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SESSION 1942
HOUSE OF COMMONS

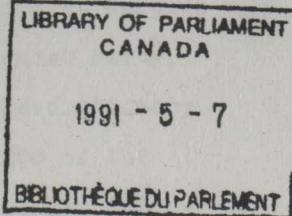
SPECIAL COMMITTEE
ON
DEFENCE OF CANADA REGULATIONS

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE
NO. 11.

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1942.

WITNESS:

Mr. P.M. Anderson, K.C., Department of
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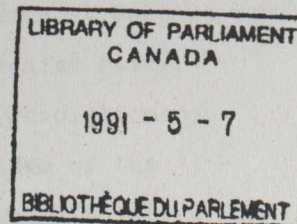
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INFORMATION FURNISHED
TO THE COMMITTEE

by
MR. P.M. ANDERSON
Department of Justice

In the actual sense of the word the Communist Party of Canada is not a Canadian party. It was organized under the direction of the Communist International by an agent of the latter body; its policies and activities are, when not actually formulated, directed and shaped by the Communist International; therefore, whatever are the aims and objects of the Communist International are also those of the Communist Party of Canada. In other words, the Communist Party of Canada is that section, or part of the Communist International which aims to implement the aims and objects of the Communist International in Canada.

The character of the Communist International is clearly set forth in its constitution, paragraph one of which reads:

"The Communist International -- the International Workers' Association -- is a union of Communist Parties in various countries; it is a World Communist Party. As the leader and organizer of the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the upholder of the principles and aims of Communism, the Communist International strives to win over the majority of the working class and the broad strata of the propertyless peasantry, fights for the establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a World Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, for the complete abolition of classes and for the achievement of socialism -- the first stage of Communist society."

As the above quotation indicates the Communist International is one single world party consisting of so many parts or sections operating in the different countries.

There is no information available to show that the Communist party has ever severed its connection with the Communist International.

CONSTITUTION OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA

It has been contended that the Communist Party of Canada assembled in convention in 1937 adopted a constitution and that they had not had one before.

The Communist Party of Canada has had a constitution ever since its inception as a section of the Communist International in May 1921.

(Exhibit 2)

The first issue of "The Communist" described as the official organ of the Communist Party of Canada (Section of the Communist International) which appeared in June 1921, contained the constitution which was adopted by the constituent convention which gave birth to the Communist Party of Canada as it is known today. This document was introduced in evidence at the Buck trial; it was duly identified as an authentic account of the proceedings of the constituent convention.

(Exhibit 3)

At the Buck trial two documents were submitted in evidence both of which were identified as containing the constitution of the Communist Party of Canada as it existed at that time (1931).

The constitution as originally adopted at the constituent convention in May 1921 and as published in "The Communist" in June of that year and the constitution introduced at the 1931 trial as the one then in use have much in common. They differ however in that the latter version did not contain the "force and violence" expressions of the former.

The constitution as it existed in 1931 it is suggested must still be considered the official constitution of the Communist Party of Canada.

Tim Buck in his letter to the Honourable Dr. Manion of 30th March, 1939, refers to a "Draft" constitution adopted by the Communist party at its dominion convention following the repeal of section 98 of the Criminal Code meaning apparently the Eighth Convention of the party held in October 1937. There is no record of such a constitution having been adopted by that convention which was the last gathering of its kind held.

(Exhibit 4)

The constitution referred to by Buck in his letter to Dr. Manion was published in the form of a supplement to the April 1939 edition of the "Party Builder," a press organ of the Communist Party of Canada. It is significant to note that when published it was still considered a "draft" constitution and published as such eighteen months after the Eighth Convention of the Communist party which allegedly had adopted the "Draft" constitution. It is also significant that this "draft" constitution should have appeared in print just about the time Tim Buck wrote his letter to Dr. Manion and one cannot escape the impression that it may have been published merely to suit the occasion and for that purpose.

The April 1939 edition of the "Party Builder" contains the following:

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

Included in this issue of the Party Builder is a special supplement containing the Draft Constitution and By-Laws of the Communist Party of Canada.

The Political Committee of the Party calls upon the whole membership to discuss this most important document.

carefully and submit any proposed changes through the party channels.

On the basis of this discussion throughout the Party, a final draft of the Constitution and By-laws will be submitted to the next convention of the Communist Party.

The discussion should be organized by the Provincial and Regional Committees, Wards, Sections and Branches so that every party member will have an opportunity to participate in the discussion."

(Exhibit 5)

The May 1939 edition of the "Party Builder" contains an announcement under the caption "The Draft Constitution" which reads:

"We wish to remind all party members to take special care of the 'Draft' constitution published as a supplement in the last issue of the 'Party Builder'. It is intended to serve as a basis for discussion in the Branches and other Party bodies."

From the above it is clear that the Constitution was merely a draft and submitted to the members for discussion purposes prior to its consideration by a future convention.

(Exhibit 6)

That the Constitution referred to by Tim Buck was merely published for discussion purposes is further indicated by a letter to the editor appearing in the "Party Builder" for August 1939 which reads:

'The following proposed amendments to the draft constitution have been forwarded to our provincial executive at Vancouver but they asked us to forward them to you.

"Amendment submitted by Whonock Branch 4, Hancy Section: That 'good and welfare' be added to the agenda for Branches under 'Rules and By-laws' of the draft constitution. That a vest-pocket edition of the con-

"stitution be printed and made available to all Party members. Signed A.G. Grant, Secretary, Haney, B.C."

The above appears to be the last reference to the so-called draft constitution, and no mention has been made of it in any of the subsequent publications issued by the Communist Party.

(Exhibit 7)

The Membership Card issued to members of the Communist Party contains the following notation under the caption "Membership":

"A member of the Party can be any person over the age of 18 who accepts the program and statutes of the Communist International (Comintern) and of the Communist Party of Canada; who becomes a member of a basic unit of the branches of the Party; who is active in his organization; who regularly pays his or her dues and agrees to be guided by and to carry out all decisions of the party."

The Membership Card from which the above quotation was taken was for 1938, but the 1939 card contained provisions similar to those on the draft constitution.

