

# INTRODUCTION

The Bulletins published here, like their previously published predecessors, were circulated within cabinet, to senior civil servants, and within the RCMP itself.<sup>1</sup> As is eminently clear from the Bulletins, the major focus of RCMP concern in these years remained labour and the left. The Communist Party of Canada, its language federations such as the Finnish Organization of Canada and the Ukrainian Farm Labour Temple Association, and other associated groups such as the Workers Unity League, the Farmers Unity League, the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League, the Canadian Labor Defence League, and various organizations of the unemployed provided the RCMP Intelligence section with its main preoccupation. Fascist groups such as the Canadian Nationalist Party and less well-organized groups such as Windsor's Blue Shirts received some limited attention, but on at least one occasion they were roundly applauded for their vitriolic opposition to the left.<sup>2</sup>

How were these Bulletins prepared and what relationship did they bear to the actual field efforts of the RCMP? At Ottawa headquarters the nascent security service remained tiny. Throughout the 1920s and well into the early 1930s, it consisted primarily of an Intelligence and Liaison Officer (ILO) and a specific Intelligence section within the Central Registry. From the founding of the RCMP until his health began to fail in 1931, Col. C.F.

<sup>1</sup>For the origins of the Bulletins and a scattered sampling from the 1920s, see Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker, eds., *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins: The Early Years, 1919-1929* (St. John's, 1993).

<sup>2</sup>While the evidence on this question is fully presented in the Bulletins themselves, RCMP apologists continue to claim adequate surveillance of Canadian fascists in the 1930s. See, for example, Carl Betke and S. W. Horrall, *Canada's Security Service: An Historical Outline* (Ottawa: RCMP Historical Section, 1978). This manuscript was obtained in an exempted version via an access request to CSIS, 117-90-107. For a detailed discussion of this document, see Larry Hannant, "Access to the Inside: An Assessment of *Canada's Security Service*," *Intelligence and National Security*, 8,3 (1993), forthcoming.

Hamilton functioned as ILO.<sup>3</sup> Hamilton, originally a prominent Toronto journalist, had joined the RNWMP in 1914 as Assistant Comptroller but left to become Deputy Chief Censor during World War I. Returning to the RNWMP in 1919 he served as Secretary of the new RCMP after 1920. Hamilton's job description implicitly included the Bulletins,<sup>4</sup> which had originated in 1919 before the actual creation of the new force and were to continue in one form or another until the 1950s:

Under the direction of the Commissioner of the RCMP, to have charge of the secret and confidential correspondence of the Department, and to make confidential reports on such matters to the Government, to have control of all negotiations with Scotland Yard and similar institutions with regard to the Secret Service of Canada.<sup>5</sup>

In 1932 Commissioner J.H. MacBrien, who Prime Minister R.B. Bennett had chosen to replace Cortland Starnes a year earlier, appointed Inspector Arthur Patteson as an Assistant to Hamilton. Patteson became Intelligence Officer (IO) in 1933 and served for approximately a year until he too became ill. In 1935 Inspector C.E. Rivett-Carnac succeeded Patteson and by General Order #597 of 9 May 1936 a new Intelligence Section was formally created, although still within the Criminal Investigation Branch (CIB) and still reporting to the Director of Criminal Investigation (DCI), not to the Commissioner, a change that had been made when Patteson replaced Hamilton.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Hamilton was born in Roslin, Ontario in 1869 and died in 1933. He graduated from Queen's University in 1890 with an MA and the Gold Medal in English and History. He then moved to Toronto and wrote for the *World, Star, Globe* and *News*. He enjoyed particular prominence as the *Globe's* Boer War correspondent and later as the *News's* Ottawa correspondent. He co-authored with Principal Grant the latter's autobiography and later published in the field of military history. A "devoted Imperialist," he was also an Anglican church warden. See Henry Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of their Time* (Toronto, 1912) and W.S. Wallace, *Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto, 1963).

<sup>4</sup>Originally entitled "Notes on the Work of the CIB Division," by 1926 they carried the much catchier title, "Weekly Summary: Notes Regarding Revolutionary Organizations and Agitators in Canada," the title they still had in 1933.

