

as we had not given sufficient study to the problems, we were without proper assistance and above all, we had no power to negotiate. I say, and repeat again, that I am certain that we would have received a better offer if the approach had been by representatives of a duly elected government properly informed and with full powers to negotiate. Mr. Smallwood says that that is not true. I say it is true, and I leave it to you to decide who is telling the truth. Mr. Bradley read an extract from Mr. King's letter: "The Government of Canada believes that the arrangements go as far as the government can go *under the circumstances*", meaning "with the facts presented to them".

Mr. Smallwood in his reply in that same debate stated positively that if we entered federal union and did not like it, we could always leave the union. I feel certain that the incorrectness of this statement has been proved to you quite amply by Hon. Mr. Job. I would quote to you further from the book by Professor Wheare: "It is indeed significant that the one modern government claiming to be federal which grants the right to secede, the USSR, is the one where the exercise of the right is least likely to be permitted." Yet Mr. Smallwood says we can always leave the union if we join up with Canada — maybe it is Russian.

In attempting to discredit me, Mr. Smallwood described me as a weather-vane. That may be Mr. Smallwood's opinion, but I should hope, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, that you will appreciate that I am merely an honest person who is sufficiently broad-minded to be able to change his opinion, and with the courage to say so. I do not, moreover, deal in untruths. The two points on which I changed my opinion were some statements by Major Cashin relative to the set-up of the Convention, and the question of discussing union with the USA as raised by Mr. Jackman's motion. Only two members of the Convention to my recollection supported this motion — Mr. Figary and Mr. Reddy. With respect to union with the States. As we are aware, there does exist a very definite wish amongst a number of our countrymen that the ballot at the referendum should include union with the United States. It is too late now for this Convention to explore the possibility of union with that great country, and consequently the Convention will be unable to

recommend that this form of government be placed on the ballot. Whilst it is quite definite that the future economic security of Newfoundland makes it essential that we have a definite arrangement with the United States, this now must be left for an elected government to handle. If this country were to federate with Canada, the opportunity to negotiate with the United States for trade concessions would be impossible, and any wish to join in union with the United States would be lost forever. Most thinking people agree that at some time in the future the North American continent will be in union. That is, the United States will assimilate Canada. The time when such union takes place may be greatly accelerated by world events. What a position to bargain Newfoundland would be in, if she was independent when such union takes place!

In mentioning the United States, another most important matter in considering confederation with Canada arises. We have listened for many, many months to the advantages of joining with this land of heart's desire — Canada. Would Mr. Smallwood in his reply care to state why so many Canadians are leaving Canada to reside in the United States? In the 90 years between 1851 and 1941, 6,700,000 people immigrated to Canada. With all the hard work put in by the Canadian government, and all the money spent in 90 years to encourage immigration, the net gain was 400,000 people. In the last boom period from 1920 to 1930, Canada lost some 500,000 of her citizens to the United States, an average of 50,000 a year. Since the end of the war in Europe in 1945, it is stated that about 40,000 Canadians per year have made applications to emigrate to the United States. How many Canadians go across the border without being granted permission is impossible to estimate. It is stated that two-thirds of all those emigrating to the United States from Canada are under 37 years of age. Due to United States immigration requirements, those granted permission are usually a picked group, and the result is Canada is losing her best type of citizens, the thrifty and better-trained people. The chief reason for the immigration appears to be the better wages paid in the United States. The earnings in manufacturing in the United States averaged \$1.20 per hour to the Canadian 78 cents per hour. The statement that the increased wages in the United States is equalised by the higher