Proof that membership in the Communist Party also entailed membership in the Communist International is contained in a little booklet entitled "Revolutionary Greetings" which was handed to persons upon their joining the party. This booklet, a copy of which was introduced in evidence at the Tim Buck trial states inter alia:

(Exhibit 8)

"Dear Comrade:

Today you have become a full-fledged member of the Communist Party of Canada and of the Communist International. We welcome you in our ranks as a new recruit to the international army of millions, who, under the banner of Leninism, is fighting for the emancipation of mankind from the yoke of capitalism....

We greet you in the name of those comrades whom the murderously brutal capitalist police have tortured on the picket line and in workers' demonstrations. We greet you as one who steps into the ranks of revolutionists to finish with us what they died for, the Proletarian Revolution.

We greet you in the name of the millions of Communists the world over with whom we are joined in our World Party, the Communist International.

We remind you that through your voluntary entrance into our Party you have pledged yourself to carry on firmly the struggle for the overthrow of bourgeois rule in accordance with the decisions of the Party. From now on, the decisions of the Party and the decisions of the Communist International are your highest command. The duties of solidarity and discipline in struggle are not easy and you must take them seriously

You must tirelessly devote yourself to the task of absorbing the tremendous experience which the international proletariat has gained in its struggle for emancipation, and whose expression is Marxism-Leninism. The Proletarian Revolution, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, demands of each member of the Party that leads the revolution the development of extraordinary abilities, sacrifices and endurance. Think of what the 500,000 Bolsheviks did when under the leadership of Lenin, they led a nation of 160,000,000 people through four years of the sharpest Civil War. For all these great duties we can offer you only the right, as a comrade, with us to decide the role and fate of our Party, the Party which in the invisible future will decide over the fate of this country.

Your coming into our Party is our guarantee that you are fully prepared to carry the consequences of membership in the Party - to carry on revolutionary activities under the direction of the Party, and to submit to revolutionary discipline. Without this your membership would be worthless to the working class. Without this your membership would not be a sign of your devotion to the revolutionary interest of the working class, but a sign of indifference or worse."

The contention has been advanced that the draft constitution and by-laws of the Communist Party of Canada allegedly adopted by the Eighth Convention of the Party did not contain anything which would suggest that the Party is "tied in" with the Comintern. This, however, is not the case. Article Ten of this document respecting affiliation distinctly states:

(Exhibit 4)

"The Communist Party of Canada is affiliated with the Communist Parties of other lands through the Communist International . . . etc.,"

It has been alleged that the Communist Party of Canada formally disaffiliated itself from the Communist International some time in the Autumn of 1940. There is absolutely no evidence in support of this contention.

The allegation may possibly refer to the action taken by the Communist Party of the United States of America in December of 1940. The Communist Party of United States, at a special national convention held in New York, voted to sever its connection with the Communist International and all other foreign organizations. This action was taken for the specific purpose of removing the Party from the terms of the so-called "Voorhis Act" which required groups under foreign control to register with the Department of Justice at Washington. While formally severing the ties with the Communist International, the Convention reaffirmed the "unshakable adherence of our

Party to the principles of Proletarian Internationalism" of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin as offering "the only road to the future for a suffering humanity".

Earl Browder, declaring that the Communist Party with foreign affiliations would be entirely at the mercy of the Department of Justice expressed the hope that the action would be sufficient to save the Party and that the "unwilling decision" would be only of a temporary nature. He added that the causes of Proletarian Nationalism, to which Communists would gladly give their lives wherever necessary, would be best saved by severing all affiliations with the Communist International. Browder maintained that the Voorhis Act was a step towards fascization of the United States and towards bringing the country into the Imperialist War. This special convention also approved certain changes in the constitution of the Party deleting the relevant clauses dealing with the question of affiliation with the Comintern. The Voorhis Act made it impossible for the Party in the U.S.A. legally to continue as a section or an affiliate of the Communist International.

It has been intimated that the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Canada made the decision or acted in the matter. This is questionable and not supported by facts. It is reasonable to assume that the membership of the Party would have been informed of the steps that were being taken by the Central Executive Committee in this connection. However, not a word has been said in the numerous directives and other material, publications, etc., emanating from the headquarters of the Party nor is there any information that it has been discussed in any way, shape or form by the Party Units throughout the country.

In order to arrive at a proper understanding of what the Communist Party stands for, it is necessary briefly to review the history of the Party; to analyse the foundation upon which it rests and to examine the various stages through which it

passed.

The Communist Party of Canada was founded in May, 1921. At its first or constituent convention the Party adopted a program which is contained in "The Communist" for June, 1921. Having been organized by and as a section of the Communist International the program conforms to the conditions laid down by the program of the latter. Moreover the convention also adopted the 21 points or conditions which govern acceptance or affiliation to the Communist International. The program thus adopted became the guiding line for Communist activities and the fundamental idea embodied therein still prevails today.

The document is too lengthy to quote in its entirety. The aims and objects pursued are clearly revealed in the following quotation:

(Exhibit 2)

" The Communist Party of Canada will systematically and persistently propagate to the working class the idea of the inevitability of and necessity for a violent revolution, and will prepare the working class for armed insurrection as the only means for the destruction of the bourgeois state and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship based upon Soviet power

The Bourgeois parliaments, which constitute one of the most important instruments of the bourgeois state machinery, cannot be won over by the proletariat any more than can the bourgeois order in general. The task of the proletariat consist in destroying the entire machinery of the bourgeois state, including all the parliamentary institutions."

The above is not taken from the thesis of the Communist International but from the program of the Communist Party of Canada.

(Exhibit 9)

That the program of the Communist International was binding upon the Communist Party of Canada and that the latter could not formulate any policies which would in any way conflict with that program was fully established and affirmed by no less a person than Tim Buck himself in his evidence.

The program of the Communist International which Tim Buck acknowledged is binding upon the Communist Party of Canada has this to say regarding the conquest of power:

(Exhibit 1 Page 34-35)

"The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peacefully 'capturing' the ready-made bourgeois State machinery by means of a parliamentary majority. The bourgeoisie resorts to every means of violence and terror to safeguard and strengthen its predatory property and its political domination. Like the feudal nobility of the past, the bourgeoisie cannot abandon its historical position to the new class without a desperate and frantic struggle. Hence, the violence of the bourgeoisie can be suppressed only by the stern violence of the proletariat. The conquest of power by the proletariat is the violent overthrow of bourgeois power, the destruction of the Capitalist State apparatus (bourgeois armies, police, bureaucratic hierarchy, the judiciary, parliaments, etc.), and substituting in its place new organs of proletarian power, to serve primarily as instruments for the suppression of the exploiters."

