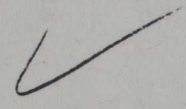


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CONFIDENTIAL

SESSION - 1942

HOUSE OF COMMONS

SPECIAL COMMITTEE
ON
DEFENCE OF CANADA REGULATIONS

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE
NO. 4

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1942

WITNESSES:

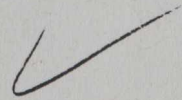
Rev. F. A. Sayles, Welland, clergyman of
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Mr. A.J. Menard, Local 200, United Automobile
Workers of Windsor, Ont;
Mr. M.G. Hay, B.R.C., Lodge 488, London, Ont;
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HON. J. E. MICHAUD,
CHAIRMAN.

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SPECIAL COMMITTEE
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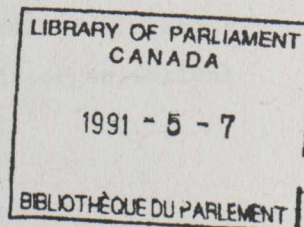
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MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

House of Commons,
Room 368,
June 16, 1942.

The Special Committee on Defence of Canada Regulations met this day at 10.45 o'clock a.m. In the absence of the Hon. Mr. Michaud, Mr. G.E.L. MacKinnon presided.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, we have a quorum, will you come to order.

MR. MacINNIS: Mr. Chairman, before we start proceedings this morning, there is a matter I wish to draw to the attention of the committee. This committee is supposed to be sitting in camera, but I have before me about twenty telegrams which I have received from various organizations and individuals in the city of Vancouver which would indicate that the proceedings of this committee have been anything but in camera. I am not objecting to the telegrams in themselves, although they seem to be contradictory. I shall just read two of them, one of which is typical and the other, possibly, is the only one of the kind I have received:

"Phone from Ottawa states you are not supporting efforts of delegation stop Unless you fight for relief of internees it cannot be presumed that you stand for a United Canada for total war."

There is another line to the telegram but it refers to others and I shall not read it. The second telegram, which is typical of the majority of these telegrams, reads as follows:

"My congratulations your work with committee on revision Defence of Canada regulations stop Urge you continue to press government for relief of labour internees and legalization of patriotic organizations in the interest of Canada's war effort."

Now, it is evident that someone sitting in this committee - although I do not think that anything I have said during the days the committee has been in session would indicate whether I was in favour or opposed to certain things - somebody in this committee is sitting here and carrying out, or at least trying to carry out, what this committee is doing. I think we should have either a clear understanding that people who come here will respect what is said here with the intention of having the committee in camera or we should have a wide open committee.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: I quite agree with that, Mr. MacInnis. There were people who had been taking notes here. I do not know the purpose of the notes; but we have to do either one thing or the other. This committee was set up, and we have always up until this year maintained it strictly in private with the exception that there were a couple of delegations who came before us to present their views, and naturally we considered that they were restrained the same as the members of the committee in regard to taking out information. It is my opinion that this must stop otherwise we will have no choice but to carry on as we have in other years.

We shall now have the minutes of the last meeting read.

MR. MARTIN: Before you go on with the reading of the minutes, may I note that Mr. Arsenault, a member of the Press Gallery, was here and I think he thinks your remarks were directed to him. He went out at the end of your remarks and he seemed to be offended. May I say to him now, since he has come back for a moment, that obviously the chairman's remarks could not be regarded as applying to him.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: No, they did not apply to him at all. Minutes of previous meetings read and approved.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: Now, gentlemen, we have Mr. Cohen with us again this morning and if you are ready we can go on with Mr. Cohen.

MR. J.L. COHEN, K.C.: Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I express at the very outset my appreciation of the indulgence that has been shown particularly with respect to time, and most certainly I find a physical manifestation of that time in the bulk of this transcript which is now before me.

I should like to say a word about the matter that Mr. MacInnis quite properly spoke about. May I state that speaking for myself I am shocked by the item, in two senses; first of all, in so far as the one telegram read suggested that anybody telephoned -- I think they said from Ottawa -- indicating what position anybody had taken. In my opinion that is very definitely a violation of the understanding on which certainly as I understand it, this delegation and I are present here. Very definitely, if one can be very definite about such a matter, I object to the implication in the concluding statement which the telegram contained to the effect that Mr. MacInnis was not cooperating. In saying that I am just speaking from memory with regard to what the telegram contained. I want to state here most clearly that speaking for myself, and I think in that sense I speak for the delegation also, that there is no impression in the slightest degree, and certainly if there is there is not in my opinion, any justification for that impression that anybody in this committee is not cooperating or has taken any unfair or improper attitude. I have welcomed every question which has been put forward and every observation which has been made. They have assisted me to deal with the matters involved which I might not otherwise observe. And in every instance they are questions and observations which I myself would be inclined to make or expect to have made were I honoured to the extent of being a member of the house or a member of the committee.

I am not suggesting that this matter has to be dealt with by any superficial approach to the subject. I think every possible angle ought to be examined and scrutinized; and I personally have taken it from that angle that questions are being put and observations are being made. I want to make quite clear that not in the slightest degree do I associate myself with the fact that some communication was made with somebody who sent the telegram or with the fact that some reference was made that certain members of the committee were not cooperating.

Now, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, dealing with the subject itself I may say that the historical developments -- and I think that is by no means an emphatic statement -- in the international situation since the committee last met or since I last appeared before it have obviated the necessity of my referring to many things and extracts which I would otherwise have thought it perhaps advisable to place before this committee in order to complete the argument and representations which I was last engaged in putting before you.

When we met before I was concerned with indicating two things: firstly, that the German-Russian pact of August 1939 was not a pro-Nazi alliance; but was the result of ^{the} isolation of Russia which had been brought about unfortunately and perhaps inevitably; and secondly, that there had developed by now such a crystallization and integration of relationship between Russia and the United Nations. generally, that one could state definitely that there was a lasting and enduring bond, a complete unanimity of platform and approach to the whole war situation and to fascism and hitlerism. That is completely demonstrated now, of course, beyond any question, I think, without the necessity at all of going into historical data in order to prove the tendency in that direction by the

treaty which was signed or at least announced on Thursday of last week, a twenty-year treaty, a treaty of alliance which projects beyond the war period and into the post-war period with a definite affinity of interest and point of view and programme between Russia and the democratic allies generally as to war programmes, war aims and post-war reconstruction of the world.

MR. MARTIN: It was a bilateral treaty.

MR. COHEN: I beg your pardon?

MR. MARTIN: It was simply a bilateral arrangement.

MR. COHEN: Yes, but with the very definite anticipation that it will be used as the foundation stone upon which a larger structure will be created, because in the ^{action}~~operation~~ of the treaty which deals with its duration reference is made to the fact that it shall endure -- pardon me for a moment, I will just try to find that. There is some reference somewhere in the treaty and I will place my finger on it before I close my submission to the effect that it shall endure until replaced by a pact of a broader nature; and the statement issued at the time that the treaty was announced indicated that other nations are being invited, so to speak, to associate themselves with it; and certainly Roosevelt's statement and the documents completed between himself and Molotoff indicate that so far as the United States is concerned this treaty is being accepted as their basis, that is, the United States basis of the understanding to prevail between United States, Great Britain and ^{Russia} --

MR. MARTIN: So far as this committee is concerned I do not think that helps us. As a matter of interest I do not think it is true.

MR. COHEN: May I take it, sir, that you mean my last remark with respect to the United States?

MR. MARTIN: Yes.

MR. COHEN: That is not exactly true?

MR. MARTIN: I say it is not true.

MR. COHEN: Well, I do not want to press a matter that members of the committee may not think quite relevant. The only reason I referred last day to the integration of policy between Russia and the Allies and referred to the treaty today as a culmination of that tendency was to deal later with the arguments that have been put forward that one cannot rely upon the past pre-war position of the communists of Canada because forsooth there may be a change in the relationship between Russia and the other nations in their war against fascist Germany. That argument has been put forward.

MR. SLAGHT: Speaking for myself, I do not quite agree with Mr. Martin. I feel that the factor recited by Mr. Cohen is a factor that this type of committee is entitled to think about in the problem we have before us. I regret to have to differ from my friend, but I do differ in that respect. I do not think Mr. Cohen should be shut off if he has anything to say with regard to his recital of that treaty.

MR. MARTIN: I was simply objecting to the statement that the United States had concurred in that pact between the United Kingdom and the U.S.S.R. That simply is not the fact.

MR. COHEN: I agree fully with Mr. Martin.

MR. MARTIN: As a matter of fact it states the United States refused to identify itself with --

MR. COHEN: I do not want to get into an argumentation on a matter of that sort; it would be most improper for me to do that, and it would probably prejudice my presentation; but I fail to find any reference in the official statement welcoming the pact the suggestion that the United States refused. Certainly it would appear to me that the simultaneous announcement of the alliance between Great Britain and Russia of the understanding reached between the United States

and Russia would indicate that there was a parallelism of approach there. Now, I shall seek newspaper references on that and make a further submission on the question of the role that the United States plays in this situation if necessary by some written memorandum. But it cannot be suggested for a moment that the two nations which subscribed to and furnished to the world the Atlantic charter as the very basis for war policy and post-war policy, the basis on which other nations were invited to identify themselves with these two nations, have suddenly at any rate disagreed in respect to the matters set out in the treaty concluded in May between Russia and Great Britain. To me the suggestion is just not comprehensible. As a matter of fact the interpretation that has been put forward has been that the treaty is a vindication of the Atlantic charter. It was suggested publicly that Russia was insisting upon certain sovereign rights with respect to some of the Baltic areas and that was blocking an alliance; and the treaty now concluded between Great Britain and Russia makes no reference to any such matter. It has been hailed as a vindication of the Atlantic charter, the very document concluded between Roosevelt and Churchill.

I suggest again if there was nothing more than the simultaneous announcement from London and Washington of the alliance and agreement between the United States and Russia as well as the treaty between Great Britain and Russia, if there was nothing more than that parallelism of announcement one could still say that it indicated a unified policy between Great Britain, the United States and Russia with respect to war programmes and war aims and post-war programmes and post-war aims. I personally would be interested in finding any reference anywhere which would suggest anything to the contrary. Certainly it would give me considerable concern. The lesson that I have taken from this historical development is that

there is a complete cementation between Russia, Great Britain and the United States with respect to war policy; and that we have achieved at least that specific collective security common front against fascism which was urged for years immediately before Munich and which Munich seemed to displace.

I should like to make one or two references, and they are very short, to the statements made by Mr. Eden. One of these statements is out of the text of a speech made by Mr. Eden on the occasion of the signing of the treaty and the other a short extract from his address on the treaty in the House of Commons. Speaking on the occasion of the signing of the treaty Mr. Eden states:

"Under the impact of war we have found that understanding which escaped us in the uneasy years of peace." And I connect that with a statement made by Mr. Eden, the same or the following day, in the House of Commons in which he stated:

"We have been able to arrive at this happy result through establishing by our contact with Mr. Stalin and Mr. Molotoff complete mutual confidence. This is the time to mention their valuable contribution to Anglo-Russian understanding over a long period of years."

Now, disregarding for a moment, though I am unable to see how one can, the question of whether or not the United States is tied in with that understanding certainly so far as we are concerned, so far as the empire is concerned, the basis there established for the policy of Great Britain and the empire with respect to war and post-war aims is identical and solidified with that of Russia.

MR. MARTIN: Mr. Cohen, you spoke of an accord between the United States and the U.S.S.R. When was that announced? I do not recall that.

MR. COHEN: The following day, sir.

MR. MARTIN: You are referring to Molotoff's visit?

MR. COHEN: It was more than a visit, sir; it was more than a visit.

MR. MARTIN: There is no treaty between the U.S.S.R. and the United States.

MR. COHEN: There was some document completed between the United States and Molotoff. I shall get the text of it for you. I took it for granted that this treaty was based on an understanding; but there was undoubtedly a document completed between Molotoff and between Russia and the United States, accompanied by a statement by Roosevelt which, and I think I am correct when I say this, contained a reference to the understanding which had been reached between Great Britain and Russia, hailing it and welcoming it; and to me the whole thing was one transaction. There may be technical limitations that affect the nature of the arrangement or the reaching of the arrangement between the United States and Russia that did not prevail with respect to the other --

A SPECTATOR: Have you taken the quotation from the New York Times?

MR. COHEN: The quotations I gave were from the New York Times having to do with the agreement between the Soviet Union and Great Britain; but I do think there is a separate reference to the United States agreement. I shall endeavour to find that because I want to make sure myself that I am not in error. I have no desire at the moment to make any statement overemphatic to this committee. I do not indulge in that; that does not mean that I do not make such statements, but certainly I do not do so consciously. I shall be at pains to examine into the document made public with respect to the United States and Russian situation. But I say let us disregard that for the moment. Certainly so far as this

treaty is concerned the policy of Great Britain and the empire and Russia is one and indivisible so far as the war aims and the post-war aims and the programme is concerned. I do not think one need labour that. I may read just one further short statement from a speech delivered in the House of Commons by David Lloyd George on the day the treaty was announced. I am reading now from the Toronto Daily Star report. This is the quotation:

"While the House of Commons still was cheering Mr. Eden yesterday, David Lloyd George, the premier of the first great war, rose and said in the respectful hush that followed:

'As one who laboured over 20 years ago to establish good understanding between Soviet Russia and this country, I felicitate the prime minister and the foreign secretary and the government upon the accomplishment of this treaty. Had it been a fact some years ago, many grave blunders would have been avoided, and not only that, but this war never would have occurred.'

Now, it may be important to note that when in the early months of the war there were peace feelers sent out, and I think at one time officially announced by Germany shortly after the complete overrun^{ing} of Poland, still in the fall of 1939, that it was Lloyd George who at that time suggested -- I do not say he was correct in his approach -- that it might be advisable to think of those peace feelers seriously in view of the physical practical situation with which the democratic people found themselves confronted. Certainly in the light of everything David Lloyd George had said before that and has said since and in this paragraph I have just read it is clear that Lloyd George was concerned about the fact that Russia had been isolated from what should have been a

common front and thereby an effective front against Hitler.

I say now there is no need for my going into what otherwise might have been necessary, references, public documents and books and so forth to establish the fact there was that growing integration of policy. Ten days ago when I appeared before one of the advisory committees and urged the fact ^{that} the policy had been cemented I was confronted with the fact that Litvinoff speaking in the United States has urged the opening of a second front and that perhaps indicated here that there would be a disagreement between Russia and the other nations. I could then only rely upon reasoning to answer that to the same extent that one of the members here the other day referred to ~~diplomacy~~ ^{declamation}, as I had no historical basis upon which I could found my conclusions. I could only urge upon the committee the fact that the information that one could gather or an analysis of international events which I had made and which I had put forward led me to the conclusion that there had been a clear ^{approximation} of policy with respect to war and post-war aims between Russia and Great Britain. I could only urge that without information and argue it. I do not know whether I convinced the committee then or not. I would have been in the same position to-day if I was urging that here and perhaps I would have had to tell you that I was merely reasoning; but I do not have to reason now on the basis of historical occurrences in the past. I say the treaty speaks for itself. There is that complete integration and that recognition in Eden's speech and in Lloyd George's speech that this is a situation which should have been brought about before. I do not refer to that in any critical sense because I repeat again what I said the other day, that those who had the control of the affairs of Great Britain and the empire during the critical years and months preceding the war

may have had their hands tied by things which only history will disclose.

Now, the question arises, ^{infact is} the relationship between that fact which I say is ably established by the alliance and the position of the communists in Canada. I am sure one or two members of the committee are inclined to feel a little impatient and perhaps not without justification with me for dealing with the happenings in Europe and international events and not saying anything about the communists in Canada, because after all the committee is concerned with these specific questions.

The communists in Canada wisely or otherwise accepted and adopted as the foundation of their political viewpoint and their view of international affairs, whether they think in terms of the advocates of socialism or in terms of stopping Hitler, that isolating Russia to say nothing of defeating Russia or projecting the war against Russia was fundamentally inconsistent either with the possibility of achieving proper social changes or a possibility of having ever to stop Hitler. I do not say they were necessarily correct in ~~that~~ ^{the} point of view they held. They held it passionately, just as passionately as they speak of the menace of Hitlerism and fascism. I say that to indicate that when the communists, beginning with the outbreak of war and up until June '41, took an anti-war position it was not a pro-Nazi position, it was not the position of some of the organizations that Mr. Anderson read out. It was a viewpoint definitely tied up with that of the communist programme of anti-fascism. It was from their standpoint the correct method of opposing fascism. I do not say at all that they were correct or justified in that viewpoint ~~and~~ that the most effective way of fighting fascism was to put ^{an end to it} ~~it into~~ a situation where

Russia was isolated and so bring about perhaps a situation where Russia would be brought into closest alliance with Great Britain and the United States and the allies; but that was their viewpoint. They held that without Russia being brought in line it was not a fight against hitlerism and they were concerned with the fight against hitlerism. The question is not whether they were right or wrong at that time. I do not mean by that to excuse any breach of the laws or regulations. For that they were punished and should have been punished. The laws must be observed, particularly when we are at war. I am discussing now the question as to what appraisal one has to make of their present position, and I say their attitude at that time in opposing the war was not a pro-fascist attitude, far from it.

Let us assume an individual or a group of individuals in Canada for some reason or other had the point of view that for Great Britain and Canada to go into the war without the active military alliance of the United States would be suicide.

MR. MARTIN: Is there anyone in this committee who seriously suggests that the attitude of the communist party in Canada prior to June '41 was a pro-fascist attitude?

MR. COHEN: Yes, sir; it has been stated.

MR. MARTIN: There has been argument that they were acting contrary to the interests of the state; but who alleges it was a pro-fascist attitude?

MR. COHEN: I do not think it would be correct for me to indicate specific members of the committee, so to speak; but I may say in all sincerity, Mr. Martin, that it has been stated here during the course of the hearings that the German-Soviet pact was a pro-Nazi pact and that communists who were opposed to the war were indicating a pro-fascist attitude;

and it has been stated outside of this committee by government officials very close to the situation.

MR. SLAGHT: And it has been very definitely put forward in the United States.

MR. COHEN: Never.

MR. SLAGHT: Yes.

MR. COHEN: Never. I say that categorically.

MR. SLAGHT: You misunderstand me. It was very definitely put forward against the communists.

MR. COHEN: That they were pro-fascists?

MR. SLAGHT: That they were pro-fascists.

MR. COHEN: Never.

MR. SLAGHT: I say it was definitely put forward in the United States as against them. I am not referring to the truth of it, but it has been put forward. I can furnish you with literature published in the United States in which that suggestion is made.

MR. COHEN: I will be very glad to examine it.

MR. SLAGHT: That the communists and fascists were playing a game together.

MR. MARTIN: I agree with Mr. Slaght's last statement.

MR. COHEN: That there was such literature?

MR. MARTIN: Yes.

MR. COHEN: Is there anyone in the committee who suggests that? I am not suggesting there was no justification for the incarceration of communists up until June '41, not on the ground they were pro-fascists, but that they had acted contrary to the interests of the state. One of the difficulties I have had in connection with my presentation with respect to the amount of time I have taken is that necessarily different members of the committee are concerned with various facets of the question, and I know I am spending time on matters which to some members of the committee are clear; but

in my presentation to the committee I must take cognizance of these things. I am somewhat in the position of one appearing before the court of appeal ^{where} / each of the judges sometimes has his own theories of the case and therefore one must deal with the case in that way. The lawyers on the committee will appreciate that. There is a point of view in the country which this committee must take into account.

MR. MARTIN: I object to Mr. Cohen saying we are like the Court of Appeal of Ontario.

MR. COHEN: I did not say the Court of Appeal of Ontario. There is a point of view in some cases, certainly in the country, that the German-Soviet pact and the opposition of communists in Canada to the war was a pro-Nazi situation. Now, I will say nothing more on that point. I say history indicates completely it is not so. I was going on to give an analogy, and with your indulgence I should like to continue. It will only take me a minute or two. I was going to say let us assume that a group of individuals or an individual in Canada had the point of view that for Canada and Great Britain to go into a war against fascism without the active military alliance of the United States was suicide; and that ^{that} group or person was passionately opposed to fascism and to hitlerism and that when war was declared that group or that individual having that point of view, mistaken, perhaps, came out and said in view of the way this war is being carried on without the active military alliance of the United States I am saying to the people that it is a war that cannot succeed and I am opposed to it. That man would be breaking the law and should be punished.

MR. SLAGHT: Would they mean by that that Britain and Canada should lie down and let Hitler trample over them merely because the communists had not seen fit --

MR. COHEN: Suppose an individual had seen fit to come to that conclusion and had announced it, then I say that individual having come to that incorrect conclusion forsooth that individual would make himself liable to punishment under the laws and should be punished; but that is not the point we are discussing here now. We are not discussing now what should have been done to communists during the time that they were opposed to the war. I am not questioning anything with regard to that. What we are considering, it seems to me, at this moment is what should be done towards communists to-day in relation to the position to-day; and coming back to my analogy I say suppose that group and that individual after the entry of ^{the United States} Russia into the war had said, "Now, we are completely satisfied; now we know this war can be carried on to a successful conclusion," would you keep interned the individual who before made himself liable to internment? Would you jail a group of individuals who had made themselves liable for jail on the mistaken opinion that the entry of the United States was necessary before the war could be successfully carried on? I suggest what you would say would be this, "You were wrong when you had that point of view before, but at least the situation which prevails now is such that there can be no doubt of your present support of the war; give us your hand and put your shoulder to the wheel and do all you can for the war effort." I suggest that would be the position.