<sup>5</sup>Betke and Horrall, *Canada's Security Service*, 386. For a full description of the RCMP security apparatus in the early 1920s, see my "Introduction" to *RCMP Security Bulletins: The Early Years* and "The Early Years of Sate Surveillance of Labour and the Left in Canada: The Institutional Framework of the RCMP Security and Intelligence Apparatus, 1918-1926," *Intelligence and National Security*, 8,3 (1993), forthcoming.

<sup>6</sup>Betke and Horrall, *Canada's Secret Service*, 390-3.

In April 1932 Sergeant John Leopold had also been transferred to Ottawa to work on intelligence matters.<sup>7</sup> While Leopold has entered Canadian history as perhaps the most celebrated of the RCMP secret agent implants into the Communist Party of Canada, his transfer to a desk job in Ottawa was anything but a reward for his "heroic" testimony in the 1931 Toronto trial of the Communist Party leadership. Indeed his transfer to Ottawa reflected only the RCMP's refusal to dismiss him because they felt to do so would insure a propaganda coup for the Communists. Since they could no longer trust him to work in the field after a number of fiascos in Windsor and in Toronto, they moved him to Headquarters where they could at least keep an eye on him. He also subsequently suffered a demotion from Sergeant to Corporal, although he was later promoted again on the basis of Rivett-Carnac's support.<sup>8</sup>

The second part of the small Ottawa Headquarters Intelligence operation was the Intelligence section of the Central Registry. Basically one member of the force, initially with the aid of one translator, took control of all the intelligence material sent from the field to Ottawa.<sup>9</sup> This position was first filled by George Hann, a civil servant employed by the RCMP, but was passed on to Constable John Hart and later to Corporal E.F. Inglis.<sup>10</sup> In 1930 the work of this section was summarized as handling the files of the "secret service work of the Department" which "deals with investigations into the activities of revolutionary organizations and individuals, and covers every imaginable phase of such activities." The job description of the Intelligence section head:

He analyzes, associates, compares, and tabulates in special records certain aspects of the information contained in the materials he handles. When everything is ready he takes it in person to the Intelligence and Liaison Officer.<sup>11</sup>

The translator position was filled by S/Constable Deighton in the mid-1920s and then by Ms. M Babuka. The major focus of translation work in

<sup>7</sup>Betke and Horrall, *Canada's Security Service*, 387-94.

<sup>8</sup>See Kealey, "The Early Years," for additional details. The sources for this summary are in Leopold's RCMP Service File and Medical Record, which I obtained via separate access requests to the RCMP. John Leopold, Reg. No. 7495, 88HR-2533 and 90-ATIP-520.

<sup>9</sup>Material on the Central Registry and on files policy is derived from Betke and Horrall, *Canada's Secret Service*, 387-9, and from RCMP, File G-15-26, obtained from the RCMP via access request 91-ATIP-1015.

<sup>10</sup>RCMP, File G-15-26, "Classification of Positions," 3 May 1927.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, "Central Registry Branch," Organization, 1930.

the 1920s appears to have been Ukrainian with special instructions to Inglis and Deighton to target the "Ukrainian Labour Temple."<sup>12</sup> Deighton claimed to be able "to make authoritative translations" in no fewer than ten European languages.<sup>13</sup> By early 1933, a Mr. Armoni had taken over as Senior Translator with duties described as "highly secret" and "very confidential." The new position had been justified by the expansion of the RCMP's mandate in June 1932 when the Force became the provincial police for five provinces and incorporated the Preventive Service of Canada, formerly part of the Department of National Revenue.<sup>14</sup>

The third and probably most important part of the secret service were the actual field operatives, a combination of undercover detectives and civilian secret agents and informants. All agents worked under the control of the Criminal Investigation Branch (CIB), which had been founded in 1919 and which was incorporated into the new RCMP in 1920. In Ottawa the Director of Criminal Investigations (DCI) had responsibility for all CIB work, including that of the secret service, but Colonel Hamilton reported not to him but directly to the Commissioner. In the field each District Commanding Officer had to file a confidential monthly report regarding subversive activities in their district. Such summaries were based on the raw intelligence reports which were sent to Ottawa continuously. These included reports on revolutionary and other suspicious organizations, on personal history files, on strikes, on labour conditions, on conditions among foreigners, and on agitators.<sup>15</sup>

