

bers, of conferring with the United Kingdom government in London.

As a result of all this I have now made up my mind, with all the detachment and intellectual honesty of which I am capable, that full self-government would be in the best interests of Newfoundland, particularly at this moment in our history. My reasons for coming to this conclusion will, in some measure, be set before you now. Before I give my reasons, however, I would like to say that I am accepting without question the assumption that the political freedom which goes with self-government — with all its dangers, weaknesses, corruptions, responsibilities on the part of politicians and on the part of citizens — is the goal of all peoples like ourselves, nurtured in the democratic tradition. I therefore propose to give my attention chiefly to this matter of material security, which is not unnaturally agitating men and women and on which is laid the emphasis of our times, always bearing in mind, however, that too great a price must not be paid for the one at the expense of the other. There will be, as I think it is inevitable, some repetition in what I have to say at this time. Nearly all of it has been said before, perhaps on more than one occasion.

The most important point of all, the point which caused the turning-point in my thinking, arose out of our visit to London; and this was that it was only by getting our own government — I am giving the substance of what we were told by the Secretary of State — that we could raise the question with our friendly and wealthy neighbour nation, the USA, on some form of concessions, by trade agreement or otherwise, for the granting of extra-territorial rights to that nation without our consent. I am well aware that Newfoundland had to be, of necessity, whether she liked it or not, a factor in the defense of the western hemisphere, which she will have to be in the future, whether she likes it or not; just as Canada will have to be a factor, and in the end will be dominated by the USA in that respect. But I am also aware of the fact that a nation which today, in common with the British Empire, represents the highest ideals of "live and let live" in this world of ours, would not be unwilling to take the necessary measures to see that a small people from whom she has taken, in no small measure, a large part of her sovereign rights was vouchsafed some returns for her sacrifice. And I would point out here that

what to us would be of tremendous advantage, would be a very small concession on the part of our great neighbour.

Now as I have said before, I am not satisfied to let the opportunity of approaching the United States, whether we get anything or not, go by default because we may not have the vision or the courage to see the possibility. It was for that reason that I pointed out on a former occasion, that we ought not to deliver into the hands of any other country the controlling power of our strategic position. But some sceptic may be formulating this question: "But what has that to do with the standard of living for Newfoundlanders?" If we let control go by default, nothing. If we do not, the answer is that our right to bargain for trade concessions would have infinite possibilities which would affect the earning power, and hence the standard of living of every individual citizen in this country. A trade concession, for instance, which would increase our markets or even create a new market for our fish of all kinds, could spell all the difference for our people between a decent standard of living and an uncertain one. Our ability to negotiate with any country could only be the highest under self-government; and I repeat that that was the definite impression on this matter that I received from the Secretary of State.

My second reason is this. I believe we are on the verge of a tremendous development of air traffic, and it so happens that Newfoundland is so strategically placed as to be of the utmost importance as a junction for one of the most important air routes of the world. In this connection once again it was made abundantly clear, and we got the definite impression, that that matter could only be handled if we were to get a government of our own, for the simple reason that it could not be done under the present circumstances, for political and other reasons, by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. In this matter of air control and traffic of the future, I again repeat what I have said before, that we ought to be able to extract certain material rights which ought to affect the well-being of every citizen in this country.

My third point is this, that during the last couple of years it has been abundantly clear that the USA as a nation has become of necessity, because of the depletion of her own mineral