

Confederation Promises Are Still To Be Implemented

(Continued from Page 17)

by increased subsidies, so-called, it gives back to our people just another fraction of the money they pay in Federal taxation.

So-called subsidies were originally, and properly, called grants, in consideration of allowing the Federal Government to have the right to tax the people of New Brunswick. The word "subsidy" was subsequently adopted, no doubt, as part of the general scheme of deception in respect of the independence of the Provinces.

New Brunswick's contribution through Federal taxation and liability for Federal capital expenditures and guarantees in the other Provinces and in the United States are much greater than the Federal Government expenditures in, and guarantees for, New Brunswick.

In other words, the Government and Parliament of Canada have exacted much more from New Brunswick than they have returned to her.

Add to that the enormous indirect tax that the people of New Brunswick pay to private interests in the Central and Western Provinces on the commodities we purchase from those Provinces because of artificial customs, duties and transportation regulations and it will be readily seen that New Brunswick's connection with Canada under existing conditions is an unbearable handicap which cannot be allowed to continue if New Brunswick is to survive industrially and commercially.

We should never lose sight of the fact that Canada is a Confederation, arranged by certain countries for certain purposes and to promote objects in the grand territorial division of the Empire, officially and legally named British North America.

The Government and Parliament of Canada were created by and derive their authority from the Provinces.

If there be cause and if the Provinces so desire they can increase or decrease such authority, or if the Provinces so desire they can do away with Canada and establish some other form of union, or, if they prefer, govern themselves as separate Provinces under the British Crown.

It is a mistake to try to promote national unity by misinforming the people regarding Canada.

We cannot have national unity without federal unity and we cannot have federal unity unless and until the Agreements of Confederation are understood by the people and carried out by the governmental machine at Ottawa in letter and spirit.

The governmental institution named Canada which was created in 1867 by the four original Provinces now has certain legislative and administrative authority, under the British Crown, in all British North America except Newfoundland and Labrador, but, when created, its authority extended only to the four original Provinces, not from "sea to sea" as those who misinterpret the meaning of the word "Dominion" would lead us to believe.

We are New Brunswickers because New Brunswick is the name of 'our own, our native land'; we are British Americans because British North America is the major land division of which New Brunswick is a part; we are Canadians because our country (New Brunswick) agreed to allow the governmental institution named Canada to have certain legislative and administrative authority in New Brunswick. We are British subjects because New Brunswick is a British country, a Province of the United Kingdom, not because New Brunswick is connected with Canada.

This House conducts the King's business in this Province and it is the duty of this House to protect His Majesty's subjects in this Province from injustice at the hands of the Federal governmental machine or from any other source.

The people of the divisions of the United Kingdom retain and cherish the nationality of their respective countries, even though they are under one Parliament; for instance, England is still England and an Englishman is an Englishman, first, last and all the time.

We are taught in our own schools to think of ourselves only as Canadians, and, in effect, that Canada is literally one country divided into Provinces, no doubt so that we will submit to being commercial vassals of what we call Central Canada; such a mental attitude is another self-imposed handicap.

If educational institutions, our own included, had properly informed the youth of these Confederated Provinces in respect of what this thing called Canada is and how it was intended to function, no doubt most of the tragedies which now confront the people could not have developed.

We frequently see Canada referred to as one country and a democracy; if we allow ourselves to be deluded, that Canada is literally one democratic country it naturally follows that we believe it should be governed by policies formulated by the majority of elected representatives and submit to the loss of our federal rights if such is the will of the Government and Parliament of Canada.

A federal service is a defined duty, not a political party policy and Canada should be in effect a service institution for the mutual benefit of the Provinces.

For many years, Canada's ministries have been controlled by Montreal and Ontario majorities, and New Brunswick has been sacrificed to promote the interests of those sections. To expect a Government controlled by representatives from Montreal and Ontario to be much concerned about the welfare of New Brunswick, unless they are compelled to do so, is much too much to expect of human nature.

The only democratic section of the governmental machine established at Ottawa is the House of Commons—the Senate is independent and appointed for life without regard for population or the votes of the people they represent. The Governor-General is appointed for a term of years without regard for the votes of the people, and is vested with the power of veto, primarily for the protection of the federal rights of the small Provinces.

Those independent sections of Canada's governmental machinery are not functioning as intended, but should be made to do in the national interest. We cannot otherwise expect "peace, order and good government."