In the field CIB detectives had full responsibility for secret service operations despite their lack of any specialized training. Detectives ran secret agents, but undercover Mounties reported to either the Officer in charge of CIB work in the Division or directly to the Officer Commanding. Thus CIB detectives had a bizarre mixture of activities; one day they would be working on prostitution and drug enforcement, the next on smuggling and counterfeiting, and on the third day they might be dealing with political radicalism and labour unrest. C.W. (Cliff) Harvison's autobiography, which describes his first years on the force as a young detective in Montreal in the early 1920s, demonstrates this eclectic combination well. One of only twelve other members of the CIB in Montreal, he was sent out undercover with no prior training.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, Mr V.J. La Chance, i/c Central Registry, to Const. Inglis, 23/2/26.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, V.J. La Chance to S/Const. Deighton, 8/2/26.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, Commissioner MacBrien to Minister, 23/11/32, and MacBrien to Secretary, Civil Service Commission, 20/1/33.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, Assistant Commissioner A.W. Duffus to Officers Commanding, Ottawa, 20 July 1928, Confidential Circular Memorandum No.C.20.

<sup>16</sup>C.W. Harvison, *The Horsemen* (Toronto, 1967), 34-64.

Thus the structure of the RCMP security apparatus in the 1920s and early 1930s consisted of three parts: the CIB under the DCI in Ottawa with complete control of all field investigations, detectives, and secret agents; the Intelligence section of the Central Registry in Ottawa with control of all reports from the field; and the Liaison and Intelligence Officer, who co-ordinated with other departments, the Force's political masters, and with other countries' security services. This decentralized system, which de-emphasized expertise and specialization, had evolved directly from the immediate war and post-war experience of the RCMP and remained static until well after Hamilton's death in 1933.

Hamilton's death allowed General MacBrien to reorganize the relationship between the ILO and the DCI. Now, instead of reporting directly to the Commissioner as Hamilton had, his successors were firmly under the command of the DCI. While direct evidence of the tensions that led to this change is not available, there are suggestive allusions to difficulties in the accounts of various insiders.<sup>17</sup>

Under MacBrien's aggressive anti-communist leadership and later with the growing threat of war, the RCMP secret service would grow and prosper. That growth, however, will be the subject of subsequent introductions to further volumes in the Depression Years series of Security Bulletins. Nevertheless, the personal history of one latterly prominent Security Service veteran is worth considering for it demonstrates the transition towards expertise and specialization.

Special Constable Mervyn Black was born 31 May 1890 in Petrograd (later renamed Leningrad).<sup>18</sup> His Scottish born parents lived in Russia because his father was Managing Director of D.N. Lebedeff, Ltd., a company involved in jute manufacturing and saw milling. Educated in Belfast, Dundee, and London, Black graduated with certification as an engineer and mill manager. After working for four years in Scotland, he returned to Russia in 1914 as the Manager of a Riga textile factory. At some point he married D. Lebedeff's daughter and then worked for that company, which his father had previously managed, for five years until the Bolsheviks installed him as Technical Manager of the Kulotina Manufacturing Company. After two years in that position, he was allowed to leave the

<sup>17</sup>See Harvison, *The Horsemen*, 14-43, Charles Rivett-Carnac, *Pursuit in the Wilderness* (London, 1967), 292-4, and Betke and Horrall, *Canada's Secret Service*, 377-80, 390-1.

<sup>18</sup>The biographical details are taken from Black's RCMP personnel file obtained from the RCMP via access request, 91ATIP-0459. Key documents are his application letter, Black to Assistant Commissioner J.W. Spalding, Regina, 24 November 1932, and his "personal history" in Black to Superintendent R.R. Tait, Regina, 13 April 1936.

Soviet Union as part of the agreement that established Soviet-British trade. After five years in the coffee business in Colombia, he migrated to Canada where he farmed from 1925 to 1932 in the Kuroki District of Saskatchewan.

Black's picaresque life gave him fluency in Russian and Spanish and a good grounding in Swedish and German. His experiences in Russia and the Soviet Union "brought him," as he put it, "into hourly and intimate contact with the people, peasants, and workers," and left him "with a thorough knowledge of the language and psychology of the Russian, high and low." After some checking of his background, he was hired as a Special Constable in Regina with responsibilities as a translator and interpreter. In addition, however, he was "also to be utilized in checking up on Radical meetings in Regina and Moose Jaw ... where the Reds are at present endeavoring to stir up trouble and are holding numerous meetings, which in some instances it is difficult to cover."<sup>19</sup> Thus, Black was employed by the Force on 18 January 1933, but not simply as a translator. Instead he was appointed as an undercover Secret Agent to work in Regina and Moose Jaw.