The program which comprises some 85 pages concludes with the following quotation from the "Communist Manifesto" by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, written in the year 1848:

(Page 84)

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their aims can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all the existing social conditions. Let the ruling class

"tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workers of all countries, unite! "

The strategy and tactics of the Communist International in the struggle for power and for a dictatorship of the Proletariat, are clearly stated in the program. The following are excerpts from it:

"In determining its line of tactics, each Communist Party must take into account the concrete internal and external situation, the correlation of class forces, the degree of stability and strength of the bourgeoisie, the degree of preparedness of the proletariat, the position taken up by the various intermediary strata in its country, etc. The Party determines its slogans and methods of struggle in accordance with these circumstances, with the view to organizing and mobilizing the masses on the broadest possible scale and on the highest possible level of this struggle.

" When a revolutionary situation is developing, the Party advances certain transitional slogans and partial demands corresponding to the concrete situation; but these demands and slogans must be bent to the revolutionary aim of capturing power and of overthrowing bourgeois capitalist society. The Party must neither stand aloof from the daily needs and struggles of the working class nor confine its activities exclusively to them. The task of the Party is to utilize these minor every-day needs as a starting point from which to lead the working class to the revolutionary struggle for power.

" When the revolutionary tide is rising, when the ruling classes are disorganized, the masses are in a state of revolutionary ferment, the intermediary strata are inclining towards the proletariat and the

"masses are ready for action and for sacrifice, the Party of the proletariat is confronted with the task of leading the masses to a direct attack upon the bourgeois State. This it does by carrying on propaganda in favor of increasingly radical transitional slogans (for Soviets, workers' control of industry, for peasant committees for the seizure of the big landed properties, for disarming the bourgeoisie and arming the proletariat, etc.) and by organizing mass action, upon which all branches of party agitation and propaganda, including parliamentary activity, must be concentrated. This mass action includes: a combination of strikes and demonstrations; a combination of strikes and armed demonstrations and finally, the general strike conjointly with armed insurrection against the state power of the bourgeoisie

". . .When the revolutionary tide is not rising, the Communist Parties must advance partial slogans and demands that correspond to the everyday needs of the toilers, and combine them with the fundamental tasks of the Communist International

". . .Unlike the Social-Democratic, Second International, each section of which submits to the discipline of 'its own', national bourgeoisie and of its own 'fatherland', the sections of the Communist International submit to only one discipline, viz., international proletarian discipline, which guarantees victory in the struggle of the world's workers for world proletarian dictatorship."

The Communist Party of Canada has held eight national conventions since it was formed and numerous meetings of the national or central executive committee in the periods between the conventions, at which innumerable resolutions or theses were passed covering almost every sphere of the party's

activities. The party has also given expression to its policies in the official publications and pamphlets issued from time to time. These policies are reflected in a simple and concise form in a booklet issued by the Communist party entitled, "What the Communist Party Stands For". Three editions of this booklet were issued, the first and second in 1934 and a third and revised edition in July, 1936. On page 103 of the revised edition, the Communist party is defined as follows:
(Exhibit 10)

"The Communist party is the vanguard and general staff of the workers in their struggle against the old system, in their revolution against it and in the upbuilding of the new system."

The manner in which the present system is to be overthrown and replaced by the dictatorship of the Proletariat is described in the chapter entitled "The Revolutionary Overthrow of Capitalism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat", commencing on page 93:

"The overthrow of the state power, and with it, of the capitalist system, grows out of the everyday struggles of the workers. One is historically inseparable from the other.

As the organization of the workers grows, as their struggles become fiercer, while many non-proletarian elements like farmers, intellectuals, and exploited members of the lower middle class join the revolutionary movement, the final onslaught on the fortress of capitalism draws nearer. These struggles are the reaction of the masses to the misery wrought by the crisis of capitalism. The capitalists try to overcome the crisis by putting additional burdens on the shoulders of the masses, but they cannot cure the insurable disease. They have for the moment succeeded in achieving a slight increase in trade and production, but only at the cost of increasing the misery and exploitation

of the workers and working farmers. There can be no return for capitalism to the 'prosperity' of 1929: There comes a time when large sections of the population say that this simply 'cannot go on'. The government seems to be entirely inept to cope with the political and social difficulties. The belief of the population in the wisdom and all-powerfulness of the 'men higher up' is shaken. These men are losing their confidence. The confidence of the masses in their own strength is growing apace.

The struggle of the masses meanwhile becomes broader and deeper. The government tries suppression. It does not succeed in crushing the spirit of revolt. It cannot stem the tide. The previous struggles of the workers count greatly. The clearer the class-consciousness of the workers, the more steeled they are in fighting, the better the revolutionary leadership they have developed in the course of years, the greater the number of friends they have allied with themselves from among the other oppressed classes, the more capable are they to deal the final blow.

It is not necessary that this final blow, i.e., the revolution, should come in connection with an imperialist war, although this is possible, Capitalism will seek to prevent a revolution by plunging the country into war. War is to serve not only as a way out of the crisis but as a means to arouse the patriotism of the masses, to increase governmental terror (martial law) and to divert public attention from 'internal' affairs. War, under such conditions, for a while retarding the revolutionary movement, may hasten it later when the war suffering begins to tell on the masses.

A time comes when there is demoralization above, a growing revolt below; the morale of the army is also undermined. The old structure of society is tottering. There are actual insurrections; the army wavers. Panic seizes the rulers. A general uprising begins.

Workers stop work, many of them seize arms by attacking arsenals. Many armed themselves before as the struggles sharpened. Street fights become frequent. Where the workers have not freed themselves from the leadership and traditions of the reformists they will make mistakes and be temporarily defeated as happened in Austria in 1934. But they shake off the social-reformist baggage. Under the leadership of the Communist party, the workers organize revolutionary committees to be in command of the uprising. There are battles in the principal cities. Barricades are built and defended. The workers' fighting has a decisive influence with the soldiers. Army units begin to join the revolutionary fighters; there is fraternization between the workers and the soldiers, the workers and the marines. The movement among the soldiers and the marines spreads. Capitalism is losing its strongest weapon, the army. The police as a rule continue fighting, but they are soon silenced and made to flee by the united revolutionary forces of workers and soldiers. The revolution is victorious.