MR. SLAGHT: Would it not be fair to suggest that an attitude of mind such as that would be really parallel with Italy's cowardly display. Italy waited on the fence to see who was going to win. When she thought that Germany was winning she stabbed France in the back. Would not that describe the type of mind of an individual such as you suggest if it is true that the communist party were opposed to war

unless or until the United States came in. When the United States is in they get a regeneration. As I understand you this is the way they thought: when we were being licked they were against us; when we are in a position where they think we can win they get in the band wagon. Is not that what you are putting against them?

MR. COHEN: Not by any means, no band wagon at all.

MR. SLAGHT: Well, a tent.

MR. COHEN: Because first of all the position of Italy in relation to the whole situation was definitely pro-fascist, pro-Nazi. It is the very origin of fascism. What I am trying to suggest to the committee is these are truths which enable us to arrive at a sound conclusion as to the present position of the communist party. Are we here concerned with punitive approaches ^{towards} on these people for what they did before, or are we concerned with the position of the communists in Canada today based upon the present position? If we are concerned with a punitive approach then I may take my seat at once because ^{then} I am through, there is nothing more for me to say. There is no question about the fact that breaches of the laws and acts contrary to the war policy and means of bringing Canada together were committed by communists during the period when we were at war; and if that would dispose of the issue then it is idle for me to continue with my argument and it is idle for members of the committee to listen to me for a moment. But my suggestion to you is we are not here concerned with punitive approaches. Punitive approaches are taken care of by prosecution in the courts and by jail terms. We are here concerned with an appraisal of the present position, and from that standpoint we must go into the sources that led to their conduct.

Suppose an individual is being considered for parole.

What would you consider? You would want to know how did he come to commit the offence, what led him to do it, what is his make-up and on the basis of that what are we to do with him now? Are we in a punitive sense to keep him behind the bars still, or are we to restore him to some position in society where he can do some good? We go into the whole series of amplifications that led to the act for which he was committed; and that is what I am suggesting here and now. I say one cannot examine even superficially the position of the communists and the communist party and the whole question of fascism and the war without being satisfied that they were opposed to fascism before the war, opposed to fascism during the war, that their only point of disagreement with the programme was the fact that Russia was not a party to a common front and that consequently it seemed to be an unreal war and was not an anti-fascist war. Again I say I do not say they were right, but I say since history now puts the physical situation such that there can be no doubt about the ^{present} communist position, ^{and} we must deal with the communists on the basis of their present position.

I made some reference during the last day to the fact that the invasion of Russia in June '41 was not as was suggested by Mr. Slaght something that happened overnight and that startled Russia into a cry of hatred against fascism and therefore brought into the war all communists. It was no such overnight affair: There had been statements issued months before by the U.S.S.R. challenging Germany's position with respect to some of the things that she was doing in connection with the war which definitely indicated the hostility of Russia and at the same time indicated a growing proximity between Russia and the democracies.

I will only make one reference to that from the New York Times of Tuesday, March 4, 1941. These headlines are

from the front page and are as follows:

"Moscow March 3rd.--"

Remember, this is some three months before the war.

"Soviet Russia to-day informed Bulgaria in a formal note that Germany's military occupation of that Balkan state threatened 'extension of the war' and that Russia refused to give support to Bulgaria's new Axis-dominated policy.

Russia's strong statement, breaking an enigmatic silence on the part of the Kremlin toward the Balkan crisis was handed to the Bulgarian Minister Ivan Samenoff by Soviet Vice Commissar of Foreign Affairs Andrey Y. Vishinsky.

The note carried strong criticism of Bulgaria for having agreed to the German occupation in what the Soviet government called a mistaken belief that the Balkans and Bulgaria herself, would be spared the horrors of war.

The statement was broadcast to-night from all Moscow radio stations, which quoted the official text of Mr. Vishinsky's note.

The last official Russian statement on the Bulgarian situation appeared on January 15 in the form of an assertion that neither Germany nor Bulgaria had consulted Moscow on the possible entry of German troops into Bulgaria.

That statement was issued by the Tass agency in reply to reports abroad that German troops would have the sanction of the Russian government in an occupation of Bulgaria, and to-day's announcement indicated that the situation had not changed, in the Russian view, now that the Nazi occupation has been carried out.

Mr. Vishinsky summoned the Bulgarian Minister to the Kremlin to-day and told him that the Soviet government 'cannot share the opinion of the Bulgarian government that the German military occupation was for the purpose of preserving peace.'

Mr. Vishinsky's note said that, to the contrary, Russia contended that the Nazi occupation 'leads to the extension of the sphere of war and to Bulgaria's being included in it.'

The note then served notice that Russia 'true to her policy of peace, cannot render any support to the Bulgarian government in the application of its present policy.'

Russia's statement of her viewpoint on the Balkan situation was made in reply to an explanation given Saturday to the Russian Minister in Sofia by the Bulgarian Foreign Office asserting that 'the Bulgarian government had given its consent to the dispatch of German troops to Bulgaria, having in view the preservation of peace in the Balkans.'

Mr. Vishinsky's note and the outline of events leading up to it, as announced by the official Tass agency, follows:

'On March 1, a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, Altynoff, made a statement to the U.S.S.R. Minister in Bulgaria, Alexander Lavrideff, that the Bulgarian government had given its consent to the despatch of German troops to Bulgaria, having in view the preservation of peace in the Balkans.'

On March 3rd Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs A. Y. Vishinsky conveyed to the Bulgarian Minister, Ivan Gramenoff, the following reply:

'In reply to the communication the Bulgarian

government conveyed March 1 of this year through the U.S.S.R. Minister in Bulgaria, Zavrikoff, by the representation of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, Altyhoff, to the effect that the Bulgarian government had agreed to the despatch of German troops to Bulgaria and that this action pursues peace aims in the Balkans, the Soviet government deems it necessary to state that:

"First, the Soviet government cannot share the opinion of the Bulgarian government as to the correctness of the latter's position, irrespective of the desire of the Bulgarian government, does not lead to consolidation of peace but to the extension of the sphere of the war and to Bulgarians being involved in it.

Second, in view of this the Soviet government, true to its policy of peace, cannot render any support, to the Bulgarian government in application of its present policy. The Soviet government is compelled to make the present statement, especially in view of the fact that the Bulgarian press freely circulated rumors fundamentally misrepresenting the real position of the U.S.S.R."

MR. SLAGHT: Was that not solely to protect their own frontier?

MR. COHEN: Sir, there have been things done by Germany during the course of this war that threatened the whole future geographic and political set-up of Italy and Italy has not dared come out with a thing that would suggest she was in any way critical of Germany.

MR. MARTIN: Not since the war but before she did.

MR. COHEN: Some years before.

MR. MARTIN: Yes.

MR. COHEN: Certainly not since Munich.

MR. MARTIN: No.

MR. COHEN: Not for eight or nine months before Munich.

MR. MARTIN: Shortly before the invasion of Austria.

MR. COHEN: Correct, sir, Now, there is a similar statement in the New York Times, a statement made by Russia with respect to the entry of Germany into Jugoslavia. The statement is dated 18th March, 1942, and is as follows:

"A coolness in relations between Russia and Germany, caused by events in the Balkans, according to information reaching Washington, was interpreted as having improved Jugoslavia's chances of holding out. The Soviet government was said not only to have been disturbed at Germany's failure to consult it on the Balkan moves but also to have been disappointed that Bulgaria did not fight. Russia was said to favour Turkey's entry into the war but to be too cautious to advocate it openly."

Incidentally Russia's non-aggression and friendship pact was with the very government of Jugoslavia that was set up to keep the Germans out. The government did not last long; but that very open indication was given to the world, and I say that there was no proximity of policy between Russia and Hitlerite Germany --

MR. SLAGHT: That was to protect their own boundaries again, surely.

MR. COHEN: The same thing with respect to Turkey. I shall put one or two of these quotations in and hand the rest to the reporter because I do not want to take up the time. There is a reference here to the fact that also about that same time there was a discussion going on with the Russian Ambassador to the United States with a view to improving relations between the United States and Russia. The quotation

is as follows:

"March 21st 1942. --

Washington March 20th.

Sumner Welles, Acting Secretary of State, resumed conversations to-day with A. Oumansky, Soviet Ambassador, on ways and means for improving relations between the United States and Russia."

All this bears out the extract which I read from that Cole book the other day. Very early in 1941 until June conversations were going on, necessarily secret and extending over a period of time between Russia and the democracies leading to an understanding and that the invasion in June '41 was the culmination of the proximity of policy and purpose between Russia and the democracies and not the reverse.

"March 25th 1942.

Istombul, Turkey.

E. R. Gedye reports


"An extremely important confirmation and restatement of the Turkish-Soviet Treaty of friendship will be published simultaneously in Ankara and Moscow to-morrow in the form of a guarantee by the Soviet Union of 'full neutrality and understanding' toward Turkey in case she is obliged to enter the war, and a reciprocal declaration from Turkey . . .

The Soviet government, the statement goes on, adds that if Turkey is attacked and is obliged to enter the war for the purpose of defending her territory she can rely upon the complete neutrality and understanding of the Soviet Union based on the existing treaty of friendship between the two countries . . .

The importance of this declaration, simple in form as it is, can hardly be overestimated. It is merely Soviet Russia's indication to Turkey that she may go

ahead whenever she pleases with the fulfillment of her treaty of alliance with Great Britain . . . The declaration is regarded here as a great defeat for German diplomacy in Moscow which has been straining every nerve to prevent this result.

When the Soviet Vice Foreign Commissar Andrey Y. Vishinsky received Khardas Aktai, the Turkish Ambassador to Russia, last Friday for the second time in one week, it became known in Ankara that the signature of some document improving relations was imminent.

As pointed out at the time, there was no possibility of this going as far as a pact of non-aggression, for this would have brought the Soviet face to face with the possibility of attack by the German divisions massed along its frontiers. Despite the obvious threat to the Soviet implicit in every move of Germany to-day, Russia still feels constrained to combine formally friendly relations with Germany with unobtrusive endeavours to impede Adolph Hitler's efforts to spread the war in the Balkans. The time when Russia will feel free openly to defend her interests against the Nazis is not yet." 
"March 25th 1942.

Ankara, Turkey - Tuesday March 25th.

Soviet Russia took formal action early to-day to block further Nazi expansion in south eastern Europe with publication of a friendship agreement which, in effect, assures Turkey of full material aid against German troops if Turkey is plunged into war to defend the Dardanelles.

The Soviet Union, a Turkish communique said, has promised 'full and comprehensive neutrality' in case Turkey clashes with the Nazi armies now massed on her frontier with Bulgaria.

High diplomats said this meant that the U.S.S.R. is prepared to support Turkey with material aid like that being given to Britain by the United States and like that which Russia herself has tendered to China several years against Japan.

Already Soviet troops are stationed near the Caucasus border with Turkey, and it is reliably reported that they are made up for the most part of anti-aircraft gun men, tank corps and technical experts."

"March 26th.

Washington March 25th.

The United States threw its weight further into the European scales to-day by expressing satisfaction over the reaffirmation by Russia and Turkey of their policy of 'comprehensive neutrality' and praising the Soviet Union as a great power.

Speaking informally at a press conference, Sumner Welles, Acting Secretary of State, said that in times like these, particularly during the past months when so many independent nations had suffered at least temporary loss of their autonomy and their independence, it was a matter of satisfaction to this country when a great power like the Soviet Union reaffirmed its intentions of maintaining its 'comprehensive neutrality' in the event that a neighbouring country suffered attack.

It was the first time since the communist regime came into power, according to officials, that the Soviet government has been referred to by this government as a great power."

"April 1st.

Stockholm, Sweden. March 28th.

A difference with Russian and German views concerning the future of the Petsamo Nickel mines in Finland is

discernible in negotiations between Finland and Russia which are momentarily at a standstill. . . .

After the peace Russians agreed to a purely Finnish company . . . 60 per cent of the production should go to Germany and 40 per cent to the Soviet Union. Last December, however, the Russians called off the deal and demanded creation of a part Finnish-Russian company with 51 per cent of the shares to be held by Russia and a Russian majority on the board of directors, while Russia was to get the entire production of the mines."

"April 7th,

Moscow, April 6th.

The Soviet Russian press declared to-day that the people of Yugoslavia did not want war and hailed the Soviet new pact of non-aggression and friendship with Yugoslavia as an 'outstanding milestone' in efforts of the two countries to preserve peace.

Although Pravda, the Communist party paper, and Izvestia, government newspaper, declared the pact was 'insignificant' and rested on a 'sound foundation consistent with the Soviet 'peace policy' the press carefully refrained from saying what deeper meaning might be attached to the document.

Hard raps were taken inferentially, however, at the German contention that Yugoslavia had sought the war that broke out upon her to-day.

Photographs of the signature ceremony published prominently, disclosed that Josef Stalin attended. The picture showed Mr. Stalin, Premierk Foreign Commissar Molotoff and A.Y. Vishinsky, Vice Commissar of Foreign Affairs, beaming at Milan Gabrilovitch, the Yugoslavia Minister.

. . . Pravda said 'latest events in Yugoslavia clearly

showed that the people of Yugoslavia are striving for peace.

In numerous demonstrations and meetings it said 'broad sections of the population expressed their protest against the foreign policy of the A. Vetkowitch government, which threatened to involve Yugoslavia in the orbit of war when the new government headed by General Simovitch came to power it clearly emphasized its desire for peace and the preservation of friendly relations with all states, above all with the states neighbouring with Yugoslavia. . . .

Hailing the pact as showing the 'unwavering consistency of the Soviet peace policy, Izvestia said the pact helps prevent spread the war.'

'One must bear in mind that it was concluded in the midst of war which already has drawn into its orbit more than 1,000,000,000 people,' the paper said. As shown by numerous pacts, this war tends, moreover, to draw into bloody slaughter new peoples and countries one after another. This alone clearly lends import to the treaty of friendship and non-aggression between the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia."

"Tuesday March 4th 1942.

London, March 3rd.

For many months the British have been getting this report and this to the effect that Russia was growing uneasy over Germany and particularly in regard to German influence in the Balkans. Now these reports, on which British diplomats built their theories, have been gloriously and overwhelmingly confirmed."

"March 5th 1942.

Stockholm, March 4th.

An editorial in the official newspaper of the

Swedish Communist Party says:

'Bulgaria's reactionary government followed its heart's desires when it gave way to the German demand and sabotaged the claims of the Bulgarian people for a pact of friendship with the Soviet Union, which could have saved the country's peace and independence.

Even (Premier Bogdan) Philoff's government was compelled to emphasize that it would continue its traditional friendly policy toward the Soviet Union.'

"March 10th.

Belgrade, Yugoslavia, March 9th.

Yugoslavia and Soviet Russia are expected to issue a joint declaration of friendship simultaneously this week with the signature of a Yugoslav-German non-aggression pact and statement of amity with Germany, it was declared to this correspondent to-day by circles close to the government. . . . If the recent Soviet statement protesting German occupation of Bulgaria has had a bracing effect on Yugoslav policy, it can be concluded that a declaration of amity and common interests will bulwark future policy and produce joy among the people."

"March 12th.

Ankara, Turkey - March 11th.

A Russian promise that Turkey need fear no attack from the Soviet Union should she enter the war has been given to the Turkish Ambassador in Moscoe by Vyashesloff Molotoff, Russian Premier and Foreign Commissar, a competent source declared to-day."

"March 18th, 1942.

Page 4. Bertram D. Hulen reporting from Washington
March 17th.

Sufficient evidence has been accumulated to convince official observers here that coolness has developed in

the relations between the Soviet Union and Germany.

Whether the strain is of significant extent is not known, but it is considered possible that if Reichsfuehrer Hitler should react sternly to it a serious rift might result. . . .

Furthermore it seems clear that Russia wanted Bulgaria to resist the German occupation but did not dare advise her to fight. Then when Bulgaria succumbed Moscow rebuked her. . . Russia is understood to be anxious to have Turkey fight Germany but in this case also she does not dare to advise Ankara to engage in war. . . . it may now be lending encouragement to the forces in Jugoslavia and Turkey that are standing against yielding to the Axis."

Now, I have touched upon the fact that the communists in Canada -- and one does not have to go into their reasons for it because one does not have to either agree or disagree with the point of view -- at the outbreak of the war thought that without Russia in it it was neither a proper war nor a anti-fascist war and that whether in a punitive sense they should have been dealt with one way or another at the time they were doing these things is not a criterion which should be brought to bear now in dealing with the present situation in a ^{constructive} judicial sense.

MR. DUPUIS: In which class would you put England and France? Were they fascists in the minds of the communists of Canada?

MR. COHEN: ^(certainly) Certainly, I do not deal with people in a geographical sense that way. There were some people in France who ~~were~~ undoubtedly ~~had~~ had the fascist idea there; there were some people in England who undoubtedly ^{ed} look with approval upon some fascist ideas. For a time some

of these people occupied positions of influence; but that does not mean that at that time England was fascist or at that time France was fascist. I would not for a moment suggest such a thing.

MR. MARTIN: Your own argument disposes of that.

MR. COHEN: I think that fundamentally all peoples -- perhaps we may find even that the majority of the people in Germany--are anti-Hitler and anti-fascist because it is a violation of the most fundamental human instinct to be governed in the Hitler way.

MR. SLAGHT: Would you let Mosley out now if he established he wanted to get on with the winning of the war?

MR. COHEN: No, because Mosley is a fascist.

MR. MacINNIS: I think Sir Norman Birkett answered that question the other day when he said they were continually releasing persons in Great Britain who were opposed to the war because of their fascist tendencies and who are now coming around and saying because Britain is attacked we want to fight for Britain. He said scores had been let out on that basis.

MR. COHEN: I want to state this in the kindest of sentiment, that one could not anywhere in the world test the validity and the completeness and the effectiveness of one's pro-war attitude ^{to-day} by his attitude or understanding or point of view in September 1939. Who of us can say that we then as completely conceived the situation and dangers and responsibilities and the consequences as we conceive them to-day? Are we to sit here and say that we will appraise all those who did not in September 1939 have a complete viewpoint on the subject? If one follows that to the conclusion one would have to go to the period before the war to correctly estimate the political trend.

I am suggesting we must learn from these things and if we

find there are now within our midst groups and individuals who if it was only from a mistaken standpoint that they did not want a part of the war effort then not only should they not be kept confined and punished but their entry into the war situation should be welcomed and suggested.

MR. SLAGHT: I think that is the strongest argument you have.

MR. COHEN: I am coming to that, sir. I want to deal with one other feature of the position of the communists in Canada. I have been very frank. I would not be dealing with the situation honestly if I did not say the communists in Canada took their position in respect to the war on the isolation of Russia. I disagree with the suggestion that they were influenced by foreign agents. There is no doubt about the fact that that was a great influence in their relation to the war situation. It had been said to me, not in this committee but by officials close to the situation, "Well, now, they were not in favour of the war before June '41. What assurance is there that there might not be a change in the situation?" During the early months of Russia's entry into the war that was a concern. I would not have appeared in the early months of the change and argued anything before this committee. I still was in a position where I refused to accept any retainers from them, even though as one member of the committee pointed out, a lawyer is supposed to take any case brought before him by an individual even though he may not agree with it. I also had to be convinced of the international events and consequences that led up into the pact. The pact that has just been consummated has put us in a position where no shift is possible. I say that sitting here to-day in June '42 and reviewing the events which have occurred since June '41 that it is idle, that it is a misuse of language to suggest that there can be a change in the

position which will again bring about a change in the communist attitude to the war. I could ^{not} have said that quite ^{Su} vigorously when I was here the other day. I do not need to argue that with vigour or emphasis to-day because the alliance entered into between Great Britain and the Soviet Union speaks for itself.

There are two conditions, two contingencies that support the argument that there might be a change in the international situation that will again change the position and viewpoint of the communists in Canada with respect to the war. One of these contingencies is, and it was suggested earlier and I am not blaming anybody for doing it, that Russia could be driven to complete a separate peace. Well, I think that is put in the abstract class, that just as it was stated before Munich peace is indivisible so now certainly it is true to argue that war and war aims are indivisible.

MR. DUPUIS: Have you some facts upon which you base your conviction?

MR. COHEN: I have here the accepted government policy of Great Britain and the empire as reflected and enunciated in their treaty with Russia. I cannot refer to anything stronger than that. I think it would be idle to do so. I had intended to deal with the matter because you will remember when I was here the last day there was no intimation of the treaty. All that is unnecessary now.

MR. MARTIN: There is only one missing link in your argument so far. You have clearly established there is an understanding between the United Kingdom and the U.S.S.R., but you have not established that the communist party in Canada is necessarily affected by the understanding arrived at between these two countries. I ^{not} am saying you cannot establish that but at the moment you have not established that, and I think you must do so.

MR. COHEN: My only reason for referring to the alliance is to indicate the permanency of the situation. I say the fact that the communists are affected by the entry of Russia into the war is clear. There is evidence of it on all sides from June '41 on. Every one of us in our daily lives has come across evidences of that.

MR. DUPUIS: You say you established last day that the communist party of Canada stood on its own feet; in other words, they did not receive direction from Moscow. That is right, is it not?

MR. COHEN: I was dealing with the theory of force and violence. I was indicating the communist party of Canada had its own constitution and so on.

MR. DUPUIS: Technically there could be nothing to prevent the communist party of Canada taking issue with a corresponding situation in other parts of the world and particularly with the Comintern in Russia.

MR. MacINNIS: Nothing except their past record.

MR. MARTIN: If that is the case must you not establish this, that there is a direct relation between the policy which provoked the understanding between the U.S.S.R. and the United Kingdom and the communist party of Canada?

