### ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE HEADQUARTERS

Ottawa, 1st August, 1934.

#### SECRET

#### NO. 717

#### **WEEKLY SUMMARY**

# REPORT ON REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS AND AGITATORS IN CANADA

## Report

The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation has positively declined to co-operate with the Communist Party, the Canadian Labour Defence League or the National Committee Against War and Fascism.

After much discussion between Mr. Hepburn, the new Ontario Premier, and Mayor Stewart of Toronto, the Ontario "hunger marchers" were permitted to parade and meet on 30th July. There was no disturbance.

The Farmers' Unity League has decided to make its headquarters in Winnipeg. Their paper, <u>The Furrow</u>, will be published there with Jack Clarke as Editor.

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[

deletion: 2 lines]

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[**3**≪deletion: 3 lines]

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#### APPENDIX NO. I: GENERAL

## 1. The Finnish Organization

[\*#] Nineteen delegates from various parts of Canada attended a Plenum of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Finnish Organization held in Toronto, Ont., from 12th to 15th July. The meeting was called principally

for the purpose of discussion and to devise ways and means of intensifying the activities of the organization.

Comrade Sundquist, General Secretary of the organization, reported on past activities and submitted a number of resolutions dealing with future work. His report would indicate that, while many new members had been recruited in the last membership campaign, a considerable portion of them did not stay in the organization.

It was resolved to commence another membership campaign during the months of August and September with a view to securing 1,000 new members

It was also resolved to launch a campaign on behalf of the paper <u>Vapaus</u> to take place during the month of November, the object of which is to obtain additional subscribers and generally broaden the circulation of the paper.

The need for extending educational work with a view to promoting political knowledge was also emphasized and it was resolved that Literature Committees must be formed in each branch and that more attention be given to educational work.

The task of organizing the Finnish-speaking workers into revolutionary unions also received considerable attention by the Plenum. It was pointed out that the organization has failed to fulfil its task in that respect. It was resolved to send circulars containing the necessary instructions to all branches and District Committees.

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A resolution calling for the formation of a branch of the Workers' International Relief in every locality where a branch of the Finnish Organization exists was also passed. It was pointed out that the Workers' International Relief performs a vital function during strikes, that it is an extension of the struggle in the economic field. The members of the Finnish Organization are urged to be more energetic in order to bring strikes to a successful conclusion.

The Plenum also resolved to pay more attention to the Youth movement. It was reported that there are now approximately 600 children in the Young Pioneers. It was further reported that in most localities the Finnish youth wish to become organized in their own organization. As the Young Pioneers and the Finnish youth organizations constitute a united front it was resolved to encourage and support to the fullest extent the development of both youth organizations.

Tom Hill, who was released from Kingston Penitentiary on 12th July, attended this Plenum and was given a rousing reception. He delivered a lengthy speech in the course of which he assured the gathering that he will again take his place in the revolutionary movement and will do his utmost

to foster same. The Plenum agreed to take care of Tom Hill and assist him to regain his health which, it is alleged, has been impaired as a result of his incarceration.

The Plenum voted \$100 for the Canadian Labour Defence League. Resolutions demanding the release of Tim Buck and Tom Ewen, the two remaining Communist leaders in Kingston Penitentiary, the release of Ernst Thaelmann, the German Communist, were passed and forwarded to the authorities concerned.

[6]

S. Huhtala, from Sudbury, Ont., was chosen as delegate to attend the forthcoming Congress Against War and Fascism in Paris, France.

The Plenum also dispatched greetings to Tim Buck and Tom Ewen.

## 2. "Kanadai Magyar Munkas"

"The Fighting Organ of the Canadian Hungarian Workers Celebrates Its Anniversary" is the caption of a short editorial appearing in the 12th July issue of Kanadai Magyar Munkas in which the Editor reviews the hardships encountered during the first years of the paper's existence. In this editorial the Editor makes the following remarkable statement:-

"The Munkas is not a paper of individuals nor does it belong to a group of exploiters like the Canadian Hungarian News. It is guided not by individuals but by the Communist Party of the world, hence its success".

