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H O U S E O F C O M M O N S

SPECIAL COMMITTEE
ON
DEFENCE OF CANADA REGULATIONS

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE
NO. 5

THURSDAY, JUNE 18, 1942.

WITNESSES:

- Mr. John Kerry, Chairman of the Quebec Committee for Allied Victory, Montreal;
- Mr. Campbell Ballantyne, journalist of Montreal, member of the Board of Directors of the Quebec Committee for Allied Victory; and
- Mr. Georges Thibault, Organizer for the Quebec Federation of Clubs for Allied Victory.

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HON. J. E. MICHAUD,
CHAIRMAN.

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SESSION 1942

HOUSE OF COMMONS

SPECIAL COMMITTEE
ON
DEFENCE OF CANADA REGULATIONS

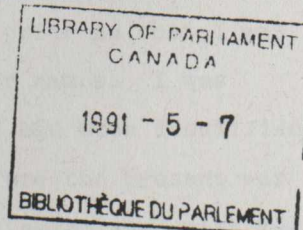
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MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

House of Commons,
Room 368,
June 18th, 1942.

The Special Committee on the Defence of Canada Regulations met at 11 o'clock a.m. The Chairman, the Hon. J. E. Michaud, presided.

Mr. John Kerry, K.C., Honourary Chairman, Quebec Committee for Allied Victory, Montreal, called:

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, Mr. Kerry, we have been waiting for you for some time; we are anxious to hear you, and we have until one o'clock.

WITNESS: I think we can be finished in that time. I believe Mr. Cohen has been speaking for several days.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

WITNESS: Our committee approaches the matter from a different angle, but I can cover it, I think.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will you identify yourself to the committee now?

WITNESS: Yes. I might introduce myself: I am John Kerry, of Montreal, Honourary Chairman of the Quebec Committee for Allied Victory; and I thank the committee for giving us an opportunity to appear and make recommendations.

The Quebec Committee for Allied Victory is an organization which has no politics and is nonsectarian, and which embraces all races and all religions in Quebec. We have an actual membership in Montreal of some two thousand subscribing members in the central body.

MR. MacINNIS: When was your committee formed?

WITNESS: It adopted the name, Quebec Committee for Allied Victory -- in July, a year ago -- prior to that I was working with some other people under other names. I was going to mention that in my brief, that I had been identified with anti-Hitler movements since long before the present war broke out, and so have the people who are associated with me.

We also work through the victory clubs of which we have organized almost one hundred already, and those victory clubs have a membership of anywhere from twenty to twenty-five, and as many as one hundred and fifty in others; and the work of our organization is in co-ordinating the work of these victory clubs and directing and leading them in every way which will aid the country's war effort. Our programme is to combat apathy, complacency, doubt and suspicion; and to unite the people of Quebec in the war effort. We encourage our victory clubs to take part in all patriotic movements and they have done, I think, very fine work. For example, we are encouraging them to join in the blood banks, and in some of our victory clubs some of the members have gone in a body to the hospitals and donated their blood. We are encouraging them to take part in the salvage campaigns and districts have been turned over to them, and they have done splendid work along those lines. They bring in books, magazines and papers which we ship to the troops. They took an active part in the campaign for the Buckshee fund and raised a great deal of money to send cigarettes overseas. They effectively supported the Red Cross campaign and medical aid for Russia campaign; and they have taken part in the plebiscite campaign and stood for a "yes" vote. Our campaign was not based on any serious view about conscription, simply that if the government has invited the people to show confidence and to allow it to prosecute the war in whatever way may seem best; and in the district where we operated there was a very strong "yes" vote. In Montreal it was about 50 per cent throughout the whole of the city but in the district where we operated and where our clubs are strong it ran as high as 85 per cent.

Now, our committee asks for cooperation; that is its motto, they ask for cooperation within the country. We have

a trade unions section and we are working with trade unions, and we are pleading for greater cooperation between the government, industry and labour to build up the war production. We have a technical committee which is prepared to bring in a very useful report, supplied to the C.P.C. organization; for example, in regard to air raid precautions. This committee is composed of scientists, engineers and practical men. They have made a study, for example, of the traffic situation in Montreal and have submitted recommendations and reports to the director of police and to the director of the fire department in regard to what should be done in the event of any air raid taking place. We have various subcommittees working along these different lines. We have staged quite a large number of meetings. When Russia came into the war or was brought into the war by the attack of Germany we brought Sir George Paish to Montreal and held a meeting in the forum, at which he spoke, and other speakers spoke, in order to enlighten the people of Montreal about the international situation which was certainly very confused and very clouded in our minds. We recently had a mass meeting in the forum at which ten thousand people attended. It was a patriotic rally, bigger than anything we had every done before, and its purpose was to try to acquaint the people with our work and the extent of the work of our victory clubs. We had Paul Robson there and he thought well enough of the committee and its work to give his services gratis; we paid him only his out-of-pocket expenses, he charged no fee; and the government was good enough to remit the amusement tax. We have had meetings in the Atwater market. We have another meeting there on Monday night, in the Atwater market in Montreal. We had a recruiting rally, I think it was the only one that has been held in Montreal; we had a recruiting rally in Montreal at which seventy-seven recruits presented themselves.

From our organization we have sent well over one hundred members into the armed forces; in fact, five or six of our original executive are now in the armed forces. I think possibly that sufficiently identifies our organization.

Now, with regard to the Defence of Canada Regulations: as I said, our effort is to try to arouse the people of Quebec to a realization of the seriousness of the war and the necessity of a total war effort; we oppose everything that would hamper that war effort or that would in any way detract from its efficiency; or anything which might dampen the enthusiasm of the country as a whole; that is all something that interests us. But we do feel from our experience in working through the middle class and working class groups, and also amongst the various foreign element; including Ukrainians, Czechoslovakians, Lithuanians and Ruthenians -- all these different elements -- we do feel that the Defence of Canada Regulations may tend to dampen the enthusiasm of sections of the population. Possibly not so much the regulations as a whole, but certain parts of the regulations which may be abused and which may be used in a manner which was not originally intended; and we think, while we do not ask that the regulations be quashed; we realize the necessity in wartime of regulations; we do think they should be modified in certain particulars and that greater safeguards against abuse and injustices should be provided. Now, I notice there is a tendency throughout the country to classify groups that ask for the amendment of these regulations and ask for changes in the rules, to classify them as being associated or affiliated in some way with Reds, or Communists; and to state that their interest has only been awakened or aroused since Russia was attacked. There is a tendency I know in Montreal to pass rumours or whispers around about people like ourselves who

are associated in this kind of work with other bodies, that we are some way connected with communism or are communistic. Now, I would like to say that the people with whom I am associated, and particularly myself, have been at war with Hitler and Hitlerism since long before the present war started, and that we have not become interested simply because Russia was attacked. My criticism of the Defence of Canada Regulations goes back to November of 1939 when I returned from Europe.

MR. MacINNIS: But you did not make application to appear before this committee in previous years, though?

