

The Bogey of Fascism in Quebec

by
H. F. QUINN



The Quebec "Padlock Law"

by
G. A. COUGHLIN, K. C.



L'OEUVRE DES TRACTS
MONTRÉAL



L'ŒUVRE DES TRACTS

(Directeur: R. P. ARCHAMBAULT, S. J.)

Publie chaque mois une brochure sur des sujets variés et instructifs

- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| 10. <i>Le Mouvement ouvrier au Canada</i> | Omer HÉROUX |
| 11. <i>L'École canadienne-française</i> | R. P. AdélarD DUGRÉ, S. J. |
| 12. <i>Les Familles au Sacré Cœur</i> | R. P. ARCHAMBAULT, S. J. |
| 14. <i>La Première Semaine sociale du Canada</i> | R. P. ARCHAMBAULT, S. J. |
| 15. <i>Sainte Jeanne d'Arc</i> | R. P. CHOSSEGROS, S. J. |
| 17. <i>Notre-Dame de Liesse</i> | R. P. LECOMPTE, S. J. |
| 18. <i>Les Conditions religieuses de notre société</i> | Le cardinal BÉGIN |
| 19. <i>Sainte Marguerite-Marie</i> | UNE RELIGIEUSE |
| 20. <i>La Y. M. C. A.</i> | R. P. LECOMPTE, S. J. |
| 22. <i>L'Aide aux œuvres catholiques</i> | R. P. AdélarD DUGRÉ, S. J. |
| 24. <i>La Formation des Elites</i> | Général DE CASTELNAU |
| 26. <i>La Société de Saint-Vincent-de-Paul</i> | XXX |
| 28. <i>Saint Jean Berchmans</i> | R. P. Antoine DRAGON, S. J. |
| 30. <i>Le Maréchal Foch</i> | XXX |
| 31. <i>L'Instruction obligatoire</i> | R. P. BARBARA, S. J. |
| 32. <i>La Compagnie de Jésus</i> | R. P. AdélarD DUGRÉ, S. J. |
| 33. <i>Le Choix d'un état de vie (jeunes gens)</i> | R. P. D'ORSONNENS, S. J. |
| 33a. <i>Le Choix d'un état de vie (jeunes filles)</i> | R. P. D'ORSONNENS, S. J. |
| 38. <i>Contre le blasphème, tous!</i> | R. P. Alexandre DUGRÉ, S. J. |
| 42. <i>Saint Gérard Majella</i> | Abbé P.-E. GAUTHIER |
| 44. <i>Le Bienheureux Grignon de Montfort</i> | F. ANANIE, F. S. G. |
| 45. <i>Monseigneur François de Laval</i> | R. P. LECOMPTE, S. J. |
| 46. <i>Les Exercices spirituels de saint Ignace</i> | S. S. PIE XI |
| 47. <i>La Villa La Broquerie</i> | R. P. ARCHAMBAULT, S. J. |
| 48. <i>Saint Jean-Baptiste</i> | R. P. Alexandre DUGRÉ, S. J. |
| 51. <i>Monseigneur Alexandre Taché</i> | R. P. LATOUR, O. M. I. |
| 56. <i>Contre le travail du dimanche</i> | R. P. ARCHAMBAULT, S. J. |
| 57. <i>L'Œuvre de la Villa Saint-Martin</i> | R. P. Gustave JEAN, S. J. |
| 58. <i>Monseigneur Lafleche</i> | R. P. AdélarD DUGRÉ, S. J. |
| 59. <i>Le Bienheureux Bellarmin</i> | R. P. ARCHAMBAULT, S. J. |
| 60. <i>La Vénérable Bernadette Soubirous</i> | Abbé P.-E. GAUTHIER |
| 62. <i>Le Recrutement des Retraitants</i> | XXX |
| 63. <i>Madame de la Peltrie</i> | R. P. LE JEUNE, O. M. I. |
| 64. <i>L'Œuvre du curé Labelle</i> | Abbé Henri LECOMPTE |
| 65. <i>Saint François Xavier</i> | Abbé C. RONDEAU, P. M. E. |
| 66. <i>Les Sœurs de Miséricorde de Montréal</i> | Abbé Elie-J. AUCLAIR, D. TH. |
| 67. <i>Le Catholicisme en Chine</i> | Mgr BEAUPIN |
| 68. <i>Le Jubilé de 1925</i> | XXX |
| 69. <i>Mère Marie de la Ferre</i> | UNE RELIGIEUSE |
| 71. <i>Saint Pierre Canisius</i> | R. P. LECOMPTE, S. J. |
| 72. <i>Sainte Madeleine-Sophie Barat</i> | R. S. C. J. |
| 73. <i>Nos Martyrs canadiens</i> | R. P. ARCHAMBAULT, S. J. |
| 74. <i>Les Servites de Marie</i> | R. P. LÉPICIER, O. S. M. |
| 75. <i>Les Clubs sociaux neutres</i> | Abbé Cyrille GAGNON |
| 76. <i>La Presse catholique</i> | Mgr Elias ROY |
| 77. <i>L'A. C. J. C.</i> | Chanoine COURCHESNE |
| 79. <i>Encyclique sur la fête du Christ-Roi</i> | S. S. PIE XI |
| 80. <i>La Retraite spirituelle</i> | S. ALPHONSE DE LIGUORI |
| 81. <i>Une enquête sur le scoutisme français</i> | XXX |
| 82. <i>Le Secrétariat des Familles</i> | Dr Elzéar MIVILLE-DECHÈNE |
| 83. <i>Le Dr Amédée Marsan</i> | R. P. LÉOPOLD, O. C. |
| 84. <i>Comment lutter contre le mauvais cinéma</i> | Léo PELLAND, avocat |
| 86. <i>Saint Louis de Gonzague, confesseur</i> | R. P. PLAMONDON, S. J. |
| 87. <i>La Transgression du devoir dominical</i> | XXX |
| 88. <i>Le Règne social de Jésus-Christ</i> | Abbé Arthur LAPOINTE |
| 90. <i>André Grasset de Saint-Sauveur</i> | XXX |
| 91. <i>Sauvez vos enfants du cinéma meurtrier!</i> | R. P. ARCHAMBAULT, S. J. |
| 92. <i>Actes pontificaux concernant l'Act. franç.</i> | S. S. PIE XI |
| 93. <i>Répliques du bon sens — I</i> | Capitaine MAGNIEZ |
| 94. <i>Ce que femme veut</i> | Jeanne TALBOT |
| 95. <i>Répliques du bon sens — II</i> | Capitaine MAGNIEZ |
| 96. <i>Marie de l'Incarnation</i> | R. P. FARLEY, C. S. V. |
| 97. <i>Dimanche vs Cinéma</i> | Chanoine HARBOR |
| 98. <i>Thaumaturge de chez nous</i> | R. P. Jacques DUGAS, S. J. |
| 100. <i>Le Rapport Boyer sur le cinéma</i> | XXX |