The 12th July edition of <u>Kanadai Magyar Munkas</u> is supplemented by a special anniversary section in commemoration of its fifth birthday anniversary. This section contains a number of feature articles dealing with the growth of the paper and the growth and expansion of the Canadian Hungarian Workers' Club movement.

It also contains several feature articles, the tenor of which is of a distinct revolutionary nature. An ex-Hungarian "Red" soldier tells of an episode he witnessed during the Hungarian Revolution in 1919 and concludes his article with the following warning:-

"The time is again near when you will have to exterminate, to uproot by arms this polypus which is strangling us all. But when the time will come be sure to choose your leaders well, hold your arms firmly in your hands and see to it that what you have gained through your very life and blood should also remain yours. Look at the Soviet Union and you will see that the workers knew how to keep what they have prucured".

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This section also contains an article by Tim Buck entitled "Fight For Power".

On page 10 of this supplement an article appears entitled "Forward With Organization Work" in which it is claimed that out of 50,000 Hungarians in Canada only 5,000 workers and farmers are organized.

## 3. C.P. of C. Appeals to C.C.F. to Co-operate

[ Consistent with their "boring from within" tactics and in conformity with the United Front policy, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada addressed an open statement to the members and delegates of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation at its Second National Convention held in Winnipeg, Man., recently. While openly desiring to create a united front against Fascism, hunger and war the principal purpose underlying the statement apparently is to undermine the leadership of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and convert the rank and file to the Communist cause.

The statement, which was published in the <u>Voice of Labor</u> for 19th July, reads in part as follows:-

"Comrades: Speaking to you in the name of the membership of the Communist Party of Canada, and as its Central Committee, we are motivated by the urgent need for unity of the workers and toiling farmers against the Capitalist program of Fascism, hunger and war.

"Your support of the program of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation means that you are earnestly seeking a way out of the Capitalist crisis, that you understand the need for a socialist system, and that you know that the working class, at the head of all exploited people, must take over power in order to build a classless society.

"To accomplish this historic task, which the Soviet masses are far on the way to doing, firm adherence to the policies of united class struggle is essential. To this end, we address you as fellow-workers, urging you to take up in your party the fight for unity in struggle against hunger, Fascism and war.

[8]

"At this moment the world stands before another great crisis, similar to that of 1914-18. Again the workers of the world stand at the crossroads and must choose one of two paths.

"In the closing years of the World War and the immediate post-war period, the workers who had already declared themselves for socialism were divided into two camps. One was the Second International, which declared that the road to socialism must be through a transitional period of coalition with the bourgeoisie, through co-operation of the working class with the Capitalist class, of gradual and peaceful transition to socialism through bourgeois democracy. The other camp was that of the revolutionary socialist groups headed by the Russian Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin, which founded the Communist International (Third) in 1919, who pointed out that the road to socialism must be through a transitional period which could only be a dictatorship of the working class against the Capitalist class, of civil war between them, the establishment of a new workers' state power, and the crushing of the reactionary forces, the enemies of the revolution.

"We have now before us the balance sheet of sixteen years application of these two opposing lines of action. The road of the Second International, of coalition of class co-operation, of gradualism of 'democracy', led inevitably, step by step, in Germany and Austria to the surrender without struggle of all the gains of the 1918 revolution. It led to the shameful vote for Hindenburg, to the refusal of a united front with Communists against Hitler, to the capitulation to Fascism, to the crowning infamy of the vote for Hitler's policy in the Reichstag in May, 1933. It led to the shattering of 'Red Vienna' and its 'municipal socialism' by the artillery of Dollfuss and the slaughtering of a betrayed and leaderless working class. The road of the Second International led directly to the victory of Fascism.

"The road of Lenin, of the Communist International, led step by step to the consolidation of the power of the workers, to the overcoming of the terrible economic problems of a shattered, backward country amidst a world of enemies, to the laying of solid foundations of a socialist system. It led to a brilliant, unparalleled economic advance, which brought the Soviet Union into the first ranks of the industrial nations, to a cultural revolution and a rise of living standards without precedent in history. It led to the creation of a mighty stronghold of working class power, based upon socialism, which is capable of meeting and defeating a world of Capitalist and Fascist enemies.

"WORKERS OF THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION: WHICH OF THESE ROADS DO YOU WISH TO TRAVEL IN CANADA?

