

TOWARD A THEORETICAL REFORMULATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN POLITICAL IDEOLOGY, SOCIAL CLASS,
AND ETHNICITY: A CASE STUDY OF THE WINNIPEG
JEWISH RADICAL COMMUNITY, 1905 - 1920.

BY

ROSELINE USISKIN

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A B S T R A C T

Renewed ethnic conflict and national ideological orientations have been in the forefront of public attention since World War II. As a result, minority ethnic groups have raised the assimilation/survival debates to the level of social consciousness.

The ideology of assimilation has been a product of Western civilization since the French Revolution. Over time, it has become an integral theoretical assumption of both the liberal and Marxist ideologies. However, after two hundred years, the policy of assimilation, whether advocated by liberal or Marxists, has failed to alter the reality of ethnic survival. Today, while some liberal social scientists have incorporated ethnicity into their theoretical framework, frequently, the ethnic factor has been used to the exclusion of a class analysis. On the other hand, while Marx' model of class remains an invaluable and fundamental insight into the nature of capitalist social relationships, it has been found insufficient in explaining the vigor of contemporary ethnic consciousness. Hence, the theoretical reformulation undertaken in this thesis has been an attempt to expand Marx' model of class, so that it can reflect more clearly ethnicity as another aspect of social reality.

Our theoretical reformulation has been guided by examining the historical case study of the Jewish radical community of Winnipeg's North End during its formative period, 1905 - 1920. By exploring the parallel structures that these radicals developed in response to their political ideologies during this period, this thesis demonstrated that Jewish radicals expanded their ideological framework. This framework exhibited not only

their heightened class consciousness which was related directly to their class position, but it also exhibited their heightened ethnic awareness of a 'kinship arising out of a common past'. By their very existence, Jewish radicals provided a clear and determined opposition to both the liberal and Marxist assimilationist orientations.

Three areas were examined, specifically those in which Jewish radical interaction was significant and made a lasting impact upon the entire Jewish community. These areas were: A) the parallel socio-cultural organizations that Jewish radicals organized, for example, the 'Arbeiter Ring' (The Workmen's Circle); B) their parallel educational institutions, for example, the 'Jewish Radical School' - later the I. L. Peretz School; the Arbeiter Ring Shule, and the Liberty Temple School; C) the radical political parties in which Jewish radicals played an active role, for example, the Socialist Labour Party, initially, but more predominantly in the Jewish Branch of the Social Democratic Party of Canada. It was in these three major areas that Jewish radicals were able to synthesize their two primary concerns, Jewish survival and Marxist ideology.

It is our contention that this was achieved by linking three key factors together: 1) ideology; 2) social class; and, 3) ethnicity. We have shown that ethnicity, as an intervening variable, links social class and class consciousness thereby providing us with a more precise analysis of the variations within the realm of political ideologies available at any given period of time.

The historical evidence presented suggests that ethnicity, i.e. Jewish survival and Jewish existence, was a fundamental factor of Jewish radicalism and therefore must be an integral component of any Marxist model

that purports to fully explain social relationships within a multi-ethnic, class stratified society. Ethnicity, in such a society, cannot be treated as peripheral to class. Therefore, this thesis has found it necessary to introduce a new factor, namely political ideology as an added dimension in the study of ethnic survival. In particular, radical ideologies have been totally neglected in ethnic studies. We have shown that radical ideologies have been key forces significantly affecting the survival of ethnic communities in their earliest formation in the North American context.

The thesis concludes with the contention that the model generated could be fruitfully applied not only to other Jewish radical communities but to other radical communities as well. Further research in this area must be undertaken so that the role of political ideologies can be more fully assessed.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

During the last two decades, a marked resurgence in the study of ethnicity has been evident. Fed by Quebec's struggle for national recognition in Canada, by the rise of the Black movement in the United States, and by the tremendous vitality of national movements throughout the world, ethnicity has gained new status within the social sciences. Consequently, many theorists have now rejected the a priori assimilationist orientation of their predecessors and have begun to focus upon ethnic cohesion and ethnic survival. This has given prominence to the more fashionable themes of pluralism, multiculturalism, ethnic diversity, etc., which have replaced the earlier assimilationist phraseology such as the 'Melting Pot' in the United States, 'Canadianization' and 'Anglo-Conformity' in Canada. With ethnic survival as their focus, contemporary studies have shown that ethnic groups have not only survived but some, indeed, have even flourished. As Glazer and Moynihan point out, ethnic status has been substantially upgraded in the past decade, for the resurgence of ethnicity, they argue, was a "real and felt basis of political and social action" (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970: XXXVIII).

In contrast to the recent 'discovery' by social scientists of ethnic survival, ethnicity, as the preservation of a "historical identification" (Gordon, 1975:53), had been well established as a North American

social reality by the first two decades of this century. In effect, since then, ethnic identity has been one of the dynamic processes of inter-group relationships in a heterogeneous society and has ensured the future survival of ethnic communities as sub-cultures in a national context.

Since an historical perspective is generally the exception and not the rule to North American social sciences, it is not surprising that ethnic continuity has been obscured, and some of the factors conducive to ethnic survival have remained either unrecognized or ignored. As a result, serious gaps exist in our attempt to understand the social phenomenon of group cohesion and group survival. One gap that is particularly evident is the almost total omission of the role of political ideology as a pertinent factor in the continuing process of ethnic survival. While the role of ideology has had a long tradition within the social sciences as a dynamic factor in history, it is, specifically, in this area of ethnic continuity that political ideology has yet to be applied and its influence analyzed.

Currently, ideology is the focus of many studies, ranging in scope from its input into social change theories, into its effects on developing countries as well as its continuing pre-eminence in studying industrial societies (Rocher, 1972:393-394). In whatever situation, maintaining the old or giving birth to a radical transformation, ideology as an analytical tool has been used to explain "the social situation and to suggest the direction of historical action. In this way, from the viewpoint of sociologists, ideology is a strategic phenomenon, enabling him [sic] to understand social reality and its history from the inside" (Rocher, 1972:394).

In this thesis, ideology as a 'strategic phenomenon' will be considered an essential factor for not only understanding ethnic reality

but also as a basis for understanding the historical processes that have resulted in ethnic survival. However, we will investigate only one segment of this concept, viz., the role of radical ideology in maintaining ethnic group cohesion within a defined historical context, i.e. the Jewish community in Winnipeg between 1905 - 1920.

Ethnic studies, without the inclusion of this ideological component in general, and the radical component in particular, remains confined to a limited view of the ethnic process, one that must be recognized as historically inaccurate, and one that also betrays our society's continuing fears and discriminatory practices against those radical segments and their organizational structures found within the larger ethnic community.*

In an attempt to correct this limited view and to bring into the current discussions of ethnic survival another dimension, this thesis will examine the influence and role of radical ideologies as they affected the survival of a particular ethnic community in a given temporal, spatial arrangement. Our specific focus will be the Winnipeg Jewish community as it evolved after the turn of the century (1905 - 1920). An examination of this case study will hopefully illuminate the role of ideology - radical ideology - as a key factor affecting a significant segment of Winnipeg Jewry, directing its mental processes and channeling its energies into assuring Jewish survival within its radical ideological context.