I submit that the system of government provided for this Confederation is the best that has ever been devised and especially suitable for these confederated British North America States with their peculiar geographical layout, physical obstacles and dual racial conditions. Also, that if the Agreements of Union were carried out, the serious economic problems which now confront Canada would soon disappear.

The Incorporators of Canada set up a strong Central Government, but it was debauched by its first Executive Council, and we now have a hybrid or cross between a federal or constitutional government and a British Parliamentary Government or government by the will of the majority.

For the Provinces to vest greater powers in that hybrid political party machine as it is now functioning would but invite greater national tragedies.

We also often see Canada referred to as a Federation; frequently, the same speaker or writer will use both words, Federation and Confederation, to define Canada, even though it is not possible for Canada to be both a Confederation and a Federation.

Some authorities claim that it was an omission on the part of the Founders of Canada in not

making written provisions for amending Canada's constitution.

No written provision is necessary for amending the constitution of a Confederation because the constitution of a Confederation cannot be amended without the unanimous consent of the countries which arranged it and it would be superfluous to so declare in its written constitution. When countries confederate, they do not lose their independence and autonomy and are not merged into one country.

On the other hand, if when countries arrange a federal union, they agree that its constitution may be amended by the approval of a fixed minimum number of votes of the countries parties to it (not by the votes of the people as a whole) such a union is a Federation.

There is no reason for any doubt or uncertainty about what Canada is.

The Quebec Conference of 1864 suggested that the proposed union should be a Federation, and, in 1865, the people of New Brunswick voted against a Federation with an overwhelming majority.

In 1866, the people of New Brunswick voted in favor of a confederation, and, in every case, where the words Federation and Confederated Provinces appear in the Quebec Resolutions, they were changed at the London Conference of 1866 to Confederation and Confederated Provinces.

At that time, the people of New Brunswick were well aware of the difference between a Federation and a Confederation due to the fact that the American Civil War was fought over the question whether the neighboring federal republic was a Federation or a Confederation; the South claimed that it was a Confederation and that they had the right to secede from the Union rather than comply with the wishes of the North regarding slavery.

The people of New Brunswick would not agree to put their Province into a Federation which some day might crush it into submission to the will of Ontario and Quebec.

Here is a Resolution that was passed by this Legislature on June 26, 1866:

"Resolved — That an humble address be presented to His Excellency, the Lieutenant-Governor praying that His Excellency be pleased to appoint delegates to unite with delegates from the other Provinces in arranging with the Imperial Government for the union of British North America, upon such terms as will secure the just rights and interests of New Brunswick, accompanied with provision for the immediate construction of the Intercolonial Railway; Each Province to have an equal voice in such delegation. Upper and Lower Canada to be considered as separate Provinces."

Some authorities advance the opinion that three Provinces, Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick could not arrange a contract that would bind the four original Provinces, but it will be seen from that Resolution and from the records of the London Conference that the four Provinces were represented at that Conference and did arrange what B.N.A. Act 1867 declares is a joint declaration and consequently an Agreement.

The Resolution quoted is the authority of this Legislature to arrange a Union and as a result of that Resolution, delegates were appointed to go to London and arrange a Confederation, and they did so, regardless of the fact that histories, generally emanating from Ontario, tell us that the B.N.A. 1867 is based on the Quebec Resolutions. That is why, also, the Canada Railway Loan Act 1867 was passed and Section 145 was attached to B.N.A. Act 1867 to provide for the construction and operation of the Intercolonial Railway as a federal service to be operated at all times by the Federal Government.

The official record of the London Conference was kept by Sir John Macdonald with his private

papers and was not published until 1895.

It may be truthfully said that the Legislature of the country formerly named Canada adopted the Quebec Resolutions as the scheme of union, but that Legislature neglected to put in writing in the credentials given to the delegates of Upper and Lower Canada the obligation to adhere to the Quebec scheme. Consequently, when the New Brunswick delegates refused to adopt the Quebec scheme the delegates of Ontario and Quebec approved of the scheme proposed by the New Brunswick delegates. In other words, due to the fact that their instructions to adhere to the Quebec scheme were not in writing the delegates of Ontario and Quebec did not keep faith with their respective countries.

It was no doubt in part to conceal such a breach of faith that statements have been made to the effect that the Quebec scheme (which is simply a suggestion of political leaders, including political leaders from Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland) was adopted. Also, the statement to the effect that the Imperial Government forced the Union upon the Provinces with the delegates acting in an advisory capacity, which is not true.