WITNESS: No. As possibly some members of the committee know, I flew to Europe at the outbreak of the war, as soon as England declared war and offered my services in England and France and travelled widely and when I returned to Montreal I took an interest in these Defence of Canada Regulations because it seemed to me that there were some things in them that would be harmful and that would probably be abused. I spoke before the Junior Board of Trade in Montreal on my return in November of 1939 and at that time -- is is old material but I think it is very relevant -- I spoke to the Junior Board of Trade and I said: I gather that there have been drastic changes in our laws while I was abroad and that most any expression of opinion or recital of facts can very easily be interpreted as a violation of one or other of a myriad of new regulations. In fact, a perusal of certain tests shows me that under a literal and precise interpretation thereof a plausible case could be built up against almost any speaker on almost any platform. I had been persuaded to speak however on the assurance that, although our rulers now wield the power which Hitler himself might well envy, they are used with a discretion and reserved for emergencies -- for cases of genuine necessity which absolutely could not be handled under more

moderate provisions on which our misguided but liberty loving ancestors relied in the past. I am greatly consoled also by an editorial in one of our dailies which assures me that it is the highest form of patriotism for us to voluntarily submit ourselves to Hitlerism (temporarily of course) in order to defeat Hitler. I hope this is true. I have an unhappy vision of carefree Germans enjoying the delights of democracy some years hence when we have shattered their present rulers -- but I remain in the clutches of bureaucracy. So that even at that time, in November of 1939 I and others associated with me felt that the Defence of Canada Regulations might be abused, that they were very broad and put more powers in the hand of one man which might conceivably be used for other purposes and might very well be used in good faith by some one who had his prejudices and whims for purposes for which they were not originally intended. And I brought up at that time in particular the question of Russia, and of the situation in France; because it seemed to me that the Russian situation was one which had to have our very gravest consideration; and that the position of people here who had been associated with our own ideology had to be given careful consideration.

Now, at that time, also in November of 1939, in order to avoid misunderstanding I made a declaration of principles in various addresses, and I believe the people associated with me -- I cannot speak for two thousand people -- all the gentlemen on the committee, all of those who were actively associated in the work of this committee in its patriotic endeavours, but I think they would endorse what I said; and I said as long ago as two and a half years, in introducing my remarks after returning from Europe and discussing foreign affairs, particularly the foreign policy of Britain and the

foreign policy of France and our attitude toward Russia, I said: I am an Imperialist with unbounded faith in the British Empire and confidence in its ability to win through to victory. That is what I told the people of Montreal. I said, that in the present war, as in the struggle of 1914-1918 and through the years between, I belong and have continually belonged to the "last man, last gun school"; that when Britain was at war Canada was at war; and I said, that although this was not a live or popular group in peacetime I had consistently advocated that policy. And I said -- and I am quoting from an address made two and a half years ago -- that if conscription is required to win this war, let us have it -- conscription of men, both for home defence and for active service abroad, conscription of labour and conscription of wealth; go the whole way when you are making war. I said, I hate and detest totalitarian regimes and the methods of Hitler and Musolini, as who must not believe in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man; who holds man is something more than an animal; who has been taught that God created man in his own image and created into him that creative spirit which inspires productive and useful labour without the urge of whip and spur. I said, long before the outbreak of the war I opposed the growth of nazism and fascism in this province and throughout Canada. I realized for years that we would again have to battle Germany, and on February 10th, 1939 I made public the following resolution which I sought in vain to have introduced by some member of the Quebec Legislature:

"That in view of the possibility of Nazi-Fascist aggression involving England in war, this heart prays the federal government to take all necessary steps to enable the Dominion of Canada to give to England the same measure of loyal and whole-hearted support as was given during the years of 1914-1918 and declares that all measures

necessary to ensure that such support will be forthcoming will have the approval of this body."

Now, I do not think it can be said in the light of what I have just told you that our organization, or that I myself, are people who have decided to speed the war effort or to become interested in the war effort only because Russia is now in the war. At that time I made certain statements which I think are relevant to any discussion of the regulations and the way that they have been used and the way that they have been applied. I pointed out that the only contact I had ever had with any communists was when I sought information as to what the Arcamb group were doing in the province of Quebec, and I got that information from communist sources, people whom I had never met before and have not met since. I put that information in the hands of the executive committee. We discussed it with Mayor Houde and we passed a resolution not to oppose the Arcand group or any of its activities or affiliates and debarring them in future from the use of any municipal halls, and that was done two years and a half before the Royal Canadian Mounted Police picked up most of the Arcand group.

As I said, I took part, I was chairman, in an anti-Hitler meeting which was held in the forum in Montreal at which six thousand people attended in the spring of 1939. Now, I think these facts are positively relevant in any mention of the Defence of Canada Regulations. I said that one of the great dangers to our country was the tendency of quite loyal Canadians of position and influence to endorse the totalitarian ideologies; that we have often heard it remarked that Musolini has done a wonderful job in his own country or that Hitler's methods are extraordinarily successful. You will all recollect remarks of that kind made in those days before the present war broke out. I said, the breaking up of labour unions and the concentration of people of liberal

views in camps and prisons appears to have an unfortunate appeal in certain circles. I said, consequently I have opposed an unfortunate trend away from the finest British traditions of liberty and of freedom and a tendency to adopt the practices of Hitler and of Musolini at the risk of perpetrating injustices on the ground that "there is a war on"; and I said that consequently I deprecated the unfortunate trend away from the finest British traditions of liberty and of freedom and the tendency to adopt the practice of Hitler and of Musolini and perpetrating injustices. I know from my own experience, that there is a great temptation to any one in office to treat constructive criticism of his methods as destructive criticism of the country's war effort. And I also pointed out that another great danger in our country was the persistent propagan which has been so effective in confusing us as to who are the enemies which we must face; that the fascists and nazis have consistantly raised the bogey of communism to distract attention from their own subversive activities; the custom of never naming Musolini and Hitler without mentioning Stalin in the same breath and the practice of always grouping communism, naziism and fascism together and disposing of them with the remark that there is no difference between them. And I said, an immense amount of time has been wasted in shadow-boxing with imaginary Reds and in stirring up hostility against a country with which the British Empire in its own interests should be acting in the closest possible cooperation. That was said at the outbreak of the war, before Russia was in the war at all, back in November of 1939.

MR. DUPUIS: I think, Mr. Kerry, you have made your case quite clear to the members of this committee, as to your activities against the fascists long before the German attack. You might spare us, and yourself, and go on to another point in your argument and that will give you more time in

which to deal with it.

WITNESS: Thank you, Mr. Dupuis. Then, speaking about a year later in regard to the Defence of Canada Regulations I made the following remarks, which I think are relevant: I had spoken rather lightly before the Junior Board of Trade mentioning that there was danger in the regulations but that we understood that they would only be used in emergency and would not be abused and nobody would be prejudiced by them. But a year later after considering a number of cases which came to my personal attention of which I made an investigation, and not only cases of anti-fascists but cases of people of Italian and even German origin: I said as follows: gentlemen, we can no longer discuss these regulations in the light tone I then adopted. All history should have taught us that when too great powers -- the regulations have been put to uses far removed from the defence of Canada -- they have been perverted to serve class and party ends. I for one refused to recognize that subjects of my country, loyal and spirited men who call the attention of our leaders to their obvious duties and demand the amelioration of conditions which have been allowed to become intolerable. I pointed out that in Canada there was danger of Canada going through the same phase which I had observed in France with the utmost concern. I said that there is in this country, there was in France, a reactionary element which instead of leading the country in a foreign war with all its strength wages a relentless and ruthless war on all the liberal elements in the dominion -- and I did not use "liberal" in the political sense. I said, that instead of uniting the country in common effort --

MR. CLAXTON: And you, a good Conservative.