*An example of discriminatory practices against radicals within a specific ethnic context was voiced by the "United Ukrainian Canadians" as well as their "Ethnic Press Association" in reference to their exclusion at the First Canadian National Conference on Multiculturalism held in Ottawa, October, 1973, and also in reference to discriminatory practices against state funding to radical ethnic organizations (Skrypnyk, 1975:7).

For this purpose, Jewry in general, and Winnipeg Jewry in particular, were selected for four reasons. As a member of this ethnic community, my familiarity with the Jewish scene and interest in its radical history has provided the impetus for this investigation. Secondly, over the past two centuries, awareness of a specific 'Jewish problem' has engendered widespread interest and debate throughout the Western world. This was intensified during the past half-century with the culmination of events in Nazi Germany and the emergence of the State of Israel. To a large extent, Jews and Jewish survival remain today as the barometer by which ethnic survival is gauged. Moreover, the 'Jewish problem' had a profound impact on the theoretical development within the radical movement. It also engendered numerous factions within this movement, bringing into it a divisiveness that remains today. Thirdly, the Winnipeg Jewish community, very early in its development, clearly demonstrated its ideological differentiation, within a continuum ranging from the extreme left to the extreme right. As a heterogeneous community, the Winnipeg Jewish community would seem to qualify in examining the role of political ideology in an ethnic context. Finally, by studying a Jewish community, Robert E. Park found that Jews everywhere "tend to be more sensitive to the trend in the larger society than others and that as a result they often anticipate the general cultural patterns of the future". Thus, by studying the Jewish community, one can learn "a lesson not only about Jews but also about the nature of Canada itself" (S. Rosenberg, 1970:10-11).

Radical ideologies - in this context those ideologies that were Marxist in orientation and its derivatives - became a potent force in the North American environment for a large immigrant element during the first two decades of this century. In the Canadian context, radical ideologies

arose as a response to Canada's rapid transformation into an industrial, capitalist society, a process which required its predominantly immigrant, ethnically diverse working class to rapidly assimilate the new rules of industrialization. As a response to the often cruel, exploitative conditions characteristic of early developing industrial nations, working class organizations were built based on the labour ideologies that immigrants transported with them.

Today, social historians are beginning to recognize that these ideologies have constituted the fundamental "strength to early working class movements" (Kealey and Warrion, 1976:9). However, while radical ideology has consistently been understood in class terms, it has seldom been considered in the sphere of ethnic survival. This has been true generally among those working in immigrant studies, but also among those radical historians concerned with the Canadian working class experience who have been "satisfied with an easy dismissal of ethnic and religious association as detrimental to the emergence of some ill-defined notion of class consciousness" (Kealey and Warrion, 1976:13).

We would argue that the liberal and radical ideological approaches towards the study of ethnicity as outlined above, generally holds an underlying assimilationist assumption. Today there is considerable variation in attitudes and in interpretations as theorists are attempting to cope with this realization. From one end of the liberal spectrum, Ralf Dahrendorf has referred to this process of survival in rather negative terms, as a 'refeudalization' of society, as a return to ascribed rather than achieved status that had been expected in a modernizing society (Glazer and Moynihan, 1975:16). In similar tones, Talcot Parsons has

spoken of the "process of de-differentiation" (Parsons, 1975:70). On the other hand, Glazer and Moynihan have made the tentative suggestion that ethnic groups "may be the forms of social life that are capable of renewing and transforming themselves" (Glazer and Moynihan, 1975:4). Whatever the position, it is evident that the traditional assimilationist position has been shaken and is under severe scrutiny.

This acknowledgement is clearly stated by Milton Gordon, a strong defender of a liberal, assimilationist policy, a policy that advanced the notion that cultural distinctiveness in a modern industrial society would decline over time both in intensity and in scope. This was to be replaced by universalistic, egalitarian principles resulting in a 'levelling-off' process, with distinct groups 'melting' into the dominant culture. In a recent re-evaluation, Gordon assessed the 'liberal expectancy' that dominated research on immigrant groups in North America based on "the optimism of an earlier generation of sociologists concerning the inevitable assimilation or 'melting' of American minority groups into some common framework which would effect their disappearance" (Gordon, 1975:85). This 'liberal expectation', Gordon admitted, "was distinctly unwarranted" and has called for a larger theoretical framework "which might explain the general processes of race and ethnic relations" (Gordon, 1975:88).

However, while the 'liberal expectancy' has been inaccurate in predicting the future of group existence, the 'radical expectancy' has not had a better record.* Within Marxist ideology, emphasis has primarily

*The complaint amongst Communists in the 1920's is indicative of their assimilationist expectations. In a Comintern document, attention was drawn to the "Ukrainians and Finns whose peculiarities is that they hold on to their previous mode of life. They lead their own social life, do not speak English and, in general, many of them submit only very slowly to assimilation" (Avakumovic, 1975:37).

and fundamentally centred on class division and its historical relationship to a particular mode of production. Cultural heritage, consequently, has been largely de-emphasized and its continued manifestation is largely regarded as a residual, antiquated cultural form, i.e., tribal affiliations, language, religion, national loyalties, etc. Henceforth, according to Marxists, class identification would fulfill both the necessary and sufficient requirements in a modern social setting. One classic example was provided over sixty years ago by Karl Kautsky, one of Europe's leading Marxist theoreticians. In his book Are the Jews a Race?, Kautsky defined American Jewry in a state of dissolution that was proceeding 'at full speed', and when the younger generation will no longer be able to understand or to speak Yiddish* and when religion will become a matter of indifference to them, "the last barrier to their assimilation will be removed" (Kautsky, 1914:154,241).

This 'radical expectancy' has been widespread. Its inroads into the academic community is not inconsequential, particularly with the current interest in Marxist studies. Orthodox Marxists, given this ideological predisposition, have yet to fully accept the challenge of an ethnic reality nor have they incorporated it into their theoretical framework.** The

*Yiddish - the language of the Jewish masses from about the Tenth or Eleventh century in Europe. It is a language "consisting mainly of old German, Hebrew, and some grammatical elements of the Slavic language" (Cohen, 1972:38).

**Pipes' observation on Soviet attitudes to researching national animosities is illuminating. "My Russian friends thought that whatever national antagonisms there were in their country had been stimulated by hostile powers interested in dismembering Russia. American specialists, even some of the most knowledgeable ones, regarded nationalism in the Soviet Union as a relic of the past, doomed to dissolve - as would ethnic difference in the United States - in the acid bath of "modernization". Both tended to regard nationalism as a retrograde phenomenon and therefore, by a mental short circuit to which intellectuals are prone whenever reality impinges on their ideals, to treat its investigation as reactionary too. Now, in the 1970's, the situation looks quite different" (Pipes, 1975:453).

problem has become more acute recently with ethnic conflicts surfacing to world attention in the Socialist countries, with the problems of the Jews and the Ukrainians in the Soviet Union, (See Pipes for discussion of nationality problems in the Soviet Union), the Croations in Yugoslavia, and the border minorities in China (Glazer and Moynihan, 1975:2).