"We invite you to join in a united fight for such objectives as the following:-

- "1.- For a united struggle against imperialist war and Fascism; to stop shipments of munitions; to defend the Soviet Union; for the freedom of Ernst Thaelmann and all other anti-Fascist prisoners in Germany; for a mass demonstration against imperialist war and Fascism on 4th August, the twentieth anniversary of the Great War; and the development of a broad mass movement against imperialist war and Fascism.
- "2.- For the broadest possible united action in localities, factories and the trade unions, on every question affecting the workers and toiling masses, to win better working conditions, higher relief for the unemployed, to win the right to strike and picket.
- "3.- For the immediate enactment of a non-contributory unemployment insurance bill: for the building of a strong Unemployed Council movement and for the unification of all organizations of the unemployed.
- "4.- For support of the program of action adopted by the first national conference of toiling farmers, held in Regina two weeks ago, embodying mass resistance to forced debt collections, foreclosures, evictions and for full and immediate relief.
- "5.- For the unconditional release of the seven Communist leaders, for the release of all political prisoners, for the abolition of Section 98 and for the legality of the Communist Party.

"The Communist Party is prepared to co-operate with every worker and workers' organization which will really fight for these things. We offered a united front in April, 1933, and it was refused by your leaders in the same way as the German socialists refused the Communist offer for a joint fight against Hitler.

"We offer to all workers in the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation firm unity in the fight against misery, against the growing danger of imperialist war and Fascism, to build a solid fighting united front in all factories, trade unions and localities.

"For unity in the struggle against hunger, Fascism and war! "Central Committee.

"Communist Party of Canada".

The proposition outlined above was turned down flatly by the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation Convention. Other proposals for united action were received from the Canadian Labour Defence League against political reaction and from the National Committee

[10]

Against Fascism and War. The convention resolutely refused to consider forming a united front with any of these three organizations.

#### 4. The Y.C.L. and the C.C.F.

[\*#] The attitude and policy of the Young Communist League towards the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation is aptly described in a recent letter sent by the National Bureau of the Young Communist League to all District Bureaus. The letter reads in part as follows:-

"Enclosed you will find a letter issued by the Saskatchewan Cooperative Commonwealth Federation Research Bureau in which they ask for the election of delegates to their conference. This letter shows that the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation is beginning to take serious measures to organize a youth movement on a national scale throughout Canada. Our task must be first to hinder and hold back the unification of this youth movement. This task can be accomplished if we work properly with the membership in the existing youth organizations and create the basis for the splitting up of these organizations on the basis of the united front approach with the membership on the vital issues confronting the youth. In Vancouver our comrades have begun to conduct work within the Young Sports League to the extent where they now have some influence within a few of their branches. Similar action should be taken in every other place where we have Co-operative Commonwealth Federation organizations by sending in comrades into these organizations to develop work, to build a kernel around them and thus make possible the disintegration of these groups. Together with this our task must be to continually propose joint action with them on the various issues, particularly the struggle against war and Fascism and the release of Thaelmann. By proper effected united front approach we can more clearly and finitely expose the organization and leadership and show the members in practice the difference between a revolutionary youth organization and a social Fascist organization. To do this means to send appeals to them on these questions, send speakers, make connections with individuals by personal contact, and every other method possible".

The above shows conclusively that any Communist proposal to unite with the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation is actuated by a desire on the part of the Communists to undermine and eventually destroy whatever

[11]

branch of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation activities with which they may become associated.

#### 5. "Icor"

[\*#] A campaign is now being conducted by "Icor", (Jewish society for colonization of Russia), with a view to sending a delegation of Jewish workers to the Soviet Union to be there in time for the November celebration. This is the first time that an all-Jewish delegation from Canada will visit the Soviet Union.