HN
31
039
u-234
1938

The Bogey of Fascism in Quebec¹

by H. F. QUINN

IT is a common belief in many sections of Canada and the United States that the Province of Quebec is advancing rapidly along the road to Fascism, and is only awaiting the appearance of a Führer who will set up a totalitarian dictatorship on the banks of the St. Lawrence, dissolve all political parties, crush the labour unions, regiment industry, liquidate all Communists, Socialists and Liberals, and establish a Corporative State, all with the approval if not the actual support of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the province.

From an intimate acquaintance with the political situation in this province, however, I am quite convinced that this belief in the ultimate triumph of Fascism in Quebec is quite unfounded, and is due to a lack of knowledge of the political and economic situation, and a misconception of the rôle the Catholic Church desires to play in provincial affairs.

It is true that the most significant feature of Quebec politics to-day is the re-birth of the spirit of French-Canadian Nationalism, which has appeared at different intervals in the past with varying intensity, and which is characterized by an emphasis upon the strengthening of the bonds of French-

1. L'Œuvre des Tracts croit utile de publier cette étude d'un journaliste montréalais parue d'abord dans *The Dalhousie Review* (octobre 1938) de Halifax. Sans être exacte dans tous les détails, elle constitue cependant une bonne mise au point sur la question du fascisme dans la province de Québec et est de nature, nous semble-t-il, à éclairer les citoyens des autres provinces et même des États-Unis qui s'intéressent à cette question. Nous laissons évidemment à l'auteur la responsabilité de ses jugements sur les groupes ou les hommes politiques et nous n'entendons nullement les prendre à notre compte.

Il nous a paru bon de joindre à cette étude une causerie sur « la loi du cadenas » due à un avocat montréalais bien connu, M. G.-A. Coughlin, C. R. (Note des éditeurs.)

Canadian culture, a resistance to Americanization, and a policy of Quebec for the French-Canadians. This policy, be it noted, does not necessarily imply Separatism, and secession from the Dominion of Canada, much less the setting up of a Fascist State in Quebec, for it must be remembered that Quebec Nationalism was an important factor in the political life of the Dominion long before Fascism was ever heard of. It does imply a tendency to resist all attempts upon the part of the federal government at Ottawa to extend its influence over provincial affairs, and a desire on the part of the French-Canadian to participate to a greater extent in the economic development of the province, which up to the present time has been largely due to American and English capital.

The present phase of Quebec Nationalism can be said to date from the early 1930's, when the country was in the throes of the economic depression, with the consequent unemployment and economic hardship which was felt by all classes of people, but particularly by the youth of the province, fresh from schools and colleges, who came into a world which had no place for them in its economic structure.

Dissatisfaction with existing economic conditions, and particularly the predominant part played by the English-speaking section of the population in the economic life of the province, together with the corruption prevalent under the existing régime, resulted in a realignment of political forces in the Fall of 1935, and the formation of a so-called National Union Party headed by M. Maurice Duplessis, and made up of both Conservatives and dissident Liberals headed by M. Paul Gouin. The chief purpose of the National Union Party was the overthrow of the Taschereau Government, at whose door all the ills of the province were laid. It was accused of surrendering to the forces of the English financiers, and selling the French-Canadian's birthright for a mess of pottage.

The formation of the National Union Party, however, was only one aspect of the Nationalist movement in Quebec, although it was by far the most important one. More or less coinciding with the appearance of this group, there sprang into existence many smaller intensely Nationalistic movements,

such as *La Jeunesse Nationale*, *Le Jeune Canada*, *La Nation de Québec*. It is the activities of these latter groups with their fiery slogans, their parades, their uniforms, and their demonstrations against Communism, which have no doubt largely contributed to the belief outside that Quebec is going Fascist. It is not generally known, however, that the influence of these associations in the political life of Quebec is comparatively insignificant, although up to the present they have been able to focus attention on their activities out of all proportion to their importance. Their membership is almost totally amongst young college students, and probably does not exceed more than a few thousand members.

Moreover, the aims of these organizations cannot be termed Fascistic in the strict sense of the word. The basic principles of all these groups are pretty much the same, although there is sometimes a difference of emphasis on certain points. In general, however, their programmes are characterized by anti-Semitism, and a certain amount of anti-English feeling; an intense Nationalism which sometimes expresses itself in what is known as Separatism, *i. e.*, the promotion of a separate French-Canadian State on the banks of the St. Lawrence; a demand for the reform of Capitalism and the curbing of Communism; and advocacy of a system of Christian Corporatism as the ideal form of social organization. There is no demand for the setting up of a totalitarian dictatorship on the German or Italian model.