Armed workers and soldiers and marines seize the principal governmental offices, invade the residences of the government leaders, arrest them, declare the old regime abolished, establish their own power, the power of the workers and farmers.

Reference has been made to a program having been adopted by the Eighth Convention of the Party, held in 1937. This is true in the sense that it was a program calculated to serve as a basis for the United Front which the party was then endeavouring to build up in conformity with the decisions of the Seventh Convention of the Communist International. It was a partial program or a minimum program and although reformist in appearance, not at all inconsistent with the fundamental and ultimate aims of the Communist party. It may be described as a "stop-gap" in the permanent program or the program of the United Front, rather than

that of the party proper. Tim Buck, in explaining the various features of the program, pointed out that the program is to be used to create mass struggles and that it should not be looked upon "as a thing in itself".

The program, so-called, adopted by the Eighth Convention appears to have been forgotten or discarded since the commencement of this war when the party again appeared in its true form. (Exhibit 11) In May of 1941 a booklet was issued by the Communist Party of Canada entitled "Questions and Answers on the Communist Party", from which the following are quotations:

"Will not defeat bring fascism to Canada? First of all we should be clear on what we mean by fascism. It is not a form of government peculiar to Germany and Italy. Nor is it in any sense an anti-capitalist movement. Fascism is the open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary capitalists over the people.

The danger of fascism for the people of Canada comes not from the German imperialists but from the Canadian capitalist class. Canadian capitalism, not German capitalism, is our main enemy.

Thus victory or defeat in this war is not the decisive factor for the Canadian people. In either case the capitalists will attempt to impose a fascist dictatorship over the people in order to save their system from the inevitable post-war crisis. The fact is that if defeated the Canadian capitalists will be weaker and less able to impose fascism.

Is there a fascist movement now in Canada? The drive to fascism in Canada is moving with lightning speed. Its main initiator is the King government, acting on the orders of Big Business, and using the excuse of the war effort to clamp down its dictatorship. Look at the record.

1. Freedom of speech, press, assembly and organization are abolished under the Defence of Canada regulations. Habeas Corpus and the right to trial have gone by the board as the R.C.M.P. Gastapo runs amok through the country, throwing hundreds of workers into concentration camps.
2. Trade union rights have been abolished; strikes are declared illegal; union leaders are interned and pickets are thrown into jail; the government moves to cut wages; lengthen hours of work, freeze wage levels, abolish extra pay for overtime, force compulsory wage deductions for war stamps, prevent workers from leaving war jobs to get better wages elsewhere. Meanwhile the profits of Canadian industry are the greatest in history!

How can the danger of fascism be averted? In one way only: through the unity of the Canadian people against the King government and the capitalist class. Fascism can come to power only if the opposition of the people is confused and divided by fascist propaganda and by such misleaders as the C.C.F. spokesmen who advise us to 'forget' the class struggle in order to 'win the war'.

To support the capitalist government now is to support the capitalist system at a time when united opposition of the workers would bring about its downfall and the victory of socialism. Thus the pro-war 'socialists' and 'labor leaders' are at the present time the main social support of world capitalism.

Is not the Communist party a foreign agent of the Soviet Union? The communist party is a purely Canadian political party. It takes orders only from its membership. It has no connection with nor received any financial assistance from the government of the Soviet Union or from any other government.

No enemy of the Communist party has ever produced a single bit of evidence to support the stupid lie that Communists are agents of the Soviet Union."

The Communist Party

"What is the Communist Party of Canada?

The Communist party is a political party of the workers, farmers and middle class Canadians, representing the interests of those sections of society against the opposing interests of the capitalist class. All other political parties in Canada are financed and controlled either directly or indirectly by sections of the capitalist class. Despite differences in program (which tend to disappear during the time of war), the Liberals, Conservatives, C.C.F. and New Democracy leaders all uphold the capitalist political and economical system. The Communist party alone stands for the complete abolition of capitalism and creation of an independent socialist Canada.

But Communists do not confine themselves to abstract propoganda for socialism. They are active leaders, in the fight for higher wages and better living standards; against fascism and reaction and for the fullest extension of democracy; and against Canada's participation in this imperialist war.

B-1 follows.

"WHAT IS THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY? IS IT DEMOCRATIC.

The Communist Party is organized on the principle of democratic centralism. Members are organized in branches on a factory, industrial or territorial basis. These branches elect sectional leaders, who in turn elect leaders of the larger district. The national party leadership is democratically elected by the delegates to the party conventions. Before conventions full, free discussion of the party program and policy is held in every party branch. But after a policy is agreed upon at the convention, it is binding upon every member to support and work for it. Members who refuse to carry out the policy decided by the majority are dropped from the party.

HOW CAN A SMALL PARTY LIKE THE COMMUNIST PARTY HOPE TO LEAD THE PEOPLE TO SOCIALISM?

The Communist Party is a working organization, and not just a political machine to be called together for election purposes. Its membership is comparatively small, but every member is a disciplined, active and in full agreement with the party program.

It is not to be expected that such a party would embrace in its membership the whole working class; or that it would need to do so. Its role is to act as the vanguard of the working class, to give leadership to their trade unions, farm organizations, and other public bodies which include the great majority of progressive Canadians.

This means that the party must be composed of the best and most class-conscious elements of the working class and toiling population; that it must study and be guided by the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism; that it be able through its theoretical understanding toward the workers, farmers and middle class on every front of the class struggle, and not merely to train behind the movement as does the CCF.

DO COMMUNISTS ADVOCATE REVOLUTION?

The Communist Party is a revolutionary organization in the sense that it sees the necessity for a complete revolutionary change in the system, in contrast to the 'evolutionists', reformist socialists of the CCF who profess to believe that capitalism will evolve gradually and peacefully into socialism. Communists do not advocate armed uprisings to win socialism. But they warn the people against the dangerous illusion fostered by CCF leaders that the capitalist class will ever surrender their privileged positions to the people without a struggle. History shows that no ruling class has ever surrendered power voluntarily. The capitalists will resort to every means in their power, including bloodshed, to frustrate the will of the people and save their system. And the working class must be prepared for this eventuality.