[12]

#### APPENDIX NO. II: REPORTS BY PROVINCES

#### L BRITISH COLUMBIA

#### 6. William Sydney in Vancouver

William Sydney, National Secretary of the Friends of the Soviet Union, **[¥**≪#] addressed a capacity audience of about 1,200 in the Royal Theatre, Vancouver, B.C., on the evening of 22nd July. After giving a brief outline of the Russian Revolution of 1917 he dwelt upon the immediate objects of the Friends of the Soviet Union, declaring that it is the intention to send a delegation of 10 Canadian workers to the U.S.S.R. this fall in order that the Canadian working class may acquaint itself with the truth about Soviet Russia. He also dealt with the impending war danger and assured his audience that the Red Army and the Red Air Force keep constant watch over the "fatherland" and are quite prepared and capable to defend same. He stated that in case of an attack on the Soviet Union, the attackers will find three lines of defence: (a) the Red Army, (b) the Russian workers, and (c) the International Proletariat. In concluding his speech, Sydney appealed for money to help defray the expense of the delegation to Russia. In response to his appeal a total of \$28.50 was donated. The meeting terminated with the singing of the "International".

[\*#] William Mahoney and George Drayton were the speakers at a meeting of the Canadian Labour Defence League held in the Orange Hall, Vancouver, B.C., on the evening of 15th July; there being approximately 600 people in attendance, with Comrade Ravenor in the chair.

Mahoney outlined briefly Evans' career in the revolutionary movement and intimated that the Canadian Labour Defence League would have him out of prison in a

- (b) That J. M. Clarke be Editor of The Furrow.
- (c) That the Party issue a special farm pamphlet explaining its position regarding the agrarian situation.
- (d) That [¾deletion: blank] of Alberta be sent to Saskatchewan to act as District Organizer of the Farmers' Unity League, and that [¾deletion: blank] be transferred to Alberta to act as District Organizer in that province.
- (e) That [≯deletion: blank] of Manitoba go to Ontario to act as District Organizer of the Farmers' Unity League in that province.
- (f) That [♣deletion: blank] of Vancouver is to resume the duties of the District Organizer in British Columbia.
- (g) That <u>The Furrow</u> be published weekly by next fall and that in the meantime an intensive campaign be commenced to collect funds on behalf of the paper; the office of <u>The Furrow</u> to be moved to Winnipeg.

At another conference a new [\*\*deletion: 2 lines] and a Young Communist League representative to be named later.

At this conference it was also agreed to set up a Sub-District Bureau at Saskatoon, Sask., and Section Committees at Dunkirk, Hyas, Dunblane, Bienfait, Punnichy and Wynyard.

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The conference also decided to hold anti-war demonstrations on 4th August in the three principal cities, and that on 5th August demonstrations are to be held in farming communities. The places named were Prud'homme, Dunblane, Hyas or Kamsack and Shaunavon.

[**¾**#] [**¾**deletion: 3/4 page]

[17]

[≯deletion: 4 lines]

- [\*#] The Central Committee of the Young Communist League of Canada submitted to the National Fraction of the Youth Section of the Farmers' Unity League a list of directives bearing upon the status of the Youth Section in the Farmers' Unity League. In this ukase it is decreed:-
  - (1) The Youth Section of the Farmers' Unity League shall be considered as an integral part of the Farmers Unity League.

- (2) To be a full fledged member of the Youth Section one must be a member of the Farmers' Unity League and the dues payments shall be 5 per month.
- (3) In the activities of the Youth Section, such as sports, cultural, etc., young people who are not members of the Farmers' Unity League should be involved.
- (4) All members of the Youth Section have the full right and should attend all Farmers' Unity League branches with full right to voice and vote.
- (5) The activities of the Youth Section shall be carried on under the direction and supervision of the Farmers' Unity League. The fight for youth demands is the fight of all adult farmers and consequently the Farmers' Unity League; therefor, it is necessary to mobilise adult poor and middle farmers for the struggle for youth demands.
- (6) The Youth Section activities nationally are led by a youth committee, nominated by a youth conference and elected by a Farmers' Unity League convention. The Secretary and at least two others must be members of the Farmers' Unity League National Committee.
- (7) This also applies on a provincial scale.
- (8) The Youth Section branches, after consulting and with the approval of the Farmers' Unity League local, shall elect a youth Secretary in that locality.

#### [18]

- (9) This youth Secretary shall be a member of the local Executive Committee of the Farmers' Unity League, and shall make periodic reports to that body.
- (10) The Youth Section shall receive their directives from the Central Committee of the Youth Section and shall work constantly under the leadership of the Executive Committee of the branch.
- (11) The foregoing is to take effect immediately and it is on that basis that the Youth Section will work in the future.

