

# **From the Streets of Oshawa to the Prisons of Moscow: The Story of János Farkas (1902-1938)**

**Myron Momryk**

**The Depression of the 1930s** shattered the hopes and dreams for a new life in Canada for many immigrants who arrived in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Recent arrivals from central Europe were faced with much more than the usual challenges of establishing themselves in a new country. In addition to the initial problems of new immigrants — learning a new language, familiarizing themselves with the popular culture and establishing networks of contacts and friends — they had to compete with other immigrants and the Canadian-born for the increasingly rare ‘pick and shovel jobs’ which were the entry-level employment of many immigrants. As the Depression deepened in the early 1930s, they endured long periods of unemployment and, if they found occasional work, it was often as poorly paid manual labourers under very difficult working conditions. With no hope in the foreseeable future for gainful employment and a new life, the unemployed immigrants tried to cope as best they could while others returned to Europe.

Many immigrants, radicalized by their situation, participated in left-wing political movements, became active members in unemployed associations and took part in protest marches and demonstrations. In some cases, they joined the Communist Party of Canada and, inevitably, came to the attention of the Canadian law enforcement authorities. As a result, a few of these immigrants became enmeshed in judicial and administrative proceedings with unexpected and unforeseen consequences. János Farkas was among these immigrants.

János Farkas was born on September 4, 1902, into a peasant family in Gellénháza, Zala County, Hungary. He had completed ‘middle school’ and worked as a clerk in a business from 1922 until 1926. His first contact with the Communist movement was during the Communist government in Hungary under the leadership of Béla Kun. At this time, his father was arrested.<sup>1</sup>

Farkas arrived in Quebec City from Antwerp on the ship *SS Minnedosa* on 23 July, 1926. He paid for his own passage and, on arrival, had \$27.00 in his possession. On the ship passenger list, Farkas stated that his nationality was Hungarian, his occupation was 'farmworker' and his destination was Vonda, Saskatchewan.<sup>2</sup> Farkas worked as a farm labourer near Vonda until winter. He then worked in a meat packing plant and in a coal mine.<sup>3</sup> From February, 1928, he was living in Oshawa, Ontario and he worked at the General Motors plant. Farkas became an active member of the local Hungarian community in Oshawa.<sup>4</sup> By 1929, he had become a member of the Hungarian section of the Communist Party of Canada (CPC).<sup>5</sup> Farkas became an organizer for the Workingmen's Mutual Sick Benefit Society. He was also among the first initiators of the Hungarian-language newspaper, *Kanadai Magyar Munkás*. For his union organizing work among the plant workers, János lost his job and was placed on a 'black list.'<sup>6</sup>

He became a partner with J. Carney in a grocery store in Oshawa. Eventually the store went bankrupt because Farkas and his partner had extended credit to the unemployed who could not pay their bills.<sup>7</sup> He and his partner lost approximately \$3,000.00 in their failed business venture.<sup>8</sup>

As the number of unemployed grew, speakers from the CPC visited Oshawa. During the federal election campaign in the summer of 1930, the CPC claimed that there were 250 present at a meeting in Memorial Park in downtown Oshawa.<sup>9</sup> The local CPC attempted to hold a rally in Memorial Park on July 22, 1930, but protests from the local veterans obliged them to move the rally to the Labour Temple.<sup>10</sup> In late September, 1930, Eddie MacDonald led a demonstration of 300 unemployed through downtown Oshawa to attract attention to their situation.<sup>11</sup> MacDonald was an immigrant from England and a leader of the local unemployed. His involvement in political debates, local elections and physical confrontations with members of the general public were reported in the local press. However, he was wary of the influence of the Communist Party of Canada in Oshawa and accused some individuals of being 'communists'.<sup>12</sup> As the number of unemployed grew, Tom Ewen, a national leader of the CPC, visited Oshawa in July, 1931 and "spoke to the foreigners in their hall on Bloor Street."<sup>13</sup> Unemployment was a serious and growing problem among workers including recent immigrants. By August, 1931, there were over 2000 registered as unemployed in Oshawa.<sup>14</sup>

In 1931 Farkas became involved with the Canadian Labor Defense League as well as the Unemployed Workers' Association — and he was already identified as one of the leaders of the local unemployed in Oshawa.<sup>15</sup> At a protest meeting of the unemployed held in the Memorial Park on July 24, Farkas quarrelled with Eddie MacDonald. The quarrel led to a fist fight and

both were taken to the police station.<sup>16</sup> Both were charged with disorderly conduct and their trial was adjourned until August 21, 1931. A book entitled "Banish God from the skies and capital from the earth" was seized by the police at the fight.<sup>17</sup> Farkas claimed that MacDonald had borrowed this book from him and refused to return it. The police kept the book as evidence against Farkas. At the conclusion of the trial, both Farkas and MacDonald were charged with disorderly conduct and fined \$5.00.<sup>18</sup>

