

## Hon. Dr. A. P. Paterson

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the truth regarding the constitutional set-up must be concealed and the people led to believe that it was the intention to have the General Government function as the British Parliament functions.

## FALSE PROPAGANDA

This could only be done by the circulation of propaganda, especially prepared for that purpose. That is why such propaganda is being taught in our schools and circulated otherwise.

That such propaganda is being taught in our New Brunswick schools evidently to insure that when pupils reach maturity they will submit to government, primarily for the benefit of capitalistic interests, is "bad stuff," but there it is neither the propagandists who wrote it nor capitalistic interests are responsible for our previous governments and legislatures, and it is our responsibility if it is continued.

I have been informed on good authority that constitutional histories that have been published by large publishing houses in Ontario have been first censored in the United States, and everything that would disclose the fact that Canada is an intro-provincial compact has been cut out.

The University of New Brunswick has engaged Dr. A. G. Bailey to teach the history of British North America.

May I repeat a warning to our people; please do not believe propaganda that has been circulated, and is being circulated, especially over the radio, regarding this confederation that is functioning under the name of Canada.

The only Canada with which the people of New Brunswick are concerned has no history previous to its incorporation in 1867, and nothing outside of the documents pertaining to its incorporation has any constitutional bearing on what Canada is now, on what are its authority and objects nor on how its governmental machinery should function.

History shows that every conservative government has aimed to promote or protect international capitalistic interests, and that every Liberal Government has aimed to pull this confederation out of the economic morass in which previous conservative governments had placed it.

History discloses the fact also that every major economic tragedy which now confronts Canada was initiated by the Conservative party.

I notice by the Press that the Liberal-Conservative party is considering the adoption of a new name. If that party wishes to adopt a name that will appropriately express its aims and objects as disclosed by the records of its functioning since it was established, may I suggest that it adopt the name "International Capitalistic Party" and as a slogan may I suggest that it will find a fitting motto in Ben Johnson's "Every man to his humor" as follows: "Get money; still get money, boys, no matter by what means".

I need not enlarge on the weakness and abuses of political partyism. They are well known. But may I refer further to the distortion of the General Governmental machinery. There is no constitutional provision for the ministry as it is now functioning nor is there constitutional provision which makes the ministry responsible to the House of Commons. Nor is the House of Commons obligated to go back to the people for election if a Government bill is defeated by the House of Commons. Those are imitations of the British democratic system of government which have been substituted for the constitutional principles established for the General Government.

By substituting the British democratic system for federal principles Macdonald was able to whip his party into line in support of his policies for the promotion of capitalistic interests and with the Senate a partisan body he was practically in control of Parliament.

The Parliament of Canada has since been imitating the British system and in my opinion it would be as sane to feed steam to a gasoline engine and expect it to function successfully as it is to "feed" British democratic parliamentary practices and procedures to the Governmental machine at Ottawa and expect it to function successfully.

The constitution provides for a Kings Privy Council for Canada as its executive government. The Governor-General appoints privy councillors who are not necessarily either members of the Commons or Senate. The Governor-General has the authority to summon the leader of the largest party in the Commons and acting under his advice may appoint Privy Councillors who, as stated, do not constitutionally become responsible to the House of Commons. As I interpret the Constitution the House of Commons is elected for five years and if it goes to the people for re-election before that time it does so at its own pleasure.

If this principle were being followed, members of the House of Commons could independently express their opinions and vote independently of the will of the Executive which should greatly improve government and give greater protection especially for the smaller provinces.

It is also a principle of federal unionism that one Province is not

entitled to a better federal service than another Province regardless of size and population; in other words, population or the will of the majority of the people as a whole should not be regarded as an important factor in the functioning of the General Government. To repeat, the Provinces created Canada to promote the welfare of the Provinces not to be a democracy to promote the welfare of the majority of the people.

If there is ever to be good Government of the British North America units of the Empire that are presently confederated, we must do one thing or the other. Either make the General Government function Federally and as it was intended to function, or do away with Provincial Legislatures entirely and merge these units of the Empire into one Democratic country. Obviously the latter is impracticable which leaves only the former course to pursue.

## The C. N. R.

May I refer to that great international capitalistic tragedy known as the "Canadian National Railways".

By pursuing the policy initiated by Macdonald of building railways by private companies subsidized by governments over-construction of railways reached a point where a number of railways were on the verge of bankruptcy.

The conservative party then in power decided as far as possible to protect the capital invested in these railways on the ground that if they were allowed to go into bankruptcy it would endanger the credit of Canada and undertake to guarantee to a certain extent the capital invested in them in Canada and the United States.

I will not take the time of the House by going into details of these transactions other than to say that when the King Liberal government came into power in 1921 it found this white elephant on its hands and brought the whole sorry mess under one management headed by Sir Henry Thornton.

