No.....

SECRET

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

Ottawa, September 1, 1944.

MONTHLY INTELLIGENCE REPORT

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II LABOUR PROGRESSIVE PARTY, QUEBEC

Some time before the Quebec provincial election was set for August 8, the Labour Progressive party, anticipating an early election, nominated numerous candidates. Stanley Ryerson, Director of Education and Publicity for the L.P.P., was sent to Montreal for about three months for the announced purpose of taking charge of election matters generally. It was decided that the L.P.P. should establish itself in Quebec as a political party and, to publicize its program, should mobilize everywhere for support, even in back yards and private houses.

At a convention in Montreal on June 18, the highlights of the party's program were announced. These included: to electrify rural districts; advance on matters respecting agriculture; raise the educational standard; increase old-age pensions; construct new hospitals; respect the right of minorities and improve family welfare.

At this convention, Tim Buck expressed himself as favouring union with any political party whose program was founded on the needs of the working class. He attacked the C.C.F. but placed little importance on that party's victory in Saskatchewan, maintaining that the voters in that province simply wished to get rid of the out-moded Liberal party. He contended that Canadians were looking forward to improved post-war conditions and that Canada's present standard of living should be maintained in the post-war future.

It was announced that four candidates would be nominated.

Campaign headquarters for leading L.P.P. candidate Michael Buhay, were opened in Montreal. His campaign manager, Sidney Sarkin, declared that the problem of race discrimination and fascism in Quebec was well-known to all residents, that the L.P.P. considered it high time a vigorous and progressive voice was heard in the provincial legislature. He cited the recent burning of a Jewish synagogue in Quebec City as an indication of the length to which fascists would go.

Appeals for funds, made in some instances on the basis of a person's sympathies towards anti-Semitism, were sent to various individuals and firms including some in Ontario, New Brunswick, Saskatchewan, Nova Scotia, Alberta and Manitoba; those appealed to were all Jewish people or Jewish firms.

Three hundred and thirty-five candidates eventually were nominated for the 91 seats in the Quebec Legislature. The four individuals who openly ran as L.P.P. candidates were Michael Buhay—Montreal-St. Louis; Napoleon Brizard—Montreal-St. Mary; Paul Moisan—Quebec East, and Albert Constantineau—Rouyn-Noranda; [*deletion: 1 1/4 lines]

During the campaign, the L.P.P. adopted a novel method of campaigning in Montreal by holding open-air meetings in the lanes behind flats and tenement blocks—a course by which they hoped to secure votes [13] from the working class. Those to whom the speeches were directed appeared to be impressed and honoured at having candidates visit them in what might be described as their own back yards. A method under which the L.P.P. derived marked success in the most recent municipal election in Toronto, was an intensive door-to-door campaign; and Michael Buhay and Napoleon Brizard, in particular, by resorting it again are said to have gained considerable support. In addition broadcasts were made over local radio stations and meetings were held in various schools. Fred Rose, M.P., who appeared at many of these meetings, declared that Michael Buhay would carry out the policies advocated by him (Rose) in the House of Commons.

Throughout the campaign, L.P.P. candidates bitterly attacked Maurice Duplessis and his L'Union Nationale followers. It may be recalled that when M. Duplessis was premier of Quebec his government passed what is called "the padlock law" which provided for the padlocking of any premises used by or on behalf of the communist movement. Duplessis replied to one L.P.P. attack by asserting that if his party were elected he would see that the padlock law was revived, and that he would prevent Tim Buck from speaking in the province of Quebec.

A feature of the election was the praise given by L.P.P. candidates to the provincial Liberal government for its war program, educational policy, the granting of franchise to the women residents of Quebec, and the expropriation of the Montreal Light, Heat and Power Company. [*deletion: blank], withdrew from the [*deletion: blank] riding for the express purpose of preventing Duplessis's candidate from winning. The L.P.P. did not wish to be responsible for the defeat of [*deletion: blank] but as it turned out, Duplessis' candidate, [*deletion: blank] was elected in this constituency with a majority of about [*deletion: blank] votes over [*deletion: blank]. During the campaign some 40,000 circulars outlining L.P.P. policies were distributed.