The only organization in the Province of Quebec which can be termed Fascist is the National Christian Social Party whose *Führer* is M. Adrien Arcand. This avowedly Fascist organization publishes its own monthly paper, *Le Fasciste Canadien*, is violently anti-Semitic, repudiates democracy and advocates authoritarian principles in politics, makes war on Communism, Socialism and Liberalism, attacks "Finance Capitalism", and has as its ultimate goal the establishment in Canada of a totalitarian Corporative State on the German and Italian models.

It is this organization that the *London Daily Herald* referred to in a recent article headed "Fascist Army Drilling in Canada", in which it stated that M. Arcand's movement,

numbering 25,000 members in Montreal, and 80,000 in the Province of Quebec, included a well-drilled and well-armed body of storm troops. Where the *Daily Herald* obtained its information I do not know, but certainly no one in the Province of Quebec or in the City of Montreal has ever heard of any arming amongst these self-styled Fascists, although they no doubt are doing a certain amount of drilling of a semi-military nature. It must have come as a pleasant surprise to Führer Arcand to be informed that his movement had grown to the proportions the *Daily Herald* claimed for it, as at recent rallies of the Party held in Montreal, Quebec's Fascists have been able to muster only between one thousand and fifteen hundred people all told, many of whom no doubt merely attended out of curiosity. It is the consensus of opinion amongst those who are familiar with the political situation in this province that the National Christian Social Party does not number more than a few thousand members, and its importance in political life is negligible, despite the fact that it has been exceedingly clever in missing no opportunity to publicize its activities.

It is not to these groups that we must look in order to gain an understanding of Quebec politics, and the direction they will take in the future. The political group whose policy and activities are the greatest factors in Quebec affairs today, and apparently will be for some time to come, is the National Union Party of Premier Maurice Duplessis. As to the Liberal Party, it may be discounted as a force in Quebec political life for some time to come, as it appears to be completely disorganized and discredited, is suffering from lack of leadership, and is still in the Valley of Humiliation after its crushing defeat a year and a half ago.

As we have noted, the National Union Party came into being through a coalition of all those forces that were opposed to prevailing political and economic conditions in the province, and the system of political patronage which was the most characteristic feature of the existing government. This coalition was made up of Conservatives under M. Maurice Duplessis, a group of young Liberals under M. Paul Gouin, who

were dissatisfied with the leadership and policy of the Liberal Party in Quebec, and a few independent non-party men.

The main points in the programme of the new group were the greater participation of the French-Canadian in the economic development of the province, a greater emphasis upon the development of a distinctive French-Canadian culture, and the strengthening of the bonds of race and religion; a thorough investigation into the prevailing system of political patronage, and the elimination of corruption in public affairs; the curbing of the trusts and the passing of legislation that would facilitate the municipalization of electricity; legislation guaranteeing fair wages and better working conditions for employees in industry, and the further development of the prevailing Collective Labour Agreement Extension Act in the direction of the corporative organization of society as laid down by Pope Pius XI in his encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*.

Although the National Union Party came to power riding on the crest of the wave of Nationalism, and although it had gained many adherents by capitalizing on the prevalent anti-trust sentiment, which was to a very large extent anti-English sentiment, nevertheless, when once in power M. Duplessis lost no time in repudiating any desire on his part for the secession of the province from the Dominion of Canada, and went out of his way to reassure the English-speaking people that his government was impelled by no merely anti-English or anti-Capitalistic bias, but wished to secure for the French-Canadian his proper share in the economic development of the province.

It is a cardinal principle in Mr. Duplessis's political philosophy that if the people of the Province of Quebec are to achieve material prosperity, and Quebec is to take its place alongside Ontario as one of the chief industrial provinces of Canada, there must be harmony in the relations between Capital and Labour. As a means of eliminating industrial strife, and at the same time advancing the cause of social justice, the Duplessis government strongly advocates the principles of Corporatism.

There is in the Province of Quebec to-day a strong and rapidly growing body of opinion which inclines towards the

Corporative concept of society. Corporatism finds its adherents not only amongst the members of the present government, but also amongst the smaller Nationalistic groups and particularly amongst the Roman Catholic clergy.

This tendency towards Corporatism in Quebec is not to be confused with the Corporative State in Italy, which is based on entirely different principles. The Corporatism advocated by the National Union Party and the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec is what is known as "professional Corporatism", and is based upon the principles laid down by Pope Pius XI in his encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, for the peaceful settlement of disputes between Capital and Labour. The Corporative movement as it is developing in the province is a step towards Democracy rather than Fascism. To the existing structure of political Democracy it adds the framework of an industrial Democracy and self-government in industry, similar in many ways to the ideals of the Guild Socialist movement in England. It consists in the voluntary organization of all employers and employees in a given industry into associations which are known as corporations. These corporations are formed for the purpose of settling disputes between Capital and Labour, making agreements as to wage scales, hours of labour, etc. Only when the corporation has enrolled within its ranks the majority of employers and employees in a given industry, may it apply to the government for a charter, and be given legal status, and then all the decisions of the corporation become legally binding on all the industries in that particular branch of economic activity.

This "professional Corporatism" differs from Fascist "state Corporatism" in that these professional organizations are autonomous and self-governing units within the State, separate from the political government, and not merely organs of the State and part of the government as in Italy. The representatives of Capital and Labour in the Corporations are democratically elected by the employers and employees, not appointed by the government.