Already in the local administration there was some discussion of Farkas's deportation.<sup>19</sup> In a letter of August 17, 1931, J.A. McGibbon, the County Crown Attorney, wrote to the Hon. W.H. Price, Attorney General, that "... I think probably too that they all ought to be deported and then you would be surprised how quickly the whole thing will end. You will remember the famous Emma Goldman when she got back to Russia, how quickly she changed."<sup>20</sup> According to 'An Act to Amend the Immigration Act, 6 June, 1919', foreign nationals may be expelled who 'advocate in Canada the overthrow by force or violence of the Government' without the need for a court hearing.<sup>21</sup> This Act was passed when the Canadian authorities genuinely feared the threat posed by the new Bolshevik Revolution. Communism was perceived as 'foreign' and introduced to Canada by 'foreigners'. Membership in the CPC would certainly qualify a recent immigrant for deportation to his country of origin. Communists were considered as a detriment to Canadian 'nation-building'.

The leaders of the CPC, Tim Buck and Tom Ewen, were arrested on August 11, 1931 under section 98 of the Criminal Code as members of the CPC, an illegal organization. They were tried and convicted in November and sentenced to five years in the Kingston penitentiary. Along with other CPC members arrested at that time, they became known as the 'Kingston Eight' and the Canadian Labor Defense League (CLDL) mounted a national campaign to free them.<sup>22</sup>

At that time, Farkas was living with Alex Cziraska and his family as a boarder. Cziraska owed him \$100.00 and, in this manner, he was repaying his debt. After his confrontation with Eddie MacDonald, Farkas lived a relatively quiet life. Although he took part in local unemployed demonstrations and made speeches in Hungarian, he did not take an active leadership role. Also, Farkas had applied for Canadian naturalization.<sup>23</sup>

On May 5, 1932, four members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) came to interrogate Farkas in his room. Farkas thought that they had come to give him his naturalization papers. He was interviewed by the police and asked if he was a Communist. Farkas replied, "You would be too if you had been out of work for a year." The police searched his room and

found a newspaper and a book which they suspected were Communist publications and then they searched the entire house.<sup>24</sup> When the police asked him if he wanted to go to Russia, Farkas replied, "I can't go too soon. I only wish I had the money and I'd go tomorrow." The police took him away by automobile to Toronto. The 'communistic book and newspaper' were also taken by the police.<sup>25</sup> There was already speculation in the local press that Farkas may be deported.<sup>26</sup>

Farkas was taken into custody by the RCMP at the same time as several other members of the CPC across Canada. Farkas became a member of the 'Halifax Ten' who were held in Halifax for deportation to Europe. The other members of the 'Halifax Ten' were Conrad Cessinger, Dan Chomicki (Holmes), Iwan Sembaj (John Sembay), Martin Parker (Pohjansalo), Hans Kist, Arvo Vaara, John (Toivo) Stahlberg, Gottfried Zurcher and Stefan Worozcyt.<sup>27</sup> This period is noted for the deportation of thousands of Canadian residents who were not naturalized. When CPC members were arrested by the police for various reasons and found that they were not naturalized, they were prime candidates for deportation. However, those who were naturalized or born in Canada could not be deported. Other Canadian residents without naturalization were arrested and deported for a number of crimes and violations. In the 1930s, several thousands were deported as public and medical 'charges' and suffering from mental illness.<sup>28</sup> Between January, 1932 and March, 1933, at least thirteen Oshawa residents who were not naturalized were deported for being 'Public Charges' and 'Medical Charges'. Among these were two Hungarians.<sup>29</sup> The Canadian Labor Defense League (CLDL) led campaigns to free these individuals and to prevent their deportation to their countries of origin where the CLDC claimed they faced long terms of imprisonment or capital punishment.