[\*deletion: 1 1/3 lines], constitute the National Bureau of the Youth Section of the Farmers' Unity League.

The newly elected National Executive Committee of this Youth Section is made up as follows: [3 deletion: 6 lines]

[₩#] [ | Wedletion: 2 2/3 lines | This Sub-District includes the following towns and villages: Biggar, Petrofka, Dunblane, Steeledale, Blaine Lake,

Prud'homme, Kleczkowski, Rabbit Lake, Baupame, Maidstone, Domremy, Punnichy, Product, Elstow and Colonsay.

#### IV. MANITOBA

#### 9. Strike at Flin Flon

The strike at the plant of the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company is over. Practically a full crew is now working and it is reported that there is a much better

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spirit prevalent among the workers. Most of the police reinforcements have been withdrawn and a number of the "Red" element have left Flin Flon.

[\*#] Agitators in the Port Arthur and Fort William (Ont.) Districts are not making much headway at the present time. Conditions in the lumber camps and on the railways are better than they have been for some time past, work is more plentiful and agitators are unable to accomplish much. There are a few working in an underground manner but no marked increase in their activities is expected until the fall.

#### V. ONTARIO

#### 10. The Ontario "Hunger March"

When the Ontario "hunger marchers" applied to the Board of Police Commissioners in Toronto, Ont., for permission to parade and hold a meeting in one of the city parks their application was refused.

After some discussion between Major Stewart and Mr. Hepburn, the new Ontario Premier, two members of the Police Commission appointed by the Provincial Government, Judge Parker and Mr. Starr, were retired by Mr. Hepburn and replaced by Judge Lee and Mr. Denton.

The new Board of Commissioners, in accordance with Mr. Hepburn's wishes, decided to grant the "hunger marchers" permission to parade and meet. The "hunger marchers" paraded on 30th July in Toronto and everything went off quietly. The speakers were anything but complimentary to Mr. Hepburn to whom they should feel grateful.

The revolutionary mass organizations of Toronto, Ont., held a very successful picnic at York Mills on 15th July. The affair was organized by the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association and it is claimed that

[\*#] there were approximately 7,000 people in attendance. At this rally John Boychuk, recently released from Kingston Penitentiary, was officially acclaimed and reinstated in the revolutionary movement. Boychuk, in a spirited address, pledged to devote all of his time to the revolutionary movement, the cause for which he went to jail.

Speeches were also delivered by Beckie Buhay Ewen, Chopovick and Stefenitsky.

- [\*#] Delegates who attended the Todowyrnazu Conference in Toronto, Ont., on 14th and 15th July submitted a report to a meeting of the Ottawa local of the organization held on 23rd July. They reported that in Ontario the organization has 24 branches with 1,900 members.
- [\$#] Borba, in its 27th June issue, gives the final result of the campaign conducted on behalf of the paper. The detailed account shows that the campaign has yielded 127.4% of the objective, realizing, in subscriptions and donations from all over Canada, a total of \$2,548. Kirkland Lake, a mining town of Northern Ontario, heads the list with a total of \$602.10.
- David Arnott, Communist candidate for East Hamilton, Ont., in the last Provincial election, was the chairman of a meeting held in the Woodlands Park, Hamilton, on the evening of 19th July. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Hunger March Committee and the attendance numbered approximately 150 persons, the majority of

[21]

whom were of foreign extraction.

P. Phillips of Toronto, Ont., and Robert Dickey of Hamilton were the speakers of the evening. The subject of their speeches dealt with the proposed Ontario "hunger march".