MR. COHEN: I can only do that this way, sir. I suggest this in a conclusive way. First of all, whether we assume that they received orders or acted independently there is no doubt about the fact that the approach of the Canadian communists to international affairs was based on the supposition that there must be that collective security common front between Russia and England and the other nations. I have read from official communist documents which are here in the record to establish that. Now, that has been brought about and we have found that the moment that was brought about the communists in Canada immediately assumed strong

pro-war attitudes. That being so one cannot assume anything else except they are in full agreement with this treaty because they have been in full agreement with every other development which has brought Russia into the situation. They have approved of every situation wherein Russia has been brought into the picture; they have been critical of every situation where Russia has been brought out of the picture. I cannot indicate to you what the position of the communist party in Canada is to-day as to events that happened three days ago. They would have to be a party that was alive and legal for me to do that. But I do suggest that one cannot for a moment assume that a / ^{communist} reading this document would do anything more than hail it.

I want to mention a personal fact -- I do not mean personal as to myself. There is a gentleman within hearing of my voice in this room of whom some members here perhaps are critical. That man in Ottawa reading the announcement of this thing in a restaurant broke down in front of others like a child and cried. There is the reaction of a communist to the announcement. I do not think there is any question about A.E. Smith being a communist. I must apologize to him for mentioning so intimate a thing. He may not know anything about it, but sitting in a restaurant and being confronted with that news he broke down like a child. One must be reasonable about these things. I cannot be asked to bring forward technical evidence of the fact that the communist party does endorse this thing. I say it is inherent in the nature of their position.

MR. BLACK: Why would he cry; did he regret it?

MR. COHEN: Relief. He cried for relief. His statement to me when he came to Toronto was, "The world is safe."

MR. BLACK: People do not usually cry for relief, they usually smile.

MR. COHEN: Sir, I do not want to question a statement of that sort, but I would say that acute emotion would certainly result in tears, which would indicate strain. Certainly so far as A.E. Smith was concerned when he read that there was no possible doubt about the endurance of it or the relationship between Russia and the rest of the world.

MR. MARTIN: Mr. Cohen, I doubt if you appreciated my interjection.

MR. COHEN: I did, very much.

MR. MARTIN: I doubt if you appreciated the significance because the argument is made there is distinction between the communist party of Canada and the U.S.S.R., that Canada is an ally of the U.S.S.R. without reserve but the communist organization under Canadian laws is still an illegal organization. Now, it seems to me that from the point of view of your argument it is most desirable that you should deal with the problem which my question raises.

MR. COHEN: I am trying to, sir, very frankly.

MR. MARTIN: You say you cannot get evidence, you cannot state any more than you have stated. I suggest to you you can state something else.

MR. COHEN: I would welcome any suggestion.

MR. MARTIN: We will come to that later, then.

MR. COHEN: I would welcome any suggestion with respect to that point, because other than reading the lesson of history, so to speak, I do not know what I can base my opinion on. It may be that the communist party in the same way that they have been making statements during the past several months -- I have read them in the press, statements mentioning Tim Buck and that sort of thing. As a matter of fact I can only say that I was taking it for granted that this represented the position which the communists in Canada would take, not only would they endorse it but they would hail and

welcome it and if I can find some means of putting that more clearly, so to speak, on the record I will appreciate the opportunity of doing so.

MR. DUPUIS: You find no difference between the international policy of a people or a group and their political doctrine?

MR. COHEN: No; I think these things necessarily click. I do not think one can have one theory with respect to the world as to international affairs and another theory --

MR. DUPUIS: The other day I asked if you could obtain from your clients their secret publications which they send to intimate friends of the party. Have you that?

MR. COHEN: You will remember, sir, that I said the question should rather be turned the other way. I said if there are such things they should be placed before this committee.

MR. DUPUIS: Then the things are not here.

MR. COHEN: You asked if such things existed. I cannot proceed on any assumption.

MR. DUPUIS: You are the attorney for the communist party of Canada.

MR. COHEN: I am no such thing.

MR. DUPUIS: What are you then?

MR. COHEN: I am here as the attorney retained by the National Council for Democratic Rights.

MR. DUPUIS: Who are they?

MR. COHEN: They are a group of individuals who feel that Canada's war effort would be aided if this question were removed from the controversies of the day and if the communists now interned were released and ^{that} if the communist party were declared legal it would be advantageous. I have no doubt but that some of them are communists and I have no doubt also that there are many who are not, and I think it would be

distressing if we found the National Council for Democratic Rights was being treated the same way *as the League for Peace and Democracy*

MR. MARTIN: That is unfair to members of this delegation. One member of this delegation happens to be a French-Canadian from Windsor.

MR. DUPUIS: That does not matter. That does not mean there are no communists among the French-Canadians.

MR. COHEN: No. I am not suggesting there are no communists in the National Council for Democratic Rights. I say the question is not who were in there; the question is what is their point of view at present.

MR. SLAGHT: Is there any significance in this? You have already told us Mr. A.E. Smith is a communist. He is the general secretary of the National Council for Democratic Rights. Do you find any connection there?

MR. COHEN: Not at all, except this. We are all afraid of the Red bogey, sir. Nobody could convince me to become secretary of the National Council for Democratic Rights because I am afraid of the Red bogey. My professional position would be tainted, my earning capacity would be hurt. It is wrong for me to take that position. Many of us who held such opinions as did the League for Peace and Democracy were afraid to act because of being thought a communist. MacLeod asked me on dozens of occasions to come down to a public platform and he knows I hedged and at last completely refused because I was not taking any chance of being dubbed a communist. And that is the position to-day.

MR. DUPUIS: If it was not for that fact you would belong to the communist party?

MR. COHEN: That is not so. We are talking of the National Council for Democratic Rights, sir. If I were convinced and tended in the direction of membership in the communist party nothing would keep me out of it; but I am

talking of the question of the National Council for Democratic Rights. The suggestion is made because A. E. Smith is a communist and is the secretary of the National Council for Democratic Rights therefore it is a communist organization.

MR. SLAGHT: No; I did not make that suggestion. I asked you to reflect on it.

MR. COHEN: Yes; I do reflect on it.

MR. SLAGHT: I just want your reaction to that.

MR. COHEN: I can only handle it in the way I have done, sir; ~~but~~ others lack the courage to come out. There are many individuals in this country without political orientation, there are many members of Mr. MacInnis' party, many members in it I think who feel the communists should be released and the illegality should be lifted, who would hesitate to go into the organization unless they were assured there were no communists in the organization; and so the net result is that those who are the most eager about these things are the only ones left to manage it.

MR. MacINNIS: Possibly not for the same reasons you do not go in it.

MR. COHEN: I do not know; I am not going into the reasons. I do not know that is necessary.

MR. MacINNIS: Since you mentioned my party I say that they would not belong to the communist party but not for the reasons that you gave you would not belong to it.

MR. COHEN: I am talking of the National Council.

MR. MacINNIS: You are talking of the National Council, and you say you thought it might affect your earning power.

MR. COHEN: That remark was most --

MR. MARTIN: You meant professional interest.

MR. COHEN: My clients would be hurt and the unions whom I represent, and I represent many of them, and I will say a word or two in a moment about their point of view -- they would

be hurt.

MR. MacINNIS: Personally I think we are wasting time with this point because we are really discussing or began to discuss this morning the fact that the communists urge force and violence in international affairs so far as the communist party of Canada is concerned. 2

MR. COHEN: Quite so.

MR. MacINNIS: I think that is a very relevant point; I do not think we should lose sight of it by getting into irrelevancies such as we are now.

MR. COHEN: I certainly am not losing sight of it. I welcome any questions that are put and I necessarily must deal with them as they are put. I must, however, repeat that different members of the committee are concerned with different aspects of the problem, and I must try to deal with them. On the point of change I was stating earlier there were only two possible contingencies that could be pointed out that would suggest the possibility of the different positions with respect to the communist attitude towards war. One is that Russia would voluntarily, so to speak, enter into a new treaty or a new arrangement with Germany. Now I say this: it is idle to talk of that and for anybody to put that forward in the light particularly of this treaty. The only other possibility I think from the military sense is impossible because otherwise we would certainly be close to losing the war. The other possibility is that Russia will be completely overrun, beaten and eventually forced to her knees, fastened in chains as is Poland. These are the only two things that can put Russia out of the war: one, a voluntary alliance of some sort with Germany; two, beaten down and completely conquered as Poland is. Now, I say the first is the merest form of abstraction and cannot be. The other is a military possibility. Let us assume Russia is beaten down

to the ground, chained to Germany as is the case of Poland. Would there be then any more savage anti-fascists in this country than the communists of Canada on finding Russia before them in that position? Let us be realistic about that. We hail the Free French, the Dutch and the Poles because we know if anything they are behind the fight with greater earnestness because of their personal dislike of Hitlerism; so I say when we deal with the two contingencies suggesting the removal of Russia from the situation the first is a contingency only in the abstract sense and the second is a contingency which if anything would make the communists in Canada more fervent in their support of the war and the complete vanquishment of Germany.

I come now to deal with the ten questions which were put to me by Mr. Slaght. I am proceeding from the basis of the communists as now definitely pro-war by reason of changes which have now so solidified themselves that this pro-war attitude can be relied on as something secure and permanent. As I say I proceed now to the ten questions presented to me by Mr. Slaght. I say these are the pivot of that whole consideration; namely, Canada's need for fighters, for armament, for war goods, for services, for morale, for putting money into war certificates and bonds, for planes, ships, and so on. That is the pivotal concern. Mr. Slaght asked these questions and I am grateful to him for having set the matter out in the completeness that it is set out here. He says did not the attitude taken by the communist party in the early days of the war involve these results, the discouraging and preventing of recruiting, certainly prevent the sale of war saving certificates, the sale of Victory bonds, slow the construction of airports, munition plants and so on. I do not think Mr. Slaght will mind if I say I do not think there is any need of enumerating them because they all appear in the evidence of which

each member has a copy. I say most definitely yes in reply to each of these questions. The degree I am unable to say, but undoubtedly there would be some discouragement of war effort resulting from the fact the communists took that position during the war, not as much, mind you, as their power for good is to-day for two reasons, that when they were speaking against the war they were doing something which inherently in my opinion, and I have nothing to support this except my opinion, so far as their feelings were concerned they were inherently opposed to it, anti-Hitler, anti-appeasement --

MR. MARTIN: Was the mischief in Mr. Slaght's question exceeded by the good --

MR. COHEN: I say there was some mischief undoubtedly. I was going to say how much could not be said, not as much as would be, perhaps. One would be apprehensive about any service because of these things. It was done, in my opinion, ^{thought} ~~mechanically~~ ^{impartially}, not maliciously or anything of that sort. So far as the people of Canada were concerned, they were saying things to the people of Canada, ~~they~~ ^{they} were saying things to the people of Canada that the people of Canada did not want said. So I say yes in reply to each one of those questions.

Shall I return now to the question as to whether we are concerned here with punishment, that is with a punitive approach or are we concerned with what should be done to-day? Should the communist party be interned to-day because in 1939 and 1940 it did do some harm? Surely that is not the issue. If we were to keep everybody to-day interned who beginning with September 1939 did not completely understand the war situation or contribute to his fullest there would be a great deal of disturbance in the country. If that were the test --

MR. SLAGHT: You are not overlooking the fact that Canada in September 1939 declared this country was at war with

Germany and called upon all her citizens to carry out the war with Germany?

MR. COHEN: I am not overlooking that for a moment, sir, not for a moment.

MR. SLAGHT: That was the law of the land.

MR. COHEN: Certainly.

MR. SLAGHT: On the 7th of September.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: Just one moment.

MR. COHEN: I am not stating that.

MR. SLAGHT: I put this to you. You are not overlooking this fact that in saying the answers to these questions is yes that they were thereby breaking the law of the country of their temporary citizenship or lack of citizenship. I do not know whether the communists --

MR. COHEN: I do not think that should be overstressed, sir. I do not know when war broke out how many of the communists were citizens of this country.

MR. SLAGHT: Is there any significance to the fact that when Canada declared war on Germany an enabling statute was passed which called upon all the citizens or people within Canada to assist in the war effort and do nothing to help the enemy? That was the law of the land.

MR. COHEN: I say in reply to your question, Mr. Slaght, that I most definitely base my answer upon the knowledge of that fact and I say that the communists broke the law during that period definitely, and not only broke the law but injured or hampered, to what extent nobody can say, the war effort. There is no question about that at all.

MR. SLAGHT: That is a very fair statement.

MR. COHEN: What we are considering to-day is not the question of what should be done with the communists in the light of punishing them for what they did in earlier years of the war. If that were the consideration I certainly would

not be here attempting to present these facts. What I am suggesting is the matter that has to be considered to-day in the light of the situation that prevails here and in the light of what has happened recently is the attitude of the communists in the war.

MR. MacINNIS: May I ask you this question? It may not be a proper question. If it is not you do not have to answer it. There have been quite a number of communists released during the last year or so on the recommendation of the courts. You have been associated with many of these cases. Will you say that the changed international situation was taken into consideration when these releases were made? Was it a factor in the recommendation made by the court of review so far as your information is concerned?

MR. COHEN: May I answer that question?

MR. MacINNIS: I should like you to answer it if you consider it a proper question.

MR. COHEN: I think it is a proper question and I think an answer is forthcoming.

MR. MacINNIS: I am asking that because I think there have been some releases since Russia came into the war. One reason for that is the present Minister of Justice in all cases, I think, accepts the recommendation of the court of review while the former Minister of Justice in some of the cases did not. Do you think that is a proper question?

MR. COHEN: Let me say first of all, sir, I challenge the statement that many communists have been released definitely, so that there is the first premise, so to speak, to the argument put forward.

MR. MARTIN: Have some communists been released?

MR. COHEN: I think so; I personally have no personal information on that. Secondly, I have not represented before any advisory committee any person who in my opinion or in the

finding of the committee was a communist. Reference was made that I had appeared in some of these cases. I have appeared on behalf of five internees who have been released. In not one of those cases was I of the opinion or was it established in my opinion that these individuals were communists. That refers to Sullivan; that refers to three other officers of the Canadian Seamen's Union. No suggestion that they were released because of any question of communism after a fight of about two years. The other individual in question was Jackson. He was charged with fomenting a strike. The only time I have come forward to represent at these hearings men who were not ^{faced} with particulars because it is alleged that they were communists or associated with communist activity ^{was} when I personally formed the viewpoint it was correct to represent them. I cannot say anything as to the policy of the advisory committee with respect to these cases because although I have argued and concluded the argument in at least a dozen cases recommendations have not yet been forwarded. That is why I was hesitant when Mr. Bence asked me the other day if the mere fact that a man is alleged to be a member of the communist party taken into consideration by the advisory committee. I say I could not say because my personal experience is such that I do not think it would help you. There is no doubt, however, that the ^{former} committees that deal with these cases proceed on the basis that mere membership --

MR. MARTIN: You are going to deal with committees later on?

MR. COHEN: Perhaps, if I can be helpful.

MR. MARTIN: I thought you said earlier you were.

MR. COHEN: Yes, I think I did say that but I did not want to seem to be failing to answer Mr. MacInnis' question.

MR. MacINNIS: I think the basic allegation was that they were communists either engaged in or about to engage in acts

that would be prejudicial to the war effort.

MR. COHEN: I can only say that in no case in which I have appeared here even those cases where active communists are subject to internment has there been any suggestion -- you were speaking of communists prior to the war, sir?

MR. MacINNIS: Communists who have taken or were about to take action that would be prejudicial to the war effort. I have in mind particularly J.A. Sullivan's case. I do not think some of the particulars in connection with that case were very sound but I believe there was one basic fact in regard to his internment. That was that he was a member of the communist party and it had been definitely established.

MR. COHEN: Far from it being definitely established, it was denied by him and in my opinion the proof that was brought forward was not proof that impressed itself favourably upon the advisory committee. I do not want to go into details of that case; it would not be correct to do so. When I defended Sullivan it was on the conviction that he was not a member of the communist party, as he told me, and we made the --

MR. O'NEILL: At this point I should like to ask Mr. Cohen a question. Perhaps it is a bit out of order and maybe it is a question that should be asked later on or probably it should have been asked before. I have been very much interested by Mr. Cohen's presentation this morning. There is a question that has been put to me quite frequently and I do not know just how to answer it, and I should like to know just how Mr. Cohen would reply to a question of that nature. The question is this: Men have been interned and are interned because they have belonged to the communist party. The communist party so it is alleged has a political philosophy completely at variance with our political philosophy in this country and the communist party in addition seeks to impose their political philosophy by force and violence if necessary. Now it appears that because

Russia is in the war we do not need to fear the political philosophy and the communists because they will be fighting with Russia against fascism and it naturally and logically follows that we should release them and say that the communist party is now a legal party. As an illustration it has been suggested that because there is a shortage of labour we should now let these men who are in jail for violations of the law out because we need their labour at the present time. I should like to have your explanation on that.

MR. COHEN: I tried at some length the first day I was here to establish the fact -- I thought it was established -- from the official document I have here this morning which was delivered to me by messenger, the constitution which was referred to the other day, that the communist party did not in fact subscribe to or adhere to, advocate, or in any way associate themselves with social and political change by force and violence. My second observation is that when the communist party was declared illegal that was done because of their attitude towards the war; it was not because of their political philosophy. Had that been the reason for declaring them illegal that probably would have happened on the first day of the war or long before. It was because of their attitude to the war. Premier King, according to my recollection, made that clear in the House of Commons because there was a suggestion through the country that something along that line was being done. It was made clear that the communist party was made illegal because of their opposition to the war and not because of their views. I say that was possible only because the Defence of Canada regulations are premised on only one thing, the war. The authority given to the Governor General in Council is authority in relation to the war and can only be exercised in relation to the war, but the question of whether or not the communist party of Canada should be

declared illegal because of their political viewpoint is a matter I suggest outside the purview of this committee. I refer to it because it has been suggested as a new reason for keeping these ^{new} interned. Certainly the reason announced why the communist party was declared illegal was that it was being done because of their opposition to the war. Now I say if in fact they are now not only not opposed to the war but wholeheartedly and passionately in favour of the war then the attitude should be revised. You may still have a critical attitude to their political philosophy and the Governor in Council can say because ^{of your} political philosophy you are going to do this, that and the other. But that is not the position that is being taken. It is because of their attitude and opposition to the war that they have been declared illegal. They are now not only no longer opposed to the war but they are most eager to devote not only their energy but to sacrifice their lives if necessary in defence of the war effort, ^{and} for the principal reason which was suggested for their being interned and declared illegal is now a reason ^{by} for which I urge they should be released and declared legal.

MR. O'NEILL: I see you state "you."

MR. COHEN: I use that in an impersonal sense.

MR. O'NEILL: I get thousands of letters from people not all wanting them interned but a whole lot saying that they want them kept in there.

MR. COHEN: I do not use the term "you" in a personal sense; I meant it in an impersonal sense.

MR. O'NEILL: What I was trying to get at is this: Why have we termed that organization illegal and why have we put these men in jail?

MR. COHEN: Because they were opposed to the war. That is my answer and I say they should be now released because of their present pro-war attitude. As I already suggested to the

members of the committee, I do not object to questions. I thought if I were allowed to conclude I could then safely say I will be finished in time before adjournment to deal with any questions that may be asked.

MR. SLAGHT: Then, Mr. Cohen, may I trespass to this extent? You have given a plain answer to my friend as to why the communists were interned and you say it is because they were opposed to the war. I suggest to you there is a deeper reason than that and I suggest it is because of the methods they were prepared to carry out in their philosophy in opposing the war rather than the mere sitting down and saying we do not like the war. I suggest to you that was not the reason at all; it was because they were prepared to mobilize all the available forces, strikes had broken out, and that is the chief means of obstructing manufacturing and transport of war materials. The various doctrines which they were carrying out in opposition to the war I suggest are the guts of the reason they were interned, not their mere opposition to it. These are two different things.

MR. COHEN: I adopt that fully, sir. I do not suggest for a moment it was the mere mental attitude. When I use the term "opposition to the war" I was thinking of it in an active sense. They were declared illegal because they were opposed to the war and they were making their opposition known and trying to carry it into effect. I do not want to seem to be hedging on that point at all, sir. That was the reason for their being declared illegal. We know now that is not the situation. I say the very reverse is the case.

I depart from that point by pointing again to the fact we are not here concerned with punishment or punitive measures. We are here concerned with direct approaches to the whole situation. If it was punishment we were concerned with they have served their sentences. Certainly those who have been in

jail have been punished if we are concerned with punitive measures. But here we are concerned with constructive points of view. Now then, with that in mind and having regard to the evidence which the communists have given since June '41 of their pro-war attitude, their activity in relation to the plebiscite, their activity in relation to speeding up of production, their activity in relation to increasing the tempo and the fibre of war morale and the work of Sullivan, if you like, since he has been released, the brief that he has just produced and which I understand was accepted by the ministers, the Hon. Mr. Howe and the Hon. Mr. Mitchell, as the basis for a programme in connection with the whole question of shipping interests, I say all these things among many others that come readily to your attention. I venture to suggest that if the authorities were asked it would be found that there was a better response on the part of factory workers for the last war loan drive than was the case before because of the efforts of these men and I say all of these things evidence the fact that the communist party in its handling of the war effort is not an abstract one any more than their opposition to the war was an abstract one but a real one and an active one, and again I would take this opportunity of taking a liberty with one member of the committee, that I would not take with any other, and ask Mr. Slaght in respect to ^{his} ~~his~~ questions to-day and ^{stet} in respect to his ten questions whether or not the keeping of communists interned and the keeping of the communist party illegal will advance our position with respect to the planes and ships and war armaments and war morale and war savings stamps and Victory loans and so on and so forth, and I say that my whole case rests upon what would be the answer to-day and in the future months of the war. I hope months. What would be the answer to those same ten questions?