The arrest of CPC members by the RCMP immediately raised protests from various sources.<sup>30</sup> In the House of Commons, J.S. Woodsworth, member for Winnipeg North Centre, asked under whose authority were the 'Deportation Cases' arrested, under what charges and when would they be taken to trial.<sup>31</sup> The Hon. W.A. Gordon, Acting Minister of Immigration and Colonization replied:

... A complaint is made and then the inquiry is set on foot. After the case is heard pro and con, a report is made to the Minister, and if in the Minister's judgement the board of inquiry has come to the proper conclusion and if the person whose case is being investigated has rendered himself liable under the provisions of the statute to being returned to his country of origin, appropriate action is taken.<sup>32</sup>

The CLDL made a determined effort to defend the 'Halifax Ten' and to introduce their case in court. In almost every issue of the CLDL newspaper, *Canadian Labor Defender*, the detention of the Halifax 'prisoners' was publicized and included protest articles and editorials.<sup>33</sup> The desperate situation of János Farkas was reported in the Hungarian-language newspaper, *Kanadai Magyar Munkás* on May 12 and 19, 1932.<sup>34</sup> Letters of protest were sent to Prime Minister R.B. Bennett by CLDC Branches from various parts of Canada. On August 25, 1932, a letter of protest was also sent to the Prime Minister from the Oshawa Branch of the CLDC.<sup>35</sup> A letter of protest regarding the detained was received from as far away as Sofia, Bulgaria.<sup>36</sup>

Various legal appeals were launched on behalf of the prisoners but all were unsuccessful. An appeal with the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia was dismissed on June 11, 1932. All ten detainees were ordered to be deported according to the findings of the Court of Inquiry sitting in Halifax. The applicants were all arrested under warrants issued by the Deputy Minister under Section 42 of the Immigration Act pursuant to complaint in writing made under Section 41 by the Commissioner of Immigration. The Board of Inquiry in each case found "...the facts alleged in the Complaint to have been duly proven and ordered the deportation of all the applicants."<sup>37</sup> A further appeal on October 13, 1932 with the Supreme Court of Canada was also dismissed.<sup>38</sup> On November 17, 1932, the *Kanadai Magyar Munkás* published a statement from Farkas with his photograph: "To Munkás: I am sending proletarian greetings to the Canadian Hungarian Workers on the date of the 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the proletarian revolution. J. Farkas"<sup>39</sup>

In the November issue of the *Canadian Labor Defender*, the newspaper pleaded for "Amnesty for the 10 Halifax prisoners' who were detained for almost six months."<sup>40</sup> In December, 1932, appeals pending to the Minister of Immigration and Colonization against deportation were dismissed and the deportation orders were implemented.<sup>41</sup> Dan Holmes and Stefan Worozcyt offered to pay their own way to the Soviet Union rather than be deported to Poland.<sup>42</sup> Conrad Cessinger, Hans Kist and János Farkas were placed on board the ship, SS Dresden traveling to New York and then to Bremen, Germany. The *Canadian Labor Defender* of January-February, 1933 published a letter dated December 19, 1932 and co-signed 'Always for the class struggle, Comradely Yours' by Conrad Cessinger, Hans Kist and Jánms Farkas while on board the ship, SS Dresden.<sup>43</sup> They described their departure from detention in Halifax while singing the 'International' to the remaining comrades.<sup>44</sup> Arvo Vaara and Martin Parker (Pohjansalo) were scheduled for deportation to Finland, Dan Chomicki (Holmes) and Stefan Worozcyt to Poland, John (Toivo) Stahlberg to the United States, Conrad Cessinger and Hans Kist to

Germany, Gottfried Zurcher to Switzerland and Iwan Sembaj (John Sembaj) was still in Halifax waiting for deportation to the Soviet Union.<sup>45</sup>

Eddie MacDonald, leader of the unemployed in Oshawa, was deported to England.<sup>46</sup> When he immigrated to Canada, he had omitted to mention on his immigration application that he had been a patient in a mental institution which was a violation of the Immigration Act. He was also convicted of stealing railway ties as fuel for a needy family in Oshawa.<sup>47</sup>