This white elephant that both parties have been holding by the tail and the political party weakness of the General Government has prevented its being met head on and put in its proper stall.

This corporation is composed of about one hundred commercial enterprises in Canada and the United States that are guaranteed by the Federal Government and it should not be confused with the Government owned railways such as the Intercolonial, Prince Edward Island and National Transcontinental. The Canadian National Railway Company does not own any property in New Brunswick.

The Intercolonial Railway management prior to the election of the Borden Conservative Government in 1911 was operating that railway directly under the Federal Government as the canals are operated, and fairly well promoted the transportation and trade objects of the confederation.

But the Borden government coming into power in 1911 found that such management was interfering with the Conservatives policy of centralization and Americanism and appointed some United States railway officials as managers at Moncton and the vicious advances in freight rates against Maritime shippers started in 1912 as stated by the Duncan Commission.

But even those United States managers were not doing a good enough job to please the Conservative party and in 1918 the Meighen Government by Order-in-Council transferred the management of the Intercolonial railway to the Board of Directors of the Canadian Northern Railway Company at Toronto; This is one of the group of railways that the Conservative party guaranteed and is now included in the so-called, Canadian National Railways. The railways owned outright by the Government are now being operated by this International Corporation without regard for the Federal obligations attached to them and greatly to the detriment of this Province.

The Duncan Commission report shows what occurred in connection with freight rating handicaps imposed upon this Province from 1912 to 1927 and the manipulation of freight rating against this Province by the C. N. R. since that time is well known.

There is no doubt that if the International Corporation known as the Canadian National Railways dared to do so it would abandon both Halifax and Saint John as overseas ports and use only its St. Lawrence and United States outlets but not daring to do so that Corporation is evidently determined to side-track Saint John and use Halifax to a limited extent and in this and other ways hold Nova Scotia in line and prevent an open revolt by both Provinces against the injustice from which they are suffering. Up to the present it has been quite successful in this respect.

Halifax has been a port of connection with Trans-Atlantic liners sailing out of New York and the attempt made by the Liverpool office of Cunard and Line recently to make the Port of Saint John a port of call for some of their liners was defeated by international capitalistic interests under a Conservative Government.

There are other facts which show that the development of the port of Saint John and fair treatment for this Province under a Conservative Government cannot be expected.

Nor can it be expected from the Canadian National management of the Government owned railways.

## The Air Lines

Continuing with transportation we see capitalistic interests at the present time trying to promote the development of a Montreal-New York overseas trade route in connection with air lines and making the Maritime Provinces back country of Montreal and New York as they are now in connection with railway and steamer transportation. This matter has recently been brought to the attention of this House by the Honorable the Premier.

In this connection in a London, England, press despatch Sir Evelyn Wrench in an address before the Canadian group of the Overseas League is reported to have referred to the Maritimes as "Canada's forgotten Provinces" and that the Maritimes were "stagnating" and he urged that liners and Trans-Atlantic planes should call at these Provinces in increasing numbers. He also said—"there is no striving for unity as there was in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's time of thirty years ago". Proper transportation arrangements is the one thing that will promote national unity; propaganda can never do so.

Many British leaders, including at least one Prime Minister and one Secretary of State for the Dominions who understand how favourably these Maritime Provinces are situated for overseas trade and who understand also the international capitalistic arrangement that is preventing the development of these Provinces, have publicly urged our people, in effect, to wake up from their lethargy and indifference in this respect.

## Our Finances

The Hon. the leader of the Opposition in criticising the financial position of this Province and the last sale of bonds in his recent address in this House said—"There may have been cheap money but we were not able to bet it". May I inform the Honourable gentleman that I have been advised that the public statements which he made while this Government was negotiating for the last sale of bonds to the effect that this Government was putting this Province in a position where it would soon become bankrupt was the chief reason why we couldn't bet the "cheap money".

Boston investment houses who were arranging to take these bonds at the same price as the previous issue held up because they could not believe that the Honourable the Leader of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition would so injure the credit of this Province, especially when there was no election in sight, unless his statements were founded on facts. Consequently we must feel that the higher rate of interest which this Province was obliged to pay on that occasion is attributable to him. This is a substantial amount which the tax payers of this Province must pay annually during the life of those bonds as a result of the statements made by the Honourable the leader of the Opposition to make political capital.

Soon after these bonds were sold the market price of the bonds of this Province began to advance and the following market quotations as at March 2nd of the bonds of all the Provinces reflect the credit standing of the Provinces in the opinion of the investing public.

The range in prices of the bonds of the same Province is accounted for by the length of time the bonds have to run to maturity. The figures quoted are the interest yields to the investor. The lower the yield indicates the higher the opinion of the security.