[\*#] [\*\*deletion: 1 2/3 lines] District, visited Ottawa (Ont.) on 21st July and held a joint meeting of Executive Committees of the local Ukrainian organizations. At this meeting it was freely admitted that the situation in the organization is far from being satisfactory. It was alleged that the

#### VI. OUEBEC

#### [≯#] 11. Youth Conference Against War and Fascism

The Youth Conference Against War and Fascism held an open-air meeting in the Lafontaine Park, Montreal, Que., on 20th July, in defiance of the civic authorities who had prohibited this meeting. A number of those who attempted to speak were arrested by the Montreal Police, among them were [\*\*deletion: 1 line] Most of those arrested were let out on bail but [\*\*deletion: blank] although a bondsman was available, declined to accept bail until [\*\*deletion: blank] could also be released. Most of the money was raised from the Jewish element. [\*\*deletion: blank] obtained \$40 from a sympathizer, [\*\*deletion: blank] supplied \$25, and [\*\*deletion: blank] \$37. [\*\*deletion: 2/3 line] also took an active part in helping to raise bail and secured \$10.

[22]

The Canadian Labour Defence League leaders are quite glad that those arrests have been made as they intend to make a big issue of the "free speech" question. [\*\*deletion: 1/3 line] will be asked to defend those who were arrested on the 20th instant as he was stated that he will defend any "free speech" cases free of charge.

A meeting to discuss the question of "free speech" has been arranged for 23rd July and it is expected that the following will attend: [\*\*deletion: 1 1/4 line]

[>#] [\*\*deletion: 3/4 line] of the Canadian Labour Defence League in Montreal, Que., in succession to [\*\*deletion: blank] there has been an entirely different atmosphere in the Central Office. [\*\*deletion: 4 3/4 lines] ran the 'Montreal District of the Canadian Labour Defence League on a more or less paying basis and salaries were usually met. Since [\*\*deletion: 1/3 line] took charge the office is almost always in a state of bankruptcy.

The Central Executive Committee is made up of members of the different branches of the Canadian Labour Defence League but the conduct of the district affairs is in the hands of [seedletion: 3/4 line]

The Canadian Labour Defence League is very active at present in the anti-Fascist and anti-war movements. The meetings in Lafontaine Park

were instigated by Canadian Labour Defence League members. The Canadian Labour Defence League is also behind the Youth Conference Against War and Fascism.

[23]

There is a list of bondsmen kept at the Canadian Labour Defence League office and bail can be arranged at short notice up to about \$50,000. Most of the security is on property and fire insurance and most of the bondsmen are Jewish, including a few doctors and professional men.

It is generally considered that the Canadian Labour Defence League in the Montreal District is badly organized and it is hoped that [3 deletion: 1/4 line] who is reported to be in improved health, will be back shortly to take over once more the position of General Organizer in Montreal.

[≯deletion: 1/2 page]

**[**₩#]

The French Branch of the Friends of the Soviet Union in Montreal, Que., held a public meeting in the Lavoie hall, on 19th July, there being approximately 100

[24]

people present, and the meeting was presided over by Fortin.

W. Seguin spoke on Soviet Russia, giving a description of life there as compared with that in other countries, claiming that there was no unemployment in the Soviet Union, whereas under Capitalism unemployment was rampant everywhere. He also spoke of the impending war against the Soviet union, declaring that the imperialist nations were afraid of Russia's prosperity and that they were arming against her.

[\*deletion: blank] [\*deletion: 6 lines]

## VII. THE MARITIME PROVINCES

#### 12. J. S. Wallace in Halifax

[≯#] On 20th July the Halifax (N.S.) Branch of the Canadian Labour Defence League held a mass meeting in St. Patrick's Hall with 250 persons in

attendance. Ralph Marvin acted as Chairman, and the speakers were Comrades Ross and J. S. Wallace.

Ross spoke of the aims and objects of the Canadian Labour Defence League and the life under Capitalism. He contended that Canada was rapidly approaching the Nazi regime. In closing he remarked:-

"I expect to see the day when they will give me a uniform and a rifle to carry. I will accept them gladly but I will never fire it at a worker under the Capitalist system of another country".

[25]

J. S. Wallace informed the meeting that he was glad to be back in Halifax among his old comrades. He gave a short review of his experiences since entering the labour movement and how the workers had progressed there whilst in all Capitalist countries progress has been retarded. He classified himself as a Soviet worker. In reply to a question as to what was his opinion of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, he replied that it was another step towards Fascism.

|       | <b>(8.5.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.</b> | <del></del> |
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| [#≪#] | [ <b>¾</b> deletion: 6 lines]                    |             |