WITNESS: I am referred to now as a Red or a Communist.

MR. CLAXTON: As a good Conservative you would not yourself spell liberal with a capital "L"?

WITNESS: That is quite true. In the last election I believe you probably remember some of my remarks.

MR. CLAXTON: Yes, you spoke against me.

WITNESS: No, I spoke in support of your opponent.

MR. CLAXTON: However, that did not spoil our relations.

MR. DUPUIS: I had the same experience in my own riding.

WITNESS: I spoke in favour of your opponent also, Mr. Dupuis; but I don't think it did any harm.

MR. DUPUIS: As a member of this committee I want to say, and I am sure Mr. Claxton will agree with me, that we both consider you a very good friend and honest in your view.

WITNESS: Thank you, Mr. Dupuis.

I pointed out that instead of uniting the country in a common effort there were things going on which would divide the nation, and that therefore the Defence of Canada Regulations might in certain cases prove harmful and alienate the sympathy and support of certain quite large and influential groups within the population. I said that I had seen this process going on in France, and in fact I had my letters which I wrote home in 1939 telling of what was going on in France and predicting the collapse of France.

THE CHAIRMAN: What are you quoting from, Mr. Kerry?

WITNESS: From an address which I made as long ago as 1939.

THE CHAIRMAN: That last quotation of yours; what was it from, what is the date and on what occasion did you deliver that address?

WITNESS: That was a speech which I delivered at a meeting on March 23rd, 1941, this last one; and that is quoting in turn what I said in 1939 about the Defence of Canada Regulations.

Regulations.

THE CHAIRMAN: That was in March of 1941?

WITNESS: That was on March 23rd, 1941, in connection with the internment of some who have since been released; namely, Pat Sullivan, Jack Sullivan and a man named Sinclair. That was a meeting held at the Queen's hotel in Montreal to make representations, to pass resolutions in regard to internment of certain people, particularly labour leaders who I am glad to say have since had hearings and been released.

THE CHAIRMAN: A meeting of what organization?

WITNESS: It was a meeting called by the various labour unions in Montreal in support of the Canadian Seamen's Union; in fact, we extended invitations to all the unions from the Canadian Seamen's union. It was a conference at which perhaps 75 or 80 delegates from various organizations were present to discuss this particular case, these three trade union leaders who have since been released and who have resumed their activities.

MR. DUPUIS: Which section of the Defence of Canada Regulations in particular do you take exception to?

WITNESS: We think in particular that section 39C as tied up with and interpreted in connection with section 21 is one which has been the most abused.

THE CHAIRMAN: What do you mean by tied up with?

WITNESS: Well, I have not the regulations before me, but as I understand it they are usually interpreted as being read together, and we do feel that 39C --

THE CHAIRMAN: Usually interpreted, by whom?

WITNESS: By the authorities, the people who administer them, the military police, the Minister of Justice and his advisers.

THE CHAIRMAN: Have you any concrete examples to support that statement?

WITNESS: We think that section 21 in itself is, with proper safeguards provided to allow making an appeal within reasonable time -- after all, the Minister of Justice is a busy man and he cannot hear every case -- we think section 21 in itself is not particularly offensive; as a matter of fact, I think it probably could be rescinded. I believe appeal boards have been constituted now and I understand hearings are proceeding more rapidly than they did originally. But originally, three years ago, men were detained ten months or a year or a year and a half before they finally got a hearing and were released. As you know, there were then only two judges; one for the western part of Canada and one for the eastern part of Canada.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you state that there were some people interned who had to wait a year or over a year before they could make an application for appeal?

WITNESS: I cannot say as to when the actual date of the hearing was. I do know that there people who were interned who were released after a hearing.

THE CHAIRMAN: Oh yes.

WITNESS: There are three stages: they are entitled to apply and they are supplied with a form which is filled out and filed; later on the hearing takes place -- I know of a case in which my own office was interested in which there were quite long delays in getting hearings; and, even after the hearing there was a considerable time before a decision was rendered, and there was reluctance on the part of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to act upon it.

MR. DUPUIS: Which one did you have in mind?

WITNESS: I had not intended to cite a particular case, but there is the case of Colonel Carneil, and there is also

the case of Delmonte.

THE CHAIRMAN: Were they interned as communists?

WITNESS: No, they were interned as aliens.

THE CHAIRMAN: As fascists?

WITNESS: I do not know; as you know, the charges are secret and you do not know what they are. I do know with respect to Mr. Carnelli that he had been a Canadian citizen since 1911.

MR. DUFUIS: Absolutely.

WITNESS: He was born in Italy and married a Montreal girl and lived in this country, he was naturalized in 1911 and I believe he has never, to my knowledge any way, had any connection with any of the different fascists organizations; but on some report -- and I do not know what was reported -- but on some report he was picked up and simply disappeared for a time and finally he got a hearing and he was released; and that was one of the longest cases, there were other cases where men were detained longer than that.

MR. MacINNIS: But that complaint has been cleared away now by the appointment of other boards, and any complaint that did then exist does not exist to the same degree now.

WITNESS: And the result of that I suppose, means that there will be much speedier hearings.

MR. MacINNIS: They are getting much speedier hearings now.

WITNESS: The man really does not know of what he has been charged. There is no charge laid against him and he does not have the opportunity of hearing witnesses or of cross-examining witnesses. The position is really this, that it is up to him to satisfy the board by affidavits or evidence that he is a loyal Canadian citizen, and he should be given that opportunity promptly.

THE CHAIRMAN: He has the right to be represented by

counsel?

WITNESS: Yes, now he has that right. My firm acts for a number of people.

MR. MacINNIS: Have you any suggestions by way of amendment to section 21 in which the committee would be interested?

WITNESS: We feel that there are times when someone must have the authority to act promptly. We understand that. When you proceed before the courts there are necessary delays; and, as a matter of fact, we feel that it is rather a good idea in certain cases to have proceedings before the courts and in certain cases to intern people without any hearing.

MR. MacINNIS: You believe that all cases should go before the courts?

WITNESS: I think that once the courts have heard a case and have acquitted the man after hearing all the evidence; it looks very bad when a man has had a special hearing and when a decision has been maintained on appeal, it looks very bad if you pick him up again and put him into an internment camp without any evidence whatever.

MR. MARTIN: You appreciate that the court action is applicable to the actual charge only.

WITNESS: Yes. We do not know whether we face other charges that are not laid before the courts; that, of course, comes back to the policy of secrecy, which is possibly used as the excuse for advocating some of the things which were done.

MR. MacINNIS: You probably know that exactly the same thing was done in Britain.

WITNESS: I know that; and they brought a thousand of them back at last from this country to England.

MR. MacINNIS: They couldn't take any chances though.

WITNESS: So, there should be safeguards to avoid

abuses, as I say.

MR. HAZEN: Have you any suggested amendments to section 21?