After he disembarked in Bremen, Farkas managed to escape the final leg of his journey to Hungary. As several other deportees before and after him, Farkas made contact with the Red Aid of Germany in Bremen. This was an organization founded by the Communist International (Comintern) to assist political prisoners. With their assistance, Farkas traveled to Berlin.<sup>48</sup> From there, he was able to travel to the Soviet Union as a 'political emigrant' arriving in May, 1933.<sup>49</sup> Martin Parker and Arvo Varro were also able to make their way to the Soviet Union. John (Toivo) Stahlberg was deported to the United States and eventually emigrated to Soviet Karelia. In Moscow, foreign 'revolutionaries' became the responsibility of the International Organization to Aid Revolutionaries. After he arrived in the Soviet Union, Farkas, along with John Sembaj and Martin Parker, applied to transfer their membership from the CPC to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.<sup>50</sup> Farkas completed a questionnaire and submitted a one-page autobiography of his involvement with the Communist Party of Canada and his deportation. It is interesting to note that Farkas did not make any mention of his business career as a storekeeper in Oshawa. His request submitted on May 15, 1933, was endorsed by Norman Morgan, who was a Canadian representative at the Comintern in Moscow. G. Williams, also a representative of the Communist Party of Canada in Moscow, recommended on September 19, 1936 that Farkas should be allowed to remain in the Soviet Union.<sup>51</sup> Farkas became a member of the exile Hungarian community in Moscow and in his autobiographical note, claimed that he knew Lajos (Louis) Bebrits, former editor of the Hungarian-language newspaper, *Új Előre* in the United States. Bebrits was also deported to the Soviet Union in 1932.<sup>52</sup> In early 1938, Farkas was working as a chauffeur for the firm "Miasokombinat" in Moscow and his address was Granitnii Prospekt, Building 4, apartment 12.

Farkas was arrested on February 26, 1938 and charged with espionage and as a member of a counter-revolutionary nationalist group. During this period, NKVD distrusted 'foreign communists' and those who were arrested did not have much opportunity to defend themselves against these charges. Those who were under investigation by the NKVD were often obliged among other things to confess their 'crimes'.<sup>53</sup>

Tom Ewen was released from the Kingston Penitentiary on October 3, 1934 and Tim Buck, the leader of the Communist Party of Canada, was released on November 24, 1934 and resumed their political activities both in Canada and abroad. Eventually all of the 'Kingston Eight' were released.<sup>54</sup> Tim Buck was in Moscow in May, 1938 'to observe the Moscow Trials of 21 Right Trotskyist conspirators.'<sup>55</sup> However, it is doubtful if he knew of János Farkas's predicament.<sup>56</sup> At this same time, Tom Ewen, wrote an article 'Traitors All' in the CPC newspaper, *People's Advocate*, condemning all those accused by the Soviet authorities.<sup>57</sup> Farkas was sentenced on July 29 and executed (shot) on August 20, 1938. He was buried in the Moscow region.<sup>58</sup>

This period was marked by 'purges' and political show trials as Joseph Stalin sought to further consolidate his political position as supreme leader of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Armed Forces, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet bureaucracy lost countless thousands of members to these purges and political trials. In addition, unknown numbers of ordinary citizens were executed or spent many years in the Siberian gulags. According to information in NKVD archives, 779,056 people were arrested for 'counterrevolutionary crimes' and 353,074 were executed in 1937 and 593,326 people were arrested with 328,618 executed in 1938.<sup>59</sup>

Members of the foreign exile communities were particular targets for arrest. Many members of the Hungarian Communist Party living in exile in Moscow in the 1930s were arrested and at least twenty of their leaders were executed or died in Stalin's prisons.<sup>60</sup> Among those who were arrested was Béla Kun, a founder of the Communist Party of Hungary and head of the Communist government in Hungary in 1919. He was arrested on June 28, 1937, tried and executed on August 29, 1938.<sup>61</sup> The Soviet secret police were congratulated on their vigilance against 'foreign spies'. In one report, it was noted that "...the NKVD has also accomplished much in inflicting a crushing defeat on espionage-subversive agents of foreign intelligence services transferred to the USSR in great numbers from abroad under the guise of so-called political émigrés and deserters..."<sup>62</sup>

The Hungarian Communist Party and its leadership were in a state of permanent crisis in the 1930s. In May, 1936, the Comintern dismissed the entire Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party.<sup>63</sup> The lack of confidence in the Hungarian Communist Party by the Comintern may have affected the status of individual members of the exile Hungarian community including János Farkas.

John Sembay had earlier met a similar fate. He was deported from Canada on April 23, 1932. With his wife and daughter, he received permission to travel to the Soviet Union. Not very long after he arrived, Sembay was

arrested and charged for 'counter-revolutionary activity' and as an 'enemy of the people'. He was sent to Astrakhan in the interior of the Soviet Union where he died on June 19, 1934 supposedly killed by bandits while working outside the prison.<sup>64</sup> John Stahlberg was deported to the United States but he later emigrated to Soviet Karelia. According to one report, he 'perished in a labor camp'.<sup>65</sup>

Some of the other 'Halifax Ten' were more fortunate. On his way to Finland, Martin Parker managed to escape in Copenhagen, Denmark and make his way to the Soviet Union. He became a Soviet citizen and was a staff writer for the newspaper *Moscow News*. He also wrote for other periodicals and retired in 1987. He died on June 8, 1989 in Moscow.<sup>66</sup> Arvo Varro worked as a supervisor in a lumber camp and died in the Soviet Union 'sometime before 1952'.<sup>67</sup>

