

*The Address—Mr. McCleave*

In fact, the first real philosopher of terrorism in our time was a Russian named Nechayef. We do not have to go to ancient history; we can stay within the history of this century in our study of these baleful activities to learn exactly what we are up against. This gives us an opportunity to study the philosophy of terrorism, decide whether we have taken appropriate measures to deal with it—I suspect we have not—and whether we have to declare a set of principles upon which we shall stand. I think we have to do this.

When I say “Declare a set of principles” I am thinking of the situation which the Prime Minister (Mr. Trudeau) or his colleagues would face if one of their number were picked up and held. One must decide what bartering, if any—and I hope it would be minimal—would be engaged in, so that terrorists would know in advance the kind of society they were dealing with. I believe we should also make certain, when the legislation is before us, that it is tough legislation—none of this “Ten years’ imprisonment and then you go free, Mr. Murderer.” I hope there will be none of that. I hope that from one end of Canada to the other people who wish to engage in terrorism will know exactly the type of revenge a thoughtful society intends to wreak upon them.

• (8:20 p.m.)

We have been soft and permissive for far too long. I suppose terrorists can be expected to think: Oh well, nothing very much is likely to happen to us or to our allies. I think we have now passed that watershed and have entered a new age, one that has to be tough. It is an age that has to assert the value of human life in a way we have not asserted it in the past when dealing with those who have taken human life. We will have to decide whether our Criminal Code measures are strong enough.

I should like to put on the record some of the proceedings before the Broadcasting Committee last year when Mr. Saulnier of Montreal made his famous appearance. I do so simply to show Canadians from coast to coast the pattern—if they have not seen it already—that has been set. My first reference is to the fourteenth report of the committee’s proceedings for November 27, 1969, where Mr. Saulnier says:

We now know that in Canada, individuals and groups are working actively to implement a plan which will carry the destruction of freedom, of our form of democratic government and, in this plan, the people’s will, as expressed in the ballot-box, is excluded.

Then as reported on the same page, Mr. Saulnier says:

The partial revelations to which I will limit myself today are but a small example of things I know and of which I have privately informed the Prime Minister of Canada a few times in the past year.

A little further on in the report is the evidence of Mr. Michel Côté, chief city attorney for Montreal, who was speaking about a document entitled “Revolutionary Strategy and Role of the Avant-garde”, which was seized during police investigations in the city of Montreal. Talking about that document, Mr. Côté says that this revolutionary strategy comprises three stages. The document

[Mr. McCleave.]

states that the first stage is that of bringing a radical element into spontaneous social agitation.

The second stage is the organization of the exploited classes on a vast scale and, third, the organization of the exploited classes must be brought into effect, when the time comes, with a direct view to popular insurrection which will be characterized by the armed occupation of factories, universities, schools, public services and the national territory.

A little later on in his evidence, as reported at page 17 of the report, and again quoting the document, Mr. Saulnier says:

Since 1963, ever since the explosion of the first FLQ bombs, we have been in that first stage of the revolutionary struggle which will be pursued until agitation becomes widespread and culminates in a general political, social and economic crisis. We are now approaching this crisis very rapidly, and this has been particularly the case in the last six months.

The bottom of page 18 lists the main tasks of a revolutionary movement, which are three in number. The first is:

—the organizing of a true popular power based on the rural, the student and the industrial class, by setting up conscious and active cells.

The second main task, again quoting the document, is:

The ideological training, the moral training and technical training of militants.

You can well imagine, Mr. Speaker, when speaking of moral training, that in this context we are not referring to the lessons one learns in a Christian society. The third task is defined as follows:

With regard to action, in the immediate future, we must pursue and extend action, propaganda, and permanent contestation at all levels of social life, so as to unveil, unmask, demystify and weaken further and further the gears of the system which imprisons workers and students in a strangling slavery. Excellent work has already been achieved in this field and we must continue this work.

A little further on the document contains this paragraph:

We must not be afraid of being outside the law. We must take maximum advantage of the bourgeois democracy which grants the right to demonstrate.

In other words, they would use the rights of free speech and all the things that we in Parliament cherish very highly as their means to a particular end. One can imagine how “free” speech would be if its custodian were that villain who shot Mr. Laporte in the head. My last quotation from this volume of the minutes is at page 77, where Mr. Saulnier is again giving evidence and requesting a royal commission of inquiry. As reported on that page, he says:

—I may add that a royal commission of inquiry would also show as an added advantage, that these activities are not necessarily limited to the province of Quebec, but that they extend perhaps over all of the Canadian territory.

We have had some indication during the last few days that it can reach as far as our most westerly province.