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: I am going to protest against you

asking a question.

MR. COHEN: That is merely a rhetorical method of putting the argument forward.

MR. SLAGHT: I shall be very glad to answer it at the proper time.

MR. COHEN: That is merely the means; I took that liberty only with Mr. Slaght because I knew that he would know that I was not expecting him to engage in debate with me and answer questions. Our positions are reversed in that respect. I am the one to answer questions. It was merely a rhetorical way of indicating and posing the question.

MR. MARTIN: Mr. Slaght is a very enlightened member of this committee, but I do not think you should assume he is the only one.

MR. COHEN: Only because he put those questions to me. I was saying in respect to those ten questions, the production of war goods and war services and the securing of war savings stamps and the development of war morale and speeding of ships and all these things, would they be helped by keeping the communists interned and the communist party illegal or will these things be hindered? I would say no. I am asking myself that question and I ~~do not~~ ask that of ^{any} ~~any~~ member of this committee. The people of Canada want to know that and I say that the whole question pivots on what would be the answer. The people of Canada ask will our production of ships and war services, plants and armaments and war morale be assisted if the communists are released and the communist party is declared legal.

MR. DUPUIS: Suppose we follow your advice and release the communists who are now interned.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: Recommend.

MR. DUPUIS: Recommend that all these communists who are held be allowed to associate / ^{freely} with the other communists

who are free and spread the doctrine of class struggle and overthrow the government by violence, will that help this country to win the war?

MR. COHEN: No, sir; but I say, Mr. Dupuis, that there is not the slightest likelihood of any such thing taking place.

MR. SLAGHT: What is to prevent them carrying on, helping us in our fight against Germany and having gained our confidence in that respect concurrently preaching what we have here called their subversive doctrine when they get into the factories or in the army?

MR. COHEN: Because there is no evidence or suggestion ^{of such} that has ever been put forward at any hearing at which I was present. Who suggests any such things were being done by the communist party in any factories or plants, and they were in factories and plants before the war?

MR. DUPUIS: I suggest it would not be hard to find in many factories communists endeavouring practically day and night to convince their fellow workers to join the communist party and try to raise prejudice against employer and employees.

MR. COHEN: There is no doubt in my mind they were trying to have people join the communist party; it would be natural. That brings us to the question, are you keeping the communist party interned and keeping it illegal so it cannot strengthen its political position or are we keeping it interned because they injured the war effort? It seems to me that is the issue. The mere abstract suggestion they will be preaching force and violence in the country is something which must be supported I think by official documents. The statement that the communist party advocates that has been repeatedly refuted from time to time.

MR. DUPUIS: I am still interested in knowing if you have found from your friends not the official but the unofficial documents which are spread among them.

MR. COHEN: I can only say this in that respect.

MR. DUPUIS: Don't turn the question to me.

MR. COHEN: I am not turning it to you at all. I say this, it is not to be presumed that the authorities who had advised the placing of the ban on the communist party acted on the mere supposition that the communist party may have such a doctrine and may have been putting such a viewpoint forward. There must have been something substantial. I say if there is something substantial it should be brought along. I am informed no such secret documents that you speak of are in existence. However, that does not mean that I have not been misinformed.

MR. SLAGHT: Are you familiar with the disclosures of John ^{Valter} Valentine as to the circulation of such documents during the war in the United States by the communist party, coming from the Comintern?

MR. COHEN: You are quoting a very much discredited authority, sir. I am sorry to have to say that, sir. I do not think anybody in the United States would call ^{Valter} Valentine in support of anything.

MR. SLAGHT: I am talking of another article of his.

MR. COHEN: A condensation of --

MR. SLAGHT: A magazine article where he discloses the extent of the circulation of the documents during the war, advocating sit-down strikes, broadcasting all kinds of violence, the planting of bombs in the holds of vessels loaded with war material and all that sort of thing. He recites that as having come within his knowledge.

MR. COHEN: I do not think any member of this committee would pay very much attention to what ^{Valter} Valentine has said.

MR. SLAGHT: What about the Dies committee's findings in that regard?

MR. COHEN: The Dies committee is not even accepted by

the government of the United States as a chart for its course or conduct.

MR. SLAGHT: Not as a chart.

MR. COHEN: Or as a guide or as anything to be reckoned with. I do not want to go into that question.

MR. SLAGHT: Do you mean to say we should not pay any attention to any findings of the Dies committee?

MR. COHEN: I did not say any such thing.

MR. MARTIN: Would it not be a help to your case if you said to Mr. Slaght "Yes, what Mr. ^{Valen}Valentine said in his book 'Out of the Night' was all before June 1941"? And that before June '41 there were individual communist acts which you would not condone.

MR. COHEN: Definitely.

MR. MARTIN: And many of those acts might be those of John Valentine?

MR. COHEN: No, I would not.

MR. MARTIN: Or similar acts?

MR. COHEN: I would not want to underwrite everything that is included in ^{Valen}Valentine's book. I do not know what extreme cases are there indicated as having been resorted to or contemplated. I know so far as the communist party in Canada is concerned there has been no suggestion by anyone at any of the hearings they did anything more than distribute leaflets or stickers or something of that sort and that they were of some influence in industrial situations which resulted in strikes. I do not think there is a suggestion of anything other than along that line.

Now I shall conclude very shortly if I may go on, and I am still on the point as to whether or not Canada's war effort would be assisted by the release of the communists. When I say "by release of the communists" I mean those communists who

were interned for no other reason than the fact they were members of the communist party or associated with its activities. If there are any other reasons for any of these men being there that would be a different thing entirely. And I say definitely the answer to these questions, if one would put it forward, would be that Canada's effort would be assisted. I for one would be prepared in respect to those cases to accept the verdict of the workers in the shipyards at, say, Halifax, Collingwood, Midland and Kingston. I would accept their verdict; I would accept the verdict of the aircraft workers say in Montreal. I would accept the verdict of the workers who are producing supplies in Windsor and at the McKinnon Industries in St. Catharines.

MR. MARTIN: Windsor goes without saying.

MR. COHEN: I will take any section of workers in any factory or plant and I will accept their view as to whether or not their production, their tempo, their sense of ease and security will be assisted in relation to this war or not if the communists are released. I say very definitely, and I am not here to give evidence in that sense of the word, but I think I should say that we do come in contact with workers; certainly I come in contact with them in almost every one of their various organized forms, and there has been for many of them, there must be really a great clarity in the situation. I have yet to come in contact with any of them without ^{their} putting forward this question and asking me about those various hearings with regard to internees and when are they coming out. I cannot step into a taxicab when I go to the Union Station without having the cab driver ask me how this question is coming out. I am speaking seriously and honestly; and I tell you I meet the situation every day of the week.

MR. SLAGHT: What does the cab driver know about the past activities of the communist party in Canada?

MR. COHEN: He does not perhaps know all but he meets them in his daily life, and he does know this to-day, and he wants to feel satisfied that under the regulations dealing with war purposes no person and no party are being kept interned or kept under a ban because of their political viewpoint, which brings me to this observation that one must not think of this question in terms only of the communists either in or out of jail. There are many other sections of society who are equally concerned with this question. We do not live in watertight compartments as in some areas of Europe is the case, and the thin lines that communicate one form and person with another are the lines along which thoughts and feelings are telegraphed hour by hour and day by day and it is by this means that feelings with respect to this matter are generated.

I would undertake to travel from coast to coast, if I thought a thing was the proper thing that I should do and secure from bodies which can be clearly differentiated ^{from Communists} who I think would express the opinion that these men should now be released and this ban should be lifted so that there should be no suspicion, no lurking fear in the minds of the workmen that political parties should be interned because of their belief.

References have been made to class struggle. That is an ugly term, an ugly thing, and so is sin and death and other things. These things destroy persons. I personally do not know whether class struggle exists, but some people think it does, but is that a clear enough indication for keeping anybody behind bars and keeping a political party banned. I say the clearest refutation to anybody who wanted to preach class struggle in this country that such a thing dominated or influenced them, ^{it would be} your ~~would be~~ action ^{all} to announce or to recommend or a recommendation from this committee that those who are in the war are, in Churchill's terms, our allies.

MR. DUPUIS: To follow your argument to its logical conclusion we could open our jail doors and say to all those who are in prison who are in favour of winning the war, "Come out."

MR. COHEN: I would say this, sir, if there is anybody to-day in jail whose character and physique is such that we can rely upon them in respect to the war they should be out of jail and in the war or producing somewhere.

MR. MARTIN: You are weakening your argument there.

MR. SLAGHT: Even though convicted of murder and their sentence reprieved by the Governor General in Council.

MR. COHEN: I would say this, sir, the last thing done in Singapore was to release the interned communists and bring their natural capacity into line in order to defend that stronghold. Why was that left to the last thing?

MR. SLAGHT: But Singapore went down after their release.

MR. COHEN: I say it went down contemporaneously. Are we to await until that contingency arises?

MR. MacINNIS: The case of the interned communists is not on the same basis as that of the ordinary prisoner. As you have indicated time and time again they were not interned for punishment, they were interned for safety of the state.

MR. DUPUIS: Mr. Cohen's argument was that any man who was in favour of this war should be released.

MR. COHEN: I did not say that, sir.

MR. DUPUIS: Any communist.

MR. COHEN: Released from internment, yes, I say, sir, if we can rely upon them.

MR. DUPUIS: Because he is in favour of winning the war he should be released. If we follow that we should open up all the jails to-night and let out all those who are in favour of winning this war.

MR. COHEN: There is a difference, sir. People who, first

of all, people who go to jail are people who are of bad moral character. There is something wrong in their makeup; they cannot be trusted as members of society. The communist party was interned because of political reasons; that is not the case with criminals. They were put in jail because of their criminal acts. I do not say every criminal should be released. I do say it would not hurt to examine some of these youngsters who Mr. Slaght and I saw in the criminal court going down into the dock in the days of unemployment because of their getting into mischief because they could not get a job. I have seen dozens of them go down to jail under those circumstances. I would say if any of these young men in jail to-day -- and one could satisfy oneself about their character -- could be of help, certainly I would bring them out into the open. However, I think that is an argument that is beyond this issue.

MR. SLAGHT: I think it is beyond the issue.

MR. MARTIN: What have you to say whether or not this is true? While it is not wholly relevant at least it is apropos. There are in the U.S.S.R. now many interned socialists.

MR. COHEN: I do not know that I can answer that, sir; I would have to know something about why they are interned if there are any of them interned. Are we going to suggest in the same breath we criticize the political philosophy that affects Russia but we are doing it --

MR. MARTIN: You said you will have to know the circumstances. Is not that the same principle which applies with regard to the communist organization which is now declared illegal, that each case has to be taken on its merits and while you have made the statement you are satisfied in cases with which you have had actual experience there are men who are interned on the bare ground they come within section 39 of the Defence of Canada Regulations.

MR. COHEN: If I were here merely arguing in respect to those who are interned, nothing beyond that other than just suggesting they be examined on their merits that would not in my opinion dispose of the question because already there is the fact that the communist party has been declared illegal. I agree with you we must examine into the circumstances that led to that declaration and the present situation. I am here merely stating the facts, so to speak, and I say it is wrong from the outbreak of the war. I identify myself completely with the necessity of such a thing as regulation 21. I suggest we do examine into the circumstances and when we do we find that the reasons which led the communist party and their adherents into the anti-war position have been completely altered; that they to-day are not only in a pro-war position but in a position to do a great deal of good and contribute greatly to the cause.

MR. MARTIN: I had a very interesting letter this morning from a person in this country who is a strong socialist and always has been. He is very much opposed to me politically and the party of which I am a member, opposed to the communists, but he is a very ardent socialist. He wrote to me and said that he understood there were people writing to me urging a relaxation in the rules in regard to communism. He as one citizen of Canada wanted to know why the argument applied that the morale of the workers would be considerably improved by relaxing the laws against communism and would not the morale of the workers be considerably improved if the men who held socialist views were given their freedom in the U.S.S.R. That is his argument.

MR. COHEN: I think President Green of the A.F. of L. indicated a month ago that he communicated with the authorities in Russia on that subject. I do not think there is any

question about that. But assuming that to be so that only strengthens the argument here so far as our own war effort is concerned and war morale. The proper thing to do is to release these men. I should like to put it this way: suppose somebody actually with a sinister pro-Nazi attitude was reflecting in his own mind as to how he would ^{influence} ~~like~~ this committee to make a recommendation that he would like to have made: he would want a recommendation that the present state of affairs be continued. I think it is the war effort and the war effort only which should be considered. We must take that risk, and I think it is a risk we must all take. We are all concerned with devoting ourselves wholeheartedly to the war effort.

MR. O'NEILL: You have made out a very strong case as to why we should release the interned men. If I correctly interpret what you have said you say we must release the men interned and lift the ban.

MR. COHEN: Yes.

MR. O'NEILL: You have made out a very strong argument as to why these men should be released; but to my mind you have not made any argument as to why we should lift the ban. You have not proved to this committee it is going to help the war effort. That is something I should like you to do because that is one of the arguments I am constantly being faced with.

MR. COHEN: May I spend a few minutes on that? First of all if these men are released with the ban still on they are released on conditions which prevent them from assuming meetings, prevent them from conducting political activities and subjects them to all sorts of conditions, reporting to the R.C.M.P., and puts them in the position where they are not able to occupy a proper position in the prestige and affairs of the nation. The leaders of the communist party who have not been apprehended, I gather from reading the press,

will be in the category of still being underground and would remain underground or wherever they are until the ban was removed and particular sections of the people could not be mobilized into that active effort and action which would be done if their leaders in open frank manner could say we of the communist party urge you to do this, we the communist party want you to act and aim for that purpose and achieve this programme. We are advocating this with respect to production plants. The whole activity of communists in Canada and communist adherents, sympathizers, is necessarily hampered, blocked so long as the ban on the party remains; and this certainly blocks, in my opinion, because I do not say what the advisory committee will do with the cases I have still before it, but it certainly blocks the release of these men. You cannot say to the advisory committee release these men because there ^{will} be other reasons. You can say release these men in so far as they are in merely because they were members of or associated with the communist party, but the only way that can be effectively done, I think it will be agreed, is by lifting the ban.

I desire to put in this constitution which appears in a newspaper called "The Party Builder." This has not been obtained without some difficulty, a great deal of long distancing in the last two or three days. It is headed "Draft Constitution and By-laws of the Communist Party of Canada," dated April 1939. It contains the preamble which is stated in the letter of Buck to Mr. Manion.

There is not a thing in this document which suggests a tie-in with the Comintern which was the basis of the Rex and Buck case for the acceptance of the force and violence theory. It is headed "Draft," but I am told that was the document adopted.

MR. MARTIN: Adopted at a conference?

MR. COHEN: By the dominion executive. The meeting of the dominion executive followed the convention. There was a draft put forward to the convention which was not acceptable. The convention referred it to the dominion executive. This was publicized by means of this party newspaper.

MR. MARTIN: By the convention?

MR. COHEN: By the dominion executive when the party had a convention. There has never been a convention since of the communist party.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: That is the programme on which they are operating now, is it?

MR. COHEN: Well, in so far as they are operating or in so far as they are a legal entity.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: That is the constitution the party has?

MR. COHEN: Yes.

MR. DUPUIS: Is that going to be put in the record, Mr. Chairman.

MR. COHEN: I am just leaving the document except I would like the opportunity of having a typewritten copy of it for myself, because it just came in as I was standing on my feet.

MR. DUPUIS: Could we have a copy of it.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: I think it should be included in the record so each one of the members will have a copy.

DRAFT CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF CANADA

PREAMBLE

The Communist Party of Canada is the political Party of the working class. It carries forward the traditions of the pioneers who, by their arduous toil, hewed homes out of the wilderness. It continues the glorious tradition of the patriots and reformers of 1837, led by William Lyon Mackenzie and Louis-Joseph Papineau, who devoted their lives to the establishment of responsible government in Canada.

The Communist Party of Canada cherishes the measure of democratic rights gained by the struggles of earlier generations. It defends the institutions and rights of popular liberty against the subversive, reactionary minority groups who seek to destroy them. It devotes its efforts to defending and improving the economic and social interests of the workers, farmers, and of all others who suffer from capitalist exploitation.

It strives to prepare the working class for the fulfillment of its historic tasks: to unite and lead the Canadian people: to defend democratic principles and aid in extending them to their logical conclusion to achieve the highest form of democracy, Socialism.

Socialism means the common ownership of the means of production, the abolition of exploitation of man by man, nation by nation and race by race; the voluntary cooperation of the Canadian people with those of other lands striving for a world without oppression and war, according to the scientific principles enunciated by the greatest teachers of mankind, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Socialism will be achieved only by means of the expressed democratic will of the majority of Canadian people. The Communist Party rejects and repudiates any proposal to

forcibly impose Socialism upon Canada against the will of the majority of her people. The Communist Party repudiates and condemns all individuals and groups which seek to abrogate or subvert democracy.

ARTICLE I

NAME

The name of the organization shall be the Communist Party of Canada.

ARTICLE II

EMBLEM

The Emblem of the Party shall be the crossed hammer and sickle on the background of a maple leaf, representing the unity of the Canadian workers and farmers.

ARTICLE III

MEMBERSHIP

Section 1.

Any person 18 years of age or over regardless of sex, race, color, religious belief or nationality, whose loyalty to the working class and devotion to the interests of the majority of the Canadian people is unquestionable shall be eligible for membership.

Section 2.

Any applicant for membership shall sign an application card which must be endorsed by at least two members of the Communist Party. The acceptance of the application shall be subject to majority vote of the Branch of the Party to which the application is made. Upon acceptance, the applicant shall make the following pledge before the Branch:

"I solemnly promise to be loyal and devoted to the best interests of the workers, farmers, professional and other middle class people. I will at all times work actively for the preservation and extension of democracy and

peace; for the defeat of fascism and an end to all forms of national, racial or religious oppression. I promise to work to the best of my ability to abolish exploitation of man by man and for the establishment of Socialism.

I will faithfully uphold the program, constitution and policies of the Communist Party, as defined by majority vote at Conventions and by the elected leading committees. I will, to the best of my ability, in cooperation with my fellow members, work to win the active support of the people of Canada for economic security, democracy, peace, for Socialism."

Section 3.

Any person shall be considered a member of the Party who accepts the Party program, attends the regular meetings of the Branch (shop, industrial or neighbourhood) who pays dues regularly and participates actively in Party work.

Section 4.

No person is to be accepted as a member at large without special permission of the National, Provincial or Regional Committee.

Section 5.

Party members three months in arrears in payment of dues cease to be members in good standing and shall be officially informed thereof.

Section 6.

Members who are six months in arrears shall be stricken from the rolls after personal efforts to bring such members into good standing have failed.

ARTICLE IV

PARTY STRUCTURE

Section 1.

The basic organizations of the Communist Party of Canada are the Branches -- shop, industrial and territorial.

Section 2.

Each Branch is chartered by the Dominion executive committee which issues the charter through the agency of the Provincial or Regional committee, through whom application should be made.

Section 3.

All branches in a given territory of a city or province (city, ward, electoral constituency, or any other area defined by a higher committee) shall constitute a ward, constituency or section organization. Annual Conventions composed of delegates from all branches in the ward, constituency or section organization shall constitute the highest body within the territory. Ward, constituency, or section Conventions shall elect a committee to meet not less than once every three months, such committees shall elect an executive which shall lead the Party in that area and which shall be responsible to the committee. Where committees are not practicable (to be determined by higher committee) an executive shall be elected by a majority vote at the ward, constituency or section Convention. All Conventions shall by majority vote, elect a chairman and secretary-organizer. The other officers -- educational director, press and literature director, financial secretary, shall be elected by the executive committee.

Section 4.

In cities where there is more than one ward or section organization, a city committee may be established elected by a city Convention representing all branches.

Section 5.

All Party organizations in a province shall constitute a Provincial organization. The highest body of the Provincial organization shall be the Provincial Convention which shall be convened at least once every two years. Provincial Conventions shall be composed of delegates elected by the ward, constituency,

or section Conventions. The Provincial Convention shall elect a Provincial committee which shall meet between Conventions at least once every six months. The Provincial Convention shall elect a chairman and secretary. The Provincial committee shall elect a Provincial executive which shall organize and lead the work between meetings of the Provincial committee. The executive shall elect an organizer, educational director, financial secretary, industrial director, women's director, youth director. The Provincial executive committee shall for the purpose of facilitating the work establish such commissions as deemed necessary.

Special Provincial Conventions may be called either by a majority vote of the Provincial committee or upon request of the Branches representing one-third of the membership of the province with the approval of the Dominion Executive Committee or Political committee.

Section 6.

Regional organizations may be established in provinces, with the approval of the Dominion Executive Committee, where geographic conditions warrant such forms of organization. Regional committees shall be directly responsible to the Dominion Executive Committee. For purposes of co-ordinating Provincial campaigns, the Dominion Executive Committee shall organize a provincial Convention representing all districts within a province at which Convention a Provincial committee shall be established. Rules governing Regional Conventions, the election of leading committees, the convening of special Conventions, shall be the same as those provided for the Provincial organizations.

ARTICLE V

DOMINION ORGANIZATION

Section 1.

The highest authority of the Communist Party of Canada

is the Dominion Convention, which shall be held on the call of the Dominion Executive, or upon the demand of one-third of the organization.

Section 2.

The Dominion Convention shall be composed of delegates elected by the Provincial and district Conventions. Delegates shall be elected on the basis of proportional representation, determined by the Dominion Executive Committee.

Section 3.

The Dominion Convention shall be preceded by a two months' discussion in all Party organizations, on the main resolutions and problems coming before the Convention. All Party organizations have the right and duty in the course of such discussions to adopt resolutions and amendments to the draft resolutions of the Dominion Executive Committee, for consideration at the Convention.