One of his first assignments as a secret agent was to shadow Doukhobor leader Peter Verigin on a continent-wide rail trip from Regina to Halifax. While his undercover work satisfied his RCMP employers, he found it not to his own liking. His major complaint:

I am disappointed with my present occupation, or rather the duties I am performing. I have thought much over this and find that the reason for this lies in myself, and has of course its origin in the fact that I am conscious that I cannot assume the roles, which under the circumstances, I ought to do to attain results. This of course is a fault entirely mine, I am not complaining about the duties assigned to me, but pointing out my unfitness, in my opinion, for these duties.

Why was he not able to carry out this work?

My connections with the working class of various countries in the past has been very close and intimate, but always from the standpoint of the employer, not as a fellow worker on the same step of the social ladder. I say this of course without any snobbish intent, but as a pure statement of fact.

Thus his class origins and feelings apparently deprived him of the ability to make a successful secret agent. Indeed, he worried:

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, Acting Deputy Commissioner Spalding to OC, Regina, 21 December 1932 and A.E. Acland, OC Saskatchewan to Commissioner, 24 December 1932.

The members of these red organizations are very suspicious as you know. At every meeting the speakers tell of stool pigeons planted amidst their organizations. They are therefore very chary about opening up to an absolute stranger.

Again promoting his language skills and with the support of the Regina Chief Detective he asked to be taken on as an interpreter/translator.<sup>20</sup>

He appears to have been successful in this effort and after about six months was transferred at the request of Acting Assistant Commissioner S.T. Wood to Saskatoon, "the headquarters of the Communist Party in this District and where there are more activities in radical lines than elsewhere in the province." The move represented something of a promotion for Black as Wood envisioned using him "to handle the one or more Secret Agents who are engaged in radical activities" including the relief camp situation.<sup>21</sup>

By late December 1933 Black sought an increase in salary commensurate with the important new duties he had undertaken:

The interpreting work in connection with my present duties forms by far the least part of my work, and the title is useful more in the nature of a camouflage for my actual work. Practically all my time is engaged in investigating and reporting on radical activities from the reports submitted in my contacts with S.A.'s, and in keeping the Secret Files, which are in my charge, up to date. The work I am doing carries with it considerable responsibility, and as the subject matter of my reports is of a confidential nature, it is not practicable to hand over reports to be made by others.<sup>22</sup>

This time Black's request failed and he remained a civilian employee at \$110 per month less 10 per cent until July 1934 when he returned to Special Constable status at \$100 per month.<sup>23</sup> His status as a non-Mountie continued to plague his career. Despite playing an important role in the intelligence efforts deployed against the On-To-Ottawa Trek in summer 1935, Commissioner MacBrien ordered S.T. Wood to stop using Black in an administrative capacity within the Saskatoon CIB structure. The fact that Black's age and marital status had led to the denial of his application for engagement in the Force did not influence MacBrien's decision.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, W. Mortimer, Chief Detective, to Inspector i/c CIB, Regina, 24 March 1933.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, S.T. Wood to Commissioner, Regina, 16 October 1933.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, Black to OC Saskatoon, 21 December 1933.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, Wood to Commissioner, 10 July 1934.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, Wood to Commissioner, 28 September 1935. MacBrien's response is handwritten on the bottom of this letter. See also Assistant Commissioner G.L.

Indeed the issue was still being fought out six months later when Assistant Commissioner G.L. Jennings again warned Wood that he should not be allowing Black to work in an administrative role in the CIB in general and that in specific he should not be acting as the contact person for two secret agents.<sup>25</sup> It was not until 1938 when S.T. Wood succeeded MacBrien as Commissioner that Black finally came into his own. He was transferred to Toronto "to take charge of subversive activities and secret agents in that Division which is the most important from the Communist standpoint."<sup>26</sup>

