

RENEGADE IN POWER:

The Diefenbaker Years

By PETER C. NEWMAN

The Author INSTALMENT 4: DIEFENBAKER'S PHILOSOPHY The Subject

(This is the fourth of a series of twelve excerpts taken from the much longer version contained in RENEGADE IN POWER: THE DIEFENBAKER YEARS, copyright Canada, 1963, Peter C. Newman; published by McClelland & Stewart.)

Almost everything that happened during the Diefenbaker Years—from the small triumph of the Bill of Rights to the bald defeat of the Coyne affair—reflected the attitude and motives of the man from Prince Albert.

Because his nominally Conservative administration was concerned with short-run objectives rather than any logical progression of long-term priorities, most Canadians who worried about such things believed that John Diefenbaker had no political philosophy of his own. This was neither fair nor convincing.

There was, of course, an underlying opportunism to his politics, as there must be in the professional make-up of every democratic leader, but Diefenbaker was also driven by more noble concepts. For the few men and women who caught a glimpse of them, it became possible to admire his ideals, without respecting his performance.

By picking John Diefenbaker as their leader in 1956, Canada's Conservatives had committed themselves to an ideological and emotional upheaval. But the realization that Diefenbaker brought about in his party, once he attained office, was more distinct than even his own supporters had anticipated.

The trappings of true Tory philosophy were swept away as the man from Prince Albert laid down his personal testament of what Canadian Conservatism meant to HIM.

By instinct, Diefenbaker was a humanitarian and, to that extent, a liberal. By temperament, he was a high Tory. This unique combination produced a political philosophy that defied simple classification as either Liberal or Conservative.

The philosophy of John Diefenbaker was by no means a consciously contrived creed. It was a cast of mind, lacking coherent and continuing expression even in his own speeches. But occasionally, his governing precepts could be winnowed out of his rhetorical torrent.

The philosophy that has to be called "Diefenbakerism" amounted, in essence, to a distrust of the great power groupings in contemporary Canada and the belief that broadly based citizen participation, speaking through a strong political leader, could articulate the opposing economic interests of individual citizens.

Nearly all Diefenbaker's principles were based on this assumption. From it flowed his special identification with minority groups, his demands for a more egalitarian society, and his hostility toward the men of power whose ambitions were too broad for the nation he sought to build.

Historically, he was influenced by three men: Sir John A. Macdonald, in his political psychology; Mackenzie King, in his political tactics and strategy; and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, in his politics.

DEPRESSION IN SNAK, WAS PROFOUND INFLUENCE

The personal roots of his political dogma stretched back to the grain-growing West of the 'twenties and 'thirties. He came to maturity among men of isolation and distrust, and their unavoidable dependence on the goods and services of Toronto manufacturing interests. He fell—and was profoundly influenced—by the economic and social depression, which hit no part of Canada more severely than Saskatchewan. World demand for wheat had fallen by 1932 that the province's agricultural income totalled only \$5 millions, compared with \$225 millions for 1928.

Diefenbaker forced his liberalism out of day to day experiences rather than abstract contemplation. To prevent the recurrence of many wrongs, the Depression seemed a high calling like many others of his generation and upbringing. He realized there was only one way for Prairie farmers to help themselves: collective political action. That was the foundation of Diefenbaker's deep-seated faith in politics as a means for furthering individual welfare. A typical expression of this belief was his impromptu operation to a group of 100 who crowded into his parliamentary office on March 26, 1940, to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of his first election to the Commons. "I would remind you of his first election to the Commons," he said, "and of the discoveries made in medicine, science, sociology, and economics that must be translated in this House of Commons through legislation, before they can be put to use and work for the public good. Every advance in human welfare that is achieved must come through this translation, by the parliamentarians."

Diefenbaker's brand of Conservatism continued to stress his party's traditional belief "in the preservation and strengthening of the family, the community, and the business. But in a marked departure from Tory philosophy, he attempted to encourage the welfare of these social institutions through multilateral government handouts.

TORY IN NAME ONLY

In the process, Diefenbaker committed his party to bringing the nation closer to a welfare state than any previous government of Canada. "We would like to see here, I have not been able to Douglas Fisher, the outspoken CCF-NDLP member from Port

Chevrier's Appointment Is First For French Canadian

By RONALD LEBEL
OTTAWA (CP)—Justice Minister Lionel Chevrier will be the 11th Canadian and first French-speaking diplomat to represent Canada in London, since the prestige-laden post of high commissioner to Britain was created in 1957.

Prime Minister Pearson announced Tuesday that Mr. Chevrier, his close friend and Quebec lieutenant since 1958, will take up his new duties Feb. 1. Mr. Chevrier, 60, will succeed Hon. George Drew, 80, former Ontario premier and national Progressive Conservative party leader who was named high commissioner shortly after he left the cabinet in June of 1957.

Mr. Chevrier resigned from his Commons seat of Montreal-Laurier Dec. 27 but remained in the cabinet until his successor in the Justice portfolio is named in a cabinet shuffle expected next Monday.