(The CCF leaders who publicly deplore the idea of workers fighting for socialism, are quite willing to sacrifice the lives of these same workers for the defence of British imperialism.

WHAT GOVERNMENTAL CHANGES DO COMMUNISTS ADVOCATE IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH SOCIALISM IN CANADA?

The present Canadian governmental apparatus, for all its pretence of democracy, was created by the capitalist class as an instrument of class rule. It will have to be scrapped, together with the capitalist army, police force, courts and other sections of the bourgeois state apparatus, and replaced by a socialist state. This new socialist state will necessarily be a dictatorship of the proletariat, that is a dictatorship of the workers, farmers and middle class people over the capitalists and their supporters.

But although a dictatorship in name, the new state would be a million times more democratic than the old. It would be a dictatorship of the great majority over the small

minority of exploiters. Un

minority of exploiters. Under its rule every working man and woman, regardless of race, nationality, profession or religion would enjoy complete economic and political democracy. The dictatorship, moreover, would be merely a transition period. After socialism is fully established and the power of the former capitalists fully destroyed, even the socialist state would be unnecessary, and would gradually be discarded. "

The above is a restatement of the position that the party has explained in other documents issued prior to 1937 and bridges the gap caused by the 1937 convention.

That the policy reflected by these questions and answers were still in force after Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, is indicated by an announcement which appeared in the June 28th, 1941 edition of the Toronto Clarion which featured two pamphlets, (a) "The CCF Betrayal", and (b) "Questions and Answers on the Communist Party", two publications which the members apparently have been urged to read.

Some doubt has been expressed as to the proper meaning of the word "overthrow", used in the May Day 1941 Manifesto of the Communist Party of Canada. This Manifesto declares "Only the overthrow of the ruling classes can bring peace to the people of the Imperialist War."

It is suggested that in the communist terminology, it can only mean one thing and that is the forceful or violent overthrow. The fact that the communists believe in and advocate the principle of force and violence as a means of accomplishing the change, constitutes the main difference between the communists and socialists. This has been emphasized repeatedly by both sides. A few examples may suffice to illustrate the point:

A leaflet issued by the Communist party in 1940 at Toronto on the occasion of the anniversary of the October

Revolution in Russia, entitled "Anniversary Manifesto" contains this passage:

Exhibit 16

"Socialism will come through struggle. It will not come through goodness of heart of the capitalist, or come about by peaceful parliamentary debate, as the traitors of the C.C.F. promise. It will come through the day to day struggles in the factories, the farms and offices. For decent wages and working condition, economic and political freedom for the masses, the extension of true democracy to the entire people."

Stewart Smith who, by the way, has been portrayed as an apostle of peace, law and order, has this to say in an article appearing in the March 1940 edition of "The Monthly Review", Organ of the Communist Party of Canada.

Exhibit 17. (p.24)

The Canadian working class and our party face the task of transforming the war into civil war against the bourgeoisie, into a victorious socialist revolution to build a peaceful, happy and socialist Canada."

Stewart Smith who is considered to be the top-ranking officer of the Communist party next to Tim Buck, and the Theoretician of the Political Bureau, writing in the April-May 1940 edition of "The Monthly Review", under the caption "How the C.C.F. Uses 'Peace Aims' to Support Imperialist War", states:

Exhibit 18 (p.30)

"We must explain that only revolutionary struggles against the bourgeoisie represent the road to peace. We must explain that only the socialist revolution and the establishment of socialist state power by the workers in alliance with the farmers can bring peace, prosperity and socialism.....

(p.31)

....The task of all genuine socialists, i.e., communists,

in an imperialist war is 'direct and immediate preaching of revolutionary action'".

Dave Kashton, leader of the Young Communists, in an article appearing in the August 1940 issue of "The Monthly Review" and captioned "Canada's Youth and the War", states:-

Exhibit 19.

"But the communists are not utopian pacifists and also say to the youth: 'King and the capitalists conscript you, put a rifle or machine gun in your hands and teach you how to use these instruments. Learn how to use them! Learn how to shoot, to fly, to manoeuvre! Not against your class brothers in other lands or at home, but against your real enemies -- the Canadian imperialist capitalists! Fight for your own class, the working class! Do not sacrifice your lives for the interests and profits of King, Holt and Co!'"

The late Mr. Woodsworth, leader of the C.C.F. speaking at Edmonton during the latter part of July, 1938, differentiates between the C.C.F. and the communists thus:

Exhibit 20

"But communists believe that changes must come by violent revolution and that a dictator must rule for a time. We think that changes can be wrought by constitutional means and we don't like a dictatorship. We are travelling along the lines of New Zealand and the Scandinavian countries rather than Russia."

The policy pursued by the party ever since the commencement of this war and prior to June 22nd was clearly revealed in the many writings of its leaders and in official statements.

Writing in the February, 1940, edition of The Clarion under the caption, "The Fundamental Question that Confronts the Canadian Workers and Farmers", Tim Buck states:

Exhibit 21

"The question that every worker must answer for himself

"or herself is different. It is the fundamental question that now confronts mankind: 'Shall the complete breakdown and abolition of capitalism be postponed for a further period by imperialist victory and another forcible repartition of the earth under the hegemony of one of the warring groups, leading to a new imperialist attempt to destroy the Socialist Soviet Union, or shall the war provide the occasion for the rising tide of working class disgust with capitalist parasitism and decay to grow into proletarian revolt and sweep over the capitalist class and its state systems to abolish imperialist rivalries with exploitation of man by man! That, today, is the decisive question for the working class.....The question of how and in which country mass revolutionary struggles will develop first can only be answered by the events themselves but to suggest that Canadian workers should wait docilely for the events is to act as an agent of the capitalist class. The unfolding of broad anti-war activities in every country is the first requisite for the development of movements that will eventually break through legal and military barriers in one capitalist country after another. Communists must and will give leadership to these activities....communists will step forward in determined struggle against the imperialist war and against the war plans of 'our own' war-mongering capitalist class.....We shall teach the working class the role of revolutionary defeatism, i.e., the necessity of bringing about the defeat of 'our own' bourgeoisie as a pre-requisite to working class victory, in the spirit that illuminates the words of the hero of Leipzig: 'The working class is called upon to put an end to the war after its own fashion, in its own interests, in the interests of the whole of labouring mankind and thereby to destroy once and for all the fundamental causes giving rise to imperialist wars.'"