WITNESS: No, not so much to section 21 in itself as in general. I was supposing that every possible opportunity should be given to a man to present his case as soon as possible; and also that it is not so much the regulation itself as the manner in which it is used; which, of course, is beyond this committee, I suppose, or its discretion, and no doubt a certain amount of discretion must be allowed; but we do feel that it is only in extreme cases where the defence of the country is really at stake that internment should be resorted to, and it should not have been resorted to in some cases of which we know; and, as a matter of fact, people have been released. But it should not be on the grounds of suspicion without evidence of any overt act or subversive statement.

THE CHAIRMAN: Because a man has been released after having been interned and had a hearing, you say that is conclusive proof that he should not have been interned?

WITNESS: No, the man might have had a change of heart, possibly.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

WITNESS: There might even develop suspicion for picking him up.

MR. ROSS: Do I understand you to say that there should be an overt act before a man should be interned?

WITNESS: No; I say there should be some evidence that a man is engaged in overt acts or in subversive discussions; either that he has been inciting people in some way by letter or publicly to do something detrimental to the country's interests or to omit doing something which should be done in the country's interests.

MR. MacINNIS: The point is this: some individual through

his association leads the authorities to believe that he is liable to commit an overt act, you would not wait until he commits it before you apprehended him, would you?

WITNESS: No, but I would have to have something more than a suspicion in the case of the communist party. I would not say that because a man supported the communist party in 1930 he should be interned today. I think that is going a little too far.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you know of any internees, people who have been interned only because they were members of a party before that party was banned?

WITNESS: As you know, sir, they do not state publicly, or even privately, to the accused the reasons for internment. They just pick him up and he can only surmise that it was on account of his associations and activities.

MR. MARTIN: Might I just suggest there that there are particulars given to the detained person, they are fairly general, immediately he is arrested, and more detailed particulars are given to him at a later stage before his hearings; he is given these particulars in writing before he has to appear, so that he does know what it is all about.

WITNESS: That is possibly a fairly recent change in the procedure. In the cases in which I appeared we did not have that advantage.

MR. MARTIN: That may have been at the start; that might have been the situation at the time of the outbreak of the war with the Italians and the Germans.

MR. DUPUIS: You will find in the Defence of Canada Regulations provision to that effect.

MR. MARTIN: Yes, section 22.

WITNESS: We think particularly that section 39C listing certain organizations as illegal ought to be very carefully considered and either taken out in its entirety or at least some number of those organization names should

be removed.

MR. MacINNIS: Have you personally investigated any of these organizations and do you know yourself that they should not be banned or be declared illegal organizations?

WITNESS: As I have said, my activities over a period of years have taken me in touch with many foreign elements in Montreal; such for example as the Finnish and Hungarian groups and other groups of that kind; and I have attended and spoken at meetings of different organizations. I speak of that, as a matter of fact, in my brief. I spoke at a meeting of the League for Peace and Democracy, and I introduced Miss Erica Mann who explained the Hitler movement and just what was going on in Germany. As a matter of fact, that particular organization has disappeared and was no longer in existence at the time it was declared banned by that particular regulation.

THE CHAIRMAN: Has it been merged into some other organization?

WITNESS: No, I think it just disappeared.

MR. MacINNIS: Did it come out under a new name?

WITNESS: No, I do not think so. I do not think that the League of Peace and Democracy exists under any other name at the present time. It was a Montreal organization and they were bringing prominent speakers to discuss international affairs and ^{the} foreign policy of the British government, and they were definitely at that time an anti-Hitler group and against Musolini and they took a strong part, for example, in advocating the intervention in the war in Spain.

MR. MacINNIS: Have you thought out any amendment that could be incorporated in section 39C that would bring about what you have in mind?

WITNESS: We have a rough draft. We only got the appointment yesterday and our brief is not in final form and

we are submitting it with gaps.

MR. MacINNIS: Would you suggest that no organization should be declared illegal?

WITNESS: I think it is a very bad principle to declare organizations as such illegal. I think you must deal with individuals, and particularly when you make it retroactive, when a man is subject to the liability of internment because he belonged to an organization which was at the time he belonged to it perfectly legal.

MR. MacKINNON: What would be your attitude supposing you had an organization which was putting out all sorts of stuff which was obviously subversive; what would you do in a case like that, would you ban such an organization?

MR. MARTIN: Take the Bund.

WITNESS: I would certainly deal with the Bund by taking the leaders into custody. I do not think I would try to intern every member of the Bund any more than all the members of any other organized group. If I started to intern everyone in Quebec who supported the views of the Arcand movement, many of them acted in good faith knowing nothing about his direct connections with Hitler and knew nothing of his aims; why, there would be thousands of people whom you would have to intern.

MR. MacKINNON: The point I am trying to make is this, constitution that there is a . . . that is obviously subversive and there is a group of people belonging to these organizations; you lock up the leaders but that is not going to prevent the organization from carrying on along the lines of its subversive constitution, is it?

WITNESS: I have not seen such subversive constitutions.

MR. MacKINNON: But, to make your point, you say that organizations of that kind should not be banned?

WITNESS: I do not know of any of those organizations

that have published subversive material. I have seen a great deal of the communist literature which some people criticize, but I have found very little in any of the communist literature I have read which I would call subversive.

MR. MacKINNON: I am not naming any organization in particular, I am just taking a hypothetical case.

WITNESS: I do not know that that danger has arisen in this country.

THE CHAIRMAN: For example, what about the constitution of the Third Internationale; what would you think of that as a document?

WITNESS: I am not really conversant with the constitution of the Third Internationale, I am not a student to that extent of Russian ideology, any more than I can remember in the little bit of paranoias I have read when I studied economics and political science at McGill; so I certainly would not want to go into any discussion of the question of the constitution of the Soviet Union.

MR. DUPUIS: As a test we will take an organization which you dislike, that will be your case here, take an organization of a strictly nazi character; if you were to discover such an organization in Montreal or Longueuil, would you advise the authorities to put in jail only the chief of that organization or would you advise them to wipe that out altogether?

WITNESS: I would treat each individual on his merits.

MR. DUPUIS: And you would leave a continuing organization to carry on?

WITNESS: I would disappear when you took all the leading spirits and the dangerous people out of it. As you know, practically every organization is kept going

by the work of two or three men.

MR. MARTIN: Let us get back to the point; supposing you had not declared such an organization illegal, the effect of that would be that the organization, say the Bund, would be allowed to continue, because it would then be legal; surely you don't advocate that?

WITNESS: No, I would not advocate that.

MR. MARTIN: But you did say that.

WITNESS: I said that this list should be very carefully studied and revised, if not entirely deleted.

MR. MARTIN: In answer to Mr. MacInnis you said that you did not advocate keeping these organizations illegal.

WITNESS: No, I said that I preferred to deal with individuals.

MR. MARTIN: Well then, I will have to take that answer, which is not the answer you gave to Mr. MacInnis. Then, you would not be opposed to having the Bund continue as a legal organization?

