

driving force, the most notable example being the German cultural plan announced in *Mein Kampf* by Adolf Hitler. It outlined complete monopoly control of public communications—press, film, wireless, exhibitions—by which public opinion is created.

In the fall of 1933 Dr. Goebbels, the propaganda minister, set up his cultural power structure with a government act. It was to be the Reich Culture Chamber, which would exercise strictly centralized control. Then, on October 4, 1933, the inevitable happened. The journalists act was passed. It expressly repudiated the liberal notion of the freedom of the press. Said Dr. Goebbels:

Such an idea proceeded not from people collectively, but from the individual, and in its exaggerated form it has increasingly made it evident that freedom of opinion, the more it was conceded to the individual, the more it reacted to the prejudice of the general good of the whole people.

He said:

... we want no opinionated nonsense. We want frank and honourable utterance.

Entry to the profession was confined to those on a restricted list possessing German citizenship. They had to be Aryan, not foreign. This was a combination of nationalism and socialism. Hitler called it national socialism. Those entering the profession, Goebbels said, had to show all the characteristics "demanded by the task of spiritually and intellectually influencing public opinion. Consciousness of responsibility to state and people, and personal purity, shall decide the entry to the profession of journalists."

And they said it could not happen there; but it did.

Just one year before the journalists act was passed—and I am saying this to show what can happen—there were 4,700 newspapers in Germany, of which 70 per cent were dailies. More than 100 different parties or group ideologies were represented. The largest of these was the Berliner *Morgenpost*, claiming a circulation of 600,000. It had been founded in 1898 by the House of Ullstein—a father and five sons. When Hitler became chancellor in January, 1933, he immediately caused President Paul von Hindenburg to invoke article 48 of the constitution in order to cancel the guaranteed freedom of the press. Some papers were immediately silenced. Within three months 200 were suspended, and within a year 600 papers were dead. The House of Ullstein, being Jewish, was driven out.

● (1640)

When Germany seized Austria in 1938, publications were again among the first target of the Nazis. Many old papers died including the *Wiener Zeitung*, founded in 1703. The rest of Vienna's newspapers were melded into one Nazi organ.

I have a Viennese friend who escaped and now lives in the west. She recalls the day that this all happened. She said, "No one can understand what it means to go to bed at night in a free society and wake up the next morning to find that you no longer have police protection or a free press". Every erosion of our own freedom of choice, freedom of publication, can clear the way to despotism.

Can anyone in this House guarantee that when content control and manipulation are handled by bureaucracy, not by editors or journalists, that we are safe, that we will not see freedom of the press in general jeopardized?

#### Non-Canadian Publications

Most of us here only know Czechoslovakia, with all its artistry and beauty, through the magnificence displayed in its pavillion at Expo 1967, the year before that nation was invaded and enslaved in 1968 because it dared to be free. It lost its freedom in the Nazi deal with Chamberlain in 1939, and then again in 1968 when the Russians invaded. The first victim besides Dubcek, who had been emancipating the country and the press, was the media. The Czech Journalists Union Review reported that, between 1968 and 1972, 1,222 journalists had been expelled.

I feel very strongly, as do many Canadians, about what happens in a nation that is not free. Across this country are descendents of people who fled to freedom. My parents knew the pain and suffering of tyrannical government. They seldom talked about it. They fled as children. My mother first fled to the United States. She recalls fleeing from the Cossacks as a girl of 13 and hiding in a graveyard with her sister-in-law, who was in an advanced stage of pregnancy. She delivered the baby in that graveyard and they managed to flee.

As a boy of 13 my father fled and came to Canada. He came to the prairies shortly after Alberta joined confederation. He only talked of this once, but he recalls with great pain how his little cousins were held up by their feet and chopped in half. I feel very strongly about freedom. Every Canadian whose ancestors fled to this free country should be concerned about erosion in our free press and our free society.

In Viet Nam, while the Americans were there, the press reported American activities freely—mostly the bad news. There was no freedom in reporting the Viet Cong. Thus their atrocities may never be revealed. Once the Americans left Viet Nam, the free open society disappeared, and today a watchful press is not there to inhibit those who use secrecy and privacy to conceal atrocities. Who is complaining now? Who is talking? Who is worried about what is happening in Viet Nam?

In Cambodia's Phnom Penh only 20,000 of its three million residents were left in the city after the Khymer Rouge drove the millions out into the fields. No reporters were there to report the massacres, starvations, tortures and murders. We do not know yet. A young doctor who happened to be in this country visited my office. He is searching for his young wife and three year old baby. He will never find them. They probably died of starvation outside Phnom Penh.

The free press goes, and so does freedom. The slightest interference with regard to content or the control of content, and any kind of dictatorship with regard to what can be written, published and heard, are a threat to our freedom.

The condition of the press in Russia is well known. My parents recall the silent press that would not help the Jewish people. Today medicine is used by the state to imprison and destroy. Insane asylums are used as a device of torture and punishment. There is no freedom of religion, free right of movement, or job opportunity.

The Jews throughout history have been the barometer of lost freedoms, and no place more exemplified this in twentieth century history than did Germany and Russia. Once the persecution begins for them it spreads to others first