

*Criminal Code*

for retention or abolition. We can understand the emotions of people who are concerned. All of us in this house understand the anguish, the misery, the tears of loved ones, relatives and friends of the victim of a homicidal maniac. Yes, we all understand that the immediate reaction is perhaps retribution and revenge.

There are also the emotions of the loved ones, relatives and friends, all innocent, of the man society kills. They too have feelings. They too are innocent victims. Should we not consider them also? They have an additional anguish in that, society being what it is, human nature being what it is, although they are absolutely innocent the finger of scorn is pointed at them because of the actions of someone related to them who has committed a murder. Yes, there are emotions whether one dies as the victim of a murderer or whether one dies by the hangman's noose.

I said I could get emotional about this subject, and I am. I want to add now that I am fundamentally opposed to capital punishment on the basis of facts. What are the facts? We, sir, maintain that capital punishment is not a deterrent to homicide, that capital punishment is not a further protection to our police forces, that capital punishment is not an added protection to the officials in our institutions, jails or penitentiaries. This morning I asked the Parliamentary Library if I could have the latest figures on the ratio of homicides throughout the world as between retentionist and abolitionist countries. I was told that the latest figures were those contained in the pamphlet which we got last year on capital punishment, issued by the Department of Justice. These figures are found on page 11 of that pamphlet and I note they are exactly the same as the figures which we received during the meetings of the joint committee of the House of Commons and Senate. These are figures compiled by the United Nations and they are the latest that can be obtained.

What do they show? They definitely show without any fear of contradiction, unless you want to say that the United Nations is wrong, that of the 11 countries that had the death penalty England and Wales had the lowest ratio, 0.5 homicides per 100,000 of population, and El Salvador had the highest with 44.3 per 100,000 of population. Of the 15 abolitionist countries the lowest ratio was that of the Netherlands, 0.4 per 100,000 of population, and the highest was the State of Colombia

[Mr. Winch.]

with 15.9 per 100,000 of population. Some of these countries have abolished capital punishment for almost a century. There is no major difference in the ratio of homicides as between abolishment and retentionist countries. We have heard a previous speaker refer to the evidence in the United States and the statistics with regard to abolitionist and retentionist states.

In so far as the protection of police forces is concerned, I know that the association of police chiefs has been bombarding us for the retention of capital punishment. I do not believe they have any evidence to back up their stand because only one survey has ever been made in relation to retention or abolition as it affects policemen. This survey was made under the direction of Professor Thorstein Sellin.

● (5:10 p.m.)

He sent a letter to every town and city in the United States with a population of 10,000 people or more, and then numerous graduate students analysed the information received. What did they find in the only study of the problem made in the history of the world? They found that there was no difference in the rate of killing of policemen per 100,000 population in states which had retained capital punishment and states which had abolished it. The final results of that study are to be found in this report and they show that an abolitionist state does not pose any greater danger to policemen than a retentionist state.

The same holds true in the case of guards. If there is a danger of guards being killed in the event capital punishment is abolished, then will somebody please tell me why the ratio of guards killed in countries which have abolished capital punishment has not increased? Surely we are not going to say that it can only happen in Canada that guards will be killed if we abolish capital punishment, that it will not happen in the other countries of the world which have not.

We who favour abolition ask those who favour retention to meet these facts. We ask not for emotional or wishful thinking but for facts which refute the facts I have given, if they can find any. In 30 years' study of this matter I have not been able to find any facts to refute the doctrine that the right, modern, Christian and civilized thing to do is to abolish the death penalty. Surely we are now at a time in our history when we no longer believe in retribution for the sake of revenge.

Some say that these people cannot be rehabilitated. There are those who should