It is difficult to understand Quebec politics unless one realizes the great part played in them by the fear of Com-

munism, which is one of the greatest bogies of the present government and a prime factor in its policy. The steps taken by the government to combat this threat of Communism, such as the rather stupid "Padlock Law"¹, under which the Attorney General is empowered to padlock any dwelling or building which is used for Communistic purposes, have been the chief cause of the outcry against the provincial authorities amongst the advocates of free speech and democratic liberties, such as the Civil Liberties Union, and the C. C. F. Party, who contend that M. Duplessis is using the threat of Communism as a pretence for the suppression of freedom and Democracy, and as the first move towards the establishment of a Fascist State in Quebec.

This is not quite so, for although the danger of Communism in Quebec may appear to be greatly exaggerated by the present government, and in the opinion of the writer it is, nevertheless, to M. Duplessis and his associates it is a real and growing threat not only to the political and economic structure of Society as we know it, but also to the moral and intellectual life of the province, to the Roman Catholic religion to all those institutions and traditions which the French-Canadian holds sacred and inviolable. It is this fear and hatred of those things which Communism stands for which has prompted the government to take what it considers merely just and adequate steps to combat the evil, and there is no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the people of the province are in agreement with the policy of the government in this respect.

There is no doubt that M. Duplessis in his actions and policies has often assumed an autocratic or even a reactionary stand. He completely dominates the National Union Party which he leads, and will brook no deviation from the line of party policy which he has laid down. In his dealing with the opposition in the Quebec House he is at times brusque, discourteous and domineering. He sometimes acts in a very high-handed manner, as when he forcibly ejected General Panet as head of the Montreal Relief Commission on charges

1. Following this article, we publish a vindication of the "padlock law".
(Editor's note.)

of incompetence, without the presentation of adequate proofs. His handling of the recent strikes in the province was characterized by lack of judgment and by the same obsession of the Communist bogey.

Despite all this, to tag M. Duplessis as a Fascist or the advocate of a Fascist State is absurd. Duplessis is no potential Hitler or Mussolini aspiring to dictatorship, but on the other hand is a typical politician of the old school of party politics and parliamentary government. There is no anti-Semitism, racialism, totalitarianism or anti-democratic tendency in the policy of the present government. Strikes are not forbidden; labour unions, whether Catholic or international, have retained their autonomy; wages under the Duplessis régime have been raised rather than lowered; business is not being regimented, the freedom of the press has not been violated, the right to criticize freely the policy and activities of the government has not been curtailed, and indeed attacks upon the government by its political opponents are more violent and vociferous than ever. The by-elections which have been held since the new government came into power have been conspicuously free from any taint of corruption or coercion. The very organizations which are so loud in their denunciation of the suppression of free speech in Quebec, such as the Civil Liberties Union and the C. C. F. Party, are continually holding meetings and rallies, and discussing openly the loss of the freedom which they are exercising.

Allied with Premier Duplessis in his campaign against Communism is the Roman Catholic Church. The activity of the Church along these lines, and its position and influence in the affairs of the province, have been the subject of much misunderstanding. It is a prevalent belief in many quarters outside Quebec that Cardinal Villeneuve, the Primate of the Church in Canada, largely dictates the policies of the present Quebec government, that clericalism is rampant in the province, and that the Cardinal is working behind the scenes to establish a Clerico-Fascist State in which the Roman Catholic Church would occupy a predominant position. There is, however, really no evidence to support this view. Quebec is a province in which a large majority of the people are Roman

Catholics, including the members of the present provincial government, and it is only natural, therefore, that the policies of the government should largely conform to Catholic principles and teachings. The high ranking Church authorities have again and again reiterated their stand that they have no desire to interfere in provincial politics, and that their sole interest is in having Quebec remain what it is to-day, a Christian province. It is for this reason that they see eye to eye with Premier Duplessis in his fight against Communism with its atheistic and materialistic tenets. Cardinal Villeneuve stated in a speech at Sherbrooke, Que., last August:

"Never did I wish this province to be transformed into either a clerical or a Fascist community. But I want it to be a Christian community. May I ask all my English-speaking compatriots not to decide too soon that I, or the Catholic Church, intend to subdue liberty in this country."

Another widespread mistake is the tendency to hold the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec accountable for many things which are not the result of Catholic teachings, but are due to the traditions and racial characteristics of the French-Canadian, and the peculiarities of his culture. In this respect it is interesting to note the hostility in the province towards the proposal of female suffrage. Now the Roman Catholic Church has never declared against the principle of female suffrage, and has never made it an article of faith that women must not participate in politics, and it is obvious that the attitude towards this question in Quebec is prompted by racial rather than religious principles. For while it is true that women are denied the right to vote in Catholic Quebec, it is equally true that this right is denied them in anti-clerical France.

In addition to the National Union Party there are two other groups in the province of which mention must be made. They are *L'Action Libérale Nationale* of M. Paul Gouin, and the *Parti National* which includes such personalities as M. Oscar Drouin, Dr. Philippe Hamel, and former Mayor Grégoire of Quebec city. Both these groups were originally allied with M. Duplessis in the National Union Party, but broke with the Premier on questions of party policy. Both

groups are intensely Nationalistic with a leaning towards Separatism; both demand economic reforms which M. Duplessis has been unwilling to concede; both advocate Democratic Corporatism. The strength and influence of *L'Action Libérale Nationale* and the *Parti National* throughout the province are the unknown factors in Quebec politics, although at the present time they do not appear to have any great following, and in fact the recent defeat of M. Grégoire of the *Parti National* in his bid for re-election to Mayoralty of Quebec City is looked upon by many political observers here as the beginning of the end for this group as a factor in Quebec politics.