Dan Holmes was deported to Poland where he languished until the outbreak of the Second World War in September, 1939. His Canadian-born wife and daughter decided to remain in Canada because he had no means of supporting them in Poland. Shortly after the occupation of eastern Poland by the Soviet military in 1939, he became a member of the Soviet administration. In the years after 1941, he was a member of the Soviet Army then transferred to the Soviet-led Polish Army. He died in Warsaw with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in July, 1957.<sup>68</sup>

Gottfried Zurcher was deported to Switzerland where he became a leader in the Communist Party of Switzerland.<sup>69</sup> The fate of Stefan Worozcyt and Conrad Cessinger after their deportation to Europe is unknown.

Hans Kist, who traveled with János Farkas to Bremen, Germany was arrested and imprisoned in a concentration camp in Germany. He was executed on February 21, 1935.<sup>70</sup> According to the available information, he was the only one who met the fate feared by the CLDL and his supporters in the CPC. Other than Hans Kist, the fate of the other members of the 'Halifax Ten' was not mentioned by the CPC press. The CLDL continued to publicize the attempted deportation of other members of the CPC.

There were other cases of Canadians and former Canadian residents who perished in the Soviet Union. Louis Black, born 1910, was a former university student from Winnipeg who lived and worked in Moscow. He was arrested on March 17, 1938, and was accused of membership in a 'Latvian spy-terrorist organization'. He was executed on August 20, 1938 and buried in the Moscow Oblast.<sup>71</sup> He was a nephew of Jacob Penner, one of the founders of the Communist Party of Canada. Despite various inquiries with Soviet authorities over the decades, Penner and members of his family were never informed about the fate of his nephew.<sup>72</sup>



Myroslav Irchan, who immigrated to Canada in 1923, was a leader and organizer in the Ukrainian Canadian left-wing community. He decided to return voluntarily to the Soviet Union in 1929. He was arrested in 1933 and executed on November 3, 1937.<sup>73</sup> There were several hundred Finns from the United States and Canada who immigrated to Soviet Karelia in the early 1930s and who also perished during this period in the Soviet Union.<sup>74</sup>

János Farkas was rehabilitated in the Soviet Union in November, 1957.<sup>75</sup> Myroslav Irchan was also rehabilitated but the status of the others who perished in the Soviet Union is unknown. Eddie MacDonald, who was deported to England, was able to return to Canada during the Second World War as a Canadian soldier.<sup>76</sup>

Deportation was certainly viewed by some segments of the Canadian law enforcement authorities as a solution to the threat posed by the political and labour activities of members of the Communist Party of Canada. This was part of a larger movement in the 1930s to rid Canada of 'undesirables' who threatened the political stability of the country and who were a 'burden' on the public purse. Among the other countries with large populations of immigrants, Canada was perhaps the most active in deporting the 'unwanted'.

In reviewing the deportation case of János Farkas, it may be argued that the administrative actions of the Canadian law enforcement authorities were arbitrary and were intended to intimidate members of the CPC. The Canadian authorities were determined to deport Farkas and the other members of the CPC as an example and a threat to other CPC members.<sup>77</sup> But those who sought refuge in the Soviet Union faced the most arbitrary actions by the Soviet authorities. During the Stalin Terror, some of the deportees were arrested and executed, a fate totally unexpected for the dedicated militants in the Canadian Communist movement.<sup>78</sup> However, others were allowed to pursue their careers.

The administrative measures by the Canadian federal government can be contrasted with the arbitrary actions of the Soviet government. Basic issues that can be considered are the democratic versus the Soviet totalitarian political systems, legal procedures, role of the law enforcement authorities and the perceived real and imagined internal and external threats to those who held power. Perhaps the most important distinctions were the fundamentally different societies and the phenomenon of Stalinism. The reasons for these arbitrary actions concerning the fate of individuals in the Soviet Union of the 1930s continue to be the subject of study.

The János Farkas story describes the fate of a Hungarian immigrant who sought a new life in Canada but became enmeshed in the radical politics of the Depression. The process to deport Farkas for his political activities led

him from the streets of Oshawa to the prisons of Moscow. In Moscow, he became a victim of the internal politics of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Stalin Terror. How many other Canadians or former Canadian residents traveled this road to seek sanctuary in the Soviet Union and perished in the Soviet gulags of the 1930s remains unknown.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (hereafter RGASPI), Comintern 182, Fonds 495, Opus 222, Delo 265, File: John Farkas. The questionnaire and autobiographical note were completed by János Farkas in Moscow.