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Michael Buhay is a Montreal city councillor, and the L.P.P. therefore concentrated on his behalf. Because of the considerable publicity given his proposals to alleviate the housing shortage in Montreal, he has become a rather well-known figure in his constituency. His campaign was based on popular lines: rallying the people for victory, no post-war unemployment, relief of hardship for the working classes, the solving of the housing situation, free hospitalization and medical clinics, free high schools, playgrounds for children, etc.

The July 27 issue of "Ukrainian Life" echoed the L.P.P. line of attacking the Bloc Populaire, and Maurice Duplessis [14] and his L'Union Nationale. It was explained editorially:

"....it is the duty of the electors in Quebec to elect the largest number of Labour Progressive candidates and in the localities in which they do not run, to vote for candidates of the Liberal party. Together they, (Liberal and Labour Progressive Party) will be capable of forming a government which will lead the province of Quebec along the road of broader progress and a stronger Canada".

The L.P.P. took advantage of a meeting held August 3, in support of Napoleon Brizard, to urge those present to vote for L.P.P. candidates in the next federal election, one of whom was introduced in person as Sgt. H. Gagnon.

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The following table shows how the total number of votes were cast:

Montreal-St. Louis

Maurice Hartt (L)	9,439
Michael Buhay (L.P.P.)	6,512
Oscar Gagnon (U.N.)	1,863
Dr. A. L'Heureux (B.P.)	1,640
L. Cpl. Kalman Kaplansky (C.C.F.)	754
Louis Bass (Ind.)	428
Sarto Blais (Ind.)	177

Montreal-St. Mary

Camille Cote (U.N.)	9,125		
J. M. Ostiguy (L)	7,561		
Raphael Beaudette (B.P.)	6,758		
Nap. Brizard (L.P.P.)	939		
Emile Naud (Ind. L.)	517		
Quebec East			
Henri Paul Drouin (L)	7,371		
Joseph Matte (Ind. Lab.)	6,528		
H. P. Hould (U.N.)	5,727		
Roger Vazina (B.P.)	2,718		
Hyacinthe Denis (Ind. S.C.)	972		
F. X. Perron (C.C.F.)	162		
Paul Moisan (L.P.P.)	54		
[15]			
Reuyn-Noranda			
David Cote (C.C.F.)	2,095		
Maurice Capiette (B.P.)	1,731		
Romuald Gagne (L)	1,663		
Camille Beaulieu (U.N.)	1,558		
L. D. Pilon (Ind. L.)	1,181		
Gerard Mercier (S.C.)	1,305		
J. S. Drouin (Ind. L.)	52		
Wilbrod Poirier (Ind.)	14		
Albert Constantineau (L.P.P)	0		
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It will be noted that none of the L.P.P. candidates was elected. Michael Buhay, who received greatest support, was the only L.P.P. candidate with sufficient votes to save his electoral deposit. A. Constantineau, L.P.P. candidate in the Rouyn-Noranda constituency, is shown as having received no votes at all. This is due to the fact that he withdrew two days before the election and it was then impossible to remove his name from the electoral

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list and ballots. According to a newspaper article, he withdrew in favour of D. Cote, C.C.F. candidate and prominent trade-union member.

III WAR RESISTERS' LEAGUE

This organization has its headquarters in New York City and judging by its literature it appears to be Axis inspired. For example a recent leaflet entitled "Why Not Peace In 1944" argues vigorously for a negotiated peace on the following grounds:

- (a) The military fortunes of the United Nations are now in ascendancy: therefore peace can be concluded in honour.
- (b) Dissensions will arise among the United Nations if the war drags on.
- (c) The bombing of Germany is not human.
- (d) The axis is ready to negotiate.
- (e) Ending the war now is the only salvation of our friends in German-controlled Europe.

The argument is summed up by the remark that it is now our planes that are killing women and children and the guilt is therefore now on our heads.

