusing to help the United States when our help was most needed would make it impossible for the United States to send us help, no matter how much she might desire to do so.

Others say that they do not want to fight for England. To them I would say this. Britain stands between Germany and world domination. In order to achieve world domination Germany must destroy Great Britain, but she does not particularly want the British isles. They have not the great mineral resources, the great ability to produce potential electrical energy, the vast spaces for colonization by surplus German population, the great farming areas that we have in the Dominion of Canada.

Do not for one moment believe that a defeat in this war will not directly and seriously affect us, and those we represent — because it will. If we do not realize this, then we are indulging in wishful thinking. If Germany should win this war she would probably reward heroes in her army with properties and farms in this country. It is probable that she would take over the farms and allot them to whom she wished. We, and those whom we represent, may be on our farms; but in such event we would not be there as owners, but as virtual slaves until the day we are lucky enough to die. If Germany should win this war and should decide to make large transfers of her population to Canada, can we doubt, with the lessons of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Holland and France before us, that she would have a few purges to remove those who had been most troublesome?

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): There would be no Postmaster General.  
Mr. MULOCK: Or leader of the opposition.  
Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Not bad!

Mr. MULOCK: And she would send those of our people whom she did not want up to the north country, or to some other part of the world.

Mr. MACKENZIE (Vancouver Centre): New Brunswick.

Mr. MULOCK: There are people who say that Hitler is wholly to blame. Of course Hitler has a lot to answer for. But getting rid of Hitler, and the rest of the gangsters associated with him, including those in charge of the Nazi party, would not correct the situation. Let us not forget that millions of children growing up in Germany have been trained in Nazi principles since they were four years old. They have had inculcated into their minds the rabid Nazi propaganda that the Nazi way of life is the only one worth living — that is worth fighting for and worth dying for. From the time that they have been old enough to understand they have been told that they belong to a super race which should dominate the world, and that if they would follow their Nazi leaders they would become the masters of the world, with a greatly improved standard of living. Such ideas have been so firmly planted in the minds of those young people that there have been instances where children have betrayed their own fathers and mothers to the Gestapo.

Can we expect any mercy, any fair treatment, from brutes such as these? While it is true that we fight for freedom alongside Britain, and alongside the United States and Russia, it is equally true that we fight for ourselves, and our very existence as a nation.

When I asked the people in my constituency to vote "yes" on the plebiscite, these are the words I used:

'At this time any government, responsible to the Canadian people for the safety of the state, for the defence of Canada, for the protection of the men, women and children of this country, must have an absolutely free hand, unfettered by any commitments of any kind, so that they in their judgment may do that which they consider best to defend this country.'

By a very large majority the people of Canada voted "yes" on the plebiscite. As a result, we have an amendment before us; and unless the amendment is approved by the house, the government is prevented from sending troops raised under the National Resources Mobilization Act to the Aleutian islands, Alaska and the United States territory on the Pacific coast, because that would be service outside Canada and the territorial waters. If the amendment is defeated, the government could send those troops only after passing an order in council under the War Measures Act, a procedure which would be in direct disregard of the expressed will of the House of Commons.

Do hon. members who object to the removal of this restriction believe that we should ask our United States brothers to defend us at sea and on the land, ask them to protect us from attacks by the Japanese? Do they believe we should keep our troops raised under the act on our own side of the border until United States troops have been driven back, before coming to their assistance and before beginning to fight? Do they not believe that any request we might make in the future, whether for help along our eastern or western coasts, might be received with this very reasonable thought: "If Canada has to fight by herself for a while, she will be more sympathetic in giving help to us, the next time we need it."

Do hon. members who oppose the amendment believe that in the event of our overseas army being sent to the attack on the continent of Europe and to fight for them and for our country, the government should leave those men to their fate, without proper reinforcements? With such an attitude I could never agree.

My position is this: I believe the amendment is necessary for the protection of this country, and for the protection of our volunteers overseas. I do not believe we can protect Canada or win the war by staying within our own boundaries and waiting to be attacked, any more than any other of the united nations can help to win the war by keeping their troops indefinitely within the borders of their own countries.

I do not believe that conscription should be put into effect unless it is going to assist and strengthen the war effort of this country — and at this time I do not believe that it would do so. I agree with the statement of the Prime Minister: "Not necessarily conscription, but conscription if necessary."

In connection with the repeal of section 3, the result of which repeal would be to give the government a free hand in connection with the raising of troops for overseas service, it has been suggested that other commitments should replace the one now being removed. Some desire an understanding that in the event of the present amendment being approved by the house there should be immediate conscription. Others wish to tie the hands of the government by saying, "If the bill passes, will you promise not to put conscription into effect, under any circumstances?" To both I say this: We are one of the united nations fighting in a world war, a war in which conditions change from day to day. The government has a very real sense of its responsibilities, and it wants to be free to deal with problems as they arise, and according to its judgment as to what is best in the light of prevailing circumstances. It must be realized that there are times when

the government receives from other governments certain information which it cannot divulge. I make this appeal: Do not hamper the efforts of the government to defend this country. Our ideas may not be the same as to what constitutes defence; but upon this I hope we are unanimously agreed: We all want to serve Canada to the best of our ability. Having that determination, I ask the house to do what the Canadian people have done: give the government a free hand to get on with the war.

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