<sup>2</sup> Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), Passenger List, RG76, Series C-1-9, Volume 1926 (Volume 10) page 138. Microfilm reel T-14724. In most Canadian documents and newspaper articles, he is referred to as John Farkas.

<sup>3</sup> RGASPI, Comintern 182, Fonds 495, Opus 222, Delo 265, File: John Farkas

<sup>4</sup> Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. II, *Population by Area* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1933), p. 417. According to this census, there were 236 Hungarians living in Oshawa and of these, 201 were born in Hungary.

<sup>5</sup> For historical information on the left-wing movement among Hungarians in Canada during the 1930s, see N.F. Dreisziger with M.L. Kovacs, Paul Body and Bennett Kovrig, *Struggle and Hope: the Hungarian-Canadian Experience* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1982) especially the chapter, "A Decade of Setbacks: The 1930's." See also Carmela Patrias, *Patriots and Proletarians. Politicizing Hungarian Immigrants in Interwar Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994) and Myron Momryk, "Hungarian Volunteers from Canada in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-39," *Hungarian Studies Review*, 24, 1-2 (1997): 3-14.

<sup>6</sup> RGASPI, Comintern 182, Fonds 495, Opus 222, Delo 265, File: John Farkas.

<sup>7</sup> James A. Pendergest, *Labour and Politics in Oshawa and District*, MA thesis, Queen's University, 1973, p. 86.

<sup>8</sup> *The Toronto Daily Star*, May 6, 1932

<sup>9</sup> *The Worker*, July 30, 1930.

<sup>10</sup> *Oshawa Daily Times*, July 23, 1930.

<sup>11</sup> *Oshawa Daily Times*, September 26, 1930 quoted in Pendergest, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

<sup>12</sup> *Oshawa Daily Times*, August 12, August 17, August 20, 1931.

<sup>13</sup> He was also known as McEwen. The hall was the Ukrainian Labour Temple on Bloor Street.

<sup>14</sup> *Oshawa Daily Times*, August 22, 1931.

<sup>15</sup> Archives of Ontario, RG22 D11 Case File NU3188 Communist Party Trial Appeal 1931 (Reel 38); Letter 30 L 0831 (August 17, 1931).

<sup>16</sup> *Oshawa Daily Times*, July 24, 1931 "Eddie MacDonald at Fight in Park"; *Globe and Mail*, July 25, 1931 "Communist Beaten by Workers' Head"; *The Toronto Daily Star*, July 24, 1931: Unemployed and Communist Come to Blows in Oshawa; Archives of Ontario, RG22 D11 Case File NU3188 Communist Party Trial Appeal 1931 (Reel 38).

<sup>17</sup> Archives of Ontario, RG22 D11 Case File NU3188 Communist Party Trial Appeal 1931 (Reel 38); *Oshawa Daily Times*, July 25, 1931, "Communist Literature Responsible for Fight is Being held by Police." According to the story in the *Globe and Mail* July 25, 1931, another version of the title of the book was "Sweep God From the Skies and Cut the Throats of the Capitalists."

<sup>18</sup> *Oshawa Daily Times*, August 21, 1931.

<sup>19</sup> The threat of deportation on political grounds was used earlier by Canadian federal authorities to control the 'Bolshevik threat' in 1919-1920. See Vadim Kukushkin, *From Peasants to Labourers, Ukrainian and Belarusan Immigration from the Russian Empire to Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 181-182.

<sup>20</sup> Archives of Ontario, RG22 D11 Case File NU3188 Communist Party Trial Appeal 1931 (Reel 38); Letter 30 L 0831. Emma Goldman (1869-1940) was deported to the Soviet Union from the United States in 1919 but became disillusioned with the new Soviet regime. She immigrated to Canada in 1926 and died in Toronto in 1940.

<sup>21</sup> *Statutes of Canada, 1919*, Volume 1.

<sup>22</sup> The Kingston Eight were Tim Buck, Tom Ewen, Sam Carr, M. Bruce, A.T. Hill, M. Popovich, J. Boychuk and Tomo Cacic.

<sup>23</sup> *The Toronto Daily Star*, May 7, 1932.

<sup>24</sup> Pendergest, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

<sup>25</sup> *The Toronto Daily Star*, May 6, 1932; *The Oshawa Daily Times*, May 7, 1932; also Pendergest, *op. cit.*, p 86.