WITNESS: I do not think I would go as far as that, sir; because that is definitely an enemy organization composed of enemy aliens and sympathizers who are fighting, and if not fighting may be assumed to be directly hostile to this country as a country; whereas, these other organizations that I named there in many cases their hostility is not to Canada or to Great Britain. Their hostility is toward certain abuses in the way the country is being governed. Their hostility has been toward certain interests in the country rather than in the country itself. They would like to change the form of government so that they would have a greater share in the wealth of the country. That is what makes them dangerous to people like myself who have a little more than the average, but that is not in my mind a reason for interning them, because there is a danger to my pocketbook.

I must see some way of recognizing them as a danger to my country, as a country, rather than as a danger to a small class in the country.

MR. MARTIN: Take the communist party. I am talking of June, 1941, because I have some views on that; but take the communist party up to June, 1941; would you still say that that kind of an organization should not be declared illegal -- I am speaking about the period up to June of 1941.

WITNESS: I understand. I am not a spokesman for the communist party. I know very little about it.

MR. MARTIN: I am trying to follow you. You make a distinction between the Bund and some other organization.

WITNESS: I do, as a matter of fact, know a communist, avowed communist, who fought Hitler and Musolini in Spain while the rest of us were still playing up to Germany and playing up to Japan. Now, I think it is a shame to intern people of that type who were willing to fight in 1936 and 1937 against a danger which menaces us know.

MR. MARTIN: Yes, but assuming that these same people were enemies of the state; which in this case would be Canada.

WITNESS: I do not know whether you could say that the communist party in Canada are enemies of the state. I do know that certain publications which call themselves communist and which reach me through the mail signed, such as the Quebec Provincial Communist Party, or something of that kind, question the advisability of this country taking part in wars and also questioned the advisability of Britain having gone to war; but they chiefly did so not on the ground of disloyalty to the state but on the ground of convenience and expediency; that Britain had attacked Germany at a time when neither the United States nor Russia or any

of the other allies had come in.

MR. MARTIN: That is assuming that Britain declared war, that they were the aggressors. Germany, ~~he~~ declared war against Poland and Britain who had a treaty guaranteeing the integrity of Poland came to her support. And now, having that in mind, would you say that anyone who did not support the cause of Canada and Britain in opposing German aggression against Poland -- remembering that Germany, the leading fascist country, was the aggressor; would you still maintain the same view?

WITNESS: That anybody who was not whole-heartedly behind our war effort and did not want this country to fight on the side of Britain should not be interned -- I have yet to say that.

MR. MARTIN: Against the leading fascist power.

WITNESS: I can hardly follow your argument there; because, apart from the communists, there are thousands, hundreds of thousands of people in this country who questioned the advisability of Canada going to war -- there are thousands of that kind.

MR. MARTIN: We are not talking about the advisability of going to war. There are many people who have opposed that. You will recall that the late Mr. Woodsworth opposed it, and as everyone knows Mr. Woodsworth did not talk against this country. This is all in the period up to June, 1941. I suggest to you that the view of the communist party to to June of 1941 is rather hard to understand, and I would like to get some explanation for it. If you would say, as Mr. Cohen said to us the other day, that that was a position of error, all well and good.

WITNESS: I will say that to take people who admittedly belonged to the communist party say in 1931 or 1935 or even 1937, and lock them up because the communist party had not

come out whole-heartedly behind the war effort in 1939; that does not seem logical to me. I cannot see the basis for it.

MR. MacINNIS: Are you taking it that that is why certain members of the communist party were interned? If you take that position though you would have to explain away certain other principles of the communist party. As a matter of fact, I know the president or the chairman of the communist party -- I do not know just what they call it -- in my province in British Columbia. His position was well known to nearly everybody. I know dozens of others in the same position, and only a very few of them have been interned. I am not suggesting that the internments were made sufficient grounds, or anything of that kind, but you have made a most sweeping statement that they were interned because of the position they took prior to 1939.

WITNESS: I said no one should be interned for that reason; and that is the only reason we know of, that they had communist affiliations at some time or other.

MR. MacINNIS: No, no, no; I do not think you are being fair about it. It says here, by representatives of the communist party, or persons who are making representations for them, that from September, 1939 to June 22nd, 1941, that they opposed Canada's participation in the war; and I think, if you want to be frank, that they advocated Canada withdrawing from the war, they worked to bring about a defeatist attitude in Canada in regard to the war; all of which was definitely bad for the people of Canada; and I think that a large majority of them went so far as to advocate that we ought to give up our fight in the war. And now, as I said before, I am not saying that in any one particular case of with respect to any one particular internee that the evidence was suspicion of subversive activities of anything

of that kind; and I do not know the facts upon which appeals were based.

WITNESS: I would say that you cannot say that everyone who was connected with the communist party -- quite apart from the literature that goes out in their name -- quite apart from that, if these people have changed their views now and are ready and willing to fight and are offering to join the armed forces, why should they not be given an opportunity?

MR. MacINNIS: I think that is a very fair question for this committee.

WITNESS: There are men who have fought in the last war, who fought against fascism in Spain, and who are now willing to do their best to fight again. I think we ought to give them that opportunity.

MR. MacINNIS: You are making a good case against the internees when we link up those two things; they fought against fascism in Spain -- and I agree with them, they were right -- between September of 1939 and June of 1941 they were opposed to this war we are fighting against fascism. After June 22nd, 1941 they are again fighting against fascism. There is a period there that you have to account for with respect to the attitude of the communist party.

WITNESS: I do not intend to explain on behalf of the communist party, because I am not speaking for the communists, and I do not even know what was said about their policy, or what was their policy. I am not a student of communist doctrine; but I do know that it seems very illogical to say that anybody who belongs to a party which took a certain attitude at one time should be indefinitely interned.

MR. MARTIN: You are not facing the issue, as Mr. Mac Innis pointed out, and as I have tried so imperfectly to indicate, and we have given you every opportunity; you have up to June, 1941, and why not address your argument to that,

that is something that will have to be faced by the committee. You have made the statement that you do not think any of these organizations covered in the 39C should bear the stamp of illegality, and I sought to question you by indicating what the attitude of the communist party was between the declaration of war and June of 1941, and you did not explain.

WITNESS: No. I am informed now by members of the committee (the delegation) that the communist party was against the war and adopted a defeatist attitude. I say even if that is so should not the internees be protected against individual attack and abuse that they have circulated something of a subversive nature; that action should be taken against individuals only when they have said or done something that might be harmful to the war effort.

MR. MacINNIS: So far as this committee is concerned it is assumed that that is the case; otherwise, we must take it that the Department of Justice have not been giving us the facts.

WITNESS: So I say that the power to deal with individuals is sufficiently broad surely to give us protection in this country that we need without exposing a man to being interned without a trial, or, to be interned for some time without a regular trial as we knew trials in this country to be up to the outbreak of the war.

MR. MacINNIS: There is another question then; would you insist, or maintain, that the trial of any person arrested or interned in wartime should always be on the same basis as in peace time?

WITNESS: No, I have not maintained that and I think I have made that clear in my opening remarks, that we as a party think that certain regulations are needed.