It becomes clear in assessing the 'liberal' and 'radical' perspectives that, to a large extent, polarization has taken place, with class and ethnicity seen as two mutually exclusive factors. For Marxists, class remains, as it has for the past century, the essential factor in assessing group relations, while for many within the liberal fold, ethnicity has been raised to a new status, obscuring class divisions and a class analysis of capitalist social relations.* It is certainly not surprising for Daniel Bell, who espoused the "end of ideology" thesis during the Cold War, to seek some other means of social identification than class. In a recent article, "Ethnicity and Social Change", Bell stated that, "Ethnicity becomes more salient than class because it can combine an interest with an affective tie" (Bell, 1975:167-69). For Glazer and Moynihan the same emphasis is stressed. "One of the difficulties of social class as an organizing principle surely is that there just is not that much conflict of norms between most social classes" while "Ethnic differences however, are different, or at least, are seen as such" (Glazer and Moynihan, 1975:15).

While most liberal ideologists are cautious in delineating an ethnic

*In the liberal Weberian context, social class has been defined as a hierarchical arrangement of individuals in a society based on differences in economic power, political power or status (Gordon, 1964:40).

deterministic approach, the dominant society appears to have accepted an ideology that stresses an ethnic orientation rather than class. However, how this will help to create a "framework of a larger theoretical context" remains obscure. It is our contention that the basis for understanding the dynamic processes of group survival must include the relationship of ethnicity with social class, and with a belief system grounded in an ideological conviction that survival is desirable.

As this paper will attempt to show, it was precisely this linkage - ethnicity, social class and political ideology - that, historically formed the basis of a unique phenomenon in the North American experience. For by 1920, there existed in each major city in North America - Winnipeg included - a numerically small but enormously influential group of Jewish Marxists dedicated to the needs of the working class, dedicated to the philosophy of Marxism as an alternative ideology, and not of least importance, dedicated to the creation of a Jewish working class culture thereby ensuring both their ethnic survival as well as their class oriented ideological perspective.

By expanding their ideological framework, by accepting Lenin's premise that Marxism is not a dogma, "not a final, finished and ready-made doctrine, but a living guide to action" (Ganguli, 1974:170-171)* Jewish radicals were able to incorporate their national concerns - their Jewish working class culture - with their international concerns, viz., class

*Plekhanov - also a Marxist theoretician, expressed Marxism in much the same way as Lenin. "Obviously the development of scientific socialism is not yet finished. That development cannot come to an end with the writings of Marx and Engels any more than the theory of the origin of species can be supposed to have been worked out once and for all in the writings of Darwin" (Ganguli, 1974:170).

solidarity with the world proletariat. Perhaps M. J. Olgin, one of the foremost Jewish radicals in the North American radical community, expressed the goals of the Jewish radicals most succinctly:

We wish to see a Jew who will not be a stranger in the country in which he lives, a Jew who will know how to link the progressive forces of the Jewish people to the progressive forces of all other peoples in the same countries or other countries in the struggle for a better, more humane life and who will, at the same time, remain a Jew, a son of his people, a fighter for the future of the people (Olgin, 1973:13).

This was a more difficult task than anticipated. Upon reflection, Freedman, a Canadian Jewish radical, summed up their struggles in maintaining their identity both as Jews and as Marxists:

Uneasy lies the head of that unique species of Jew who is committed to international socialism but still persists in retaining his ancestral ties. Such a political hybrid is apt to end up a political outcast, suspected by both sides of divided loyalties, or worse still of being faithless to either creed.

Orthodox Jewry will disown him as an international revolutionary and revolutionary Orthodoxy will brand him a bourgeois nationalist - converting his very virtues into cardinal sins and his pragmatism into an apostates' betrayal (Freedman, 1969:3).

To achieve their objectives, Jewish radicals had to overcome numerous obstacles which stemmed from both external and internal forces reacting to their ideology and to their ethnic group. Externally, Marxism was at the opposite extreme to the North American pervasive liberal, bourgeois ideology, an ideology of the dominant society that was strongly entrenched in its mode of production and in its social relationships. North American history is replete with anti-communist, anti-socialist, anti-labour confrontations, with the Jewish radical often at its very vortex.*

*It has been estimated by Nathan Glazer that perhaps one-third of the American Communist Party was Jewish (Porter and Dreier, 1973:XVIII). Today however, Glazer writing in the Zionist monthly Midstream November, 1970, identified Jewish interests with lawyers, stockbrokers, businessmen, New York teachers and students in elite colleges. Radicalism, he found, was a threat to these interests and therefore was a threat to Jewish survival. To the Jewish community, according to Glazer, "Capitalism is not an enemy - it is a benign environment---[I] find it inconceivable that it [radicalism] can become the dominant sentiment among American Jews" (Porter and Dreier, 1973:XIV and XLVI).

More specific to our study, Mott's thesis on nativism in Winnipeg in the first two decades of this century is revealing. He found that "In Winnipeg, reactions to ethnics and radicals were more prevalent and emotional than reaction to perceived religious threats" (Mott, 1970:9). 'Anti-Bolshevism' and 'Aliens Go Home' became major themes in Winnipeg's famed General Strike of 1919.

While anti-communism was but one aspect of the dominant ideology, assimilation was another powerful tool at their disposal. Assimilation became the means whereby the dominant society was to maintain its cultural hegemony against the diverse immigrant labour population that threatened to change the ethnic composition, from the more desirable British and American immigrant to the less favored Eastern and Southern European. In the Canadian context, this perceived threat was expressed by many influential Canadians, primarily voicing the concern of the dominant society to maintain its power and control over Canada's future ethnic composition as a white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant enclave. Only one example of many need be noted to show the assimilatory nature of the dominant, liberal ideology. In 1909, William Ivens in a thesis on "Canadian immigration", stated his concern in this way:

What shall we do with them? How shall we assimilate them? . . . Our safety demands the assimilation of this strange population, and the process of assimilation becomes slower and more difficult as the proportion of foreigners increase. We may ask whether this insweeping of immigrants is to 'foreignize' us or are we to 'Canadianize' it. Here then is our problem . . . (Ivens, 1909:9).

Besides these external pressures, Jewish radicals faced internal conflicts that were fraught with quite a different set of sanctions and system of controls. Ironically, it was within the larger orthodox Marxist community that Jewish radicals were often confronted with the greatest

opposition, a situation that remains very much intact today.* As indicated above, the orthodox Marxist position on the 'National Question' (the term used by earlier Marxists interchangeably with ethnicity) was unequivocally an assimilatory position. Towards this immediate goal, the process of universalizing man's cultural differences to a class orientation was actively undertaken. The dominance of class over other factors engendered numerous internal debates. The assimilation/survival debate became one of the most pervasive, often the most divisive, within the radical international community. This aspect will be more fully explored in the body of this thesis.