Section 4.

The Convention shall elect a Dominion Executive Committee, the size of which shall be decided by the Convention. Members of the Dominion Executive Committee shall be composed of regular and alternate members. The alternate members to have voice but no vote. Only such members who have been active in the Party for at least three years are eligible for membership in the Dominion Executive Committee.

Section 5.

The Dominion Convention shall elect a chairman and general secretary by majority vote.

Section 6.

The Dominion Executive Committee is the highest authority of the Party between Conventions, and shall meet at least twice during such period. The Dominion Executive Committee is responsible for enforcing the Constitution and for assuring the execution of the Convention decisions. The Dominion

Executive Committee as the highest body between Party Conventions has the right to make decisions on any problems facing the Party. The Dominion Executive Committee organizes and guides all undertakings of importance for the entire Party; it is responsible for the central treasury and submits audited financial reports to each Dominion Convention. The Dominion Executive Committee, by majority vote of its members may call special Dominion and Provincial Conventions.

Section 7.

The Dominion Executive Committee shall elect from among its members a Political Committee which is charged with the carrying out of the decisions of the Dominion Executive Committee and guiding the Party work between sessions of the Dominion Executive Committee. The Political Committee shall be composed of members who have been active in the Party for a period of not less than five years. The size of the political committee shall be determined by the Dominion Executive Committee. The political committee shall meet not less than once a week. The political Committee shall elect such additional secretaries and establish such commissions and departments as are deemed necessary for most efficient work.

ARTICLE VI.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MEMBERS

Section 1.

Every member of the Party who is in good standing has the right and duty to participate in the making of the policies of the Party and in the election of its leading committees, in a manner provided for in the Constitution.

Section 2.

In matters of Provincial or local nature the Party organizations have the right to exercise full initiative and to make decisions within the limits of the general policies and

decisions of the Party.

Section 3.

After a thorough discussion, the majority vote decides the policy of the Party and the minority is duty bound to carry out the decision.

Section 4.

Party members disagreeing with any decisions of the Party organization or committee have the right to appeal that decision to the next higher body, and may carry the appeal to the highest bodies of the Communist Party of Canada -- the Dominion Executive Committee and the Dominion Convention. The decisions of the Dominion Convention are final. While the appeal is pending, the decision must nevertheless be carried out by every member of the Party.

Section 5.

In pre-Convention periods, individual Party members and delegates to the Convention enjoy unrestricted rights of discussion on any question of Party policy and tactics and the work and future composition of the leading committee.

Section 6.

The decisions of the Convention shall be final and every party member and Party organization shall be duty bound to recognize the authority of the Convention decisions and the leadership elected by it.

Section 7.

All Party members in mass organizations (trade unions, farm, fraternal and cultural organizations, etc.) shall cooperate and work energetically to promote and strengthen the given organization and shall abide by the democratic decisions of these organizations.

Section 8.

It shall be the duty of Party members to study, and to explain the policies of the Party and the principles of Socialism.

Section 9.

All Party members who are eligible are required to belong to their respective trade unions.

Section 10.

All officers and leading committees of the Party from the branch executive committee up to the highest committees are elected either directly by the membership or through their elected delegates. Every committee must report regularly on its activities to its Party organization.

Section 11.

All Party officers may be removed at any time from their positions by a majority vote of the body which elected them or by the body to which they are responsible, with the approval of the Dominion Executive Committee.

Section 12.

Requests for release of a Party member from a responsible post can be granted only by the Party organization which elected him or to which he is responsible, in consultation with the next higher committee.

Section 13.

No Party member shall have personal or political relationships with confirmed Trotskyites, Lovestonites or other known enemies of the Party and of the working class.

Section 14.

Every Party member who is not a citizen must pledge himself to become one in order that he may carry out the obligations consequent upon his residence in Canada.

Section 15.

All Party members eligible shall register and vote in the election for all public offices.

ARTICLE VII.

INITIATIONS, DUES, INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY
AND ASSESSMENT

Section 1.

The initiation fees shall be fifty cents for employed and ten cents for unemployed persons.

Section 2.

Dues shall be paid every month according to rates fixed by Party Conventions.

Section 3.

To help the Party pay its International Affiliation fees and to provide the necessary money to assist brother Parties when occasion arises each member shall contribute to the International Solidarity Fund. International Solidarity stamps shall be issued in denominations of five, ten and twenty-five cents each. Members shall contribute quarterly, members having the choice as to which stamp they shall purchase.

Section 4.

Assessment stamps shall be issued for financing Party Conventions which shall be paid by members not later than November 30th of each year. Assessment stamps shall be issued in denominations of ten cents for unemployed members, fifty cents for members earning below twenty dollars a week and one dollar for members earning above twenty dollars weekly.

Section 5.

Obligatory assessments other than the above can not be levied upon the membership except by special permission of the Dominion Executive Committee, nor may stamps for affixment to membership cards be issued by any other authority than the Dominion Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VIII

DOMINION CONTROL COMMISSION

Section 1.

In order to help the Party to consolidate its unity and prestige; to strengthen Party discipline and to combat infringements of Party ethics by Party members, a Dominion Control Commission shall be elected at Dominion Conventions.

Section 2.

The Dominion Control Commission shall be composed of the most exemplary Party members who have been active in the Party for at least five years. Members of the Dominion Control Commission shall not simultaneously be members of the Dominion Executive Committee. The Dominion Control Commission shall have the right to participate in the sessions of the Dominion Executive Committee with voice but no vote. The secretary of the Dominion Control Commission shall have the right to attend the meetings of the Political Committee with voice but no vote. Meetings of the Dominion Control Commission shall take place at least once every month.

Section 3.

The Dominion Control Commission shall carefully examine and make decisions on cases of Party members who violate Party unity, discipline and ethics, who display a lack of class vigilance and Communist firmness in facing the class enemy and cases of spies, swindlers, double dealers and other agents of the class enemy. The Dominion Control Commission shall investigate and make decisions on cases raised by Party members either on appeal against the decisions of lower Party bodies or in cases which are referred to it by the Dominion Executive Committee or which the Dominion Control Commission itself deems necessary to take up directly. Decisions of the Dominion Control Commission shall go into effect only when approved by the Dominion Executive Committee or the Political Committee of the Party.

ARTICLE IX

DISCIPLINARY PROCEDURE

Section 1.

Breaches of Party discipline by individual members, financial irregularities as well as any conduct or action detrimental to the Party's prestige and influence and harmful to the best interests of the Party may be punished by censure, public censure, removal from responsible posts and by expulsion from the Party. Breaches of discipline by Party committees may be punished by removal of the committee by the next higher Party committee, which shall then conduct new elections.

Section 2.

Charges against individual members may be made by any person -- whether a Party member or not -- in writing, to the Branches of the Party or to any leading committee. The Party Branch shall have the right to decide on any disciplinary measure, including expulsion. Such action is subject to final approval by Provincial or district committee.

Section 3.

The ward, constituency, section, Regional, Provincial, Dominion Executive Committee and Dominion Control Commission shall have the right to hear and take disciplinary action against any individual member or organization under their jurisdiction.

Section 4.

All parties concerned shall have the fullest right to appear, bring witnesses and to testify before the Party organization. The member punished shall have the right to appeal any disciplinary decision to the higher committees up to the Dominion Convention of the Party.

Section 5.

Party members found to be strike breakers, degenerates, habitual drunkards, betrayers of Party confidence, provocateurs, advocates of terrorism and violence as a method of Party procedure, or members whose actions are in any manner detrimental to the Party, to the working class and to the best interests of the majority of the Canadian people shall be removed from positions of responsibility, expelled from the Party and exposed to the general public.

ARTICLE X

AFFILIATION

The Communist Party of Canada is affiliated with the Communist Parties of other lands through the Communist International and participates in International Congresses through its Dominion Executive Committee. Resolutions and decisions of International Congresses shall be considered and acted upon by the highest authority of the Communist Party of Canada, the Dominion Convention or between Conventions, by the Dominion Executive Committee or Political Committee.

ARTICLE XI

AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION

Section 1.

This Constitution and by-laws may be amended as follows:

(a) By decision of a majority of the present voting delegates at the Dominion Convention, provided the proposed amendments have been published in the Party press or discussion bulletin of the Dominion Executive Committee at least thirty days prior to the Convention.

(b) By the Dominion Executive Committee for the purpose of meeting an emergency situation, requiring changes in the Constitution.

Section 2.

Amendments or changes made by the Dominion Executive

Committee shall be published and shall remain in full force and effect only until acted upon by the Dominion Convention.

RULES AND BY-LAWS

The following are rules and by-laws adopted by the Communist Party of Canada in accordance with its constitution, for the purpose of applying the principles, rights and duties established in the constitution in a uniform manner in all Party organizations.

BRANCHES

The basic organizations of the Communist Party of Canada are the shop, territorial and industrial Branches. A shop Branch consists of those members who are employed in one place of employment -- factory, shop, mine, shift, dock, office, etc., and where there are not less than five members.

A territorial Branch consists of members in the same neighborhood or territory, the size of which is to be determined by district or Provincial committee.

Industrial Branches consist of members employed in the same trade or industry where shop Branches have not as yet been formed. Industrial Branches shall organize shop Branches wherever possible.

Every Branch shall elect an executive committee of not less than three and not more than five members, composed of the following officers: chairman, secretary-organizer, financial secretary, educational director, social director.

Regular election of Branch officers shall take place at least once a year. All officers to be elected by majority vote of the membership, at a specially notified meeting. Officers may be replaced by a majority vote of the Branch membership at any time, subject to the approval of the higher Party committee.

The executive committee shall prepare the agenda and proposals for the membership meeting, administering and

executing the decisions of the membership and the higher Party committee. Between Branch meetings the executive committee shall make decisions concerning matters which require immediate action. The executive committee of the Branch shall report regularly on its work which shall be subject to review and action by the membership.

Financial statements shall be submitted to the Branch by the executive committee at least once every three months.

The order of business of the Party Branch shall include the following:

1. Calling the meeting to order.
2. Roll Call (to be dispensed with, if so desired).
3. Reading of the last minutes (to be taken as read if so desired).
4. Introduction and initiation of new members.
5. Communications.
6. Report and proposals of the executive. (The Branch should here receive the report and proposals of comrades assigned to report on special and main items of business.)
7. Unfinished business.
8. New business.
9. Payment of dues.
10. Education. (Educational discussion may be moved to any point on the order of business.)
11. Adjournment.

Collections within Party organizations in a given territory can be made only with the approval of the next higher body.

One-third of the Branch membership shall constitute a quorum.

Branches shall meet at least once every two weeks, in rural communities at least once every month.

FINANCIAL CONTROL

The ward, constituency or section committee shall submit financial reports to the higher Party committee at least once in three months.

An auditing committee, elected by the Provincial or district committee shall examine the books of the dues and financial secretary of the said committee at least once every month.

A chartered accountant shall audit these books at least once a year and the report shall be presented to the Provincial or district committee and Conventions.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR DELEGATES
TO CONVENTIONS

Delegates to the Provincial or district Conventions must be in good standing and to have been members of the Party for at least one year.

Delegates to the Dominion Convention must be in good standing and to have been members of the Party for at least two years.

In special cases, the latter qualifications (length of time in the Party) may be waived, but only with the approval of the leading committee involved, Dominion Executive Committee for the Dominion Convention, and the Provincial or district committee for the Provincial or district convention.

TRANSFERS AND LEAVES OF
ABSENCE

For members who move from one section or city organization to another, a duplicate transfer card shall be transmitted through the district or Provincial committee. If a member transfers from one province or district to another this shall be recorded in the membership book and a duplicate transfer card shall be sent to the Dominion Executive Committee. No member shall be accepted by another section, province or district without a properly filled out transfer card.

When a member finds it impossible temporarily to carry on his Party activities arrangements should be made with the Branch and committees of which he is a member, for release from these duties. Dues and other financial matters shall be settled before hand with the responsible authorities within the Party.

RE-ADMITTANCE

Expelled members applying for re-admittance must submit a written statement. Such applications shall be approved by the Dominion Control Commission.

Former members who have been dropped from the rolls because of non-payment of dues can re-apply for admission to Party Branch. In such cases the re-admission shall be endorsed by the ward or section committee.

MR. DUPUIS: Have you a booklet published by Mr. Tim Buck after the plebiscite?

MR. COHEN: I have not, sir, but I am sure I can get copies for you.

MR. ANDERSON: Mr. Cohen, in the letter I think to Dr. Manion it was suggested that this draft convention or this draft constitution was prepared by the committee on resolutions. I think there was something to that effect. Have you got those resolutions?

MR. COHEN: I do not know to what you are referring.

MR. ANDERSON: To the constitution. Have you anything in the way of a resolution that refers to the constitution?

MR. COHEN: The letter to Dr. Manion is filed here. I wonder if I can examine it for a moment. I want to say this with respect to these documents. The archives of the communist party, the places where they are kept are known only to one or two people and they are not available to me.

MR. MARTIN: They are not in the official dominion government archives here?

MR. COHEN: That I do not know but as I was saying the other day I lean on my friend here. I wanted to deal with another matter. I have closed with the question that all internees should be released who are there because of membership in or association with the communist party and incidentally for some reason or other which I cannot comprehend some of those who are there are being given hearings, some are not, which I cannot possibly understand.

MR. MARTIN: This committee has taken the position that it should not pass on individual cases. I say your position in that regard is satisfactorily expressed if you were to say that your argument is the communist party should be declared legal the rest follows.

MR. COHEN: Yes.

MR. MARTIN: Is that right?

MR. COHEN: Absolutely, I think so. Once the ban on the party is lifted then 39-C --

MR. MARTIN: We have taken the position with individuals who have come before us that we cannot deal with individuals.

MR. COHEN: I appreciate that. The only means of removing from the consideration of these cases the fact of membership in or association with the communist party is by lifting the ban, and then if they are in there for other reasons these other reasons will be given full weight. If they are not in there for other reasons then their release becomes almost automatic.

Now I intended to deal with another matter, but for some reason or other I failed to include it in my papers. The one other organization I had in mind was a specific organization called the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association. They were banned at the same time on the ground that it was a communist auxiliary; and I wonder if with the time before us before adjournment at one o'clock I might deal with the question and then be given the opportunity of filing a brief with you on that one subject. I can do that ~~completely~~^{quite} easily because I had occasion to file with one of the advisory committees a brief on that particular subject. I want to say in a general way that with regard to the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association the charge that they were dominated and controlled by the communist party is refuted by these records either as to the personnel that made up the organization or as to its programme. They were declared illegal in June 1941, yet prior to Italy's entry into the war they had published an article attacking Hitler and Mussolini. The records, I say, and I will complete it with a brief which I will file, refutes the suggestion they were dominated by the communist party. If they were so dominated then certainly

there is evidence that the anti-Hitler anti-fascist sentiment remains very much longer. Now I should like to deal with one feature that has occurred as a result of the consideration of the U.L.F.T.A., and I bring it forward as to how one illustration, how one book, one extract, rather than make a situation clear just confuses it. In the case in connection with the U.L.F.T.A. ban there was a reference made to the Ukrainian Farmer Temple ~~Men's~~ ^{Mass} organization as being to a point some overriding entity which controlled all of the U.L.F.T.A. associations and organizations, and which I assumed to be correct because I knew nothing about the whole entity until I came to the hearing and there was a reference made to the book issued by the U.F.T.A. by one by the name of Prokopchik.

MR. MARTIN: Was this the author?

MR. COHEN: No. The book was by Maukowsky, edited as to language by a person by the name of Prokopchik. One man is dead. The man who delivered the lectures is dead, and Prokopchik edited the thing as to language. He is the editor, and he is now in jail. That book was put forward as containing the avowed objectives of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association and as being issued as some sort of an official statement of their point of view and incidentally of the point of view of the communist party.

Now it was some days before I began to see some light in the whole situation because I accepted as a matter of fact the position which the committee took on the basis of the information that had been received, that there was some overriding U.L.F.T.A. ~~men's~~ ^{Mass} association that controlled the U.L.F.T.A. and the women's auxiliary and the children's and the workers' ~~point of view~~ ^{separate view} and the public and so on and that it was an official statement of their views and objectives. After examining into the whole situation the following became clear. The Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple ~~Men's~~ ^{Mass} Association

secretariat consisted for about a year and a half of a voluntary getting together of the secretaries of each of these Ukrainian organizations only, ~~just as I think~~ all these secretaries ~~got~~ together and act^{ed} as a consultive body. And they did. Then the organization found they were assuming -- that is the consultive secretariat -- authority which they had no right to assume. It will be observed that it was only in existence for a year and a half. This man Maukowsky delivered lectures in Winnipeg to 50 or 60 people. They did not represent the Ukrainian organizations or anything at all. Maukowsky used to lecture to interested meetings. It is given in evidence that 50 or 60 people came and Maukowsky delivered lectures. He felt that the lectures he put forward were the very simple truth and light and felt they should be perpetuated for the benefit of mankind and so he, as well as this secretariat, provided for the printing of the lectures and they had 250 copies printed. Only ^{So far examined at the camp} one other person ever knew they existed. That book was just a sort of reflection of the fact that Maukowsky had held certain views which he set forth in the book. He delivered those lectures and was salesman enough to be able to sell this secretariat which had no real existence or authority, and I think 250 copies were sold. Now on the basis of that ^{this} book was put forward as the official statement of the point of view of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association. It was nothing more than Maukowsky's teachings or listings of the ideas of the time.

MR. SLAGHT: I did not gather from you whether the book was thought to be subversive or thought to be objectionable.

MR. COHEN: Yes, very definitely; the book has passages which suggest endorsement of the force and violence theory bringing about change. The book was just the expression of a man's conviction delivered in lectures to 50 or 60 people,

afterwards printed and 250 copies sold. This book was translated by Prokopchik, and is now being looked on as being an official statement of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association. I am not blaming anybody for that sort of thing, but I do indicate it as the sort of thing that is being done. You can find books if you look anywhere that would seem to solidify certain points of view.

MR. DUPUIS: Were these books actually sold and by whom?

MR. COHEN: They were sold in so far as they were sold.

I am unable to say just how many were sold, but 250 were printed. It was sold to Ukrainians. It would be a book, apart from anything else, if one would examine the translated portions of it, that would appeal only to a most literate person. It is written in a highly literate form that the average man could hardly read or understand or agree with. My impression is that it was distributed and printed from the point of view of a text. I shall make some reference to that in the statement I shall make with reference to the U.F.L.T.A. I do not know ^{of} any advantage in taking up a question like the ^{Manitoba} ~~book~~ "Peace and Democracy for Canada for the Labour Defence League." As far as I am concerned I am not pressing that or the young communist league which I understand has been officially dissolved. I am merely present with respect to the communist party of Canada and the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association, and I leave it to my friend Mr. Anderson to indicate ^{the books involved} ~~that~~ when he presents his views to the committee as I am sure he will do at a later date. I want to close with one request to this committee and that is that I want ^{it} to be accepted and I am sure it will be that I have put nothing forward wittingly wrong. That is, I have not stated facts, I have not put forward any argumentation which I have not sincerely thought true. There may have been times in answering questions when one deals impromptu with these matters when overemphasis

was put on certain things, but that is only natural and one would not be human if it did not occur. However, all that I have put forward to the committee has been in substantiation of the view that the illegality ban should be discontinued, and I should be obliged if I had the opportunity in the chambers of the secretary of the committee, because I understand there is some rule that prevents transcript going out of the building, except to members, to examine the transcript and argument put forward before the committee to the contrary to the one I have expressed so that if there is anything there which justifies me in asking the committee to be allowed to return and deal with that I can do so. I do not think that is an unfair request and that is the only way that I can effectively deal with the situation because whoever will be dealing with the negative of ^{the} positive ^{argument} reasons I have made ^{will} have the benefit before him of everything which I have said; and I can only reply to anything brought out in refutation of that if I have the opportunity of examining what he has said that way in the manuscript. I shall do so under the most careful conditions, that is any conditions that would be laid down. If I did so in the office of the secretary of the committee I think that would be ample assurance in that respect and I can assure the committee I shall ^{not} return unless I feel after examining the manuscript that there is something that I should deal with further. I shall not unnecessarily trespass on your time.

MR. MacINNIS: I thought you had a copy of the record with you this morning.

MR. COHEN: Of what I said, but I speak now of the record of what may be said in reply to my efforts. Now I want to express my keenest appreciation of the courtesy

MR. MARTIN: You are not through yet, are you?

MR. COHEN: Except I see it is one o'clock.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: You have finished your presentation?

MR. COHEN: In the main, yes. Perhaps the members would like to ask me some questions before I leave.

MR. MacINNIS: I have no questions to ask. I was wondering if the committee would care to hear Mr. Cohen or get a brief from him on his reaction to the methods used or the system of hearings before the review committees. He has attended many of these committees and if we are going to consider his idea with regard to the class of internee that we have in mind I think we ought to have either a brief from him or get his views as to what he may think and the difficulties in the hearings and the evidence put forward.

MR. MARTIN: Mr. Cohen himself has said that his presentation was of a two-fold character and the first would be the matter he has now dealt with and secondly his experience arising out of those committees.

MR. COHEN: May I say in respect to the latter I think I made a statement as to why I would be speaking merely as an individual and not as counsel, if I indicated my personal reactions and nothing else.

MR. MARTIN: I intended asking you a few questions on that very point of your experience as counsel before many of these committees. One of the questions I had in mind specifically was this: Would you say that any man had been interned, for instance, on the mere ground that he was an organizer of labour, attached or unattached to any of the well known unions? The Minister of Justice has stated and members of this committee have dealt with the matter on other occasions that no man was interned on the mere ground that he was an organizer of labour. We have been confronted I would say a hundred times with well meaning individuals who had suggested that there were people who were interned on the

ground that they were organizers of labour.