MR. MacINNIS: Well, let me ask another question:

I am trying to help you to make your position clear and I would just like to ask a question in this way: you have stated I think -- assuming that the communist party was opposed to the war between (I am not saying that you said this) but assuming that they were opposed to the war between the 18th of September, 1939 (or some such date) and June 22nd, 1941, but that since June 22nd, 1941 they are in favour of the war; that that should be taken into consideration and that it would seem logical that if there is no other reasonable reason for interning them except their opposition to the war that they should be released; and that besides releasing them in order that -- or, put it this way, when determining as to whether or not they should be released, that the part of section 39C that illegalizes the communist party should be removed so that that would not be a detriment to the judges or the members of the review court; would that be putting your case clearly?

WITNESS: I think that is fairly stated. Take a case in point; for example, a communist who is interned but who is willing to fight, to hold him separate and to keep him interned is certainly detrimental to the war effort and must have some good reason other than the doubt that after his release he is not going to do as he has promised. We know from their history that they are desperately in earnest in their desire to defeat Hitler.

MR. DUPUIS: If I understood you aright you said that since June of 1941 they changed their minds and were in favour of defeating Hitler?

WITNESS: I did not say that. I do think that their present attitude is certainly in favour of it. I was not aware as to the difference in their attitude before 1941 until I came here today.

MR. DUPUIS: I understood you to say that since you have been informed that they were opposed to our war

effort before June of 1941 that they should not be maintained in concentration camps since 1941 as they have declared themselves in favour of our participation in the war. But let us suppose another situation: let us suppose that Russia declared her intention of making a separate peace with Germany and these people were again to change their minds; what would be your attitude?

WITNESS: I could not do very much if they changed their minds. I would have to know the reason behind such a move on their part. Personally that is a thing which I doubt very much would ever happen.

MR. DUPUIS: They were against our participation in the war during the time when Germany and Russia had a pact together.

WITNESS: People may have very good reasons for changing their minds; but it is their present attitude and their present intentions that guide you to the future; if they are no longer enemies they should not be interned; but if they are, they should be.

MR. MARTIN: I agree with you, but that is not the way you started off. You started off by criticizing the policy of including in section 39C certain organizations which were declared illegal, that is what you were criticizing.

WITNESS: Yes, and I think the time has come to study that and delete the names of many if not all of those organizations.

MR. MARTIN: Only on the assumption that there is no situation which shows them to be opposed to Canadian participation in the war.

WITNESS: I would go further than that; I think it should be shown under that section that they were doing things actually harmful to our war effort which would arouse suspicion --

MR. MacKINNON: This discussion has largely been along the line of what happened before June of 1941. Here is the actual case of a four-page pamphlet which was issued in Toronto by the district committee of the communist party of Canada, young communists' league, and which was distributed through the mails to members of the Canadian army and it said: "We must expose all mismanagement and incapableness of the higher officers and all fascist officers and careerists must be thrown out". Do you think that contributed to good morale while an organization advises a policy of that kind?

WITNESS: If there are people of that stripe in the army they should be thrown out. Undoubtedly you will agree with me on that.

MR. MacKINNON: Who is going to determine it?

WITNESS: The people running this country, and in this regard the organization of the army itself, the Department of National Defence; you must have confidence in them to handle a situation, or the only thing to do would be to change your government.

MR. MacKINNON: What kind of a turmoil are you going to get into if every individual is persistently and consistently going out of his way to find out these things; don't you think the private in the army or the junior officer has plenty to do? I suggest that the men in the army have plenty to do without indulging in that sort of thing.

WITNESS: I was in the army for quite a long time myself in the last war and we used to say that about the only privilege the man in the ranks had was to grouse and pour out abuse on everything and everybody; and I know from my own experience that it sometimes went so far that you would hear the men saying that when a certain officer went up the line he was going to get shot in the back, but it never came to that.

MR. MacKINNON: That is what being advocated during July and August of 1941 by this communist organization in Toronto, and they were doing it apparently for a definite purpose.

WITNESS: I do not know who is behind that or who it is endorsed by, you can't tell. I might get out a similar document and sign them in print by the names of quite loyal people; for instance, I might get one out and sign it in the name of the Canadian Red Cross.

MR. MacKINNON: This was issued by the district committee (Toronto) of the Communist Party of Canada, Young Communist League.

WITNESS: What people, and how many people worked on that? I am not representing the communists. I am talking about the regulations in general. I think you must deal with people as individuals; and you have got to treat them in such a way as to show that they are a menace and that their internment is not a punishment but a precaution.

MR. MacINNIS: That is right.

WITNESS: I do not think you could deal with bodies of that kind and say such and such a body is illegal because you saw the name printed on a paper somebody circulated. I can circulate any amount of documents through the mails in the name of any number of organizations.

MR. Mac KINNON: If that was the only reason --

WITNESS: Yes; as I say, we must go further than that. I say, if these people have a change of heart and are now behind the war effort, and if your only criticism of them is that at one time they thought the war was not being carried on actively enough, I do not think that is sufficient for banning the organization. I suggest that these men might easily have a change of heart. Supposing, for example, our former mayor just before the plebiscite had announced that he retracted everything that he had said

before and that he now supported the war effort and that at least he would go out and speak to the province of Quebec in favour of a "yes" vote on the plebiscite and in support of government policy, do you think the government would have said "no", two years ago you took the opposite view and we are going to keep you interned and we will not use your talents or abilities even though it might serve an excellent purpose. Why, you all know what the situation was in the United States, there were a lot of isolationists over there who wouldn't have anything to do with letting the United States take an active part in the war before Pearl Harbour, they opposed war and they did everything they could to keep the United States out of it.

MR. MARTIN: But the United States are at war.

WITNESS: The United States are now at war but there was a time when they were not and their isolationists were actively opposing President Roosevelt and everybody else in any effort to help us out.

MR. BLACK: We in Canada were at war when these people objected to it but their attitude changed when Russia came in; it was not for Canada's sake, but because of their interest in Russia; I think that is a fair way to interpret it.

WITNESS: I do not recognize that.

MR. BLACK: Well, we had that change at that time. You are happing on the time of this change in the communist party.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been established here.

WITNESS: As I say, I came across this only in the last few minutes and it is not something I am prepared to discuss. I know very little of the history of the communist party. I am speaking of the general proposition that these people are now in favour of our war effort.

MR. MacINNIS: I was going to say that there is a very good way of answering that question: this committee has been set up as a committee to examine these regulations. Has anybody on behalf of the communist party made representations to this committee to the effect that the communist party was anti-fascist and for that reason that they should be released? That is, when the committee sat in 1940, and the committee that met in 1941; my impression is that this is the first time that the anti-fascist character of the communist party since the beginning of the war was emphasized before a committee. I was not on the committee in the other years and I am wondering whether any representations were made to those committees that these persons should be released because of their anti-fascist attitude? I know from my own knowledge, it was not until after June 22 of 1941 that I received any representations asking for the release of these persons on the basis that they were anti-fascist; all the applications for their release, all demands for their release up to then, were on the grounds that they were labour leaders. Now, I think we should have a frank statement from you as to just what the position is.

WITNESS: I do not think you can say that I have not been frank with your committee. I have told you frankly when you have asked me questions. When I have known the answers I have been frank to give them, and when I did not know the answers I could not give them.

MR. DUPUIS: There is no doubt that Mr. Kerry is sincere.

WITNESS: As I say, you are discussing the attitude of the communist party. I think everybody knows, and certainly there would be no need of any evidence before anybody, that the communist party as a party are anti-fascist. There is no doubt about that.