Alberta 4.25 to 4.90, British Columbia 4.20 to 5.60, Manitoba 5.85 to 6.85, Nova Scotia 3.00 to 3.90, Ontario 2.28 to 3.64, Prince Edward Island 3.00 to 3.31, Quebec 2.78 to 3.90, Saskatchewan 6.55 to 13.00 and New Brunswick 2.40 to 4.30. It will be noted that New Brunswick bonds rank second to Ontario as the best security in Provincial bonds and no doubt the good administration that this government is giving the people will in a few years place New Brunswick bonds at the top of the list.

In recent addresses in this House the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition said—"nothing has been done to develop the Port of Saint John" and the junior member for Saint John County drew my attention to that port. That something has been done is shown by the increase in traffic through the Port and otherwise.

I know that my friend, the member from Saint John County, is sincere in his desire to promote the development of the port of Saint John and may I assure him of a fact which I think he knows that I have taken the deepest interest in the development of that port for many years, and also that so long as there is a Liberal government in power in Ottawa nothing will be done to injure the development of that Port unless the present government's policy in this respect differs from the policy of all previous Liberal governments and I have no reason to believe that it does.

May I inform my friend regarding some of the political high spots in connection with the development of that Port which I trust will convince him that in his sincere desire to promote the development of trade through the Port of Saint John that

he is sitting on the wrong side of the House and if he is so convinced that we will be pleased to welcome him on this side if he desires to walk across the floor.

My friend has no doubt read many statements made by the so-called Fathers of Confederation to the effect that one of the objects of Confederation was to build the Ports of Halifax and Saint John to equal any in the United States.

Those statements are not promises as many term them but are explanations of the definite documentary contract that was subsequently arranged at London by the authorized representatives of the original Provinces and to which contract the British North America Act 1867 gives effect.

If my friend will read that contract he will find that such port development at the seaboard of these Maritime Provinces is declared to be "the subject of the highest importance to the Confederation and shall be prosecuted at the earliest possible period that the state of the finances will permit".

Incidentally it seems to me that the establishment of Shediac as the terminus of the Atlantic Air Line is covered by that section of the Inter-Provincial compact of 1866.

Such transportation improvement on this Atlantic Seaboard is undoubtedly the chief object of this Confederation and is also undoubtedly the chief object which the Sir John A. Macdonald Conservative Government aimed to prevent for the benefit of Montreal and New York capitalistic interests such as the Grand Trunk Railway.

## The Intercolonial

The construction of the Intercolonial Railway was to be the first step in carrying out the agreement of union and it is because New Brunswick's representatives were fearful of the influence of those capitalistic interests that section 145 was attached to the Constitutional Act and why immediate construction and speed of completion is so strongly expressed therein. New Brunswick tried to get a time limit set for its construction but eventually agreed to accept the conditions defined by the British North American Act, 1867, as to its construction and by the Canada Railway Loan Act, 1867 (Imperial) as to its operation for all time by the Federal Government.

The Macdonald Conservative Government delayed its construction to enable them to make a new transportation agreement with the United States which they did make under the Treaty of Washington, 1871, to which I previously referred.

In 1876 the Intercolonial Railway was connected with the Grand Trunk at Riviere du Loup in the same year the Courtney Bay extension was built to the East side of Saint John harbor and a deep water terminus was built near where the Atlantic Sugar Refinery now stands and all that work was done not by the Conservative party that was established to carry out the Confederation agreement but by the MacKenzie Liberal Government. Negotiations were started to extend the I. C. R. from Riviere du Loup to Levis by the purchase of the Grand Trunk line between those points and that transaction was completed by the Conservative Government in 1879 but only because the Grand Trunk wanted the money to construct a line to Chicago and were not anxious to continue to operate between Riviere du Loup and Levis and because they were determined that the St. Lawrence River would be operated as a part time overseas trade route at the expense of the Federal Government despite the Confederation compact to the contrary and Quebec would be as far east as the Grand Trunk could operate successfully in promoting their pro-United States policy.

From 1878 until it went out of power in 1896 the Conservative party did nothing to promote the development of the port of Saint John and the deep water terminus referred to was not used for overseas traffic and was allowed to decay and much of it was destroyed.

The Canadian Pacific Railway, a private company, in order to compete successfully with the Grand Trunk for overseas trade had to have an outlet on the Atlantic Seaboard in order to hold its trade connections when the St. Lawrence was useless and that company selected Saint John for that purpose and secured running rights over the State of Maine Railways and purchased the railway on the western side of the Province.

Saint John appealed to the Ottawa Conservative Government to construct terminals at West Saint John for the C. P. R. but as always the Conservative Government would do nothing and the City of Saint John built terminals for that Railway; the City also purchased the line from West Saint John to Fallville and gave it to the C. P. R. and otherwise assisted that Company.