He is serving as acting prime minister this week while Mr. Pearson pays an official five-day visit to France under the "BICULTURAL LOOK."

There has been speculation that the Liberal government wants to give the diplomatic "bicultural look" to the London and appointing an English-speaking career diplomat as ambassador to Paris. The Paris appointment is expected to be announced this month. Peter Dupont, a retired diplomat from the post after being appointed last fall as commis-

that flows around the sides of this chamber any clear-cut exposition of what I thought they were directly concerned with, that is free enterprise, private enterprise, and all that.

Diefenbaker's overriding consideration was to avoid the identification with Bay Street that had brought about the ruin of R. B. Bennett and buried the Conservative Party into the political wilderness for twenty-two years. It became obvious very early in the Diefenbaker Years that his was a Conservative government in name only instead of moving to promote and strengthen the country's financial community. Diefenbaker rubbed in the opposite direction—wrecking, curbing, and discouraging free enterprise at every turn in the privacy of their clubs. Disappointed executives ducked their disapproval of Diefenbaker and all his works as a fundamentally disruptive force.

PLACE IN HISTORY

Although there was a strong strain of nationalism inherent in Diefenbaker's appeal and personality, it did not show up very clearly in his legislative efforts. Aside from establishing the Royal Commission on Publications, whose recommendations to save Canadian magazines he ignored, and calling federal-provincial meetings on Canadianizing the constitution and the adoption of a distinctive Canadian flag, he did nothing significant to further the cause of Canadian nationalism. Still, he is believed in the need to build on the upper half of the continent a northern nationality which would become powerful enough to withstand absorption attempts by the United States, and it was in this passion that Diefenbaker saw his place in history.

NEXT: David Fulton

House leader and MP for Laurier from 1957 until the Liberals returned to office last April.

His eight-month tenure as justice minister and leading Quebec representative in the cabinet was marked by controversies over prosecutions against officers of the Seafarers' International Union of Canada (IUC) and federal relations with the Quebec Liberal government.

Mr. Ferguson announced the appointment at a press conference following a cabinet meeting and a few hours before his departure for Paris. For many years now he has been my political colleague and my personal friend," the prime minister said in a prepared statement. "I owe him in both capacities more than I can ever acknowledge."

TRIBUTE TO DREW

The prime minister also paid tribute to Mr. Drew, whom he asked twice last year to stay on in London until a successor was named. He said there was no more distinguished person in the public service than Chevrier who sat in the Commons as opposition leader from 1948 to 1956. Mr. Drew was premier of Ontario from 1943 to 1948.

Mr. Chevrier was born April 2, 1903, the son of Elzabe Chevrier, a former Cornwall mayor and a French-Canadian leader in Ontario. He attended the University of Ottawa and Osgoode Hall law school in Toronto, and was called to the Ontario Bar in 1928.

He rose rapidly in government during the war, heading the Commons subcommittee on war contracts in 1942, moved up as Parliamentary assistant to Munitions Minister C. D. Howe in 1943 and taking over the transport portfolio in 1945.

He married the former Lucienne Brule of Ottawa in 1933 and they have six children.

HEADED UN DELEGATION

His only previous contacts with international relations came in 1945 when he attended the Bretton Woods conference in the U.S. and three years later when he headed the Canadian delegation to the United Nations General Assembly in Paris.

The first four Canadian high commissioners to the United Kingdom all were prominent Conservatives. Sir George Brown, 1880 to 1922, they were Sir Alexander Galt, father of Confederation, premier of Nova Scotia and brother Prime Minister of Canada; Lord Strathcona (Donald Smith), C.B. president of MP, and Sir George Perley, a cabinet veteran.

Others included Peter Larkin (1922-30), a prominent Liberal; Howard Ferguson (1930-33), defeated Conservative premier of Ontario; and Mr. Massey (1933-46), former president of the National Liberal Federation.

TAKES NEW POST

OTTAWA (CP)—R. F. Battie, 60, of Ottawa and Delta, Alta., a member of the federal government's Indian affairs branch since 1954, has been appointed branch director, Immigration and Citizenship Minister Pearson announced Tuesday. He succeeds Col. H. M. Jones who retired last November.

WAGES RISE

OTTAWA (CP)—The industrial composite of average weekly wages and salaries for October was \$84.67, up 45 cents from September and up \$5.96 from October, 1963, the bureau of statistics reported.

JANUARY Clearance SALE

CONTINUES ALL THIS WEEK AND NEXT WEEK

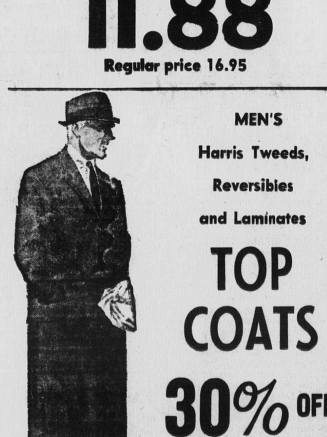
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