From our examination of the Quebec political scene it should be apparent that the danger of Fascism triumphing in Quebec is practically nil, although the trend towards Nationalism is undoubtedly strong and growing, and may have profound effect on the future of Provincial-Dominion relations. It is for this reason that Quebec politics will be closely watched by all those who are interested in seeing Canada become a strong united country, advancing along the road to nationhood, rather than a number of smaller, semi-autonomous, self-governing units, with conflicting aims and divergent interests.

The Quebec "Padlock Law"

by C. A. COUGHLIN, K. C.

WHAT THE ACT IS NOT

The very first thing to know about the "Padlock Act" is that there is no "Padlock Act". There is an Act Respecting Communistic Propaganda, which is Chapter 11 of the Statutes of Quebec, 1937.

The word "Padlock Act" is an example of Communistic Propaganda. It is a "slogan" used to prejudice opinion against the Act, to cloud the issues and to prevent clarity of thought.

If people discussed "the Act respecting Communistic Propaganda" they would be forced to discuss the question at issue, namely, should Communistic Propaganda be permitted, or should it be suppressed? This would involve the question as to what is the nature of Communistic Propaganda? How far has it spread? What harm is it doing or likely to do? Who is behind the movement? What is the relation of Moscow with the Canadian Communist party? Who is supplying the funds? What is the Third Internationale? Is Communism Canadian, or subversive of all that Canadian stands for? What is Communism? Does it attack Religion, both Protestant and Catholic? Is it Atheistic? Is it merely a political or economic movement?

All that and more is involved in the very title of the Act. Ask yourselves how many of these questions have been asked and answered by those publicly discussing the Act. You will then realize to what extent the use of the word "Padlock" has succeeded in clouding the issues and in diverting attention from Communistic propaganda.

This naturally plays into the hands of Communists and sympathizers with Communists. They naturally do not want any of these questions raised, discussed or answered. Hence the discussion about "Padlocks".

HOW THE ACT WAS PASSED

The first thing to be noted about the Act is that it passed both houses unanimously, English, French, Catholic and Protestant, Government or opposition Members voted for it. It

1. An address given in Montreal, February 25th.

represents, therefore, the unanimous opinion of the elected representatives of the people. It is a striking example of principles of democratic government.

WHAT THE ACT PROVIDES

There are two separate and distinct prohibitions in the Act. First: "It shall be illegal for any person who possesses or occupies a house within the Province, *to use it or allow any person to make use of it to propagate Communism or Bolshevism* by any means whatsoever." (Section 3.)

The second prohibition reads as follows:

"It shall be unlawful *to print, to publish, in any manner whatsoever, or to distribute in the Province any newspaper, periodical, pamphlet, circular, document or writing whatsoever propagating or tending to propagate communism or bolshevism.*" (Section 12.)

The two prohibitions of the Act are, therefore,

1st. the use of premises to propagate communism or bolshevism;

2nd. the printing, publishing and distributing of writings propagating or tending to propagate communism or bolshevism.

METHODS OF ENFORCING THE ACT

1st. To close premises.

The Attorney General is authorized to close premises for a period of not more than one year "upon satisfactory proof that an infringement of Section 3 has been committed." (Section 4.)

2nd. Seizure, confiscation and destruction of writings.

The Attorney General or his substitute or a person specially authorized by the Attorney General may instruct any constable or peace officer to seize and confiscate or distributed which propagate or tend to propagate communism or bolshevism and the Attorney General may order that they be destroyed. (Section 14.)

PROTECTION OF RIGHTS OF THE SUBJECT

Any owner of premises which have been closed may, by a simple petition to a Judge of the Superior Court, have the order of the Attorney General—

- a) revised;
- b) suspended;
- c) cancelled;

The Attorney General may—

- d) permit the occupation of the premises;
- e) revoke the order.

REVISION AND SUSPENSION OF THE ORDER
BY THE JUDGE

If the owner was in good faith and was ignorant that the premises were used in contravention of the Act, the Judge may revise the Closing Order. (Sections 6 and 7.) For instance, if Communists were to lease premises for the purpose of propagating Communism, the premises might be closed by the Attorney General. The Landlord can make a petition to the Court (which is a much simpler and less expensive proceeding than the issue of a writ). Notice of the petition is given the Attorney General and the landlord's lawyer and the Attorney General's lawyer appears before the Judge. The Judge hears the parties and orders the revision of the order if good faith and ignorance of misuse are proved, or may suspend it if the owner gives security that the premises will not again be used to propagate Communism. (Section 7.)

Cases have already come before the Courts and the Attorney General has normally consented to the reopening of the premises on condition that they be not used for the purpose of propagating communism.

CANCELLATION OF CLOSING ORDER BY THE JUDGE

The Judge may cancel the closing order if the house has not been used for propagating communism for 12 months prior to the order (Sections 6 and 8).

The ordinary citizen, therefore, has nothing to fear from these provisions of the Act. Those attacking the Act are holding up a "Bogey" to frighten the ignorant when they pretend that anyone's house may be closed and kept closed by the Attorney General. The Attorney General must first have satisfactory proof of an infringement of the Act before he can close my house. He is a lawyer and I presume a rational man and a good politician. If he closes my house without the necessary proof he will be acting as no good lawyer acts; he will be acting irrationally and I certainly won't vote for him at the next election. I presume the Judge is a rational Judge. He will not see me victimized by any public officer. After all, that is my protection against abuse of authority in all cases—the assumption of rationality, the Courts and my vote.