This position was strongly emphasized by Buck in an article appearing in the Monthly Review for March, 1940, as follows:

Exhibit 17 (p.8)

"The tasks confronting the revolutionary movement in Canada as the result of the war are many and serious... The extent to which we succeed in accomplishing these tasks will be the measure in which we meet the test of imperialist war as a communist party should. Comrade Stalin declared in his historic speech, 'The Lenin Heritage', that 'We Bolsheviks are people of a special mould.' To be worthy of that appellation is the ambition of every communist and every Communist party and we of the Canadian Party will strive to prove ourselves worthy of it in the struggles that are ahead. To do that we must prepare. Never before was the need for intensive study so urgent as it is today. The brilliant teachings of Lenin on the struggle against imperialist war and the history of the victorious struggle to build 'a party of a new type', to overthrow tsarism and achieve working class power over a sixth of the earth and to transform it from a backward country to a highly industrialized socialist state, all these things must be studied intensively contemporaneously with the development of our own forms of struggle against the war in Canada and for the defeat and overthrow of 'our own' imperialist bourgeoisie."

This policy was further reiterated in the 1941 May Day Manifesto of the Communist party of Canada:

Exhibit 22, (pp.2 & 3)

"Only the overthrow of the ruling classes can bring peace to the peoples of the imperialist world. Let that lesson burn into our minds! Only the removal from power of the profit-mad capitalists, whose rivalry for colonies, markets, profits, can be

"fought out only in periodic wars, will bring peace to the world; will free the millions of colonial peoples; will prevent the spreading of the present war and the outbreak of new wars; will stop the insane bombing of open towns and take away the nightmares that haunt the homes of the common folk. For it is a lie that the defeat of Germany by Britain and the dominions will benefit the people. It is a cheap lie that we are fighting for 'democracy'."

The Manifesto further asserts:

"It is our duty as Canadian democrats to fight against 'our own' ruling class, to remove them from power, to take our destiny as free peoples into our own hands, to defeat big business and the grafters and corrupt war politicians, and to win an independent people's government. The fight lies in Canada! Against our own reactionaries, who have gagged the workers' organizations, crushed their free press, interned and jailed their courageous leaders; against the corrupt financiers and industrialists who are using the opportunity the war affords them to fasten a Canadian fascist regime on the necks of the masses!"

On June 22nd, the Political Bureau issued an open letter addressed to "Canadians" calling for "all out for Soviet victory over fascism." With the issuance of this letter, the attitude of the party towards the war changed. Because Russia entered the conflict, the war became one against fascism. Prior to that the war was "an imperialist war" and it was "a lie that this is a war against fascism." The letter calls for "a soviet victory" over fascism and nothing is said about a British victory. In this connection it is significant to note the rather sinister implications contained in the penultimate paragraph:

(Exhibit 23) "But if the German people, knowing that Soviet victory will liberate them, also see that the forces of democracy have triumphed in Great Britain and Canada, this would be a mighty factor impelling them to action."

What does the above imply? It is suggested that if the Canadian and British people would rebel against the state, it would give the Germans an inspiration and they then would rise against Hitler.

Speaking generally, the letter does not indicate any change of attitude towards the governments of Canada and Great Britain. In fact, it reiterates the class-war character of the party's policy. Any doubt which may exist on this point, was completely removed in the political letter issued by the party on July 1st, 1941. This letter states, in part:

(Exhibit 24) "The campaign and line of policy herein outlined coincides exactly with the needs of the Canadian people and not by one jot or tittle detracts from their struggle for political and economic liberty as against the reactionary attacks of the financial oligarchy. The fight on the economic and political front for the interests of the Canadian masses remains in full operation."

This policy was explained in a leading article which appeared in the Toronto "Clarion", official organ of the Communist party of Toronto on Jun 28th, 1941, thus:

(Exhibit 12) "For the party and working class movement, the question is simple. The Soviet Union is attacked and everything must be done to ensure the decisive defeat of the fascist aggressor. And that does not mean that the party and working class has altered its fundamental position on imperialist wars. On the contrary, it means the most consistent, many sided right against the imperialist government and its imperialist aims -- for a people's government having the wholehearted confidence

and support of the Canadian people. Only such a government can defend the real interests of the people of this country. Only such a government can be relied upon to cooperate fully with the Socialist Soviet Union."

This article further asserts:

"For let there be no illusions. The true friends of the U.S.S.R. in the capitalist world are not the Churchills, Roosevelts and Kings. The Soviet Union which directs its destiny with its own hands, knows perfectly well that it can never find real allies in the ruling classes of the capitalist countries, but only among the masses of the people. They are its true friends, the only reliable support combined with its own strength and power. At the same time, unfolding events may present a situation when a military and economic agreement may be arrived at between the U.S.A., Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Union as a socialist state never discounted the possibility of such a development. Lenin wrote about this more than once."

(Exhibit 25)

In July and August, 1941, a four-page pamphlet entitled, "The Fighter's Voice," issued by the district committees of the Communist Party of Canada and the Young Communist League (Toronto), was distributed through the mails to members of the armed forces. A perusal of the pamphlet indicates that it was designed principally to create discontent among the armed forces and to popularize communism. It reads as follows:

(Page B-11 follows)

EXHIBIT No. 25.

THE FIGHTERS' VOICE

Issued by the District Committees. Communist Party of Canada.
Young Communist League. Vol. 1, No. 1. July 15th, 1941.

This is the first issue of the Fighters' Voice, whose aim and purpose is to raise and discuss the problems of the men in the armed forces, as airmen, soldiers and sailors, as well as Canadian citizens; to help them in the organization and struggle for improvement of their lives in the armed forces and for a happier and fuller life for our people.

The need for food, clothing, shelter, freedom of thought and expression, democracy and all other things dear to us which make for a full and joyous life of an individual, are not and cannot be discarded by us when we discard mufti for a uniform.

