

bankers of the same size. That is what I mean when I say that our unjust system of taxation drives up the cost of production. The customs duties drive up the cost of production, and after paying more to fit up the *Freda M* than it cost the Nova Scotia bankers of the same size, it was impossible to pay the crew the same wages as the Nova Scotia men got for the same amount of fish. It could not be done. This is only one example. I could give you thousands of others if there was time.

I am against the Commission of Government, not because I think they are dishonest — I think they are honest. Not because I think they are not doing their best — I think they are doing their best; but because I know they cannot do away with out unjust and unsound system of taxation. They cannot do away with our customs duties. They can reduce the duties a bit here and there, but they must go right on getting the bulk of their revenue from those customs duties, and so must responsible government.... So long as we have the Commission form of government, or the responsible form of government, so long as we have either of them, we shall have those customs duties and the profits on the customs duties, and these customs duties will be the bulk of the government's revenues, so I am against both responsible and Commission government. I am willing to give our people a fair chance to vote for those two forms of government, either one of them ... but I shall not vote for either one of them myself when the referendum rolls around. I will vote for this motion to place those two forms of government before the people, because I know it is my duty to do so, the duty of every member of this Convention, but that is as far as I can go.

It will be up to our people to decide for themselves in the referendum; if they want to vote for responsible government well and good, if they want to vote for Commission government well and good, but it will not be with any encouragement from me. If those two forms of government happened to be the only two forms on the ballot paper; if we had only two forms, responsible and Commission, in the referendum, then I will vote for Commission in the referendum. I would not be happy doing it, and I would not do it very willingly, but between the two of them ..., my vote in the referendum would go for Commission government. I would hate to be limited to those

two forms, and by casting my vote for Commission I would do it just to take the lesser of two evils.

Some people say, Mr. Chairman, that responsible government means political freedom, but not economic security; some people say that Commission government means economic security, but not political freedom.... I don't believe it. If responsible government failed to give us economic security, and it has failed, then it is precious little political freedom we would have. How can we have political freedom if we have no economic security and stability? What is the good of a vote to a man who is hungry? What is the good of elections to a man on the dole? No, I am afraid it is very little political freedom we would have as a people under responsible government if we had not full bellies and decent clothes to protect us, or what my good and respected friends Mr. Newell and Mr. Keough call three square meals a day, and a suit of clothes and a roof over their heads.... Oh yes, it is all right to have the glorious right to vote and take part in elections, but I am afraid an awful lot of the glory just oozes out of it when you are hungry, and your children are hungry, and you have nothing to depend on but the dole. No, Mr. Chairman, I don't think it is true at all to say that responsible government means political freedom without economic security, because without economic security you just can't have political freedom, and I think there is very little in the other part of the saying that Commission government means economic security without political freedom. I think that day is gone, if we ever had it. Just when did Commission government give us economic security or stability? Commission government came here to Newfoundland in the winter of 1934. For the first six years they were here they certainly did not give Newfoundland any economic security. Don't forget that right up to the outbreak of the war we had tens of thousands of our people on the dole under Commission government. Don't forget that just a bare eight or nine years ago the total value of all our fish and fish products exported out of Newfoundland, the whole lot of them together, had a value of a paltry \$8 million — just eight years ago. Don't forget that in the first six years of Commission government a job was the hardest thing in this world to get here in Newfoundland, that we had thousands of our young men leaving school without a