<sup>26</sup> *The Oshawa Daily Times*, May 7, 1932; "Local Communist May be Deported."

<sup>27</sup> Barbara Roberts, *Whence They Came, Deportation from Canada 1900-1935* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988), 142-145.

<sup>28</sup> LAC, RG26 Volume 16; Public Charge Deports 1931-1937; See also, Henry F. Drystik, "'The Simplest and Cheapest Mode of Dealing with Them' Deportation from Canada before World War II," *Social History*, 15, 3 (November, 1982): 407-441.

<sup>29</sup> LAC, RG26, Volume 16, File: Public Charges Deports 1931-1937.

<sup>30</sup> *The Toronto Daily Star*, May 7, 1932, "Number of arrests, nature of charges, remain a mystery"; *The Canadian Forum*, May 1, 1931, Vol. XI no. 128, Political Deportations.

<sup>31</sup> *Oshawa Daily Times*, May 7, 1932; Drastic Action to Deport Reds is Protested in House of Commons; Dominion of Canada, *Official Report of Debates House of Commons*, Volume III, 1932, (Ottawa, 1932), p. 2658.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2659.

<sup>33</sup> *Canadian Labor Defender*, May, 1931 to January-February, 1933.

<sup>34</sup> *Kanadai Magyar Munkás*, May 12 and 19, 1932.

<sup>35</sup> LAC, R.B.Bennett Papers, MG26-K, August 25, 1932.

<sup>36</sup> LAC, R.B.Bennett Papers, MG26-K, May 31, 1932, P.93110; July 23, 1932, P. 93183.

<sup>37</sup> LAC, RG13, Volume 371, file 1161 (1932) Stefan Worozcyt *et al.*, July 7-11, 1932 Halifax.

<sup>38</sup> LAC, RG26, Volume 172, File 3-10-11, Pt.1, Communist name cases. The judgment stated that "... the various organizations, of which the Appellants were shown to have been members, were, in fact, controlled by the Communist Party and that, due to such control, their aims and purposes were similar to the 'parent' organization."

<sup>39</sup> *Kanadai Magyar Munkás*, November 17, 1932. These were greetings on the anniversary of the October Revolution of 1917 by the Bolsheviks in Russia.

<sup>40</sup> *Canadian Labor Defender*, November, 1932

<sup>41</sup> LAC, RG76, Volume 738, File 513057 Deportations of Members of Communist Party.

<sup>42</sup> Deportees must go to native land, *The Evening Citizen* (Ottawa), January 16 and January 27, 1933.

<sup>43</sup> *Canadian Labor Defender*, January-February, 1933.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> *Canadian Labor Defender*, October 1932.

<sup>47</sup> Pendergest, *op. cit.*, 77; *Oshawa Daily Times*, May 23, 1931; October 8, 1931.

<sup>48</sup> RGASPI, Comintern 182, Fonds 495, Opis 222, Delo 265, File: John Farkas.

<sup>49</sup> Tomo Cacic described his escape in Vienna in the article, "I escaped the Yugoslav Hangman," in *Canadian Labor Defender*, March, 1934.

<sup>50</sup> LAC, Communist International, MG10 K3, Fond 495, Opis 72, Delo 289 (Reel K-270)/Transfers ready to be sent to the Central Committee, CPSU/ (undated).

<sup>51</sup> RGASPI, Comintern 182, Fonds 495, Opis 222, Delo 265, File: John Farkas

<sup>52</sup> RGASPI, Comintern 182, Fonds 495, Opis 222, Delo 265, File: John Farkas. Lajos Bebrits (1891-1963) survived the Stalin Terror and in 1945 returned to Hungary. He held several senior administrative and diplomatic posts during his career in Hungary. See entry for Lajos Bebrits in *Új Magyar Lexikon* (A-C) (Budapest, 1961) and *Magyar Nagylexikon* III (Budapest, 1994).

<sup>53</sup> Peter Huber, "The Moscow Headquarters of the Comintern, Departments, Leading Organs, Soviet Influences and Decision Making," in *Mechanisms of Power in the Soviet Union*, ed. Niels Erik Rosenfeldt, Bent Jensen and Erik Kulavig (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000), 77.

<sup>54</sup> Despite efforts to deport some of the 'Kingston Eight', only Tomo Cacic was deported to Europe. He was able to escape to the Soviet Union. He later served in the International Brigades in Spain and with Tito's Partisans during the Second World War. The story of Tomo Cacic and the attempts to deport him are found in the article by Dennis G. Molinaro, "'A Species of Treason?': Deportation and Nation-Building in the Case of Tomo Cacic, 1931-1934," *Canadian Historical Review*, 91, 1 (March, 2010): 61-85.