Another internal obstacle which confronted Jewish radicals was to be found within the Jewish community, the community that was the sphere of operation for the radicals. Led by a strong, vocal religious leadership, many within the Jewish community viewed the development of Jewish radicalism and Jewish secularism with fear and distrust, as a break with the past, as weakening the possibility for Jewish continuity, and as a means of undermining religious hegemony within the Jewish leadership. In addition, the Jewish community, similar to others, was a class divided society, with Jews both as oppressors and oppressed. The numerous class conflicts which this engendered in the first two decades of this century were often bitter and intense. (See Gershman's account of some of these early struggles and the behaviour of the Jewish 'bosses'.) By their very nature, Jewish radicals not only provided the leadership in many of these battles but

*See the account of Joshua Gershman, a Jewish radical's struggle with the Canadian Communist Party over the 'National Question' (Gershman, 1977: 184-213).

frequently they bore the consequences of being the vanguard union organizers. Vividly recalling those early efforts, Gershman recently wrote, "During the strike I was arrested about fourteen times and I wasn't even a citizen yet and I was afraid I would be deported" (Gershman, 1977:195).

To these three constituents in which Jewish radicals interacted - the dominant society, the orthodox Marxist community and the Jewish community at large - Jewish radicalism was often an enigma, for others anathema. In whatever category, they could never be ignored, for they had early demonstrated their ability to be a dynamic force in the formative years of Jewish immigrant life.

Very early, Jewish radicals developed their organizational structures throughout North America. For the immigrant Jew, these organizations provided a re-enforcement necessary against an often hostile environment. Here is how Abella, in his introduction to Gershman's reminiscences, assessed these radical Jewish organizations:

To many immigrants who had become alienated from traditional Judaism, the Jewish labour movement provided a new home - and perhaps even more, a new spiritual temple. It represented a way of life that was totally encompassing. Indeed, for most urban Jews it constituted their first real introduction to Canadian life. It served not only as an agent for economic benefits, but also as a cultural shelter. The fraternal organizations allied to the movement provided the immigrant worker with a familiar milieu while he or she was overcoming the trauma of dealing with alien institutions, a new language, and a vastly different way of life. Thus educational and cultural programmes were an essential part of the activities of the Jewish labour movement (Gershman, 1977:186).

The study of social structures, Gordon has found, has been a neglected area in ethnic research with greater emphasis today devoted to researching cultural behavior. While the latter provides us with the subjective understanding of ethnicity, research into ethnic structures allows us the opportunity of investigating the objective, dynamic processes

within the ethnic community. Gordon defined ethnic structures in this way:

Within the ethnic group there develops a network of organizations and informal social relationships which permits and encourages the members of the ethnic group to remain within the confines of the group for all of their primary relationships and some of their secondary relationships throughout all the stages of the life cycle (Gordon, 1964:34).

Essentially, this thesis is concerned with those social structures that were organized in the Winnipeg Jewish community as a result of the ideological persuasion of a group of Jewish radicals intent upon maintaining both their Marxist philosophy and the survival of Judaism. By investigating these parallel structures within the Jewish community, a relatively unexplored area in Canadian Jewish studies, this thesis will attempt an analysis of how Jewish radicals expanded their ideological framework so that it combined two seemingly irreconcilable factors, working class internationalism with ethnic particularism or nationalism. As a result, Jewish radicals, with both a heightened class consciousness and an ethnic consciousness, actively participated in creating a unique phenomenon within Jewish historical experience, a Jewish working class culture.

Evidence will be presented to support the above assertion that the Jewish radical community could and did combine working class internationalism with a concern for ethnic particularism. The evidence, primarily, will focus upon the lower middle class and the working class in the Winnipeg Jewish community during the period 1905 - 1920. (See Chapter II for a discussion of the relevance of this period to our case study.)

Before proceeding into the body of this thesis, a brief overview of the use of historical methodology in sociology, usually known as Historical Sociology, will be dealt with in Chapter II. In addition, the

case study method will be reviewed, followed by a discussion of methods used in collecting the historical data both of a primary and of a secondary nature.

In order to fully investigate the three key factors - social class, ethnicity, and political ideology - that form the basis of this thesis, a brief examination of the intellectual and historical roots of both the liberal and Marxist ideologies and their relationship to the assimilation/survival debates will be presented in Chapter III.

Following this discussion, Chapter IV will undertake a theoretical reformulation of the problem, i.e. of the relationship between social class, ethnicity and political ideology. This will include a conceptual framework that will guide our presentation and analysis of the empirical, historical data.

This data will be presented in Chapter V. Here we will deal with the social structures that were developed in the three major areas of Jewish radical interaction in Winnipeg during the 1905 - 1920 period of investigation. These areas are 1) the socio-cultural organizations; 2) the educational structures; and 3) the political party structure.

The final chapter, Chapter VI, will contain a summary of the thesis and will provide an opportunity to both evaluate the utility of the reformulation in terms of our case study and to suggest ways in which broader generalizations can be extrapolated to future ethnic studies.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Historical Sociology: As Methodology

The methodology undertaken in this research falls into the area of historical sociology. Its "field and province" is considerable, its scope ranges over a variety of interests and problems. Some have been outlined by Harry Elmer Barnes, one of the strongest advocates of historical sociology as a valid methodological research tool. For Barnes, historical sociology seeks

. . . to account for the origins of associated life among human beings relying mainly upon data from anthropologists, biologists and psychologists. It endeavors to trace the origins and development of all forms of social organization and social structures. It deals with the rise of all social institutions. It treats of the beginnings, domination and decline of those social attitudes and philosophies which have affected social activities in various stages of history. It examines the question of the stages in the evolution of social types and structures. It tries to discover and formulate the laws of social development, both with respect to broad stages of social evolution and with regard to particular periods and institutions. When it cannot discover laws of social evolution, it states the trends which are evident therein. It points out the historical basis of social maladjustments and social problems, laying stress upon cultural lag or institutional maladjustments in our age. It takes up the problem of the elucidation and evaluation of the theory of social progress (Barnes: 1948:3-4).

Until recently, there has been a marked decline of interest in this approach, with methodological emphasis more in the analytical, biological, psychological, statistical and, above all, applied areas of sociology (Barnes: 1948:133). During the past two decades, numerous voices from various disciplines have been raised in an attempt to regain the link-

age between history and the social sciences. From C. Wright Mills, Richard Hofstadter, Seymour Lipset, T. Bottomore, Harry Barnes, Howard Becker, E. H. Carr and E. P. Thompson, there has been evidence of a growing co-operation and 'even trespassing' by sociologists and social historians of many countries (Bottomore, 1971:67). As Bottomore has shown:

The more the distinction is refined to take account of the actual work of historians and sociologists, the clearer it becomes that historiography and sociology cannot be radically separated. They deal with the same subject matter, men living in societies, sometimes from different points of view, sometimes from the same point of view. It is of the greatest importance for the development of the social sciences, that the two subjects should be closely related, and that each should borrow extensively from the other (Bottomore, 1971:68-69).