SEIZURE OF COMMUNISTIC WRITINGS

A number of seizures of Communistic writings, books, pamphlets, newspapers, circulars, etc., have been made.

The speaker has personally examined a great part of this literature so seized and can assure his hearers that it is not made up of novels by Dickens, such as "Oliver Twist" or the Biographies of great men such as the leader of the C.C.F. Mr. Woodsworth.

It consists of the staple revolutionary works by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and others, books, pamphlets, circulars, magazines and posters inculcating the fundamental doctrines of Communism, dialectical materialism, Theism. Class warfare and the exaltation of revolution as the legitimate means to attain the ends of Communism. Many of the works are direct attacks on Christianity and on religion.

Some of the seized books are text books actually used in Communistic schools in Montreal, published in Moscow by the Soviet Government. Children attend Communistic Schools after ordinary school hours and they circulate amongst boys and girls attending Catholic and Protestant schools.

These text books exalt the principles of the Russian revolution, hold up Russia as the model for Canadian youth and depreciate Canada. This naturally brings up the question—are we in the Province of Quebec to bring up young Canadians or young Communists? That is one of the questions that must be answered and Quebec has answered emphatically that it prefers young Canadians.

CRITICISM OF THE ACT

Much of the criticism of the Act is based on misinformation or misrepresentation.

For instance, it has been stated any policeman can stop you on the street and confiscate a copy of Marx's *Capital* or McGill Library can be closed because it contains copies of Marx's works or More's *Utopia* or Mr. Calder's front door can be padlocked if he is caught reading Strachey's *Theory and Practice of Socialism*, or the one with the introduction by the Bishop of Durham or that the Bible may be confiscated. This is pure nonsense and any word less severe is insufficient to describe these assertions.

The Act does not prohibit the ownership of any of these books or the reading of them. It prohibits the printing, publishing and distributing of writings "propagating or tending to propagate communism or bolshevism."

I own many Communistic works. I have writings by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Strachey, Browder, Ryerson,

Tim Buck, Dimitroff, *The Clarion, La Clarté*. I am not contravening the law. I am using these writings to combat Communistic propaganda, not to propagate it. So I presume is McGill Library and Mr. Calder. As to Saint Thomas More, he closes his Utopia with the words:

“When Raphael (who had been describing Utopia to More) had thus made an end of speaking, though many things occurred to me (More) both concerning the manners and laws of the people, that seemed very absurd, as well in their way of making war, as in their notions of religion and divine matters; together with several other particulars, but chiefly what seemed the foundation of all the rest their living in common...” (More’s Utopia in *Ideal Commonwealths*, pp. 98-99.)

The Act is alleged to be an attack on *Freedom of Speech*. Here again confusion of thought is rampant.

The Act does not prohibit *Freedom of Speech* for Liberals, Conservatives, C. C. F’ers, Monarchists, Republicans, Catholics, Anglicans, Presbyterians, members of the United Church, Baptists, Methodists, Jews, Mohammedans, Irish Republicans, Orangemen, Social Creditors, Advocates of planned and unplanned Economic Systems, Democrats, Rooseveltians, Hooverites, followers of Chamberlain or followers of Eden, upholders of the English Labour Party, Ulsterites or admirers of Mr. de Valera, Low or High Tariff Advocates, Imperialists and Separatists, Nationalists, pro-French and anti-French, pro-British and Canadians, Progressives, Reactionaries, capitalists, laborites, syndicatists, followers of Mr. Green or Mr. Lewis, Advocates of professional hockey as against amateur sport, National Unionists, Admirers of Mr. Priestly as against Mr. Walpole, Mickey Mouse as against Charlie McCarthy, movies as against the legitimate stage, the superiority of Mussolini to Hitler, or vice-versa, or of dictatorship to democracy, or the validity of Darwin’s arguments for the “Origin of Species” against the Mendelian laws. People can still argue about the latest theories of hydrostatics, astronomy, physics, geology, psychology, anthropology, biology, ecology, ethnology, psychoanalysis, determinism, fatalism, philosophy, theology, history and economics. On the whole therefore, the field for *Free Speech* is fairly wide and should satisfy the requirements of the democratic citizen who is presumably so interested in preserving it.

HEIGHT OF ABSURDITY

The height of absurdity is reached by the opponents of the Act, who maintain that *Free Speech* has been abolished, when they themselves hold vociferous meetings condemning the Act which they say has abolished *Free Speech*.

One warning before I conclude—Those who are so intent on preserving “free speech” for Communists should spend a little time on considering what and how much “free speech” will prevail when and if Communism prevails in Canada.

Speaking for the Communists, Mr. Strachey in his *Theory and Practice of Socialism* (page 210) says: “Thus we must face the facts that, for a period, the British and American workers will almost certainly be compelled to restrict the civil liberties of the dispossessed classes to an extent that these classes will consider outrageous.”

Just as an Act imposing the death penalty for murder may properly be entitled “An Act to Preserve Life”, so the Act prohibiting Communistic propaganda may properly be entitled “An Act to Preserve Free Speech.”