MR. COHEN: I do not think it would be incorrect for me to give the committee as a private citizen the benefit of any experience which I have had in these committees that would enable me to make suggestions as to procedure or as to the set-up of the committee or what guidance it may need say even as to personnel if that would not get me in too wrong with members of the committee; but it seems to me if I were attempting to answer the questions just put to me with regard to the mere ground of being an organizer I would then be getting into the realm of dealing with the evidence which I think was very much of an in camera character in these proceedings.

MR. MARTIN: Can't you say, Mr. Cohen, without referring to the evidence at all specifically and that I do not think you should do nor do I think you would. I know a lot of the cases before these committees and in no cases with which I was connected could I honestly say that a man was interned because he had been the organizer of the C.I.O. or the A.F. of L. or some other trade union organization.

MR. COHEN: Well, when you say "mere" --

MR. MARTIN: Or was --

MR. COHEN: It is so very hard to know just what weight they may have applied in the matter. I can answer yes or no to that question but I can only do so by relying upon what I have heard. I do not have to go into the evidence, but I am using the evidence in my mind which I heard at the hearings in order to give such an answer. Frankly I am not sure that is the correct thing to do having regard to the fact these are in camera hearings. It seems to me I would be breaching that, I do not know.

MR. MARTIN: Surely you are no different from the position of the Minister of Justice who has stated in answer

to my question in the House of Commons that he was not aware that any man had been interned because he was an organizer of labour and speaking for myself if there had been any such person interned I personally would object and I think the minister owed it to the country to state that there was no one interned because he was an organizer of labour. To that question the minister replied and said no there was no one. Now obviously in making that reply he too would rely upon the evidence which was in his mind, and he made no specific reference to it. Now, if there was no objection to his doing it in the House of Commons I respectfully suggest there can be no objection to your doing it in the House of Commons committee.

MR. COHEN: There is only this difference. First of all he is the Minister of Justice. Secondly, it is he who decides, as a matter of fact, whether -- I was trying to find it in the regulations -- or not any material should be disclosed. For instance, I have asked on one or two occasions for a transcript of the evidence, and I want to say with all courtesy to my friend that the cases I have asked for have been presented to me. An advisory committee can only do it after having obtained permission to do it from the Department of Justice. But I am in a different position from the Minister of Justice in the sense of what I know about these cases I have heard as a result of being present in the hearing which are held in camera, whereas the Minister of Justice is not in that position. I would want to be protected in some way.

MR. SLAGHT: I think it would be unfair to press Mr. Cohen further when he has indicated in reply to Mr. Martin that he does not think he should answer it. I think it would be very nice or desirable if the situation was such that he could give a further answer in dealing with the question, but I think he has made clear to us why he thinks he should not answer.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: I feel we should request one of the committees themselves to give us their ideas in preference to getting the answer from Mr. Cohen.

MR. MARTIN: I must say it has surprised me greatly. I have great respect for Mr. Slaght but I cannot agree with him. I have always assumed from our discussions in this committee that no one was interned on that count and Mr. Cohen has not suggested that there was. But his answers are such that I conclude he has some reservations on that point, and I would not be satisfied with the observations of a member of the committee. After all, you are asking the judge. I have had some contact with some of these committee members and they have always intimated to me undoubtedly no. Now, I think this is an important matter.

MR. ANDERSON: Is there not misunderstanding in the question as put and as understood apparently by Mr. Cohen in this way, that Mr. Cohen would get particulars. These particulars I think would indicate several things. The information put before the Minister of Justice when he makes his order does not come before Mr. Cohen; it does not come to his knowledge. I have seen these cases. I am tripping a little bit beyond what I started to say. I have seen I think every case and certainly every case that Mr. Cohen has been interested in and in no case is a man detained merely because he was a member of a labour union, not even an organizer. I will go further and say in every case he was tied in with communist activities. That was alleged. I do not say that the evidence subsequently produced was believed by the committee or not. I do not say whether the committee believed all the evidence that was put forward or considered it with regard to continuing the detention. That is a different story, but no one was put in and detained, I will put it this way, on the major ground that he was a member of a trade union.

MR. MARTIN: On the ground?

MR. ANDERSON: On the ground that he was a member of a trade union. That was not the major consideration in the matter at all, in any case that I was aware of.

MR. MARTIN: Was that a consideration at all?

MR. ANDERSON: No, as a matter of fact.

MR. COHEN: How about trade union activities?

MR. ANDERSON: No; trade union activities will enter into the question because it is part of the theory and practice of the communist party to infiltrate into trade unions and carry on their activities in these unions. It follows in that respect --

MR. MARTIN: For instance, take the case of Sullivan while discussing the merits of it. I talked to Sullivan quite recently, having met him on the train one day. Now Sullivan was a permanent member of a trade union and his case is the one that is used most in other cases as indicating that he was interned because he was a trade union leader or a labour organizer. I would certainly be greatly disturbed if in that case or any other that circumstance was in any way the provocation for internment.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, Mr. Cohen has made his presentation and completed his case. I think we can carry on this discussion at another meeting. Are there any other questions to ask Mr. Cohen?

MR. ANDERSON: May I ask this?

MR. COHEN: I should like to make my position clear.

MR. ANDERSON: I asked a few minutes ago referring to the statement made in Buck's letter to Dr. Manion found on page CC-5.

MR. COHEN: I am unable to go on further because of the position I have indicated. If the Department of Justice will indicate another line to me I would be free to talk.

MR. ANDERSON: On page CC-5, about the middle of the page, of Tim Buck's letter to Dr. Manion the following appears.

(Reads.)

MR. COHEN: I think that would refer to the booklet here, "The Democratic Front for Canada," which contains these various reports and also resolutions.

MR. SLAGHT: What is the date of that letter?

MR. COHEN: The date of the letter to Mr. Manion is the 30th of March, 1939.

MR. ANDERSON: Before the publication of the Draft Constitution.

MR. COHEN: Yes, but before the printing of it. I do not know what other form it was published in before.

MR. ANDERSON: That is what I was wondering if you had any resolution referred to in this letter that would support the statement that the constitution was adopted by the convention in 1937.

MR. COHEN: The only resolution I have and which would certainly get to the committee would be the resolution which appeared in the back of this book (indicating).

MR. O'NEILL: It seems to me the point brought out by Mr. Martin is a very important one. Mr. Anderson has indicated that at no time was the fact that a man was a member of a labour organization the major reason for his internment.

MR. COHEN: I would agree with Mr. Anderson on that.

MR. O'NEILL: At no time ^{should} the fact that he was a member of a labour organization be taken into consideration any more than a man's religion.

MR. ANDERSON: That is correct. I followed that up by indicating that the position and policy was of the communist party infiltrating into those organizations. The reason he was detained was because of communist activities. That is

purely and simply the reason.

MR. MARTIN: I think the department's attitude is clear as stated by the minister, but I am not clear and I am not sure there is no doubt in Mr. Cohen's mind on that point, altogether apart from the question of being a communist.

MR. O'NEILL: Mr. Chairman, as a member of a trade labour organization I have met men in the trade labour organizations who are just as dynamic as it is possible to be. It does not necessarily contaminate me because a man has tendencies of that kind. That is what I am trying to get clear in my mind.

MR. ANDERSON: Does membership in a labour union or a labour organization except a man from the laws of the country any more than membership in any other organization?

MR. O'NEILL: No.

MR. ANDERSON: It may happen he may be a member of anything. That is not the reason he is detained.

MR. MARTIN: Mr. Chairman, I know a clear understanding of this matter is an important one. Speaking for myself I want to support Mr. O'Neill on that point. I understand your attitude clearly. You said no one has been detained because he is a member or connected with a trade union organization but was detained on other grounds; but I gather that Mr. Cohen is not of that opinion and if there was any way by which Mr. Cohen could give us the advantage of his general observations.

MR. COHEN: I said I agree with it in so far as it was based on the formal matter of being a member of a trade union. I should not say even that because as I said this morning mere membership in is a pretty idle sort of term. If my friend had said activity in connection with a trade union I might or might not even find myself in a different position. I do not want to indicate what I know or think in regard to these questions without having in my mind what I necessarily must have even if I tried to exclude from my mind the things I heard

at the advisory committee hearings and other things that I have heard and know. If I could physically do that then I might answer the question, but it is a physical impossibility. The mind does not work that way. I would necessarily be facing things and the observation of things that I have been allowed to hear at hearings when they are in camera. If it is made clear to me by the Minister of Justice or by his officials that it is not so and that I am at liberty to give my views then I would be able to discuss the matter at great length.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: Now, gentlemen, it is long past the hour for adjournment and I know everybody here has other things to do. Are you completely finished with the presentation?

MR. COHEN: There were several members of the delegation who returned for the purpose that they desired to make a statement to the committee. I know the committee was good enough to arrange for an afternoon session at the last time we were here. I can only say we will be greatly obliged to you if that could be done to-day so that these people could make their statements to you, and after they are through if there is anything I can assist you on in the way of procedure and that sort of thing I shall be very glad to do so as a private citizen.

MR. SLAGHT: Mr. Chairman, I think Mr. Cohen has now concluded his statement and I desire personally to express my appreciation of his endeavour to assist this committee and the high-class way in which he has made his presentation and the courtesy that he has shown to us on occasions that we have asked him questions.

I think Mr. Smith has been mentioned. I do not know whether he intends to appear before the committee, but if he does I think a statement has been made by Mr. Cohen with regard to Mr. Smith's position. If we hear Mr. Smith - I am not inviting him to testify, but being here I think he should not go away with any thought that we were not allowing him to testify, and that intestifying he should be protected if he requires any protection as against any statements he might confide to this committee of any kind whatsoever. It is customary, in order to get candour and the fullest disclosure of matters which have been in the mind of Mr. Smith might subject him to something by way of criticism or proceedings. It is my view that if at any time he desires to come forward and testify, I do not intend to put him in the position of inviting him to do so - I am not - I am not even requesting him to, but he is the general secretary of this organization and he has come here on behalf of another organization and he is said to have been a member of the organization that is under discussion, and I feel that he should feel that he has protection if he desires to be heard by this committee.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: Well, we will adjourn until 4.30 this afternoon.

--The committee adjourned to meet at 4.30 o'clock p.m.

(AFTERNOON SESSION)

The Committee resumed at 4.30 o'clock p.m.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Anderson says that he has a correction to make in the record.

MR. ANDERSON (Department of Justice): In the minutes of evidence, No.2, page 14, line 14 it states: "There have been a number interned, also some members of the nazi group."

That is in the statement I am purported to have made. What I said was: "There have been none interned" ...referring to Jehovah's Witnesses... "nor any members of the technocracy group."

This statement purports to say that there have been a number of the technocracy group and Jehovah's Witnesses interned.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, we will proceed from where we left off this morning.

MR. COHEN: Mr. Chairman, I should like to introduce to you and through you to the committee the Reverend Mr. Sayles of Welland who will say a few words to the committee. The Reverend Mr. Sayles has been in a position in Welland that has brought him in contact with the Ukrainian element there, and I should think he would be in a position to give us first hand the results of that experience.

REVERAND FERN SAYLES, Called.

WITNESS: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, it is true that I work among the non-Anglo Saxon people in All People's Mission in Welland and Crowland. I am not only in touch with the Ukrainian people, but with the Russian, Polish, Yugoslav and Hungarian people as well. And my particular concern in coming here today is that I am anxious, as I think all anti-Fascists are anxious, to

throw our whole weight into the war so that we may be sure of defeating Hitler and the fascist countries and establishing that liberty that was given to us as a heritage in this and in all democratic countries.

BY MR. MARTIN:

Q. Are you a clergyman? A. Yes.

Q. A clergyman of the United Church of Canada?

A. The United Church of Canada. I feel that our foreign people, if you would call them that, are taking a very great part in the war effort. In my own community at the present time I happen to be the secretary-treasurer of the Crowland War Workers Association, and I think anyone in the community would recognize that no other group has made any greater or more sincere effort than we have ourselves, particularly these last few months, to throw our whole weight into the war.

BY MR. McKINNON:

Q. Excuse me interrupting you, but when you used the words "as all anti-fascists", is there any particular reason for using that phrase? Could you not just as well have said as any good Canadian who has a whole-hearted desire to defeat the Axis powers; or is there a difference?

A. I think there is just this difference: I think the anti-fascists have a history through some years of opposition, an anxiety to defeat Nazism before even many very good loyal Canadian citizens. I believe, for instance, in my own case that goes back to about the year 1934 or 1935. In 1936 I went to Europe to the Brussels Peace Congress. I was there with a number of Canadians who listened with great interest and anxiety to the many nations trying to form a united front to oppose fascism.

BY MR. DUPUIS:

Q. Did you go to Russia? A. Yes, I followed my visit to the Brussels Peace Congress with a visit to Russia. You may be interested to know why that would be. I do not think I need explain it except that I worked among the Russian and Ukrainian people and became interested in my people and for many months and years I was anxious to see for myself some of the things these people had told me about Russia.

BY MR. MacINNIS:

Q. Were you there as a delegate or just to increase your own knowledge? A. I went to the Peace Congress as a delegate; I went to Russia entirely on my own.

Q. A peace delegate from? A. From the Niagara district.

Q. Of what? A. Of the peace organization - the International Peace Campaign - but many other groups were invited throughout the country, all peace groups including the League of Nations Society, Workingclass Organizations and an organization that I believe would be regarded as illegal, The League Against War and Fascism. I believe from the beginning it was recognized as anti-fascist.

BY MR. DUPUIS:

Q. What was your reaction when Russia signed a non-aggression treaty with Germany? A. I have never been disturbed by the moves that Russia has made. I do not wish to get off my subject, but I have believed through all of these difficult days that Russia sincerely desired peace, and I was certain that Russia was throwing all her weight into the effort to oppose and destroy fascism; so that when Russia made her peace pact with Germany I admit I did not feel good about it, but I was not disturbed to

the extent of feeling any different than has been represented by our counsel this last week. I have felt too myself that whether she was to blame or England was to blame Russia felt she had no other course to take than to hold off fascism in view of the fact that she apparently could not get a peace pact with Britain and France and the United States.

I was speaking about our work. I believe that the Ukrainian people, rather the European do not need to justify the fact that they are anxious to throw everything they had into the war; they know what fascism is; they know what aggression is: and many of those people came to our land to escape war and to escape the tragedies that come from aggression. I have caught that spirit from them myself, and I believe that many of those people are decidedly alert, politically alert. I believe they understand fairly well for workingclass people the issues of war and peace, the issues of class between nations and nations and the war problems that were in Europe. So when I see them today making every effort that they can to defeat Hitler, to support the Red Cross, to send medical aid to Russia, to organize as they did in the plebiscite, and now preparing to help in army week, I do believe that they are wholehearted and sincere in that effort.

One of the things I am sure these people have great difficulty in understanding has been the position that the government has taken towards anti-fascists in Canada and towards communism.

BY MR. MCKINNON:

Q. Do you mean since Russia got into the war or prior to that? A. Even prior to that. The people have felt, and I am sure there was reason to believe that

Russian policy was a peace policy, and I think when their halls were taken it was very difficult for them to understand why they should lose their halls, and it was certainly difficult for them to understand why their leaders should be interned. They were and had declared themselves through these years anti-fascists and they could not understand when the war was against fascism why they should be interned. A good deal of sympathy - I mean outside of the Ukrainian people in Crowland - a good many people of other nationalities, even among our own English labour people were somewhat astounded by the fact that our hall had been taken away from our people.

BY MR. MARTIN:

Q. When was it taken away? A. That is a little difficult. I have not the details.

Q. Since June, 1941? A. June, 1940.

MR. COHEN: That was when the U.L.F.T.A. was declared illegal.

BY MR. MARTIN:

Q. You yourself, understanding that under no circumstances would you suffer any compromise with Hitler or with the Nazis, not since June 1941, but before - you yourself would not find it difficult to understand the attitude of the Canadian government with regard to the internment of certain people who were communists and who were interned, would you, personally? A. Do I personally find it difficult to understand the government?

Q. Up to June, 1941? A. No, I said that the Ukrainian people, the European people - particularly the Ukrainian people.

Q. I am asking you about your own attitude? A. I think it is possible to understand why the government took action when it was quite definite there had been

some actions that were not favourable to our war effort.

Q. That was Mr. Cohen's view also. A. I want to be honest. I must confess that in some measure I was guilty myself; I could not feel wholehearted about our war effort in those difficult days.

Q. Your anti-fascism would be as persistent then, would it not? A. Just as persistent. The only difficulty - personally, I do not know whether I should have brought this in - personally I could not feel enthusiastic.

THE CHAIRMAN: About the war?

WITNESS: No, I can take part in war quite willingly; I will fight for what I believe to be just and right and fair.

MR. MacINNIS: Between 1939 and 1941 you could not feel enthusiastic about the war?

WITNESS: Yes, that is quite true.

B-follows

Q. But is it not true, in connection with the war against fascism that you do not feel particularly enthusiastic against fascism? A. It is not a section that I want to remember.

Q. It must be either that, or you must take the position that the rest of us were not fighting fascism in those years. A. I do not take that position.

BY MR. SLAGHT:

Q. Tell us what did trouble you? A. Yes. I felt somewhat I think as you might say the Russians felt; I felt that maybe -- not maybe -- I felt that our own allied forces could have shown a greater anti-fascist effort, if they had from my point of view been more willing to make peace with Russia and go after the fascists.

BY MR. MARTIN:

Q. Admitting that as a fact there were thousands and thousands of innocent people in England who lost their lives and whose homes were destroyed in fact, on account of fascism. A. That is true.

BY MR. SLAGHT:

Q. Canadian boys are being killed over the channel every week. A. That is true.

MR. MARTIN: Yes, as Mr. Slaght points out, surely then we were fighting fascism as much as we are now; although, we did not have the active assistance of the U.S.S.R. fascism was being fought.

WITNESS: I am not saying fascism -- it was a difficult decision for me, in view of the fact that I would like to have felt that we had all our forces united; and also at the same time I felt that we were all fighting against Hitler and the fascist forces.

MR. MARTIN: Just what would have happened if everyone in Canada, let us say, and in the United Kingdom, had taken your attitude; I mean, Germany would have given terms again at that time, which terms would have militated very seriously

against Russia.

MR. SLAGHT: What would have happened to Canada at that time had we laid down and let them walk in? Were you going to invite them to come to Canada and take possession of this country?

WITNESS: No, I wasn't going to invite them.

MR. SLAGHT: Then, why not try to stop them?

WITNESS: I am prepared to admit that there was a defect in my position personally. I am not anxious, however, to unload my position to this committee, I am merely trying to explain the position of our people.

MR. SLAGHT: I am stopped. I did not understand what troubled you, what your part was, which enabled you to say I am prepared to do things to prevent Canada making an efficient war effort because I did not believe she should be fighting Germany at all.

WITNESS: I did not say that --

MR. COHEN: No, you did not say that.

WITNESS: I would not have lifted my finger against Canada's war effort, and I think in many cases that a certain amount of alertness would have helped, and did help.

MR. SLAGHT: Then, I am sorry. I said too much. I would like to know what actuated your mind, because it may have been actuated by what is there; you say to yourself, I do not like seeing Britain and Canada fight against Germany: now, the corollary of that is, I would prefer to see Germany walking in and taking over.

WITNESS: I do not wish to take any such position.

MR. SLAGHT: Isn't that inevitable?

WITNESS: I do not want to take any such position. What I should like to say was, a lack of cooperation amongst the democratic peoples.

MR. SLAGHT: You have told us that a thousand times.

Leave cooperation out of it. Britain is still alone, her back against the wall, except for Canada, fighting a terrible fight, people being killed and everything else; and during that period you are telling us that the reason for your opinion was because she was fighting Germany. I do not get your angle of it yet.

WITNESS: I did not wish to convey that opinion, that I was troubled about her fighting.

MR. SLAGHT: What were you troubled about?

WITNESS: I was troubled about the fact that there was a lack of a united allied fight against Germany.

MR. MacINNIS: To what time are you referring?

WITNESS: Pretty much up to the time of June last year.

MR. SLAGHT: Why should that trouble you when you were not enthusiastic yourself? I think if you had been terrifically enthusiastic in your opposition to fascism during the period mentioned; that is, up to June of 1941; then you would have been troubled by the lack of enthusiasm on the part of others; but if you are enthusiastic yourself, on your own admission, then your position coincided exactly with the position of the general position as you have mentioned it. I do not want to go into these facts, but your testimony has compelled me in the interest of making this matter clear.

WITNESS: That is not the position I suggested.

MR. SLAGHT: That is the way I feel about it. When a fellow needs a friend is when he is being whipped, and when his friends come in he thinks they are going to join him but he finds that they are only standing aloof. Certain Canadians took the attitude, as I understand you now, that although you are agreed against fascism you were prepared to see Britain go down alone rather than help her.

WITNESS: That is not the position I suggested.

MR. DUPUIS: Give the witness a chance to explain.

WITNESS: My position would be this; it was difficult for us to understand why you would take away halls from people who were in our community who were definitely anti-fascist people.

THE CHAIRMAN: But were they then willing to fight with us against fascists?

WITNESS: So far as --

THE CHAIRMAN: When the halls were taken from these people these people were not willing to fight with us against fascists; and that was the thing which it was hard for us to understand.

WITNESS: It may be, sir that that worked both ways; we were not quite up to standard and certainly we could not feel that you were fighting an anti-fascist war yet in this country. You were taking halls away from people who were definitely showing that they were anti-fascist generally through years.