[16]

IV LABOUR PROGRESSIVE PARTY, ALBERTA

At the Edmonton conference of July 14 the L.P.P. platform was announced in a 14-point provincial program, and a committee of some 17 members was elected to assist [*deletion: blank]

Sam Carr told the conference that the L.P.P. could easily win the election and that he, Tim Buck and Leslie Morris were prepared to assist in every way. He said, however, that members must be ready to follow Buck's advice unreservedly.

A complete statement of the L.P.P. Alberta election campaign, including the 14-point program referred to, by James A. MacPherson, provincial L.P.P. leader, under the slogan "Forward Alberta! Vote L.P.P.!", was printed in leaflet form and widely distributed. This statement is quoted in full:

"(Program and Statement of Policy of the Labour Progressive Party in the Alberta provincial election, Aug. 8, 1944.)"

"Alberta Citizens!

"The Labour Progressive party is entering the present Alberta elections with 30 candidates. It is doing so with the aim of assuming its share of responsibility for the solution of Alberta's post-war problems. It presents to the people of this province its program of people's needs,

and calls on the Alberta voters on August 8 to give their first choice votes to its candidates.

"Our province has a strong democratic tradition. [17] Its people demand economic security, democratic government, and co-operation with the rest of the nation and the world to bring about peace and prosperity in the ashes of the fascist slave system.

"In 1921 the people of Alberta cast out the old-line parties and struck out on the path of people's political action. That path is still the only path to progress in Alberta. The L.P.P. represents the strongest democratic traditions in Alberta, and its candidates are these men and women, workers and farmers, and middle class people, who express the best immediate and future interests of labour and the farmers.

"There are strong forces at work to stop Alberta's post-war progress, who wish to drive Alberta back to bread lines and evictions, and to block progressive reforms. They are concentrated around the so-called "Independent' candidates, the reactionary drags of the old-line parties, the spokesmen of the mortgage sharks and bondholders who wish to stampede Alberta's people into voting against progress and so increase their substantial aims of the 1940 elections.

"The L.P.P. calls on the Alberta people to defeat every "Independent' candidate. Their defeat will be a victory not only for the people of Alberta but for the forces of progress on a national scale, who will soon be called upon in the coming Dominion election to smash the tory attempt to capture Canada's national government.

"For nine years Alberta has had a Social Credit government. It was elected because the people hoped it would lift them out of debt and unemployment and make possible a better and more prosperous life. While some good reforms have been brought in by the government, because of its preoccupation with provincial monetary reform illusions at the cost of good practical reform administration the Social Credit government has failed to live up to the expectations of those who elected it. Thus, it is now planning to give up the struggle against the Eastern money power and monopolists by negotiating to refund Alberta's debt at higher than average interest rates.

"While some friendly overtures to labour have been made by Mr. Manning, Alberta is the only province in Canada without a Department of Labour. Here is a real test of the government's attitude to the trade-union movement. This constitutes a denial of the real partnership of labour in provincial affairs.

"In his broadcast speech of July 12, Premier Manning denied the responsibility of the state to lead reforms, and indulged in reprehensible attacks upon those who rightly demand that the government should be

responsible for reforms by calling them advocates of 'state dictatorship'. His speech that day failed to [18] deal with the practical needs of Alberta and placed Mr. Manning's narrow party aims above the requirements of the people.

"The government cannot be judged by Alberta's present economic position arising out of the needs of this global war. It must be judged on the basis of its record and its willingness and ability to take decisive measures to ensure Alberta's prosperity in the post war. Social Credit supporters are critical of the present administration, and many of them feel that the satisfaction of their needs is not in strong hands while the Manning government is in power. They are seeking for stronger leadership, for men and women who will not evade the responsibilities of truly progressive government in wartime and in the post war period. The L.P.P. calls on these people to vote No. 1 for its candidates.

"The C.C.F. movement in Alberta is an inseparable part of the progressive forces in the province. But its leadership, by putting narrow national ambitions of the C.C.F. above the needs of Alberta, and by rejecting labour and the people's democratic anti-fascist unity, is failing to live up to the practical needs of the C.C.F. supporters. Blind partisanship and unreal, utopian talk of 'C.C.F. socialism in Alberta' are frustrating the democratic aspirations of the C.C.F. masses. We do not forget that the Alberta government of 1921-1935 was the forerunner and originator of the C.C.F. Yet, that U.F.A. government let down the people of this province with the result that they turned from it in the 1935 elections. Today the main leadership and many candidates of the C.C.F. must bear full responsibility for the Hungry Thirties record of the United Farmers of Alberta government.