American sociologists, Lipset has pointed out, have been severely criticized for departing from the historical concerns of the Nineteenth century European founders, a departure which resulted in a shift from the macro to the micro levels of investigation. For Lipset, this shift must be reversed to include "the analysis of total social systems and social change" (Lipset, 1968:20-22).*

The same emphasis underlies C. Wright Mills' plea for a return to the scope of the classical social analysts who were concerned with "historical social structures" and with problems which are of "direct relevance to urgent public issues and insistent human troubles." Mills' condemnation of contemporary social sciences is explicit:

*Oscar Handlin and Stephan Thernstrom effectively showed how W. Lloyd Warner misinterpreted the patterns of development in his Yankee City studies of New England, by relying on contemporary reports concerning past patterns and ignoring the actual history of the community as available in documents (i.e. rate of mobility) (Lipset, 1968:21).

Of late, the conception of social sciences I hold has not been ascendant. My conception stands opposed to social science as a set of bureaucratic techniques which inhibit social inquiry by "methodological" pretensions which congest such work by obscurantist conceptions, or which trivialize it by concerns with minor problems unconnected with publicly relevant issues (Mills, 1959:20).

In Canada, Mills' macro approach has begun to take root in a growing dissatisfaction with and awareness of the inability of the social sciences to grapple with contemporary social issues. Arthur K. Davis, concerned with Canada as a 'hinterland', has argued that "It is time to emphasize the historical, holistic and comparative approach of classic social analysis in our studies of Canadian society" (Davis, 1971:17). While there is a slow and growing awareness for the need of interdisciplinary studies, Ossenberg found that:

Most Canadian and American trained Anglophone sociologists do not understand either Canadian or American sociology mainly because they have been trained in the prevailing static, abstract, ideal-typical structural-functional ahistorical tradition. Structural-functionalism affords important insights both segmental and holistic but it lacks a time dimension and must therefore be supplemented by a historical perspective. Further, this historical perspective must include a dialectical aspect: the viewing of the evolution of a society as a series of oppositions (Ossenberg, 1971:17).

With a deepening interest in Marxist historical interpretations spreading throughout the world, with a growing need to account for the tremendous social change and social development of recent occurrence, and with the growth of comparative analysis, the need for historical sociology becomes apparent. Toward this goal, Lipset makes it clear that there is no attempt to "turn historians into historical sociologists for the task of the sociologists is to formulate general hypothesis hopefully set within a large theoretical framework" (Lipset, 1968:21).* There is

*Lewis Namier, the noted British historian, defined a distinct function for history: "The subject matter of history is human affairs, man in action, things which have happened and how they have happened; concrete events fixed in time and space, and their grounding in the thoughts and feelings of men - not things universal and generalized" (Lipset, 1968:23).

obviously a great area of overlap. As Barnes has shown:

. . . the task of the historian is chiefly descriptive and concrete; in so far as he seeks to derive laws of historical development from his studies he becomes in reality a historical sociologist. If the historical sociologist deviates from his generalized search for laws and trends in the social development of mankind and goes in for purely descriptive exercises, he ceases thereby to function as a sociologist and assumes the role of a historian (Barnes, 1948:4).

Because historical sociology has been allowed to decline, much of the historical data available to the sociologist is a product of anthropologists or historians. However, Barnes is correct in pointing out that sociologists

cannot allow their historical viewpoint and information to be developed for them by any other group of students. No other than a sociologist with a genetic point of view and a command of accurate historical methodology will be likely to have the broad synthetic approach to the study of social development which is the great desideratum of contemporary social science.

And only a trained sociologist can reliably elucidate the illuminating sociological principles involved in social evolution. We must rely upon sociologists to apply sociological principles both in working out systematic treatises on social evolution and in drawing the more fruitful sociological conclusions from such studies (Barnes, 1948:136).

It is within these two areas - history and sociology - that this research will be grounded. Since we will attempt to seek out, in a historical context, the origins and development of social structures, defined and organized under the influence of a specific ideology and social class, this study remains true to the scope and nature of historical sociology.

Life History Approach - The Case Study.*

While historical sociology is the general methodological perspec-

*The two terms are used synonymously in this paper.

tive employed in this thesis, the case study method will be utilized to present the evidence for our theory reformulation. Although this method is more frequently used as a form of field observation, case studies have been found extremely effective in dealing with historical events (Robertson, 1975:40).

During the period between 1920 - 1940, the case study method was used extensively, bolstered by Thomas and Znaniecki's study of The Polish Peasant in 1927, and Robert E. Park's and Ernest Burges' work at the University of Chicago in the 1930's and 1940's. Since then, there has been a noticeable decline in its usage with little systematic investigations to its credit. As a result, there emerged a sociological "climate of opinion" that placed greater emphasis upon 'objectivity' and 'cold hard facts'. Quantification became the basis for 'real research' (Denzin, 1970:255).

In defence of the life history method and to revitalize it as valid methodology, Howard Becker maintained that:

Given the variety of scientific uses to which the life history may be put, one must wonder at the relative neglect into which it has fallen. Sociologists, it is true, have never given it up altogether. But neither have they made it one of their standard research tools. They read the documents available and assign them to their students to read. But they do not ordinarily think of gathering life history documents themselves or of making the technique part of their research approach (Denzin, 1970:255).

The case study does have its uses, critics maintain, for it is able to "come to grips with real-life situations". As a method, it offers insight "which years of experimenting and surveying may overlook," and is an "exceptionally rich source of social information" (Robertson, 1975:40-41); Seltitz et al, 1951:60). However, in the final analysis, critics conclude that the case study has its limitations, for it is preliminary and exploratory, and cannot be used to test hypothesis since "the findings of a single

observational study cannot be generalized to all apparently similar cases" (Robertson, 1975:41).*

While it is undeniable that the case study deals with a specific unit - either the individual, the group, or the institution in a specific temporal, spatial arrangement - Lipset has found that "there is no necessary clash between developing general sociological hypothesis and taking historical specificity into account. Furthermore, the sociologist engaged in a historical case study uses it to draw out generalizations that can apply to all similar cases . . ." (Lipset, 1968:51).

The dichotomy of separating the unique from the general has been debated intensely not only by sociologists but by historians as well, since the unique has been considered the historian's domain while the sociologist, in what was thought to be a neat division of labor, sought primarily the universal, the generalizations. For E. H. Carr, a noted British historian, this debate is a false dichotomy, for it is impossible to separate the two. Sociologists like historians, Carr argued, must of necessity, concern themselves with the "relationship between the unique and the general" since sociology is "concerned with historical societies, every one of which is unique and molded by specific historical antecedents and conditions" (Carr, 1961:66). In sociology, the debate has been carried on by those advocating either an idiographic or nomothetic approach to the case study. Since no two cases can ever be the same, the advocates of the

*In a review of twenty-two case studies, Angel in 1945 found that life history materials had been used not only to develop new hypothesis and to verify existing theory but that "theory could emerge out of the materials, and that life history data were equally as valid as questionnaire data." One of the reasons for the decline of the case study, Angel believed, was that as a research strategy, it demanded a great deal of time and effort (Denzin, 1970:255-256).

idiographic approach have been concerned with analyzing only the particular, the unique, while the latter have attempted to "generalize the cases analyzed to the general population" (Denzin, 1970:238). Therefore, to the nomothetists, the single case study is relatively inconsequential unless it is combined with others. The case study, in itself, remains incomplete. To overcome this problem of causality, Denzin has recommended an analytic induction approach necessary in analyzing case study material. Only in this way can one formulate "through progressive revisions of the research hypothesis, a series of propositions that have universal application. The life-history method becomes the paradigmatic form of this analysis, for the investigation assumes that the case, or cases, he has intensively analyzed portray the universe from which they were selected" (Denzin, 1970:238). It is not our intention to enter this debate except to point out that the case study, whether through an idiographic or a nomothetic perspective, is a valid methodological research tool of social inquiry as it is often the only means of approaching an investigation of past events.