THE CHAIRMAN: They did not definitely give us help. They did not go so far as to help us to fight the fascists; then, it cannot be said definitely that they had shown themselves to be anti-fascists when they refused to fight up to 1940.

WITNESS: I think, to make a long story short, it was because they were in the main suspicious that we were not as anti-fascist as they would wish us to be. Maybe that is an unfair inference.

MR. SLAGHT: Do you mean, because we were not shooting the Germans as fast as we could?

WITNESS: You will remember there was a long period when you were not shooting Germans at the start of the war.

MR. SLAGHT: We tried to. You sat back and waited to see what we were going to do.

WITNESS: No, I would hesitate to say that.

MR. MARTIN: I don't see your position, or the stand you take here. You want to be fair to yourself, and to the whole situation. You are saying now, I take it, in looking upon

the past -- as up to June of 1941 -- is that your attitude was one of error, and leave it to chance.

WITNESS: I am sorry. I would like to be able to make this clear to you.

MR. MARTIN: That is what I am trying to get.

WITNESS: I can only take this position; I do not wish to say that I was correct, but I do not feel that I was in error.

MR. MARTIN: Then I must say that you are not creating the sympathy that you are perhaps deserving of when you say you were against fascism; you admit that we were fighting the fascist powers, true, we didn't have Russia with us, and possibly that was due to a bungling foreign policy -- although we were fighting fascism you now take the position that you were not in error --

WITNESS: I would like to say this, where the difficulty itself lay -- there were a great many people who while they will not boast that they were in error will say this, it was a very difficult phase to understand, and it was not an easy position. I know, speaking for myself, I lacked that very enthusiasm about the war that I have mentioned; but I can say this now, and this is one thought which I want to leave with you, that I do know what my position is now; and I do know that all of our forces are anxious now to do everything in their power and to give everything that they have, and there is no sacrifice too great to ask of us now that we will not be able to make; now that we have found our feet. I may say that that is my position now, and we are prepared to take that position; and I believe that is the position of these people I am trying to represent here; the people of my district.

MR. SLAGHT: Would it be fair to assume this: supposing Russia makes another volte face; I think it is extremely improbable; but if she says it will be better for me to make a separate peace with Germany, and turns around to side with

Germany again; would you swing back again into your previous position?

WITNESS: There can be no "again" because I do not think she has sided with Germany at any time.

BY MR. O'Neill:

Q. Is it a fair question to ask whether your people now are prepared to fight against fascism or for democracy?

A. Make it both together.

Q. Quite definitely not. A. For democracy and against fascism.

Q. I can't see that you can put them definitely together.

A. Just, I feel they are one.

Q. I can't see the two together, because, for my part, for instance, I do not oppose any group of fascists more than I oppose nazism or communism or any other isms that are trying to destroy the way of life that I want to see perpetuated in this country. It makes no difference to me what kind of ism it is, so long as they are trying to destroy the way of life that I want to see established here. So you now say that we should open our organization and take in somebody just simply because they are anti-fascist. I do not know whether they are pro-democratic as well as being anti-fascist.

A. I would not be too sure that your position was a democratic position if you are not opposed to fascism, I think.

MR. O'NEILL: I did not say that I was opposed to fascism. I said that I was not opposed any more to fascism than to nazism or communism or any other sort of ism which was going to destroy my way of life. That is what I was opposed to, not particularly fascism.

MR. MARTIN: I remember having had a conversation with you four or five years ago about Spain, and I am prepared to admit to you now that I was wrong and if I had to do it over again I would do everything I could to help the Loyalists. However,

I do not think that you are strengthening your position one bit when you persist in making the kind of statements you have made here today.

WITNESS: I am sorry, gentlemen; I didn't come particularly to strengthen my own position. I am not anxious to bring out into the light the question of my own position. I have tried to be honest in my answers.

MR. MARTIN: You see your premise; you were criticizing the closing of these halls as in the period before June, 1941, and you were not in a position to understand why that was done. That is how this discussion began.

WITNESS: I am quite prepared -- I know it is a difficult position for us to get together on, what happened during that period -- I am quite prepared to leave it, if I can leave the message that I have come to deliver as to this situation. Those were difficult days before.

MR. SLAGHT: I think I understand your position exactly, and you put it very clearly; the only thing I do not understand is your reason because you have not made this clear to me. We should let him go on.

MR. MacINNIS: I do not know that we should go over this matter any further. I ~~do~~ agree that the position of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association is a proper subject for this committee to discuss. I introduced a committee from Toronto to the Secretary of State, I think it was last February, having to do with the same matter, and I stayed with them while they were there and then left the leader with the Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Coleman, and I afterwards wrote to the Secretary of State pointing out that in my opinion this was one of the matters what should be referred to this committee if it were set up again this year. And, really, I do not think that the witness should continue any longer with this subject, because it is not doing any good.

WITNESS: I am quite prepared to pass that over for the present. I would like to say that there is no question about the fact that our European people at the present time are throwing everything they have into the winning of this war. I do not believe anyone can question that fact.

MR. MacINNIS: What do you mean by European people?

WITNESS: I mean the people who were in my district, they come from Yugoslavia, the Ukraine and central European countries.

MR. MacINNIS: Oh, you mean the people in your district?

WITNESS: Yes, we have an industrial center where there are many foreign people.

MR. SLAGHT: Why wouldn't they, their relatives are the people who are being killed, it is their homes that are being burned and it is their women who are being ravaged.

WITNESS: That is true.

MR. SLAGHT: Every crime that Germany can impose is being foisted on their fatherland.

WITNESS: That is right.

MR. SLAGHT: I would think they were inhuman if they were not a people willing to help now.

WITNESS: That is what I wish to draw to your attention. That is the situation. That is reflected in their lives and in their enthusiasm that they are prepared to show and are showing for the war. I believe that we could use every bit of the energy that they are prepared to throw into the war effort. I believe they are proud of an opportunity to fight, and I know there exists an enthusiasm that they are prepared to put into the war; and I think that in this respect the brand communist will not lessen that spirit but will help it, will forward it, will bring it out of them and our English-speaking people as well; and even greater effort than we have made in the past. In fact, I have worked for communist people in this district. I knew them well in the days when they were a legal organization. I came in contact with them. (CC-1 follows)

It is my impression that they would not only prod my particular people but they would prod most Canadian people, even members of government, to make a greater effort than has been made yet to win this war. I believe that we should welcome any prodding, any vitalization, that they could bring to our war effort; and I am certain that is the way the people in my district feel. I would add one further word, and that would be in regard to our community. To show you that they understand in some measure the spirit of our people, the council in our district took up the matter of halls. I do not wish to labour the matter of halls but it is one of the instances I used. I believe they passed a resolution as sending word down to the government here that they recommended that the halls be turned over to the Ukrainian people who had built them. Also this matter was taken up with the legion in the city of Welland. Here again the resolution was passed by the legion of Welland recommending that these halls be returned to the Ukrainian people who had built them. It seems to me that that is a fair indication of the fact that there is a certain desire on the part of our people in our district at any rate, to take another attitude towards those whom we have made illegal -- those organizations that we have made illegal and particularly the Communists whom we now feel are not our enemies, whom we can now feel are anxious to throw everything they have into the war effort and whom, if we wish to win the war, it seems to me at least that we could use to good advantage.

BY MR. DUPUIS:

Q. In your district have all these European people their own schools? A. No. They go to our public schools.

Q. Schools controlled by the Department of Education?

A. Yes.

Q. What about the teachers? Are they of their race?

A. In some cases our Ukranian boys and girls have gone through our Ontario normal schools and have become teachers and are teaching in our community. I do not think the majority are of that type.

BY MR. SLAGHT:

Q. Have they become naturalized? A. I would think the majority. I have made out and so have my co-workers made out many citizenship papers in the years that have passed; and we would have made out many many more since the war was declared, were it possible. But it, of course, is not possible.

BY MR. DUPUIS:

Q. Is it to your knowledge that they have in these schools text books teaching the principles of Communism?

A. I know that it is not true. Our schools in Ontario are very loyal schools. There are no text books of any type other than the government of Mr. Hepburn and his followers orders, I can assure you.

BY MR. SLAGHT:

Q. May I ask you a few questions? When did you join the League for Peace and Democracy? A. I belonged to the League against War and Fascism before the League for Peace and Democracy came into effect.

Q. What year was that? A. I do not know what year the change of name was made.

Q. Did you become an officer in that association?

A. Yes. I was chairman in our district.

Q. Did it have a constitution? A. Well, if there was a constitution, it was a very loose one in our particular district. I think there was a constitution possibly for the dominion; but in our own district I doubt if we had a constitution of our own.

Q. Were there some Communists who were members of the league? A. No. I think there were no Communists members of the league.

BY MR. BLACK:

Q. You said a little while ago that those were difficult days. What do you mean by that? A. Well, I mean to say I have met all kinds of people, in the church and out, in business and out, government members as well as others, who will admit that they were not always right on exactly seeing, understanding and interpreting the issues during those days of the first two or three years of the war.

Q. They could not understand Canada's declaration of war? That was plain enough. A. We knew that Canada had declared war.

Q. Should that not be enough for any Canadian who was a resident of Canada? A. Some of us like to not only know what the country has done but would like to think and understand, so that if possible we can give our whole weight to it.

BY MR. SLAGHT:

Q. You mentioned members of parliament. What member of parliament did you find who was not prepared to support Canada's declaration of war? A. I did not say that he was not prepared to support Canada's declaration.

Q. What difficulty did he have in those days? I do not get that. The country had declared by constitutional means that we were at war with Germany. That being so, what difficulty was there? A. Only this, that I had been on the platform with members of parliament from time to time, and from my impressions of statements that have been made I have felt that I was not the only one that was confused.

Q. Did they refuse, along with your people, to back up the Victory Bond sales? A. No. There was no refusal. Our people, Mr. Slight, are not refusing to back up the Victory Bond sales.

Q. You say "are not refusing"? A. That is right.

Q. I suggest to you that their attitude down to June, 1941, was against all aid for the war effort. A. They at least did buy bonds and stamps and anything that was asked of them. I am saying they might not have had all the enthusiasm that they would like to have had in those days; but they certainly did buy, many of them.

BY MR. BLACK:

Q. What is the sacrifice in buying Victory Bonds? They get good interest on the money. A. For some of our working class people it means a sacrifice because there are many many times when they need it for the actual necessities of life. There is no such thing as investment for a man who needs bread.

Q. None of them starved to death on account of that.

A. No.

BY MR. HAZEN:

Q. How many Ukrainians, Yugoslavs and Poles have you in your district that you are speaking of? A. I am only claiming to speak for them. They have not asked me to.

Q. You were speaking about them. How many are there?

A. It is difficult to say the exact number. I should think there are in the neighbourhood of a couple of thousand.

Q. I asked you of each race. A. Well, offhand I cannot tell you exactly.

Q. What per cent of them are supporting Communism and what percentage of them would you say favoured democracy as a form of government? A. Well, I feel that those two run together. I feel that Communism is not

an anti-democratic measure, as I have already suggested to Mr. O'Neill.

BY MR. SLAUGHT:

Q. How long have you been familiar with Communist policy? A. Back in 1928 when I first was working in the church, I worked as hard as I could work to help put Communists in jail. I did a good deal in the community to try to get men to lose their jobs because they were Communists. In the years 1930, '31 and '32 I was chairman of the first relief work that was done in our community and I was the founder and organizer of that body. It was regarded as a very successful effort because we were able to prove that we could feed men and women at about a cost of two cents a meal, and one of the things that we refused to do was to give meals to anyone whom we regarded as a Communist. That was my attitude up until about 1932 or 1933. At the time I tried to understand what was the reason that these people called Communists took the position that they took. I wanted to understand them better, so I asked them to recommend to me books that I might read, and I did start to delve and read and through that I came to understand their position from that time on.

BY MR. McKINNON:

Q. There is a difference of opinion between the various Ukrainians in regard to the Communist policy. A. I believe there is. I know there is a wide difference of opinion not only among the Ukrainians; but all these national groups have two elements, one that I would call a progressive one; they tend somewhat to the leftist point of view; the other that I regard and I think that they themselves regard as definitely semi-Fascist or even Fascists. That issue among the Ukrainian people is well known. It has been arising in our war work. For instance,

I can give you an indication. This is a little bit aside, but at our meeting last Thursday night, the Czechoslovaks came for the first time to our war work committee, and they were very much upset about the fact that the Slovaks -- Slovenes, I believe they called them -- were doing everything they could to oppose them and keep them from holding successful meetings and calling them away when they called a meeting when they were trying to raise funds for the Canadian Red Cross. They asked me if some action could be taken to stop this Slovak element which was supporting Father Hylinka, who was I believe the leader in the Czechoslovak situation.

Q. Do you not think those are antagonisms that have been brought from the old countries and are being carried on over here? A. I think they are being carried along here.

Q. Old antagonisms. A. I think so.

Q. The point that I know is very difficult for me to understand, and I believe it is for the committee too is this. It has been touched on a number of times. When Canada was at war and everything was at stake so far as Canada was concerned, certain classes of people in Canada found it not only difficult to support our position, but as Mr. Cohen stated this morning, actively opposed our participation in the war and were even, to some extent anyway, retarding our war effort. Those are Canadians, I presume, a number of them born in Canada. It is hard for us to understand why, as soon as Russia got into the war, the picture immediately changed and they were all out for us. A. I know.

Q. If somebody could only make that clear to us, the real reasons for it, I think this committee may go a long long way. But nobody has as yet done so. A. I wish I could, sir. I feel too that that situation exists not

only here but among some or many of our people in Canada. But I do not have that difficulty myself. I feel that I understand it. First of all, I would say this. It seems to me that the enthusiasm of our people now to throw everything they have into the war is not only because Russia came into the war. I would say the main issue there is this. I know the sense of relief that came to me the day that Germany attacked Russia, not one of grief, and one almost of gladness because now we were all in this war against Fascism. Then the statement of Mr. Churchill, it seems to me, did change even the position of his own people when he said -- I cannot give you the exact words, but you know the meaning of those words that he used -- "All who fight against Hitler are our friends and all who fight with him are our enemies." That to me was the thing that made me change.

Q. It is hard for us to determine whether these people are the friends of Canada or the friends of Russia. That is all. It is hard for us to understand. .. Well, I wish I could help.

Q. Because we have had a very exhaustive survey of the international and the historical background by Mr. Cohen of the whole picture; we are trying to bring that down and apply it to ourselves in Canada. A. Yes.

Q. It is hard to get that picture. That is the point I am trying to make.

MR. MARTIN: Of course, having regard to Mr. Cohen's presentation, Mr. Cohen does not take the position that Mr. Sayles is taking.

MR. McKINNON: I know that.

MR. SLAUGHT: I think I know Mr. Sayle's position.

MR. COHEN: Would you mind if I asked one or two questions? First of all, may I ask with regard to this

league for peace and democracy. I understand there were a number of other clergymen. I know that Rabbi

. Eisendrath was active in the organization at some time. I do not think he would be in the position that you find yourself if he was reviewing his thoughts at any time during the war. Is that correct? Is Rabbi Eisendrath an officer?

WITNESS: I could not tell you about Rabbi Eisendrath.

MR. COHEN: Were there other clergymen?

WITNESS: There are other clergymen connected with this organization.

MR. MARTIN: Mr. Ward in the United States, of the Theological Seminary of New York.

BY MR. SLAUGHT:

Q. Were you one of the seventy-five clergymen that signed a declaration against our participating alongside of Britain? A. No sir, I was not. I do not hold their position. I think it was a poor position to take.

MR. COHEN: There is one other thing, if I may be permitted to mention it. As the result of your contact with Ukrainians in the Ukrainian labour farmer assembly meetings, what would you say is their attitude towards Canadian institutions and what would you say about the suggestion that there was being brought in their midst a doctrine of force and violence to bring about social change?

D-1 follows

WITNESS: Of course, the doctrine of force and violence is probably one that we could spend many more days discussing, and I do think it was a mistake for me to enter into it, but I do feel this- - I have been with the Ukrainian people a great deal and with all these organizations a great deal; I have lived with them, and I have never heard any indication of force and violence anywhere. I went through two or three strikes with some of these people, and the one thing - I would like to make this clear if I can - the one thing that these people, who were largely working class people, stressed was this, "We have nothing to gain by force and violence, we have everything to lose by force and violence. We haven't the ammunition in our hands, it is in the hands of those who oppose us."

BY MR. SLAGHT:

Q. Were these strikes that you went through with them since the war? A. No, this was before the war. May I point out another thing that I think would be helpful if I could make it clear. I hate to mention this because I don't know too much about it but it is an actual fact, an incident that took place the day I left this week. It was reported to me there was a strike in our district, that a number of men walked out of a factory. I am quite satisfied that were you to allow the Leftist element to have freedom among these men they would do everything they could to discourage that strike despite the fact conditions may not be and are not possibly satisfactory to the working class. They would discourage a strike at this time because they believe the essential thing in this hour is to win the war.

THE CHAIRMAN: Any more questions?

MR. COHEN: Mr. Menard is here representing local 200 of the United Automobile Workers Union which I understand is the largest local trade union in the country.

THE CHAIRMAN: Where is it located?

MR. MARTIN: Windsor.

Alcide Menard, Called

BY THE CHAIRMAN:

Q. Where do you come from? A. Windsor, Ont.

Mr. Chairman, and honourable gentlemen, it is certainly a pleasure to be given an opportunity to address such a distinguished body of gentlemen. Coming as a layman I take it as a great honour. I have been delegated by the Ford Motor local of the U.A.W., C.I.O. to attend this meeting in conjunction with the N.C.D.R. I must confess that my earliest date of contact with the N.C.D.R. was at the convention which took place here last February 24th and 25th. That was my personal lone inkling of such an organization existing. I attended the conference and was chosen one of the delegates to present the brief to the Hon. Mr. St. Laurent. I heard the Hon. Mr. St. Laurent's distinct message in regard to the brief that was submitted to him. Since that time I have been designated by the executive of our own local to go further into the details of the platform of the National Congress for Democratic Rights. From time to time I have reported such findings to our executive council and built up such a weight that we agreed through a mass meeting last Sunday in the city of Windsor to concentrate with the efforts of the National Congress of Democratic Rights.

MR. COHEN: Mass meeting where?

WITNESS: The meeting took place in the Windsor market, Windsor, Ont. It consisted of our own local solely, local 200, Ford Motor Co., with approximately 4,000 members attending.

BY THE CHAIRMAN:

Q. Out of what membership? A. We have possibly 9,000 at the present time. I investigated the situation for them and also, as I have previously said, it has been discussed in our executive council. A resolution was submitted to the membership attending and they voted on it and of the 4,000 members I must say this, that there wasn't one dissenting vote to the resolution. I have the resolution with me, and if you gentlemen would care, and with the permission of Mr. Michaud I will read it. The resolution is as follows:

WHEREAS we are now in the most crucial phase of our war against Hitlerism, and

WHEREAS our country needs now more than ever before the highest form of national unity and the maximum contribution from all in order to achieve a democratic, offensive total war effort and to play our full role in the opening of a second European front to achieve victory over our enemies, and

WHEREAS certain sections of the Defense of Canada Regulations and the manner in which they have been enforced have caused great harm to our national unity, to war morale and have thus hindered our country in achieving the maximum war effort, and

WHEREAS no Allied country outside of Canada follows the practice of outlawing organizations and

interning labor leaders and others who have proven anti-fascist records. Such practices are contrary to our democratic war aims and harmful to an all-out struggle. Be it, therefore,

RESOLVED that we, the workers of Ford's in Windsor, Ontario, assembled at a mass meeting on this 14th day of June, 1942, at the Windsor market, join with all labor, progressive and total war forces in Canada, in demanding the amending of the Defense of Canada Regulations so that an end be put to the above mentioned undemocratic and harmful practices. And be it further

RESOLVED that we petition the Parliamentary Committee for the reviewing of the Defense of Canada Regulations, which is now in session, to so amend the regulations that -

- (a) All interned labor, anti-fascists who are prepared to contribute towards the successful prosecution of the war be immediately released.
- (b) All internment orders issued against such people but not yet executed be cancelled forthwith.
- (c) The ban against all working class and labor-progressive organizations who are and always have been opponents of fascism and who are anxious to help in the prosecution of the war, be lifted and their confiscated property be returned.
- (d) The full force of the law be brought to bear against those pro-fascist, pro-Hitler and pro-

Vichy fifth columnist organizations and individuals who still carry on their poisonous activities in our country. Be it also

RESOLVED that copies of this resolution be forwarded to every member of the Parliamentary Committee now dealing with the Defense of Canada Regulations and to the press, and that Mr. Paul Martin, who represents our constituency in the House of Commons, and who is also a member of this committee, be especially urged to give expression to this resolution and to do everything in his power to secure the adoption of our proposals both in the committee and in the House of Commons."

Gentlemen, that is the resolution. It was adopted by the mass membership.

MR. MARTIN: There can be no question about this. I know this organization verywell. They are a group of workmen in the Ford and Chrysler plants.

MR. COHEN: This is just the Ford plant.

MR. MARTIN: All good Canadian citizens, loyal people, who may be taken as representing their group just as any other corresponding group in any community. Since Mr. Menard is here and since he has mentioned my name I have no hesitation in saying that Mr. Menard is the kind of citizen that is deserving of the hearing which any parliamentary committee wishes to afford to one of its own citizens.

WITNESS: I did not expect quite that type of ovation from Mr. Martin.