In 1892 after Sir John Macdonald's death the Conservative party pursuing its anti-Saint John policy subsidized the Beaver Line of Steamers to run to Portland; that caused the only real row against the Conservative party in Saint John and her two Conservative members threatened to resign with the result that the subsidy was split and some of those steamers came to Saint John. But nothing more was done to promote the development of trade through that port by that government.

In 1896 the Laurier Liberal Government was selected and that Government immediately started to bring Saint John into the transportation picture. A large dock known as Long Wharf was constructed at the head of the harbor. A grain elevator and conveyors were built near the Union Station but unfortunately that elevator was destroyed by fire when the Conservative Government was in power and was not rebuilt.

The Intercolonial Railway was extended to Montreal by the Laurier Government and it also launched the great National Trans-Continental Railway project which had as its ultimate object the carrying out of the Confederation agreement in respect of transportation and trade.

A large development in connection with that railway was planned and started in Courtney Bay, which included the construction of the Dry Dock which was started by the Laurier Government. That is what caused the land boom in Saint John and vicinity! That port was at last to be developed equal to any in the United States as the incorporators of Canada intended. Then came the election of 1911 and there happened the greatest tragedy in so far as this Province is concerned, if not all the Confederated Provinces, the Borden Conservative party was elected.

It was the national trans-continental development not reciprocity that defeated the Laurier Government; international transportation and other capitalistic interests united to prevent the development of that all-British trade route; money poured into the campaign fund from the United States and even some prominent United States citizens publicly made statements to assist in the election of the Borden party.

That party adopted the same tactics that the Conservative party is adopting now in trying to make people believe that it is a national pro-British party despite the fact that indisputable records show that it has always been sectional and pro-United States; the Borden party waved the flag and stamped people into voting in its favour. The construction of the Dry-Dock was too far advanced to be stopped and a breakwater had to be constructed for its protection but that ended the proposed great Courtney Bay development. Under the Laurier Trans-Continental legislation it is provided

that if shippers route traffic via the N.T.R. or I. C. R. the railways are obligated to provide steamers at Saint John and Halifax to carry it overseas.

But in order to prevent shipments being made by that trade route for a number of years no export rates were quoted by the management under the Conservative government for shipment via that route and the Prairie Province exporters couldn't use it if they wanted to do so.

When Lord Jellicoe, then first Lord of the Admiralty, visited Saint John a few years ago he was shown the harbour improvement and when his boat swung around the Barracks Point and he saw the Courtney Bay breakwater he gasped and said—"who put that damn thing there?"

Under the Laurier plan of development the breakwater was to be built from a point near Red Head toward Partridge Island and space left behind that proposed breakwater for the development of a real port but there the breakwater stands close up to the dry-dock as a monument of Conservative party determination to prevent the expansion of the port of Saint John.

The grain elevator on the east side of the harbour is another practically useless monument to the Conservative party. That elevator which should have been built at the head of the harbour was constructed where it is despite the protests of engineers as an election dodge to get votes for the Conservative party.

We come next to the election of the King Liberal Government in 1921 and my friend was then closely connected with port business and I need not remind him of all the details of what the King Government did for the port of Saint John in purchasing the harbour improvements from the City constructing docks and otherwise promoting the welfare of the Port.

But may I deal briefly with what happened after Canada, experienced another tragedy in the election of the Bennett Conservative party.

When Mr. Bennett visited this Province asking to be elected he visited his native county Albert and I was told that there were actually tears in his eyes as he saw the desolation that was there where in his boyhood days there was a happy prosperous people and that he promised if elected to bring back prosperity to this

Province; perhaps he intended to do so but like Sir John Macdonald he had to bow to the wishes of his party and do things he knew were wrong to keep himself in the position of leader of his party as Macdonald had to do.

I heard Mr. Bennett speak in Saint John and even though I knew the records of the Conservative party regarding the Port of Saint John, I was almost convinced that he meant to develop that Port.

Like what happened when the Borden Government was elected in 1911 the Port development started by the King Government could not be immediately stopped but was slowed up and things were looking bad for Saint John when fire consumed a large part of the West side terminals. That disaster shocked all Canada and Parliament immediately voted money to restore those terminals with the assurance by the Government that whatever money was required for the complete restoration of those terminals would be voted. But the Bennett Government slowed up the reconstruction of those terminals and refused to reconstruct the Immigration sheds with the result and pursuant to the Canadian National Railway policy the C. P. R. and other passenger liners are obliged to stop at Halifax for passenger traffic, and the terminals destroyed by fire have been only partially replaced.

Due to the fact that radio and other rapid means of keeping the people informed in respect of what governments are doing the Bennett government lived only one term and we again have in power in Ottawa the King Liberal Government and with the Dysart Government in power in this Province our people may look forward with confidence to the future.

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