In the years before the war the Canadian workers and farmers suffered unemployment, hunger and want; while a handful of rich men thought their control over the government, controlled the destiny of our people.

Now in war time, when they have many of us in the armed forces, the old disregard for us and ours remains:

- the badly prepared food -- poor medical attention,
- not sufficient dependents care -- insufficient pay,
- no free transportation to enable us to see our loved ones occasionally,
- dictatorial rules and regulations,
- the military training given to us consists in most cases of outmoded technique and equipment and when our health is ruined through one cause or another we are discharged and forgotten.

The rich take no chances. The government provides for all plant extensions and new machinery. When they refused the government's offer of 5 per cent profit on war orders, they were given more to satisfy them. Despite the extra taxes, their profits are mounting steadily, but when workers in industry ask for pay increases because of their low wages, or the sharp increase in living costs, they are threatened with jail and their leaders are

thrown into concentration camps.

Your wife or mother must have written to you of how it is getting harder and harder to make their allowances suffice, because of the rising cost of living, but even here the government says "no" to any increases.

These and similar conditions are our lot today -- we say they must and can be changed -- and that through the organized and united effort of the men in the armed forces and with the help and support of the Canadian people as a whole.

The "brass hats" will tell you that such actions are against the rules and regulations of the army, as they also tell you not to speak or write of your complaints to relatives, friends or the press. Whose army are we -- the brass hats' or the Canadian peoples'? Whose interests are closer and dearer to us -- the brass hats' or our own peoples'? Such talk and action on the part of the brass hats leads one to the conclusion that they aim to separate us from our people; to make us into an obedient military machine which when necessary they will be able to use even against the interests of the people.

Our struggle for improvement of our conditions in the army is closely linked up with the fight for democracy. In fighting for:

- better food,
- more leaves,
- decent medical attention and care,
- free transportations,
- increased dependents' allowances,
- modern weapons to train with,

we must also fight for our democratic rights -- the right to take up our grievances collectively.

We must expose all mismanagement and incapableness of the higher officers and all fascist officers and careerists must be thrown out.

WHY THE RED ARMY CAN'T BE BEAT!

Maybe it will all come out in the wash now. For years the newspapers and radio have tried to soak into us the idea that the Red Army was third class. Morale was supposed to be low, the officers inexperienced; they were supposed to have old crates for planes and tin cans on wheels for tanks, etc. Why all this deluded eye-wash? Because the rulers of Britain, France and Canada too, wanted Hitler to attack the Soviet Union; then "our" millionaires reasoned that they could use the allied troops to "restore order" (and bigger profits) by conquering Europe.

Now the French and British armies have been driven out of Europe and the mighty Red Army is defending all humanity against the power-mad fascists.

It's time to take a good look at this unique army of the first socialist state. In the process we can compare it with our army. Then we will be able to see why the Red Army is so tremendously powerful, why it will certainly crush German fascism.

THE RED AIR FORCE

The Red Air Force is the largest in the world -- and certainly every bit as good (and probably better than) the Luftwaffe. Modern powerful bombers and fighters have shown their mettle in combat in Spain the Far East, Finland, and now over Germany. The crews are superbly trained and everyone (including the nazis) admit that the courage of the Red flyers is of the highest.

THE RED ARMY

The Red Army is a fully mechanized army of offense with powerful, heavy, medium and light tanks. In fact, the German army admits that they have learned the ABC of modern strategy, military technique, and personal training, from the Red Army. The military expert, Max Werner, says, "In the air, the Wehrmacht (German military might) can at best attain air parity with the Red Air Force. The Red Army on the other hand possesses the stronger tank

arm, and, in general, stronger arms for modern war of movements, as well as a larger infantry," (Battle for the World, 1941).

The Soviet Union is a socialist country. The workers and peasants own the factories, land, the government and the army. Therefore, there are no capitalists to profiteer, no bureaucratic middling by brass hats chosen from the ranks of the wealthy.

Why is Red Morale so high? Because it is a true peoples' army made up of and officered by workers and peasants. Timoshanko, the commander-in-chief, was a peasant; Voroshilov was a steel worker.

"The overwhelming majority of the higher officers and members of the general staff of the Red Army were between the ages of 25 and 40 (General Wavell). An interesting example is that of Gaillo, who was one of the leading athletes in the country. It is difficult to imagine a commanding general in either the French or German army as a champion skier. It is a matter of principle in the Red Army that an officer training his men must demonstrate to them what they have to do, and he may not demand of them what he is unable to perform himself. Youth and technical experiences are the two chief features of the Soviet officers' corps, amongst the officers' corps of Europe."

"The Soviet people love their Red Army. There is no other army in the world which pays greater attention to the question of education. It has over 2,000 libraries." Henri Bidow, the French military expert, declares, "the ordinary soldier in the Red Army has a level of education, discipline and professional earnestness unrivalled in any other army". (Military Strength of the Powers).

"Deutsche Wehr", a German military publication, states: "Since the existence of the Red Army there has been no single case of mutiny either at the front or behind the lines. The question as to the reliability of the Red soldier in the event

of war must be answered in the affirmative."

All this, and much more explains why the Red Army will annihilate the fascist despoilers of the earth. Only a thoroughly democratic army, with all officers chosen from the ranks on the basis of ability, with proper concern for the lives and welfare of the fighters, with a thoroughly modern and powerful technique and strategy, can beat German fascism.

We must try to aid the Red Army to defeat German fascism as quickly as possible. This is in Canada's national interest -- even if the brass hats don't think so.

HATS OFF TO THE HEROIC DEFENDERS OF HUMANITY - THE RED ARMY OF
THE SOVIET UNION!

LOOKING THROUGH A RECRUITING POSTER -

The following are excerpts from a letter received recently from a private in the Army Service Corps, Camp Borden, which leaves no doubt in our minds as to the necessity and the ways and means of improving army life.

"Officers pooh-pah complaints from the soldiers who suffer from ailments that require treatment, and term them 'luxury operations'. Economy is practised to a high degree when it comes to spending money on the soldiers' health.

"Our boys are discouraged from asking for aid by the threats of officers that they can be discharged and detained without pay for a period of two years.

"Pensions are kept to a rigid minimum and are allowed only in cases of broken bones, destroyed organs or life maiming.