"It was the leadership and candidates of the L.P.P. who fought the starvation policies of the U.F.A. government.

"Among the people, rich in the experiences of this war, there is a growing desire for democratic unity, which partisanship and the pursuit of narrow party advantage or indulgence in utopian dreams will not stop advancing. This war against the Axis, now approaching victory, has brought to Alberta's people a new understanding of what can be accomplished if the intervention of a democratic, progressive government administration is present to stop the attack of the bondholders and mortgage companies against the people when the war is over.

"The government you elect on August 8 will be responsible for piloting Alberta through the post-war years. The question is: will the privileged interests take away the jobs, economic benefits and social advances of the war years, or will the people [19] be united and strong enough, will they have a government progressive and militant enough,

to safeguard them from the attacks of reaction and from a return to the Hungary Thirties?

"The L.P.P. puts forward the following program for our province:

- 1. All aid to the Dominion Government, in all measures to bring speedy victory over the fascist enemy.
- 2. Co-operation with Ottawa in the new post-war world to secure markets for Alberta's products so that our province can take her place in the feeding and clothing of the millions of fascist victims, and to help reconstruct Europe and Asia, on terms which will provide adequate prices for our producers. The establishment of a Ministry of Planning and Post-war Reconstruction.
- 3. Jobs at decent wages for our workers, and easily obtainable farms, jobs and training for our returning service men and women.
- 4. Further legislation to protect the family farm from foreclosure and crushing debt, and security of tenure for every farmer. Government assistance to existing and proposed co-operatives.
- 5. Better labour legislation to make statutory the legal rights of workers to collective bargaining and union recognition and to increase protection for miners and factory workers. The immediate setting up of an Alberta Department of Labour.
- 6. Full co-operation with Ottawa in the establishment of a national health insurance plan; the building of rural hospitals, the improvement of child care, higher old age pensions and increased mothers' allowances.
- 7. A public works program, to amplify private employment at decent wages, so that modern highways, new schools, community and recreational centers and other necessary public works may be constructed.
- 8. Wider educational facilities for Alberta's youth, with an extensive plan of free scholarships, vocational training and maintenance of students.
- 9. A decent home for every Alberta family, in the towns and on the farms, wipe out the slums, plan our communities, through a public low-rental housing plan in co-operation with federal housing legislation as projected in the Federal Curtis Report. A project of water [20] and sewage systems in rural communities.
- 10. State aid for the development of Alberta's industry, through long-term credits and the fullest utilization of the new Dominion Industrial Development Bank, through the offices of the Alberta government.
- 11. Conservation for the people of our natural resources. Public ownership and extension of the hydro electric system to provide cheap

light and power, and to carry through the long-overdue electrification of the countryside. Public ownership of many of the new industries which can be established by the use of farm products for industrial purposes, without prejudice to private capital which may wish to enter Alberta and so assist her economic development.

- 12. Full co-operation by Alberta in the development of the northwest air, water and highway routes, as a means of developing the north-western oil and other resources, and to bring closer together for trade and common good our own country with China and the Soviet Union.
- 13. Action by the Alberta government to mobilize long-term, low-interest credit for Alberta farms, co-operatives and industry, in close conjunction with Ottawa, and the advocacy by Alberta of stricter control of private banking and credits by the federal government, through a revision of the Federal Bank Act. The refunding of Alberta's public debt at a maximum rate of interest of 21/2 per cent.
- 14. Full co-operation to achieve a really united Canada through support for amendments to the British North America Act to re-allocate and equalize taxation powers, to assist the West, to create a taxation system on the basis of ability to pay, and a firm stand by Alberta at the next Dominion-Provincial conference for the assumption by the Dominion Government of greater responsibility for social services which can be operated successfully only on a national scale, such as health insurance.