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What do the Bulletins tell us about communist and radical efforts in the years 1933 and 1934? While they never say so explicitly it is quite easy to read between the lines and see a general strengthening of CPC activities as time passes. The CPC's increasing impact in these years culminated in the extraordinary meeting held in December 1934 at Toronto's Maple Leaf Gardens to welcome back Tim Buck after his release from Kingston Penitentiary. A crowd of 17,000 filled the Gardens to capacity to hear speeches from A.E. Smith, William Kashtan, Sam Carr, Stewart Smith, Leslie Morris, and Buck himself.<sup>27</sup> Indeed it might be argued that CPC fortunes had started to rise with the Spring 1934 acquittal of Canadian Labor Defence League leader A.E. Smith against the charge of seditious libel. His judicial victory was followed in quick succession by the release of the CPC leaders convicted in the 1931 Bennett Government show trials which simultaneously made heroes of Sergeant Leopold on the right and of the CPC leadership on the left.<sup>28</sup>

One can also glimpse the slow but steady growth of the unemployed movement across the country through the months of 1934. Particularly detailed are the reports on the ongoing activities of unemployed organizers in Edmonton and Calgary, on the Ontario Hunger March of early August, and on the emerging relief camp strikes in Alberta and British Columbia of December 1934. In the unemployed movement and in the emergence of anti-fascist activities such as the newly launched Youth Congress Against War and Fascism (Bulletin, 15 August 1934) and later the Canadian

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Jennings to OC Regina, 5 October 1935 and Wood to Commissioner, 8 October 1935.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, Jennings to Wood, 31 March 1936. For a more circumscribed description of Black's early career see Betke and Horrall, *Canada's Secret Service*, 395-400.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, Commissioner to OC Regina, 15 February 1938.

<sup>27</sup>See Bulletins for 5 and 12 December 1934.

<sup>28</sup>For Smith see Bulletin for March 1934; for release of Carr and Popowich see Bulletin for 11 July 1934; for release of Bruce, Boychuk, and Hill see Bulletin of 18 July 1934; for release of Tom Ewen see Bulletin of 10 October 1934.



Congress Against War and Fascism (Bulletin, 17 October 1934), one begins to see the emergence of a move away from third period sectarianism and towards a united front strategy.

Rather less attention seemingly was paid to the labour movement, although WUL-led strikes in Flin Flon and Noranda merited considerable comment as did the fall 1934 Montreal Dressmakers Strike. Similarly, the reinvigorated Communist youth movement received RCMP attention. Both the 1st National Conference of Revolutionary Work Among Children held in Toronto in October 1934 and the emergence of the Student League of Canada merited scrutiny and discussion.

Perhaps more interesting, however, are the glimpses we are offered of strong local, regional, and ethnic left-wing cultures. Noticeable in this regard are the detailed descriptions of large Communist funerals such as that held for Comrade Joseph Polka in Winnipeg on 9 June 1934. Comrade Polka had been killed by a CPR freight train while en route to Winnipeg, no doubt a victim of riding the rails. As General Secretary of the Polish Labour Farmer Temple Association and primary force behind its paper *Glos Pracy*, Polka received full Bolshevik funeral honours as "a true soldier who died at his post." Over 2000 mourners attended his funeral which included the Young Pioneers, the band of the Ukrainian Farm Labour Temple Association, and numerous speeches.<sup>29</sup>

Somewhat smaller but equally suggestive was the Bellevue, Alberta funeral of Milton Danysh, the secretary of his local Young Communist League. He too was killed by a freight train near Lund Creek, Alberta. In his case some 800 people turned out for his funeral and heard John Stokaluk, the General Secretary of the Mine Workers Union deliver the main eulogy. Even the RCMP commentator was moved to note that "the ceremony was impressive and from a propaganda point of view a masterpiece."<sup>30</sup>

Also from the Crows Nest Pass coal mining towns came the remarkable report of Malcolm Bruce's visit to Blairmore in late September 1934. Despite arriving at 1:05 AM Bruce's train was greeted by 75 members of the Mine Workers Union who escorted him to his hotel for the night. The next day at a special meeting of the CPC dominated town council Bruce was given the freedom of the town and was appointed honorary mayor of Blairmore. The Custodian of Tim Buck Boulevard, the town's main street, acted as his honour guard. That night Bruce addressed a meeting attended by the entire council and school board of the town. After the singing of "The International," and a series of greetings, Bruce spoke of his experien-

<sup>29</sup>See Bulletin for 20 June 1934.