Specific to this study, an examination of a particular ethnic community - the Winnipeg Jewish community and its radical elements will be undertaken. Essentially, by studying one particular group, as Handlin has pointed out, we will perhaps be better equipped to "throw light upon the whole" (S. Rosenberg, 1970:10). Given the focus of this thesis, a case study of the Winnipeg Jewish community, for a variety of reasons, affords us an opportunity to explore the link between political ideology, ethnicity and social class in an assimilationist/ survival context. First, the Jewish community has been one of the fundamental ethnic groups instrumental

in shaping the multi-ethnic character of the City of Winnipeg; second, the Jews have demonstrated over the centuries their ability to survive as a people in numerous environments; third, Jews had and still have a well-defined communal organizational structure in the social, cultural, and educational realms; fourth, the Winnipeg Jewish community had quickly matured into an ideologically diversified community to include religious shadings, secularists, zionists, and the various factions within the radical fold; fifth, and not of least importance, it had developed, very early upon arrival, the class composition indigenous to a capitalist society.

The period to be dealt with is the years 1905 - 1920. It was during this crucial period that the tone and character of Jewish life in Winnipeg was formed, when its communal life was crystallized and its structures determined. This was the period of feverish activity as streams of newly arrived immigrants scrambled for survival. Nineteen Hundred and Five* was

* Three major crises forced emigration from Russia during the 1900-1905 period for Jews and non-Jews alike. First was the Russian industrial and agricultural crises of 1903-1904. Second, the defeat of the 1905 Revolution initiated a reign of terror by the Czarist government, hounding many political and radical elements into exile, thousands of Jews were among them. Third, Russia's unprecedented military defeat by Japan in 1905 vividly showed the growing weakness of Czarist rule. Combined, the three events resulted in the government using both Jews and radicals as the perennial 'scapegoats' in diverting attention from the economic, social and political deteriorating situation. The resulting waves of pogroms during this period became the determining factor for both Jews and radicals to migrate (Schappes, 1958:144). Jewish migration was often accomplished in three stages. Handlin defined these stages as 1) the migration from the 'shtetl' to the large cities where industrial and commercial opportunities were opening up so that by the end of the 19th century there were large agglomerations of Jews in Vienna, London, Paris, Berlin, Budapest, Warsaw, Lodz, Odessa, Kharkov and Bucharest. In 1916, for example, 7% of the population in Germany was found in its seven largest cities, by 1916, this had increased to 50%; 2) the shift from east to west, from the non-industrialized to the industrialized regions, hence a substantial rise in the number of foreign born Jews in England, France and Germany; 3) the final shift from the Old Country to the new where the overwhelming majority of Jews settled into an urban existence (Handlin, 1954:48).

the year when the Jewish radical elements arrived and added a vital dimension to the developing heterogeneous character of the Jewish community, a dimension that has had a profound impact not only upon the structure of Jewish communal life but also on its dynamics. And although in its dynamics the Jewish community has changed over time to meet the demands of a new and changing environment, this initial period 1905 - 1920 is the period when Jewish survival in the Winnipeg community was guaranteed. The political ideology of the Jewish radicals was a significant factor towards this goal.

Nineteen Hundred and Five was also a crucial period in Winnipeg's development for at this time Winnipeg was at the very vortex of Western Canada's great economic expansion. As the 'gateway to the West', its potential for growth seemed unlimited. The growth ethic was its credo, more was better, cogently described by one historian as "those years of hysterical economic optimism" (McNaught, 1959:23). This acceleration was best exemplified in industrial output and in population. In 1900, Winnipeg's industrial output was estimated at \$13,000,000 with a labour force of only 5,000. In 10 years, this had increased over four-fold to \$54,000,000 with a labour force of 17,000 (Morton, 1957:304). Winnipeg's population rose just as dramatically. Within a short span of some 30 years, Winnipeg had grown from a village of 215 inhabitants in 1870 to a city of 139,863 in 1908, Canada's third largest city (McNaught, 1959:23). One-third of this population was foreign born, (Woodsworth, 1909:259), creating a city with the most diverse ethnic composition found anywhere in Canada, numbering more than thirty ethnic communities (L. Rosenberg, 1946:13).

Similarly, the Jewish community, from a meagre handful of 21 in 1881, grew rapidly after the turn of the century, absorbing the streams of pogrom

victims that were being dispersed throughout North America. By 1901, there were 1,156 Jews constituting 2.6% of Winnipeg's population. Ten years later in 1911, the community numbered 9,023 or 6.3%. From 1911 to 1931, the Jewish community constituted the second largest ethnic community in the city (L. Rosenberg, 1946:10-13). (See Appendix H for the number and density of Jewish population in Winnipeg from 1881 - 1941).

Compilation of data for the historical case study is traditionally found in the unique "records and expressions of behaviour that the sociologist seeks to reconstruct and/or analyze by means of some set of interpretive categories" (Cicourel, 1964:142). These categories - social class, political ideology, and ethnicity - will be discussed in the theoretical portion of this thesis in Chapter IV. In this section, the methods of collecting data will be outlined. Primary material was obtained from several sources. Oral interviews* of pioneers from the Jewish radical community and from the Jewish community at large were undertaken. Recognition of some of the inadequacies of the interview as method is noted, particularly in memory recall of factual data, i.e. names of organizations, data, sequence of events, etc. Whenever possible, data of a factual nature was cross-checked with other sources. Interviews provided many of the insights and impressions that were essential in evoking the spirit of the radical community and the community at large.

In addition, several newspapers of the 1905 - 1920 era were systematically researched. These included Winnipeg's only Jewish newspaper, The

* Some of the interviews that were personally undertaken are now the property of the Jewish Historical Society of Western Canada, other interviews that were used are the property of the above organization.

Israelite Press,* during the period 1914 to 1920 inclusive, and Winnipeg's labour paper, The Voice, from 1898 inclusive to 1919. These two newspapers were the main data source for the Jewish radical movement as well as the general radical movement developing in Winnipeg at that time. The Israelite Press, a non-sectarian paper, was available to all ideological factions in the community, religious, zionists and radicals, and provided not only invaluable information on the organizational structure and ideological positions of the radical community but gave evidence of the vitality, the dynamic quality and the tremendous influence in the community of its radical component. Since most of the Jews were workers and petty-merchants at this time, the newspaper reflected a working class bias. In it, many articles, editorials, organizational reports, financial statements, debates pertaining to the radical community were discussed. The Voice was useful in setting the tone for the general radical climate in Winnipeg, focusing upon the political, social and economic problems that were universal to the working class in Winnipeg at that time.