"On this program the L.P.P. will stand unshaken. Around this program it seeks today to mobilize the people of Alberta who have long since repudiated the old-line parties, and who are dissatisfied with the record of the Social Credit government, and doubtful of the leaders of the C.C.F. With this program the L.P.P. will enter the next legislature, ready to assume that share of responsibility with which the voters entrust it. As the leader of the L.P.P. in Alberta, I pledge the people of this province that in the next legislature we will, disregarding narrow partisanship, strive to create a true people's government based on unity of all forward-looking progressive forces.

[21]

"In those constituencies where the L.P.P. has no candidates, we urge the voters to carefully weigh the candidates of the Social Credit and the C.C.F. parties, and vote for the men and women who set the needs of Alberta above doctrinaire theories and narrow partisanship. "In all constituencies, the people of Alberta must drive out of Alberta politics the representatives of reaction, masquerading as 'Independent' candidates.

"Elect the candidates of the L.P.P.! The party of people's unity, people's needs, economic and social security, and progress!

J.A. MacPherson
Provincial Leader,
Labour Progressive Party"

In addition to the above-mentioned handbill, nine four-page leaflets, numbered from one to nine, were issued under these captions:

Farm Policy of the L.P.P.—

Cut the Debt
New Homes
Parity Prices
No foreclosures

Wipe out Alberta's Slums— Labour Progressive Action
Plan for New Homes

Don't Gamble with your Vote!—A Message to First Voters from the Leader of the Labour Progressives

A Square Deal for Alberta's Vets— No Broken Promises

After This War Say
Labour Progressives

A Labour Code for Alberta—We are the Only Canadian Province
Without Labour Ministry!

Where is the Money Coming From?— What Is The Answer?

The L.P.P. Tells You Here.

Coal and Alberta's Future— <u>Labour Progressive Policy</u> for the Coal Fields

A Health Plan for Alberta— Labour Progressive Action
Plan on Health

Lest We Forget—Some Facts Every Voter Should Know About C.C.F. Leaders.

During the campaign Tim Buck and other leading party members addressed numerous meetings at different points in the province. They emphasized their 14-point program declaring that capitalism was going to see the war through because most Canadians were not yet ready for socialism. On one occasion Buck predicted the election would end in a stalemate—that no party would get a clear majority. L.P.P. spokesmen frequently [22] lauded the Red Army. They contended that the re-building of Europe could ensure employment in Canada for years and maintain war-time prosperity.

On July 30, 30 L.P.P. candidates were openly nominated [≯deletion: 1 1/2 lines]

Labour Progressive Party

C. W. Springford Alex Herd Mrs. E. Ashworth C. J. McKenzie William Halina R. G. Calwell Stanley Dumka Jan Lakeman M. Hyduk Capt. L. Edwards Mrs. G. Murdoch Dan Gamache Gordon Wray George Prownlow E. A. Johnson Audrey Staples Marie Ivanuk P. Tymchuk Patrick Lenihar Mrs. H. Broadbent W. M. Teresio T. D. Danielo **Eugene Seully** R Gameau Thomas Mackie Ray Walsh D. Graham J. A. MacPherson E. W. Horne W. Yusep

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Buck, Morris and other leading L.P.P. members were confident their party would make a good showing. In Edmonton on July 23, Buck declared that the election was a real testing ground between reactionary and progressive forces and that it was a fine opportunity to elect quite a few L.P.P. candidates.

A "Canadian Tribune" editorial, dated August 5 reads:

"of utmost importance in the Alberta campaign is the necessity to elect a strong Labour Progressive party block to the next legislature....it will be the Labour Progressive Party members that will be decisive in providing a stable and a progressive government out of the legislature that will be elected next Tuesday".

In the same number of the "Tribune" Morris prophesied that a possible stalemate might result from the vote, and added:

"the Labour Progressive party may be in a strong position to decide the issue of government by the proposal for the formation of a coalition to act on the people's needs".

He stated further that the L.P.P. was broadcasting on the radio two or three times a night and making a big impression, and that "almost half a million leaflets" were being distributed. Though this was an exaggeration, without doubt leaflets were extensively distributed in the province.