MR. MacINNIS: Yes, but anti-fascist for a time up until 1939, June 18th of 1939.

WITNESS: They were anti-fascist long before the war, sir.

MR. MacINNIS: Of course they were.

WITNESS: Long before the war, and they were trying to persuade this country to be anti-fascist during the war with Spain.

MR. MacINNIS: But they made no announcement of their anti-fascism between September, 1939 and June, 1941?

WITNESS: I would not say that.

MR. MacINNIS: I am saying it,

WITNESS: They had declared that they have always been anti-fascist.

MR. MacINNIS: No, they have not.

WITNESS: And I think there is no doubt in the minds of the members of this committee now that they are anti-fascist with Russia in the war.

MR. MacINNIS: I did not wish to bring this in, but in the United States the communist party opposed every attempt by President Roosevelt to assist in the war and they opposed everything he tried to do. Now, leaving that for the moment; I maintain that a good case can be made out for their release on the basis of changed conditions, and I would much rather have a fair case made out on that basis than to try to make it out in a way that has been attempted here on several occasions.

WITNESS: I do not know anything about that. I will say this, that you have got to judge them by their present attitude and present intentions; and it is very understandable, their attitude, of the moment, and it is consistent.

MR. O'NEILL: A good case has been made out on different

occasions here as to why a man because of changed conditions should not be interned; and a very good case has been made out for it. But just as Mr. MacInnis has pointed out, it is only recently that any mention has been made that they are anti-fascist. Whatever complaints we heard before against their internment were based on the reason that they were labour men and that that was why they were interned, because of their communistic leanings. What I would like to see clearly demonstrated, and I am honestly sincere in this and just as anxious as you are to see justice done; but I cannot see any reason why, as has been suggested, that because there is a shortage of labour certain men now in custody should be let out for the purpose of assisting in the harvest of crops. I do not think anybody could seriously suggest that we ought to do away with the laws that caused these men to be interned. If they are men who can be released to serve a good purpose now in the prosecution of the war, by all means, certainly they should be released. But it seems to me necessary and desirable at the same time to retain these laws on our statute books; and that is what I would like to see done, as a matter of fact. I do not see why we should take out of section 39 all of these organizations.

WITNESS: Why should they be banned, some of them, if there has been a mistake? Each case must be considered on its merits.

THE CHAIRMAN: But you have not pointed out to us yet what organizations should be removed.

WITNESS: I have but a very short time at my disposal and I cannot discuss the history of these organizations; but I do say in general that these regulations are far too broad and give far too much power to one man, and there is far too long a delay in proceedings before someone who is interned, for example, has an opportunity to appear for a hearing. That is why I suggest that there should be modifications along

these lines in order to prevent abuses. We are not infallible, any of us. You take your Royal Canadian Mounted Police, they are fellows that come from many different parts of the country and some of them have prejudices and some have their own ideas and some have whims -- they are not judicially trained.

MR. MARTIN: Are you acquainted with the organizations which are listed in connection with section 39C?

WITNESS: I could not name them off-hand; but as I say, I do not think we should deal with organizations, Mr. Chairman, rather I think we should deal with individuals.

MR. MARTIN: Just a minute, I want an answer to my question; what would you do with that, would you leave it there?

WITNESS: I do not think I would.

MR. MARTIN: You would put that one out?

WITNESS: I think I would put out any German or Italian organization.

MR. MARTIN: What do you mean by that though; however, that is not my question; which organizations under 39C would you leave under that section?

MR. DUPUIS: Before you came in, Mr. Martin, Mr. Kerry explained that he did not think it fair to ban organizations.

WITNESS: Just a minute, Mr. Dupuis.

MR. DUPUIS: Just a minute, if you don't mind; and Mr. Kerry says that instead of dealing with organizations we should deal with individuals and that each case should be considered on its merits.

MR. MARTIN: Would you answer my question now, please? What would you do in regard to section 39C? Would you still keep them on under section 39C?

WITNESS: Yes, I would, and I would keep on the list any evidentially Italian or German organizations that are banned.

MR. MARTIN: I see.

WITNESS: And I would keep on any organizations that are affiliated, or connected with, or suspected of fighting us, but, as to the others, I would not keep them banned.

MR. MARTIN: What would you say about Technocracy Incorporated?

WITNESS: I certainly do not see any reason why we should ban Technocracy Incorporated.

MR. MARTIN: You don't, I see.

WITNESS: From what I know of its activities.

THE CHAIRMAN: What about the Witnesses For Jehovah?

WITNESS: Witnesses for Jehovah, I think ought to be allowed to continue, subject to all the ordinary legal restraints. I know that they are a very ardent religious sect and at times they are very aggravating and annoying people, but I think that they can be dealt with by the ordinary course of law.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have another fifteen minutes at your disposal.

WITNESS: I think some members of the committee (delegation) might like to be heard. I was wondering if that would be agreeable to you? I was wondering if I could ask Mr. Ballantyne to address you?

THE CHAIRMAN: Certainly.

Mr. Campbell Ballantyne, Journalist, Montreal,
called:

THE CHAIRMAN: All right, Mr. Ballantyne, will you proceed?

WITNESS: I do not want to take up a great deal of the time of the committee. I think Mr. Kerry has explained very adequately the ^{general} feeling of our organization. As he explained to you, however, the invitation to meet you today reached us only yesterday morning, not entirely expectedly,

and we have not had an opportunity of finally preparing a brief and crystallizing our views; so that what I have to say will be to a great extent on my own account.

I think from what I have heard of the discussion this morning that there is absolutely no doubt that everybody here is here for the main purpose of changing the regulations, if that is agreed as necessary, in such a way as will further the war effort; and certainly that is the only consideration that motivates our committee; and we, a Quebec organization, have got ourselves the job of contributing to the extent that we are able, and we are modest about it, to the mobilization of the people of the province of Quebec for total participation in the war.

MR. DUPUIS: Are you suggesting that the people of Quebec are not doing their share at the present time?

WITNESS: I am speaking about residents of Quebec. We think that the war effort of Quebec can be improved and that the war effort of the whole country can be improved. I do not think there is any doubt in the mind of any member of this committee that we can do more than we are doing, and we are trying in our modest way to stimulate the people of the province of Quebec to do more. Mr. Kerry has told you a good deal about what we have been doing; collecting salvage, giving our blood, trying to get our members to join the active army and the reserve army, collecting money for cigarettes for soldiers, and in general trying to get the people to do a little bit more than they are doing. I think the job of getting Quebec to do even more than it is doing is the job of convincing the people of the province of Quebec that this country faces a terrible emergency, and that we must fight on an all-out basis if the future independence and security of the province of Quebec and of French Canada is to be guaranteed. And I

think our committee agrees that there is a certain amount of cynicism, shall we say, among Quebecers about the necessity of an all-out effort. I do not think there is anybody in Quebec who is not making some effort, but there seem to be a lot of people there who are not making an all-out effort, not the effort that we need if we are going to win this war; we are trying to create an awareness among the people of the province of Quebec of the necessity of this all-out war effort. We are trying to create an awareness of the danger this country faces, of the peril in which all of us stand; whether we are an employer, a professional man, a middle class man, a clerk - man or woman, or a working man; we are trying to arouse everybody in the province of Quebec to an awareness to this danger. We are trying to unite the people of the province of Quebec for this all-out effort.