BY MR. SLAGHT:

Q. Let me ask you a question or two. I may say on Mr. Martin's recommendation and your own presentation I am impressed with your personal sincerity. You told us you analyzed the situation for the members of your union after being asked to look into the Communist situation and report back, and you did so. Let me ask you this, and I am going to read two or three things from the argument that has just been filed with us in the last few days on behalf of the organization you belong to. Did you tell your people this - - -

MR. COHEN: Which document is that you are referring to?

MR. SLAGHT: The Civil Liberties Association.

MR. MARTIN: This is the National Council for Democratic Rights.

BY MR. SLAGHT:

Q. Did you inform your people that for the first eighteen months of the war the Communist party had opposed the participation of Canada in the war with the result that the war effort was retarded in the ten respects that you heard me put forward to Mr. Cohen and Mr. Cohen told us he thought it retarded the war effort; did you make that activity of theirs in the first eighteen months of the war clear to your people? A. Mr. Slaght I might like to explain it in this way that I mentioned the fact that the earliest date we had ever in any shape or form contacted N.C.D.R. was last February.

Q. I was interested to learn that, so that your personal experience would be very limited, but I thought as an investigator you might have confirmed my view these activities did retard the war effort to some extent,

that as an investigator you would have been bound to run across that during the first eighteen months. I know if you had run across it you would have made it clear to your people before they produced a resolution of this type. However, you did not know these things at firsthand, of course, but did you learn these things in your investigation and report them? A. Mr. Slaght, again I must say that the N.C.D.R. at no time in my estimation, or in the estimation of our executive council, showed us, or by any of their literature that I have acquired and been able to deliver to our council and to the membership, have they at any time showed any affiliations to the Communist party.

MR. MARTIN: I don't know whether that is Mr. Slaght's suggestion but I happen to know this man and I do not think there was any suggestion Mr. Menard could be presumed to have any such affiliations.

MR. SLAGHT: No, I did not intend any suggestion of that kind but I gathered from you - perhaps I am wrong - that you desired to investigate and report on the conduct of the Communists of Canada - - -

WITNESS: N.C.D.R., pardon me.

BY MR. SLAGHT:

Q. You did not go back in that nor investigate the position of the Communists of Canada for the first eighteen months because you see after all you are here with a plea solely for the Communists of Canada and with no plea on behalf of the National Council for Democratic Rights, as I understand you. A. The only Communistic issue that might crop up in respect to lending our weight to the N.C.D.R. would be if any of these interned members, which we consider labor leaders - some of them already

have been released and have proven their ability as labor leaders before and after their release, and we would petition the government in this respect, that these men if they are going to be of service to the country in respect to an all-out war effort which is actually a necessity, and as labor in itself realizes, that it would be a wonderful act on the part of the government to release these members, and if at any time they find their actions are subversive or of the saboteur type they still have the ultimatum of picking them up and incarcerating them until the end of the war and deportation after.

Q. I understand that, but the point that I want to put to you is this; you are here today and your counsel is here today to ask us to remove the existing ban against Communism and with no plea for the National Council of Democratic Rights whatever. Now, did you investigate Communism and its activities for that eighteen months and report it to this meeting of 4,000 people because if you didn't that has - I am ^{speaking} only for myself - an influence with me as to the value of their recommendation to us to remove the ban against Communism. In other words, if they don't know what it is all about how can their plea to us have any real value? We have got to go deeper than well-meant pleas.

E-1 follows

WITNESS: I am very much in agreement with your idea, but I will say this that owing to the fact that we are only a new organization ourselves we have only held a contract with the Ford Motor Company since January 15, 1942, I do not deem it necessary that we should go into the past history of the Communist Party with respect to the N.C.D.R.

BY MR. MARTIN:

Q. I think from the line of questioning that was pursued this morning by myself and several others including Mr. O'Neill you will see how scrupulous this committee is for all the members in making sure that no-one has been interned or anyone is going to be interned on the mere ground that he belongs to a trade union or that he belongs to a labour organization. I for one take that matter very seriously, as do all members of this committee; and if there is any impression I would like to leave with you to convey back to your members it is that. A. Mr. Martin, I certainly appreciate that, and we certainly as a labour organization - as a labour attitude - we are appreciating the fact that we are getting the cooperation of the dominion government in our work and in our efforts. I think Mr. Martin will verify that attitude. He was at our meeting with Mr. Howe in Windsor and Mr. Howe expressed his very sincere wishes that we carry on, and he was very appreciative of the manpower that was there to meet him. --Witness retired.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now hear from Mr. Hay.

M. G. HAY, Called.

BY THE CHAIRMAN:

Q. What do you represent? A. The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, No.488, situated at London, Ontario.

Q. Proceed, Mr. Hay. A. Mr. Chairman and

members of the parliamentary committee and distinguished visitors, I would like to say a few words about myself first and my organization afterwards. I would like to make it clear to this committee that I am not a communist and I have never been one. I would like to say a few words about my organization. It enjoys a membership of 11,000 in the Dominion of Canada. We have been functioning now for 25 years, and it is, as some of the trade union members of this committee know, a stable organization and has yet to resort to a strike in order to enforce their demands.

MR. MCKINNON: The strike goes back a few years before your time my boy; you had a dandy.

WITNESS: Even if it was before my time, I am speaking of what I know.

MR. SLAGHT: They are a high class organization; I have them in my constituency.

WITNESS: I would like to say a few words about the number of organizations on the back of the memorandum. I can assure the members of the committee that they represent a good cross-section of Canadian labour from coast to coast, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Those organizations have been functioning for a number of years and have a high prestige not only with the people here but with the people of Canada.

I might say a few words about the defence of Canada legislation and the attitude of trade unionists throughout Canada. Organized labour and trade unionists have followed for a number of years, since the Defence of Canada Regulations have been in existence, these internment cases, and they do not think it is coincidental; they do not think it is accidental that these men that are interned at crucial moments when negotiations are going on between

their own trade unions and the members of their employers. That is the feeling that is brought back by their delegations from any worthwhile organization in the Dominion of Canada, and that includes the Dominion Trades Congress. I know our delegates have come back year after year with that same story, and also with the same story that they were not interned for their trade union activities, that they were interned because of their communist activities.

BY THE CHAIRMAN:

Q. Are any of your own organization interned? A. To my knowledge, Mr. Chairman, I do not believe we have anybody interned.

Q. If those people were interned for their labour activities would there not be some members of your organization, because you must be very active in labour organizations? A. Mr. Chairman, I would like to answer that question in this way: We are a progressive organization and we are an A.F. of L. organization, and in every labour organization in this country there is a left wing group. That is not to be denied. They are there in spite of whatever we say, and they are still there and the chances are that they will remain there because you cannot suppress public opinion. Does that answer your question?

BY MR. MCKINNON:

Q. Before I forget, are you an officer in the National Organization or just a local officer? A. I am just a local officer, and I may say, sir, that I have a mandate from my local: "A.W. Smith, Ottawa, Ontario. We pledge our support in the work of your delegation and wish you every success. Signed W. Walsh, Secretary."

Q. That is your local? A. Yes.

Q. In London? A. Yes. If you will notice on the

back of the memorandum there are other car men there listed, some in British Columbia, Toronto, and in other places. I am speaking not only for myself but other lodges of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America.

Q. The point I was trying to bring out is that you do not claim to be speaking for the carmen of America?

A. No, that would not justify me because that would be telling an untruth. I am not representing the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen.

Q. You are representing your own local? A. Lodge 488. I wish to call your attention to a number of Brotherhood Railway Carmen lodges that are listed on the back of the memorandum, and even though I am not speaking for them they have specifically pledged support to the N.C.D.R. program. From a patriotic standpoint the members of our lodge have^{done} more than their share. Out of a membership of 455 we have 225 who regularly go down for blood donations. We have supported at all times the sale of War Saving Stamps and Victory Bonds.

MR. SLAGHT: Speaking for myself, I do not think anybody has any doubt about the bona fide and patriotic character of the organization that this gentleman represents. If there is any doubt in anybody's mind we might spend some time to satisfy it.

WITNESS: I wanted to make that clear. We do not have any wildcat organization, we are as patriotic as anybody.

THE CHAIRMAN: We admit that.

F-follows

Therefore, it is for that reason that we ask favorable recommendation by this committee for the release of any fascists now interned in the Hull jail.

BY MR. DUPUIS:

Q. Do you know anything about the doctrine of the communists at all? A. No, sir, I have no idea of the doctrine of the communists. We do know, and it was brought out in our lodge, that the communists were not sympathetic to our war effort at that certain time that was brought out in this committee, but that did not apply against trade unionists that were anti-fascist, and it was British because they are out to fight and to beat fascism regardless who was in office ; and we certainly welcomed Russia when they did come in, and we really sympathize with Russia just the same as we do with any other anti-fascist country, their sympathies are with Russia.

Q. You do not know if they were interned in jail because of their affiliation with trade unions or for some other reason? A. Sir, I would like to make it clear, as I said before, we have delegates who attend every important conference and convention in the Dominion of Canada. They bring back the findings and recommendations of those conventions, and, as I said here once before, they made that clear at the last Dominion Trades Congress, that these men were not interned for their labour activities but for their communist activities. As I said before, we are quite sympathetic to men of the calibre of Art Chapman and Bruce Magnuson, who is the president of the Trades and Labour council at Fort William.

MR. MacINNIS: It was Port Arthur, wasn't it?

WITNESS: I can't just say. I thought he was an officer at Fort William.

MR. MacINNIS: No, it was Port Arthur.

WITNESS: I thought it was Fort William; is it not?

MR. MacINNIS: No, it was Port Arthur.

WITNESS: The Port Arthur Trades Council. Any man who has enough prestige to be elected an officer of the Trade Council of the size of either Fort William or Port Arthur carries a certain amount of prestige with him and with that organization; and we specially ask, even if it means the legalization of the communist party, that you let these men out of the internment camps. We will support the N.C.D.R. in its report to this committee and we would ask that this committee bring in a favourable report, along these lines.

MR. DUPUIS: You have not answered my question: has it come to your knowledge that the communist policy, even in this war, is to the effect of favouring class struggle, or the overthrow of the government by force and violence; if you knew that to be their policy would you be a member of the communist party?

WITNESS: I would like to answer that question in this way: I do not believe that the communists will resort to arms and strife to forward their ends; from what I know of working class people they are just the reverse to that, they are peaceful minded men and women and all their interest is in social security rather than in starting any strife.

THE CHAIRMAN: You do not mean to associate labour organizations with communist organizations?

WITNESS: I am not, sir.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is right.

WITNESS: I am not trying to confuse you. I made this point quite clear, that we have a left wing element now in the labour movement; and from what I know of and understand of these men over a number of years they have all been quite peaceful and I have never yet heard them speak of any violence of any description.

MR. DUPUIS: You have never been in the intimate circles of the communist party?

WITNESS: No, sir, I have made that quite clear here. I have never been a communist and I have always been anti-fascist; and in my estimation no loyal British subject at this time could be anything else but.

MR. SLAGHT: I would just like to call your attention to the fact that Mr. MacInnis, Mr. MacKinnon and Mr. O'Neill are all trade unionists.

WITNESS: I am glad to hear it.

MR. MARTIN: Mr. MacInnis, as a matter of fact, belongs to a street railway union.

MR. COHEN: Mr. Slaght and I are also members of trade unions.

MR. SLAGHT: Even amongst lawyers you will find left-wingers.

WITNESS: That shows that you really have a progressive union amongst lawyers, and you are to be congratulated on your organization.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Mr. Hay.

WITNESS: I am glad of the opportunity of saying a few words to this committee; and also, my stay down here has been very instructive; and, as I said before, I am quite young and I can do with a lot of instruction. It has really been a pleasure to hear the discussions here.

MR. MacINNIS: It has been a pleasure to listen to you.

THE CHAIRMAN: Who are you calling next, Mr. Cohen?

MR. COHEN: The Reverend J. M. Freeman.

THE REVEREND J. M. FREEMAN, General Secretary, Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, Toronto, called:

THE CHAIRMAN: You have six minutes.

WITNESS: I will be quite brief.

MR. SLAGHT: Do you come from Norfolk by any chance?

WITNESS: No.

THE CHAIRMAN: Surely you don't come from Windsor?

WITNESS: No, I am a westerner and I come from Alberta.

Now, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee I am pleased today to support the brief which has been submitted by the National Council of Democratic Rights. Although I am not myself a member of that organization I was invited to come and support their plea partly I believe because our own organization; we call ourselves a Christian Social Order; it passed a resolution at its recent annual conference which agreed in principle to the kind of argument which has been presented by Mr. Cohen and by the other members of the delegation. Now, I am here as an individual. I am not here representing officially my organization. Nevertheless I am backed up by the resolution which they passed. And I would like to emphasize this, that these resolutions were passed unanimously, without dissent, by a group of people of a fairly wide diverse social and political outlook. We have a good variety within our interdenominational organization, and the people accepted these resolutions without arguing against them. Now, with your permission, I would like just to read this and then speak briefly to it. I do not know whether they have been presented before or not. The first resolution reads as follows:

"This conference strongly supports an amendment to Section 21 of the Defence of Canada Regulations asking that internment be legal only on conviction of some overt action detrimental to the war programme as set out in section 39 A, B and C of the said regulations; and urges also that the Department of Justice forbid the Royal Canadian Mounted Police acting contrary to the decision of a court of law".

and the second one reads:

"Believing that it would strengthen Canadian democracy, we urge that the ban on the communist party of Canada be lifted immediately and that persons who have been interned on the ground that they were members of the communist party be released."

Now, I would like to say something in comment about the kind of feeling that lay back of these resolutions. I speak more personally because there was no chance really of getting the various reasons in our annual conference.

BY MR. ROSS:

Q. What was the conference? A. It was the annual conference of the Fellowship for Christain Social Order. It is the organization which employs me as its secretary.

BY MR. MacINNIS:

Q. Where was it held? A. Carlton street United Church, Toronto.

BY MR. SLAGHT:

Q. Is it international in scope? A. If we call Newfoundland a foreign country, yes; because, we have members in Newfoundland and the rest of Canada, not beyond that.

BY THE CHAIRMAN:

Q. Have you any in the United States? A. No, we have sort of fraternal relations with other groups in the States but we have no members down there.

BY MR. MARTIN:

Q. Is this an organization of various churches or is it a church itself? A. No. It is an interdenominational voluntary organization, largely clergymen in the United Church, the Church of England, the Baptist Church and so on.

BY THE CHAIRMAN:

Q. Has it been in existence long? A. I twas organized in the winter of 1933 or 1934.

BY MR. MacINNIS:

Q. What is the purpose of the organization? A. The

purpose is to apply Christain and social problems.

MR. MARTIN: Not a bad idea.

WITNESS: It was developed in the depression for that purpose.

MR. MacKINNON: We should have a little more like it.

WITNESS: Now, with regard to the first resolution concerning Section 21 of the Defence of Canada Regulations: I believe that our group support that largely from the conviction that Christianity must be concerned with justice; and during the history of the democratic institutions the method of trial by your peers is one way of avoiding a miscarriage of justice.

GG-1 follows.

We have felt over the period since the Defence of Canada regulations have been used, that there had been many cases where it seemed that men had been unjustly interned. You could not be sure about it because there had been no trial. No evidence had been presented openly to prove that they had been engaged in activities detrimental to the war effort. That particularly refers to the clause here asking that the R.C.M.P. be forbidden to act contrary to the decisions of a court of law. That is, cases have been brought to our attention where a man has been interned after being acquitted in a court for lack of evidence. Possibly the best comment I can make on that is that we are opposed to that sort of thing. In an article on Pastor Niemoller in Germany, the man who gave the material is referred to in the following manner:

"Dr. Stein was arrested in the summer of 1936 in Berlin on a charge of attempted high treason and was released after months in Moabit prison in Berlin for lack of evidence. At the gate of the prison he was immediately re-arrested by the Gestapo and thrown into a concentration camp in Sachsenhausen."

That, I would say, is the thing which we are utterly opposed to and we do not want to see that develop in Canada.

With regard to the Communist party, I do not think the reasoning of people today is complex at all. They feel that events have demonstrated the fallacy of linking the Communist group with the Fascist, Nazi and other groups which represent the axis powers and their ideology. Many of us were taken in by the various propaganda methods of the Nazis and other groups of that type -- first, that the Communists were the greatest menace to the democratic way of life and if you wanted to save democracy you should join the

Fascists against the Communists. That was disproved by events. Mr. Cohen has outlined those events. Then there was a period when we were told that the Fascists, the Communists and Nazis were all the same, identical. That again has been disproved by events. So that people today feel that to perpetuate in section 39 C this linkage of groups which events have shown to be utterly opposed, is not in accordance with the truth revealed by the facts. Therefore, we have asked that that be changed, that the Communists be given their legality. Personally, I feel that to give that is to strengthen democracy. I do not feel that it is safe in a democracy to outlaw political expression, political parties. Personally I do not feel that the Communists are inimical to democracy itself.

& BY MR. MacINNIS:

Q. Would you say in any country where political expression is outlawed, it is not a democracy? A. I feel that from the standpoint of political democracy, yes. I suppose you are referring to Russia?

Q. It does not matter what I am referring to. I just want you to answer the question. A. There is another angle to that, of course. In the countries where the Communist party has been outlawed, they are the ones who have destroyed democracy; they are the Fascist nations. I gather -- I have not studied all the united nations on this particular angle, but I gather we are the only one who has declared the Communist party illegal and maintained that position.

Q. You were talking about declaring illegal a political party, and that it was not done in a democracy or that it was not consonant with the principles of democracy. My question was that you would agree then that in any country where political opinion or where political

in any country where political opinion or where political parties, except one political party, were not allowed, it was not a democracy? A. Not a political democracy.

Q. Do not hedge on this. A. No, I am not.

Q. We are dealing with a political democracy.

A. I want to make it absolutely clear that I do believe sincerely that in Russia you have a form of economic democracy which is extremely important. At the same time you do not have our kind of political democracy where you have freedom of organized political parties. Is not that true?

Q. I do not want to hedge on the question. It is a question of your answering yes or no. If it is against the principles of democracy to outlaw a political party in Canada, I assume, from my simple reasoning, that it would be against the principles of democracy to do the same thing in any other country. My mind cannot grasp subtle distinctions. It is possibly a weakness in me. A. I think it is inimical in any country to prevent freedom of political expression.

Q. Well, that is all.

BY THE CHAIRMAN:

Q. Do you make any distinction between a political democracy and a social democracy? A. Yes. I would rather say between ^apolitical and economic democracy. Social refers to both, really.

BY MR. SLAGHT:

Q. As I recall your organization's petition to us, Mr. Freeman, it asked us to recommend the revision of section 21, so that no one could be interned unless he had been convicted by the court of some overt action. Am I right in understanding that to be in the petition? A. Yes. That is the way it is worded.

Q. Did your people, before they asked us to do that, consider that there is any difference when a country is at war to conditions when it is at peace? Did they consider or did they know that the purpose of the Defence of Canada regulations is to prevent sabotage and overt actions in war time rather than to punish people who are caught after blowing up bridges or canals? Did they consider that aspect of our Defence of Canada regulations, or did they even know that that was the theory upon which, both in Britain and in Canada, these regulations have been passed?

A. I would say that most of these members who are clergymen and professors and so on have considered that matter very seriously. They also know a good deal about the Defence of Canada regulations. It is not the first time we have considered them. They know that in war time you have to prevent actions which would be destructive to your military activities.

Q. How are you going to do that if you allow them to blow up a bridge first? True you may have evidence. If some one saw him do it... of course you convict him in court. But do you not think that the theory of preventive medicine in these regulations, if it is not abused, is a wise thing in war time?

H-1 follows

A. I don't think there is any opposition there to taking preventive action except that you produce the evidence to prove that the man was about to commit such an action.

Q. You do not even say that. You say "only after some overt action on his part". That is from the resolution. I took it down as he read it, but you would only intern him if he has been convicted - I suppose you mean in court - of an overt action of a subversive character and then and then only could you put him in an internment camp. That is what you are asking us to recommend and I want to point out to you I am afraid you have got an awful task there because that has been all threshed out, and I may say to you my understanding of the theory on which our regulations, as well as the British, proceed, is that it is to pick up the man who it is believed on some type of evidence is about to commit these things rather than to put spies around to watch him do it and then arrest him afterwards. That is the theory that we work on, I may tell you. A. Yes, but as I say the appeal here is for that kind of recommendation as far as the committee, I would say, which will show that broad social vision for the developing of democracy and to protect the procedure which has been developed even in the difficult times of war, and if you have to include a phrase or clause providing for preventive action I do not see why that cannot be done.

THE CHAIRMAN: Any questions you wish to ask?

BY MR. HAZEN:

Q. If it is not too late I would like to ask Mr. Freeman if he could mention some cases where men have

been interned after they have been acquitted for lack of evidence, have been picked up. A. Yes.

Q. Can you give us some instances? A. I never made a record. I keep clippings of those things. I have not got them with me. There was a case that comes to mind in Winnipeg. Possibly Mr. Cohen recalls the name of that person who was acquitted in court and arrested by the R.C.M.P. when he left court.

MR. MARTIN: That is Saunders.

MR. MacINNES: Saunders in Ottawa.

MR. COHEN: There were several such cases. Is there anything else?

THE CHAIRMAN: No.

MR. COHEN: I should like to thank the committee exceedingly, as I have had occasion to do for several days and state with respect to the two remaining members of the delegation, Mrs. Burchard and Mr. Smith, particularly having regard to the hour, they have asked me to state that anything they would say to the committee is contained in the brief filed by the N.C.D.R. and the representations I have made. If I can be at any future time of any assistance to this committee along the lines indicated I will be only too happy to do so.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will meet on Thursday morning at 10:30.

The committee adjourned at 6:20 p.m.
to meet again on Thursday, June 18th,
1942, at 10:30 o'clock a.m.

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