Significantly, William Halina—[≯deletion: 1 line] ran as L.P.P. provincial candidate in the Edmonton constituency, and according to the "Tribune" of July 22, he also was L.P.P. provincial campaign manager.

[23]

It is of interest to mention that the "Ukrainian Life" of July 27 reproduced the photographs of nine L.P.P. candidates which appeared in the "Canadian Tribune" on June 22. A leading editorial strongly supporting L.P.P. candidates and policies declared that the election of the largest possible number of L.P.P. candidates was "of utmost importance to Alberta". This issue of "Ukrainian Life" published the L.P.P. 14-point program in extenso, and appeared to Ukrainian electors to vote for the 30 L.P.P. candidates.

The following schedule shows the voting results of the [*deletion: blank] constituencies in which L.P.P. candidates ran; it will be noted that no L.P.P. candidate was elected:

Constituency	L.P.P. Candidate L.P.P. Social C.C.F. Indepen Vets				
		Vote:	s Credit		dent
Alexandra	C.W. Springford	147	2130	1339	
Athabasca	C.J. McKenzie	515	2211	1421	
Beaver River	S. Dumka	371	2749	1376	
Calgary	L. Edwards	304	15046	9269	13744
	G. Wray	128			
	A. Staples	71			
	P. Lenihan	491			
	T.D. Daniels	258			
Drumheller	T. Mackie	695	2212	655	
Edmonton	J.A. MacPherson	725	17510	7648	6782 3417
	A. Herd	114			
	W. Halina	487			
	J. Lakeman	247			
	Mrs. Murdoch	68			

Voting by proportional representation—quota required 6306. First count votes quoted above. Sixteen counts required—L.P.P. candidates Murdoch and Herd eliminated on 2nd count, Lakeman on 3rd, Halina on 7th, MacPherson on 10th. Total of 20 candidates ran to fill five seats. L.P.P. candidates came 11th, 15th, 18th, 19th and 20th when first count completed. Successive counts gave L.P.P. candidates MacPherson 1386 votes, Halina 594 votes, Lakeman 302 votes, Herd 125 votes and Murdoch 98 votes, all well under quota of 6306.

Edson	G. Brownlow	578	2471	1236	
Grouard	Miss M. Evanuk	272	2266	1269	
Leduc	Mrs. H. Broadbent	139	2567	1071	
Lethbridge	E. Scully	218	2344	1422	2208
Macleod	R. Welsh	148	2396	940	986
Medicine Hat	E.W. Horne	257	2999	698	1469
Peace River	Mrs. E. Ashworth	329	2176	849	7 35
Ponoka	R.G. Calwell	225	2094	956	756
Redwater	M. Hyduk	891	2214	780	
St. Paul	D. Gamache	765	1947	1588	
Spirit River	E.A. Johnson	264	1558	835	
Vegreville	P. Tymchuk	659	1923	1493	
Vermilion	W.M. Teresio	968	2201	989	
Wainwright	R. Garneau	231	2825	1240	
Wetaskiwin	D. Graham	136	2657	1210	1116
Willingdon	W. Yusep	872	1698	1263	

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Twenty-three of the open L.P.P. candidates [

deletion: 1 line], lost their \$100 cash deposits because of their failure to poll enough votes.

Indications are that the L.P.P. is bitterly disappointed over its ignominious failure. Not without significance was it that the "Canadian Tribune" of August 12, which went to press after the preliminary voting results were available, published an article on the return of the Social Credit party without in any way mentioning the L.P.P.'s dismal showing.

When the Social Credit sweep became known, Alberta L.P.P. leader, James A. MacPherson in a press statement said:

"Our party has made a dent in the province...a larger dent than we have ever made. Of all parties, the Labour Progressive party has concentrated especially on the defeat of the Independents. It also has exposed to Alberta, the danger of isolationism and defeatism of the C.C.F. The big thing is the unity of the people in the post-war period, irrespective of party. The new government elected will face the biggest task....and it is not a question of waiting another five years. Starting now, if they don't meet the needs of the people, we'll take steps to see there is a change in government."