<sup>55</sup> Robert C. Tucker and Stephen F. Cohen (eds.), *The Great Purge Trial*, (New York: Grosset and Dunlop, 1965). The trials took place from March 2 to 12, 1938.

<sup>56</sup> *People's Advocate*, March 11, 1938.

<sup>57</sup> *People's Advocate*, May 20, 1938.

<sup>58</sup> Zhertvi politicheskogo Terrora v SSSR [Victims of political terror in USSR] <http://lists.memo.ru/index21.htm>-Farkash, Dzhan Iosikovych (last accessed 19 Nov. 2010).

<sup>59</sup> J. Arch Getty and Oleg V. Naumov, *The Road to Terror, Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks, 1932-1939* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 527-528. This information is based on documents from the Russian Center for the Preservation and Study of Documents of Recent History (RTsKhIDNI) of the State Archival Service of Russia.

<sup>60</sup> Miklos Molnar, *A Short History of the Hungarian Communist Party* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1978), 138.

<sup>61</sup> Zhertvi politicheskogo Terrora v SSSR. <http://lists.memo.ru/index21.htm> - Kun, Bela Morisovich; also William J. Chase, *Enemies Within the Gates? The Comintern and the Stalinist Repression, 1934-1939* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press 2001), 326-343 /Bela Kun's case/ and 484-485 /Biographical note/.

<sup>62</sup> J. Arch Getty and Oleg V. Naumov, *The Road to Terror, Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks, 1932-1939* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1999), 532. From the document, 'Politburo decisions on arrests, procuratorial supervision and the conduct of investigations, 17 November, 1938'.

<sup>63</sup> Molnar, *A Short History*, p. 33.

<sup>64</sup> Peter Krawchuk, "I. Sembay — A Victim of Stalinism," *Ukrainian Canadian*, Vol. 42, no. 737/231, November, 1989.

<sup>65</sup> Mayme Sevander, *Red Exodus, Finnish-American Emigration to Russia* (Duluth, Minnesota: OSCAT, 1993), 203-204.

<sup>66</sup> *Canadian Tribune*, July 10, 1989.

<sup>67</sup> Arja Pilli, *The Finnish-Language Press in Canada, 1901-1939, A Study in the History of Ethnic Journalism* (Turku, Finland: Institute of Migration, 1982), 184, footnote 140.

<sup>68</sup> LAC, RG76, vol. 376, file 513111 — Dan Chomicki (Deportation); *Canadian Tribune*, October 6, 1945; Obituary, *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, July 27, 1957.

<sup>69</sup> Information provided by Prof. Peter Huber, June 8, 2008 by e-mail.

<sup>70</sup> This information was confirmed by Andreas Herbst by e-mail on April 28, 2008.

<sup>71</sup> Zhertvi politicheskogo Terrora v SSSR. <http://lists.memo.ru/index21.htm> - Blak, Lui Iakovlevich.

<sup>72</sup> Roland Penner, *A Glowing Dream, A Memoir* (Winnipeg: J. Gordon Shillingford Publishing Inc., 2007), 240.

<sup>73</sup> Peter Krawchuk, Marshall A. Ney, Mary Skrypyk, *The Unforgettable Myroslav Irchan: pages from a valiant life: dedicated to the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his birth, 1897-1997* (Edmonton: Kobzar Pub. Co. 1998); Also, *Review*, Plenum Issue, July 1935, Vol. 3, No. 6, P. 43.

<sup>74</sup> Among other publications, see *Karelian Exodus: Finnish Communities in North America and Soviet Karelia during the Depression Era*, edited by Ronald Harpelle, Varpu Lindstrom and Alexis E. Pogorelskin (Beaverton, Ontario: Aspasia Books Inc., 2004), and Sevander, *Red Exodus*.

<sup>75</sup> Zhertvi politicheskogo Terrora v SSSR. <http://lists.memo.ru/index21.htm> - Farkash, Dzhan Iosikovych

<sup>76</sup> Pendergest, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>77</sup> Emphasis on this aspect of the deportations is found in Roberts, *Whence They Came*, and more recently in the article by Molinaro, 'A Species of Treason?'

<sup>78</sup> News of the treatment of M. Irchan and J. Sembay by the Soviet authorities created a serious division within the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association in Canada and a faction split from the Association under the leadership of Danylo Lobay. See entry for Danylo Lobay in the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Volume III (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 178.