"It is general policy of the officials to move the men around constantly so that they never get to know one another well. This retards army efficiency, as a well functioning team must know one another until the whole work together as a unit. The camp directors run around excitedly all day. Things never seem to be going right. They are not capable men and as a result Camp Borden is one terrific confusion.

"The boys are mostly broken up and discouraged. They feel

that no one cares for them or their problems. The men need and are ready for a lead to show them where to go and some help to pull them together, and from my experiences at work before I joined the army, I know and many of the boys are beginning to realize, that it is the Communist Party alone that is concerned with their welfare. The boys still use the old working class expressions like 'union' and 'strike'.

"A few weeks ago one group walked out of camp without permission because they disagreed with a ruling made by some sour-puss officer re their passes. Upon their return the next morning, they were greeted cheerfully and nothing was said or done re their absence A.W.O.L.

"So you see what can be done when the boys act collectively."

"We are always told that we must not protest re army life to the press, government officials, family or friends, as it would prejudice recruiting and public morale. We are only allowed to kick as an individual to a higher officer. No petitions or other ordinary expressions of democracy are tolerated in the Military Code.

"The meals are usually lousy. I've never seen a glass of milk given to one of our men. The medical men complain that the army will not give the men the diet that is essential to their becoming well.

"No books are available to the men who wish to develop and become officers and the camp has undertaken no educational program on that line.

"I always figured that morale was very important in the army, but the officers here can't expect much (nor do they get much) because of the snobbish way they treat us; as if we were merely gun-fodder instead of citizens of a 'free' country.

"A bureaucratic army can't defend 'democracy'. What we need are young officers, fellows from the ranks, who have proved their ability and earned their right to give us orders.

"We must have democracy to defend a democracy."

"CANADA MUST HELP THE SOVIET UNION"

The hatred of the rich man for the Soviet Union (the only land in the world where there is no room for rich men and their profit-making schemes, where the working people are their own rulers) has no bounds.

The whole policy of appeasement was to give Hitler everything he asked for on a promise that he would attack the U.S.S.R. The Peoples of Europe as well as Britain know through their own bitter experience what the cost of that policy was -- hunger, enslavement, death.

And still it is with the encouragement and blessing of such appeasers, still to be found in many countries, that Hitler attacked the S.U.

Some of those appeasers are to be found in the Canadian government, or wielding an influence there. How else can one explain the following facts: As soon as Hitler attacked the S.U., Churchill made his historical speech in which he promised all help to the S.U. in its fight against Hitler; calling upon the Dominions to do likewise.

Churchill said: "We will help every one who fights against Hitler." A few days later, military and economic delegations went from London to Moscow, and vice versa. Roosevelt made the same promise and is acting upon it. The whole democratic world understands that today it is the Red Army alone that gives the hope of a speedy end to Hitler fascism war.

In this situation instead of joining with Churchill and Roosevelt to offer help to the S.U., Premier King hides his inaction behind the statement that he hopes both of them (Hitler and the S.U.) smash each other. Thus he directly helps Hitler. This is not the wish nor the interest of the Canadian people.

We must demand from the government that it at once offers and gives help to the S.U., immediately establishes diplomatic relations with the S.U.; and sends a trade delegation there.

ALL AID TO THE RED ARMY IN ITS FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM!

ALL AID TO THE SOVIET UNION!

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(Exhibit 26)

On August 28, 1941, the Political Bureau of the party adopted a "National front for Victory" program. This was circulated throughout the dominion in the form of pamphlets entitled "National Front for Victory," by Tim Buck. In this the party hails the British-Soviet military alliance and pledges support to Canada's war effort. However, paragraph 2 of the chapter entitled, "The Communist Party in the Struggle to defeat Hitler," reads:

"The Communist Party of Canada is dedicated to the service of the working class and the mass of the people in the struggle for social progress. Changes in our mobilizing slogans are determined by changes in the national or international situation and do not reflect any change of aim or slackening of effort . . ."

(Exhibit 27)

On September 22, the national office of the party issued directives to the membership explaining and developing the National Front for Victory program. In it, it is maintained that "the imperialist governments are collaborating with the Soviet government because their own imperialist interests are at stake and cooperation with the U.S.S.R. is the one means by which they may defend and, they hope, preserve their colonial monopoly. In the existing situation and because of

the relationship of military forces, they can find no way out of their dilemma except by cooperating with the U.S.S.R."

Further on these directives state, "But national unity to defeat Hitler does not liquidate, or suspend, or even mitigate, class contradictions. The class struggle in Canada continues, indeed it becomes intensified from time to time, within the national front on a higher plane . . ."

The directives further emphasizes the need for improving the need for educational work of the party. It states: "The only sure and unfailing guide through the complications and sudden changes of present-day political developments is the science of Marxism-Leninism." It is further urged that, "Particular attention should be paid now to the study and re-study of the history of the C.P.S.U. (Bolsheviks) in which is epitomized the entire science of Marxism-Leninism in the living work of the great party of the Soviet Union and the genius of Lenin and Stalin."

On October 24 a memorandum was issued to the members which included a letter by Tim Buck in which he states in part as follows: (Exhibit 28)

"Some comrades may ask: Does this mean that we drop all struggle, that we do not criticize the government, that we cease fire in the trenches of the class struggle? No."

(Exhibit 29)

Under date of November 28, 1941, a brief directive mentions that a national soldier's committee of the alliance and youth had drafted a pamphlet for distribution as a New Year's gift to members of the armed forces, mentioning that the season offered opportunities to use the mails. Subsequently a number of these booklets bearing the title "Fighter's Notebook" were distributed to members of the armed

forces at Camp Borden, some being wrapped so that they appeared to be Christmas parcels. The booklet contained typical examples of Communist propaganda, a few of these being:

(Exhibit 30)

"What are we Fighting For?" . . . "to create a society in which all citizens are free and equal and guaranteed an education, decent jobs and democratic liberties."

"What is Fascism?" . . . "Fascism is the savage rule of the most reactionary section of Big Business."

"Are there Quislings in Canada?" . . . "Canada unfortunately also has traitors. One example is Premier Hpeburn of Ontario, whose defeatist statements undermine the morale of our people and give comfort to the enemy."

"Canadian Battle Hymn." "So shall come a world of wonder -- world of workingmen!"

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