<sup>30</sup>See Bulletin for 1 August 1934.

ces in the Kingston Penitentiary and called for the release of Tim Buck and Tom Ewen.<sup>31</sup>

Thus, even the jaundiced views of the RCMP secret service provide vivid depictions of left-wing culture in Canada in the 1930s. Indeed, the Bulletins for 1933 and 1934 are perhaps surprisingly free of the more obvious propaganda of the previously published War Series covering 1939-1945. This is surprising only because it has been argued that General MacBrien brought to the Force a more open and polemical anti-communism as is certainly evidenced by the 1933 creation of the *RCMP Quarterly*.<sup>32</sup> This point should certainly not be confused with any notion that RCMP analyses of labour and the left in this period are totally reliable. It can be asserted, however, that no other Canadian observers spent as much time and money on intensive surveillance of every aspect of the Canadian left.

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There were two sources for these Bulletins. The first, covering the seven scattered issues between Numbers 673 to 697, was the Norman Robertson Papers at the National Archives of Canada.<sup>33</sup> The second group, covering numbers 711 to 738, 20 June to 28 December 1934, was obtained via an access request to the Canadian Security Intelligence Service.<sup>34</sup> The distinct sources account for the differences between the format of the early and later groups of Bulletins. The Robertson Bulletins contain only Appendix No.I: General, but have not been subjected to any censorship. The CSIS Bulletins contain the entire document but have been heavily exempted. As a result in order to give access to at least the subjects of RCMP interest, users will notice that the Tables of Contents to Appendix No.II, Reports by Provinces, have been indexed for the Robertson Bulletins but not for the CSIS Bulletins. For the first seven Bulletins then all we know of the detailed material is what and who the RCMP Intelligence Branch was targeting. On the other hand, these unexempted documents allow researchers to discern more clearly the pattern of the exemptions made by the CSIS access division in the remainder of the Bulletins. Also distinctive on the CSIS

<sup>31</sup> See Bulletin of 17 October 1934.

<sup>32</sup> Betke and Horrall, *Canada's Secret Service*, 437-9.

<sup>33</sup> MG 30, E 163, vol. 12. On Robertson's career, see: J.L. Granatstein, *A Man of Influence: Norman A. Robertson and Canadian Statecraft, 1929-1968* (Ottawa, 1981) and his *The Ottawa Men: The Civil Service Mandarins, 1935-1957* (Toronto, 1982). Also quite useful is Doug Owram, *The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State, 1900-1945* (Toronto, 1986).

<sup>34</sup> CSIS, Access requests, 85-A-31 and 85-A-86.

documents are the deleted file numbers evident before every numbered item. For one example, where CSIS failed to make the deletion, see the Bulletin of 11 July 1934 where the second entry in Appendix No. I is labelled D945-2-Q1.

Ironically, the Bulletins obtained from CSIS by access requests are now housed in the National Archives of Canada in RG 146, Canadian Security and Intelligence Service records. As of this writing, however, they have not yet been cleared by the NAC Access section for viewing. When they are cleared it is possible that the exemptions will differ from those that these published versions have been subjected to. The passage of time, for example, might mean that some Section 19 exemptions may have passed the key twenty years after the individual's death. On the other hand, a different access officer may simply make different judgements about how to apply the act. To complicate an already complex situation, CSIS itself has now opened a public reading room in the CSIS building on Wellington across from the NAC. Among the documents in that reading room are copies of the 1934 Bulletins, in the form in which they were prepared for release to me in 1985. The potential difficulties of multiple versions of the same document being made available to different researchers at different times is something that has not yet been addressed by the archival and historical communities.<sup>35</sup>

GSK  
St. John's  
6/2/93

<sup>35</sup>The CSIS Reading Room apparently opened in late December 1992 or early January 1993. Its existence only became known to me in early February at which time I visited the premises. As of 5 February, the Reading Room contained exempted versions of the CSIS Operational Manual and Human Resources Policy Manual and 19 Documents released by Access to Information requests. Of the 19, eight were additional access requests of mine related to the security and intelligence activities of the RCMP in the 1920s and 1930s. Most of these and many others have now been transferred to the NAC and form part of RG 146. They are partially listed on Finding Aid 146-4, Parts 1 and 11.