A less extensive search of the papers of the Canadian Department of Immigration lodged in the Public Archives of Canada, was undertaken. Here, official documents were found which gave some indication of the plight of arriving immigrants, their health, their income and their origins. Perhaps of greatest concern to this study, these documents provided an insight into official policy towards immigrants with radical backgrounds.

*The Israelite Press began late in 1910 as The Canadian Israelite (Der Kanaded Yid), in May, 1912, it changed its name to The Israelite (Der Yid) and in August, 1915, it took on its present name The Israelite Press (Dos Yiddishe Vort). For the present purposes, the latter name, The Israelite Press will be used to avoid confusion.

Autobiographies (the most common form of personal document used in the case study) of both radicals and non-radicals, Jews and non-Jews, were gathered as primary source material and provided a first-hand report of the general socioeconomic atmosphere prevailing at that time, as well as more detailed information on the founders of the Jewish radical community. Some of these included reminiscences by Gershman, Hershberg, Cherniak, Almazov, Gale, etc.

Since the study of Winnipeg's radical Jewish community is a relatively unexplored area, finding reliable records constituted the major problem in this research. Some limitations encountered were: no known 'minutes' of these organizations, no membership records or financial statements except those few that were sporadically reported in the above papers. Despite these limitations, we believe that the available data enables us to establish fairly accurately: 1) the structural patterns that were developed within the radical community; 2) the leadership role in the radical community and in the larger Jewish community; 3) the interaction of the radical community within the Jewish community and within the Winnipeg community; and, 4) the dynamic interaction between and among the three key factors that we are investigating, viz., social class, ethnicity and political ideology.

Since the Jewish community and its radical elements cannot be understood in a vacuum, since its formation, its structures and its social interactions were not chance phenomena, the following chapter will undertake a survey of the historical and intellectual roots of the assimilation/survival debates that arose in Europe among the liberal and radical ideologies. The response to these debates became a fundamental factor in our understanding of the formation of the Jewish communities throughout North America.

CHAPTER III

Historical and Intellectual Roots of The Problem.

By the turn of the century, both the liberal and socialist movements throughout Europe were deeply enmeshed in numerous debates based on the ideology of nationalism. With the growth of capitalism, industrialism, and a growing middle class, nationalism was gradually changing the social structures and the 'rhythm of life' in Central Europe (Kohn, 1965:54). As national boundaries changed, numerous 'nationals' found themselves displaced, labelled and accorded immigrant status, bringing into existence "a period of bitter nationality conflicts which led to unending tensions and wars" (Kohn, 1965:64). It was this problem that brought to the surface the assimilationist philosophy within both the liberal and Marxist ideologies. This became a dominant theme, heightened particularly by the growing pervasiveness and persistence of the multi-national feelings in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and in Eastern Europe, and by the recognition that a solution to the deteriorating Jewish question had to be actively sought.* As the antithesis to the assimilationist position, survival, whether in a territorial context or the survival of a 'people', became deeply rooted in the European consciousness.

These two opposing positions - assimilation and survival - were to transcend their European origins, and along with the flow of human migration,

*During the last two decades of the 1880's, this problem became critical due to the increase in pogrom activities in Eastern Europe and also, by the emergence of political anti-semitism after 1879, a new phenomenon in Central European experience. These two aspects will be dealt with below.

these ideologies were to create a fundamental impact upon North American thought. Whether in a European context or in its North American variant, each sought historical justification for its theoretical position. The assimilationist/survival debate has considerable relevance to the case study under review, as well as being central to the study of contemporary ethnic studies. Thus, we will examine now the historical and intellectual roots of these two major themes as they developed within both the liberal and Marxist traditions.

The Assimilationist Perspective.

The assimilationist perspective gained hegemony as the dominant position within both the liberal and the orthodox Marxist ideologies. Two major themes emerged within the assimilationist perspective - cultural meliorism and egalitarianism - two themes that remain prevalent today.

The first, cultural meliorism, distinguished between the notion of the universal and the particular. The universal was associated with progress, brotherhood, and other 'positive' values which led to such slogans as 'equality of individual rights', 'one person, one vote', and 'equality before the law', etc. (Morris and Lanphier, 1976:1). The particular was related to ethnic particularism and, assimilationists believed, generally exhibited inferior characteristics to those found in modern, post-industrial societies. Assimilation, therefore, was a necessary as well as desirable 'cultural upgrading'. While the universal remained the basis of liberal ideology, the increasing trend toward liberal nationalism (as a resistance to Napoleon's expansionism) became 'a serious break in the ideological consistency of liberalism'. As Watkins pointed out, with national self-determination as an accepted liberal principle, the dichotomy

between individual rights and national interests became solidly entrenched and the basis of numerous disputes (Watkins, 1965:40).

The second theme within the assimilationist perspective was based on the notion of egalitarianism, the basis of ethnic stratification studies today, although as Weinfeld noted, there is greater interest in the aspect of stratification than in ethnicity (Weinfeld, 1976:1). For those who embraced liberalism as an ideology, it was expected that the benefits of economic progress would be universally shared. By equalizing the distribution of society's resources and power, privileged groups in society would be eliminated. In this 'levelling-off' process, socio-economic inequalities, as theorized by liberal ideologists, would be eradicated and individual mobility as opposed to group affiliations would take precedence in the social order.

For liberals, legal inequalities seemed the sole barrier to man's self-realization and universalization, and it was in this area, in the political arena, that liberals directed their energies. While Marxists strived toward similar egalitarian principles, they differed on the means whereby these goals could be achieved. The source of the problem, Marxists argued, was not to be found in legal inequalities but in economic inequalities rooted in a market economy. Therefore, an egalitarian society, Marxists believed, could only be created by eliminating market competition (Watkins, 1965:48).

Whether through legal or economic means, both the liberals and socialists advocated assimilation as the key to equality of opportunity and condition in a democratic society.* This theme came through very

*Morris and Lanphier make a parallel observation in reference to the French-Canadian situation. Many Francophones have recognized that equality of individual right was essentially an assimilationist goal (Morris and Lanphier, 1976:3).

clearly in Porter's The Vertical Mosaic. "When there is a strong association between ethnic affiliation and social class, as there almost always has been, a democratic society may require a breakdown of ethnic impediments to equality, particularly equality of opportunity" (Porter, 1965:73). One further example on a similar theme, which indicates that ethnic differences will undoubtedly disappear, is found in Shibutani and Kwan's Ethnic Stratification.

In time, ethnic differentiation will be taken as a relic of the past. People of future generations will probably look upon inter-ethnic strife in the same manner that religious wars of the past are viewed today...In all probability then, human beings throughout the world will eventually acknowledge that they are fundamentally alike, descended from common ancestors in the remote past, and that ethnic identity is a matter of little importance (Shibutani and Kwan, 1969:589).