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY
130 St. George Street, Toronto, Ontario

101. <i>Nos premiers Missionnaires.</i>	Abbé Napoléon MORISSETTE
102. <i>Les Retraites fermées en Belgique.</i>	R. P. LAVEILLE, S. J.
103. <i>La Congrégation du Saint-Esprit.</i>	R. P. G. LE GALLOIS, C. S. SP.
104. <i>Répliques du bon sens — III.</i>	Capitaine MAGNIEZ
106. <i>Les Retraites fermées.</i>	Ferdinand ROY
107. <i>Sa Grandeur Monseigneur Courchesne.</i>	XXX
108. <i>L'Enc. « Miserentissimus Redemptor »</i>	S. S. PIE XI
109. <i>La Langue française.</i>	Chanoine CHARRON
110. <i>L'Apostolat.</i>	Rodolphe LAPLANTE
111. <i>Répliques du bon sens — IV.</i>	Capitaine MAGNIEZ
112. <i>Le Drapeau canadien-français.</i>	R. P. ARCHAMBAULT, S. J.
113. <i>L'Université Pontificale Grégorienne</i>	XXX
114. <i>La Retraite fermée.</i>	Roland MILLAR
115. <i>L'Action catholique.</i>	Mgr P.-S. DESRANLEAU
116. <i>Un diocèse canadien aux Indes</i>	R. P. E. GAGNON, C. S. C.
117. <i>Le Mois du Dimanche</i>	R. P. ARCHAMBAULT, S. J.
118. <i>Pour le repos dominical.</i>	D. B.
119. <i>Le Problème de la natalité.</i>	Benito MUSSOLINI
120. <i>Moniales Carmélites aux Trois-Rivières</i>	UN AMI DU CARMEL
121. <i>La Femme canadienne-française</i>	Sr Marie du Rédempteur, S. G. C.
122. <i>L'Ordre Trinitaire.</i>	Jean-Félix de CERFROID
124. <i>Le Sens social.</i>	Abbé Joseph-C. TREMBLAY
125. <i>Sa Sainteté Pie XI</i>	S. Em. le card. ROULEAU, O. P.
127. <i>L'Encyclique « Mens Nostra »</i>	S. S. PIE XI
128. <i>La Destinée sociale de la femme</i>	Marie-Thérèse ARCHAMBAULT
129. <i>Les Retraites fermées.</i>	Dr Joseph GAUVREAU
130. <i>Le B. Albert le Grand</i>	R. P. RICHER, O. P.
131. <i>La Tempérance — I</i>	S. G. Mgr COURCHESNE
132. <i>Les Bénédictins</i>	Dom Léonce CRENIER, O. S. B.
133. <i>La Médaille miraculeuse</i>	R. P. PLAMONDON, S. J.
134. <i>La Première Missionnaire des Religieuses du Sacré-Cœur</i>	R. S. C. J.
135. <i>Mère Bruyère.</i>	Sr Marie du Rédempteur, S. G. C.
136. <i>La Formation d'une élite chez la jeunesse féminine</i>	Marguerite BOURGEOIS
137. <i>L'Eucharistie et la Charité</i>	C.-J. MAGNAN
138. <i>T. R. P. Basile-Antoine-Marie Moreau</i>	Une Religieuse de Sainte-Croix
139. <i>La Tempérance — II.</i>	S. G. Mgr COURCHESNE
140. <i>Le Communisme au Canada.</i>	E. S. P.
141. <i>L'Ouvrier en Russie</i>	E. S. P.
142. <i>L'Action catholique.</i>	Mgr Eugène LAPOINTE
143. <i>La Russie en 1930.</i>	Dr Georges LODYGENSKY
144. <i>Le Scoutisme canadien-français</i>	R. P. Paul BÉLANGER, S. J.
145. <i>L'Aumône</i>	Mgr Charles LAMARCHE
146. <i>Le Monument du Souvenir canadien</i>	L'Hon. Rodolphe LEMIEUX
147. <i>Les Troubles scolaires de la Saskatchewan</i>	R. P. TAVERNIER, O. M. I.
148. <i>L'Offensive soviétique.</i>	René HENTSCH
150. <i>L'Heure catholique.</i>	S. Exc. Mgr DESCHAMPS
151. <i>Cinquante ans de retraites fermées</i>	R. P. Louis DASSONVILLE, S. J.
152. <i>Les Jésuites en Espagne</i>	XXX
153. <i>Un groupe de jeunesse catholique.</i>	Abbé Aurèle PARROT
154. <i>La Sanctification du dimanche</i>	XXX
155. <i>Le Petit Nombre des catholiques</i>	R. P. GIBERT, S. J.
156. <i>Encyclique « Caritate Christi compulsi »</i>	S. S. PIE XI
157. <i>Les Dangers des vacances</i>	Abbé Georges PANNETON
158. <i>La Société St-Vincent-de-Paul à Montréal</i>	J.-A. JULIEN
159. <i>Le Malaise économique.</i>	Nos Evêques
160. <i>Les Saints Jésuites canadiens</i>	R. P. TENNESON, S. J.
161. <i>Les Retraites fermées au Canada.</i>	Léo PELLAND
162. <i>Vers la guerre.</i>	XXX
164. <i>L'Année sainte</i>	S. S. PIE XI
165. <i>Les Carrières — II.</i>	A. PERRAULT, C.R.-J. SIROIS, N.P.
166. <i>L'Action internationale des sans-Dieu.</i>	E. S. P.
167. <i>Les Carrières — III</i>	Dr J. GAUVREAU-A. MAILHIOT
168. <i>Les Carrières — IV</i>	Abbé A. VACHON-A. BÉDARD
169. <i>Encyclique « Dilectissima Nobis »</i>	S. S. PIE XI
170. <i>Le Message de Jésus... Ses sources — I</i>	R. P. L.-A. TÉTRAULT, S. J.
171. <i>L'Héroïque Aventure.</i>	R. P. Gérard GOULET, S. J.
172. <i>Les Carrières — V.</i>	A. CHAMPAGNE-P. JONCAS
173. <i>La Famine en Russie.</i>	CILACC