The London delegates arranged the Agreements before they officially approached the Imperial Government asking that legislation be passed to sanction their Agreements.

If it were true that the Imperial Legislation in this respect is based on the Quebec Resolutions, Canada would be something that was created by the Imperial Parliament instead of being what it is, something that was sanctioned by the Imperial Parliament upon the expression of such desire by the Provinces.

Any country in a Confederation may withdraw from the Alliance for cause, but a country cannot withdraw from a Federation except in accordance with the agreed voting arrangement for constitutional amendment, as recently shown by the refusal of the Imperial Parliament to enact legislation which would permit Western Australia to withdraw from the Australian Federation contrary to the Agreement arranged by the Australian Provinces.

Western Australia, in effect, asked the Imperial Parliament to break the Australian contract. What New Brunswick requires is the carrying out of the contract arranged by the British North America Provinces by the agency established at Ottawa for that purpose.

New Brunswick is holding to her parts of the contract, such as allowing Quebec and Ontario to sell their commodities in this Province without paying customs duties.

Customs duties and transportation regulations which should have been established for the mutual benefit of all Provinces have been established almost exclusively for the benefit of Montreal and Ontario, with the result that New Brunswick is now a tributary country paying a large amount of tribute to Montreal and Ontario. Not only do we receive no return from such financial contribution, but it is used against this Province in competing with those Provinces for our own local, inter-Provincial and foreign trade.

The people of New Brunswick are now practically commercial vassals of Montreal and Ontario.

That is why, for instance, New Brunswick is importing such a quantity of agricultural products from the Central and Western Provinces. The farmers of the Central and Prairie Provinces are indirectly heavily subsidized by the Federal Government and the farmers and other people of New Brunswick are indirectly contributing to this subsidization.

The parts of the contract which the Government and Parliament

of Canada were established to carry out for the protection of the rights and interests of New Brunswick are being ignored and evaded to promote the interests of Montreal and Ontario and in the United States, especially.

I submit there is no parallel in British Colonial history for the unjust and unwarranted treatment that New Brunswick is receiving at the hands of the Government and Parliament of Canada.

A few days ago, the Hon. the Attorney-General referred, in this House, to the fact that the country formerly named Canada (Ontario and Quebec) sent delegates to the Charlottetown Conference of 1864, asking that that country be admitted into a union with the Maritime Provinces.

Why did they send those delegates to Charlottetown?

Primarily because of the fact that the St. Lawrence River was useless as an overseas trade route for about six months of the year and consequently it was impossible to develop their country except as an appendage of the United States. They publicly stated that their country was at the mercy of the United States as far as overseas trade was concerned and was on the verge of being forced into the American Union.

They literally begged the people of this Province to agree to a Union which would permit their country to establish a continuous trade route to the ocean through our territory.

They stated that they were willing, on behalf of their country, to arrange an Agreement under which their overseas trade would flow in one continuous stream through this Province, thereby relieving their country from its intolerable position of being at the mercy of the United States in this respect. In other words, and as stated by those delegates, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia would become the carriers of their overseas trade as partial compensation for sacrifices on our part.

When the delegates from the several Provinces met at the Quebec Conference, this is how they drafted that proposed Agreement—"The communication with the North-western Territory, and the improvements required for the development of the trade of the great West with the seaboard, are regarded by this Conference as subjects of the highest importance to the federated Provinces, and shall be prosecuted at the earliest possible period that the state of the finances will permit."

Those delegates stated that their country had no seaboard and was in dire need of a seaboard on British territory.

The St. Lawrence waterway is economically, strategically and nationally unsound. That fact has been proven by the experience of the country formerly named Canada and the experience of the Confederation presently named Canada.

At the London Conference the Resolution of the Quebec Conference I have just quoted was unanimously agreed to except that the words "Federated Provinces" were changed to "Confederation."

You will notice that Agreement is declared to be "of the highest importance" that it "shall be prosecuted" as soon as Canada had the money to do so. Just as the founders of Canada recognized those facts then, so they should be recognized now.

The St. Lawrence River is more useless as an overseas trade route now than it was at that time and it is just as impossible now to successfully develop that country and the North West independent of the United States by the St. Lawrence overseas trade route as it was then, in fact more so.

Anyone familiar with transportation knows that the most important factor in the development of a trade route is continuity of operation. Trying to successfully develop Canada by operating the St. Lawrence part

(Continued on next page)