THE CHAIRMAN: Pardon me; in what respect do you suggest there should be amendments to the Defence of Canada Regulations?

WITNESS: I am coming to that, sir.

We believe that the Defence of Canada Regulations is a factor in mobilizing all Quebec and the whole of Canada for an all-out effort. We believe that there is at least one section of the Defence of Canada Regulations which tends to promote, to stimulate or to arouse, shall I say, discontent and suspicion, and to that extent prevent the people there from achieving the unity which is necessary at the moment.

MR. BLACK: Have you any evidence of that?

WITNESS: Well, I just have the evidence of my own impressions. I see a good deal of working people, and I can tell you that you hear some talk -- I don't say a great deal, but to whatever extent it exists it is a danger; that so long as members of organizations and certain organizations are

prevented from carrying on, contributing to the war effort in a legal way, then there is reason to be distrustful of the country's leadership, I believe.

THE CHAIRMAN: Pardon me there, what organizations in Quebec are preventing from contributing freely to the war effort, or are barred?

WITNESS: I refer to the left wing organizations, organizations mentioned in 39C of the regulations, particularly the communist party. I believe that it is --

MR. MARTIN: Since June of 1941?

WITNESS: If you like.

MR. ROSS: What do you like? What do you say to that?

WITNESS: I am willing to accept the general point of view.

MR. MARTIN: I think that is a very fair answer.

WITNESS: Certainly I believe it is inimical to the country's war effort if this suspicion exists and I believe it could be removed to some extent by recognizing the communist party and by permitting members of the communist party to carry on openly.

THE CHAIRMAN: Pardon me; do you make this proposition, that if the communist party are free to go on openly in the province of Quebec the war effort of Quebec would be bigger and better than it is now?

WITNESS: I believe the communists could contribute to increasing the war effort of Canada today. I think we are overlooking this, that the communists could contribute to some extent to improve the war effort of the province of Quebec. In the province of Quebec there are individuals, and publications and organizations, which today are anti-war -- I will not go so far as to charge --

THE CHAIRMAN: Are they communistic, people having communistic leanings that are involved in that?

WITNESS: I do not think so. The communist party in the province of Quebec has had, claims to have had, a certain influence upon the working classes in the province of Quebec. It is my opinion that if the communists were given their legality again they would be in a better position to combat fascist tendencies amongst the workers in war production and try to point out to those who are misled by fascist propaganada that exists in the province in of Quebec that this propaganada is false and should not be followed.

MR. DUPUIS: Hasn't it been brought to your knowledge that in the programme of the communist party in Canada there is a certain document supported by their leader whereby they plan to overthrow the government by force and violence; if you knew that to be a fact would you still be in favour of their ^{being} taken out from under the provisions of section 39C?

WITNESS: I am not aware, Mr. Dupuis, that such a thing exists. I think I would agree that, if it were demonstrated to my satisfaction that the communist party sto for the overthrow of the government in this country by force and violence I would be for the suppression of the communist party.

BY MR. DUPUIS: Q. Now then, you know that in our Quebec legislature they passed a law called the Padlock Law?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever appear before any Quebec committee and ask them to put that law out of existence? A. I did not.

Q. Do you know that it exists? A. I do, very well.

Q. Did you read that joint letter by all the Bishops and Cardinals in the province of Quebec and the whole of Canada in which they stated that the communist party is a subversive party and should be combatted? A. No, I did not.

Q. It was read in the churches on the 7th and 14th of this month. A. I saw a newspaper account of it.

Q. What would you do with that? A. I believe, I cannot say that I agree with the point of view expressed in that letter; although I would like to say that I have on a great many occasions agreed with statements made by Monsignor Villeneuve; in particular with the statement he made in the short wave broadcast to the people of France not very many months ago from Boston, in which he warned the people of France not to allow themselves to be deluded by nazi propoganda which seeks to paint the communists as the great enemy of the French people. I entirely endorse that statement.

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Q. You said a moment ago that the purport of your committee is to arouse the interest of the Quebec people in our war effort? A. It is.

Q. In that joint letter by the bishops of the whole country they just state that they should contribute to this war? A. I think there is room for an honest difference of opinion. I am expressing my point of view and Monsignor Villeneuve is perfectly at liberty to express his. It is an honest difference of opinion between people who I think are united in a common aim to win the war. There can be differences about the methods of doing things. I believe the difference is merely one of method.

Q. Coming back to the padlock law, suppose you convince us that we should change the regulations here in Ottawa, what would you do then with that provincial law? A. Well, I would work for its repeal as I have been ever since it was enacted by Mr. Duplessis' government.

Q. But it was not repealed by the present government? A. It has not been repealed, it is not in use so far as I know.

Q. The federal police are doing the work? A. Yes.

BY MR. MacINNIS:

Q. I wonder if this would sum up your idea in regard to certain classes of people who are now interned; I think it sums up mine. This statement was made to this committee by Sir Norman Birkett who is the chairman, I think, of the advisory committee dealing with detention and release of interned prisoners in Great Britain. He said:

"We have this kind of case. At the outbreak of the war we heard the cry of Britain for the British. We do not want any interference with Germany or anyone else. Since then we have had the bombings

of our cities and our homes and that has changed our mood. At one time people said 'we will not enter the war until the Empire is attacked, Britain for the British'. Well, she has been attacked and now they want to be released and do national work, and we have released scores on that ground; not merely because they said that, but because it was futile to keep them there."

A. I should say I agree with that. Thank you, Mr. Chairman for your attention.

MR. KERRY: I should like to present Mr. Thibault. We have a federation of French Canadian Victory Clubs, and Mr. Thibault is connected with that work. I will introduce him; I do not think he wants to speak at any length.

GEORGE THIBAULT, Called.

BY THE CHAIRMAN:

Q. Mr. Thibault, what is your connection with this organization? A. I am the organizer of the Federation of V Clubs, and we are affiliated with the Quebec Committee for allied victory because we have the same aims as they have.

What I have to say has to do with the question of principle as regards the banning of certain organizations - the principles of democracy and of freedom for what we are fighting for. I tried to join the army in January after the month of December when Pearl Harbor was attacked because I realized that the war was closer to home, and I think that many of those organizations realize the same as I have. If in the past they took a stand that may have, perhaps, not been enthusiastic for the war I think it was more from the realization that the war was far away.

Q. What organizations are you thinking of? A. At

the present moment from what I heard, the Communist Party was not enthusiastic for the war before Germany attacked Russia.

Q. Have you any other organizations in mind besides the Communist Party? A. I was working with a Ukrainian and his father had been interned because I think he belonged to one of those Ukrainian organizations. I think at the present moment if any organization declares itself in favour of the war and is willing to help in every way possible in the war and for the general principles of democracy and the things we are fighting for, I do not see any reason why we should continue to ban them. That is all.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Mr. Thibault. Gentlemen, we will adjourn until Tuesday at 10.30 a.m.

--The committee adjourned to meet Tuesday, June 23rd, at 10.30 o'clock a.m.

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