174. *Les Carrières* — VI
 175. *Catéchisme abrégé d'Action catholique*
 176. *Le Message de Jésus... Ses sources* — II
 177. *L'Eglise de Rome et les Eglises orientales*
 178. *Les Carrières* — VII
 179. *Un Monastère de Bénédictines au Canada*
 180. *Les Amicales féminines*
 181. *Quelques réflexions sur l'Apostolat laïque*
 182. *Causeries religieuses*
 183. *L'Apostolat*
 184. *Pour le plein rendement des Retraites fermées*
 185. *Mgr Provencher*
 186. *Les Carrières* — VIII
 187. *Saint Jean Bosco*
 188. *Les Sans-Dieu en Russie*
 189. *La Retraite fermée et les jeunes*
 190. *Armand La Vergne*
 191. *Les Bx Martyrs Jésuites du Paraguay*
 192. *La Retraite fermée, œuvre essentielle*
 193. *L'A. C. J. F. groupe les jeunes*
 194. *L'Education*
 195. *Le Vieux Collège de Québec*
 196. *Les Jésuites et l'humanisme chrétien*
 197. *Pacifisme révolutionnaire*
 198. *L'Œuvre des Gouttes de lait paroissiales*
 199. *Les Jésuites*
 200. *L'Œuvre des Terrains de Jeux*
 201. *Sous la menace rouge*
 202. *Un quart d'heure au pays du Soleil Levant*
 203. *Croisière en U. R. S. S.*
 204. *Notre cours classique*
 205. *Quand le Front populaire est roi*
 206. *L'Action catholique*
 207. *Le Cinéma*
 208. *Le Milieu — Nature et conquête*
 209. *Les Sans-Dieu à l'œuvre*
 210. *Sœur Mathilde de la Providence*
 211. *Le Catholicisme en face du communisme*
 212. *Notre régime pénitentiaire*
 213. *L'Ordre social chrétien*
 214. *La Mission surnat. de l'Action catholique*
 215. *Lettre apostolique « Nos es muy »*
 216. *Le Père Marquette*
 217. *Sur les pas du Frère André*
 218. *La Mission Saint-Joseph de Sillery*
 219. *L'Espagne dans les chaînes*
 220. *L'Expérience d'Antigonish*
 221. *Le Saint Rosaire*
 222. *Retraites pour collégiens*
 223. *L'Impérieuse Mission de la jeunesse*
 224. *L'Action catholique* — II
 225. *Congrès Eucharistique National de Québec*
 226. *Lettre sur le communisme*
 227. *Le Bienheureux Pierre-Julien Eymard*
 228. *Mémoires des minorités au Canada*
 229. *La Vierge en Nouvelle-France*
 230. *Congrès mondial de la Jeunesse*
 231. *Doit-on tolérer la propagande communiste?*
 232. *Une Université catholique au Japon*
 233. *Le Front unique, piège communiste*
 234. *The Bogey of Fascism in Quebec*
 234. *The Quebec "Padlock Law"*
- A. RIOUX-A. GOUBOUT
 Abbé Georges THUOT
 R. P. L.-A. TÉTRAULT, S. J.
 Abbé J.-A. SABOURIN
 E. L'HEUREUX-A. LÉVEILLÉ
 R. P. Paul DONCŒUR, S. J.
 Abbé Georges THUOT
 S. Exc. Mgr COURCHESNE
 R. P. BROUILLET, S. J.
 J. SYLVESTRE-A. PROVENCHER
 E. MATHIEU-M. CHARTRAND
 R. P. Alexandre DUGRÉ, S. J.
 E. MINVILLE-A. LAURENDEAU
 P. René GIRARD, S. J.
 PRO DEO
 Jean-Paul VERSCHULDEN
 XXX
 R. P. TENNESON, S. J.
 Gérard TREMBLAY
 Louis BERNE
 Mgr Wilfrid LEBON
 P. Jean LARAMÉE, S. J.
 Mgr Camille ROY
 Lettres de Rome
 Docteur Joseph GAUVREAU
 Abbé Joseph GARIÉPY
 O. T. J.
 R. P. ARCHAMBAULT, S. J.
 Paul-Émile LÉGER, P. S. S.
 Pierre MAURIAU
 Jean FILION
 E. S. P.
 S. S. PIE XI
 S. S. PIE XI
 R. P. Adrien MALO, O. F. M.
 Commission PRO DEO
 Marie-Claire DAVELUY
 Mgr Fulton J. SHEEN
 Dr Joseph RISI
 Cardinal LIÉNART
 Abbé Anselme LONGPRÉ
 S. S. PIE XI
 Alexandre DUGRÉ, S. J.
 Frère LÉOPOLD, C. S. C.
 R. P. Léon POULIOT, S. J.
 Gil ROBLES
 Abbé Livain CHIASSON
 S. S. PIE XI-S. S. LÉON XIII
 Abbé A. MIGNOLET
 Roger BROSSARD
 S. S. PIE XI
 R. P. Auguste GRONDIN, S. S. S.
 S. Exc. Mgr Georges GAUTHIER
 R. P. Léo BOISMENU, S. S. S.
 O. T.
 P. Charles DUBÉ, S. J.
 E. S. P.
 Abbé Camille POISSON
 R. P. Hugo LASALLE, S. J.
 Entente internat. anticommuniste
 H. F. QUINN
 G. A. COUGHLIN, K. C.

N. B. — Les numéros omis sont épuisés.

Prix: 10 sous l'unité franco; \$6.00 le cent; \$50.00 le mille; port en plus
 Condition d'abonnement: \$1.00 pour douze numéros consécutifs

L'ACTION PAROISSIALE, 4260, rue de Bordeaux, Montréal
Téléphone: Amherst 2192