This form of analysis places emphasis upon inter-group differentiation, substantially ignoring the intra-group distinctions and the "dynamic aspects of the relationship between ethnicity and achievement observable in within group (e.g. strongly versus weakly identified) comparisons" (Weinfeld, 1976:4). In this way, ethnic groups are assumed to be a homogeneous entity, all of one culture, all of one religion, all of one class.

This type of stereotyping has been conspicuously evident in not only analyzing the Jews but all early Canadian immigrants. Perhaps J. S. Woodsworth's sentiments are best known for this type of analysis in early Canadian history. For Woodsworth, the Slovacks of northern Hungary were seen as a "distinctly lower grade", the Poles had a "code of morals none too high", while the Galicians and the Ruthenians were generally despised, illiterate and ignorant. "Drunk, he is quarrelsome and dangerous". The southern Italians, often destitute upon arrival "suffered from an intelli-

gence not higher than one could imagine in the descendant of peasantry - illiterate for centuries". Although the Jews were accorded better treatment, the general stereotyping was recognizable for their common denominator was 'getting-on'. Further, Woodsworth believed that the assimilation of the Orientals into Canadian society was an impossible task (Woodsworth, 1909: 153,110-117,127).

As Weinfeld has shown, both themes - cultural meliorism and egalitarianism - fostered an assimilationist approach to the problem of integrating the immigrant into a new environment. From this perspective, much of the literature strongly emphasized "the dysfunctional nature of ethnic culture, the pervasive destructiveness of ethnic conflict, and on the theoretical irrelevance of ethnicity in modern, less ascriptive societies" (Weinfeld, 1976:6).

Although these two themes have provided a necessary dimension to an understanding of the assimilationist perspective, there has been little awareness of the diverse historical roots that have been fundamental to its gradual emergence, and of its impact on world history in general, and on the history of ideas in particular.

Two debates were of fundamental importance in the development of the assimilationist perspective. The first debate stemmed from revolutionary France and centred on the problem of Jewish emancipation. (At a later date, this debate spilled over to Eastern Europe.) The second arose within the Marxist movement and involved the relationship between socialism and nationalism. In both debates, cultural meliorism and egalitarianism were fundamental precepts underlying their assimilatory approach. Since Marxism is more relevant to a discussion of our case study, the Winnipeg Jewish radical community, the second debate will be given greater attention.

I. The French Enlightenment and The Emancipation of The Jews.

France, in the Eighteenth Century, had enjoyed 200 years as intellectual leader of Europe. While the themes of the Enlightenment - rationalism, anti-clericalism, universalism, and liberty - provided the intellectual stimulus for bringing the problem of the Jews into the French limelight * three major political pressures coalesced to make a solution imperative. First, the renewed persecution of Marranos ** in Portugal from 1721 to 1761 gave the 'philosophes' added opportunity to attack the church. Second, a steady influx of Polish and German Jews fleeing persecution in Eastern and Central Europe, found a haven in Eastern France.*** This Jewish element was of Ashkenazie descent (East Europeans) and was markedly different in dress, behaviour, language, religious orthodoxy and economic status than the Sephardic Jews (Spanish Jews). Sephardim, because of their earlier association and greater assimilatory propensity, were more readily acceptable to the French than the East Europeans. The third factor, the one that was most immediate, evolved out of the economic plight of the Jews in France.

* Jews were expelled from France in 1394. After 1500, for mercantilist reasons it was felt that a few Jews in the country would be good for international trade - restrictions were lifted and many settled in Southern France, where, eventually, they became prominent in trade, particularly in Bordeaux and Bayonne. Jews were never heavily concentrated within the French heartland (Hertzberg, 1968:14).

** Marranos were Jews forced to convert to Christianity during the Spanish Inquisition. Many secretly maintained their Jewish identities, clandestinely practising their rituals and traditions.

*** Analyzing the flow of East European Jews into the West, Kautsky saw the results in this way, "The orthodox Jewish elements who flowed from the East to the highly developed West were quite backward. The first effect of this condition was to retard the process of assimilation on the part of the Jews of the West; a further effect was the reviving of anti-semitism by 1) increased competition faced by intellectuals and traders 2) the foreign aspect of the Jewish community" (Kautsky, 1926:175).

Since the Fifteenth Century, Jews in France had suffered severe economic restrictions with only three economic areas open to them: trade in old clothes, cattle and money-lending. This was extended, gradually, to finance and commerce. "Since economic restrictions compelled the Jews to seek the most unpopular means of livelihood, they were cordially hated" (Hertzberg, 1968:286).

In their agitation for complete economic equality, Jews found sympathy among some of the 'free traders' who saw the Jew as the representative of economic progress. They were exceptions, however, for many of the rising bourgeoisie, the artisans and especially the peasants of Eastern France "who were traditionally the debtors of innumerable Jewish money-lenders", showed tremendous hostility and opposition in allowing the Jews to become their economic rivals. This resulted in numerous anti-semitic outbreaks and programs, especially in Alsace in 1778 and in Avignon during the 1760's - 1770's. Set amidst the intellectual ferment of the age, and the decaying social structure, the solution to the Jewish problem was vigorously debated amongst the 'philosophes'.

Two solutions were advanced, one advocated emancipation, the other urged an anti-emancipation position. The emancipationists advocated complete equality of the Jews with full political, economic and civil rights guaranteed. In their attempts to universalize and to equalize all social differences, the 'philosophes' - Montesquieu, D'Argens, Count Mirabeau, Abbe Gregoire, etc. - argued that human cultures were determined by climate and environment (Hertzberg, 1968:276). Furthermore, the 'Jewish problem' was not the result of innate, biological characteristics of the Jewish race but the result of its long history of persecution and isolation.

By changing the environment, a concomitant change in the character of the Jew would surely follow. Their arguments were given support when they compared the more enlightened Sephardic Jews of Southern France to the 'old worldly' Ashkenazi Jews of Eastern France. To the 'philosophes', there was no question which was the preferred kind. Diderot made this distinction: "The shaven Jews are rich and are regarded as honest men; one has to be careful with the bearded ones, who are not particularly scrupulous. There are some very educated people among the Jews" (Hertzberg, 1968:282; Weinfeld, 1976:2). In effect, emancipating the Jews from their religion was consistent with the larger goals of the 'philosophes' - the emancipation of all Frenchmen from the stranglehold of the church.

The anti-emancipation position exhibited the divergent and often ambivalent positions found in the enlightenment movement. As Hertzberg clearly indicated, one cannot hold without qualification that the "left was invariably sympathetic to the cause of Jewish equality". Some of the more renowned leaders within this school of thought included Voltaire and d'Holbach. Jews particularly singled out Voltaire for his explicit anti-semitism. Much of his work had extensive ramifications not only in France but throughout Europe, for it provided succeeding generations with the 'fundamentals of the rhetoric of secular anti-semitism'.* In France, Voltaire became a 'major obstacle to the freedom of the Jews' (Hertzberg, 1968:286). As defined by Voltaire, the Jew had a basic and

* Sachar provided numerous examples of the prejudices held by some of the most outstanding European thinkers from Herder, to Goethe, to Fichte. Fichte strenuously opposed Jewish emancipation for without civic patriotism, Jews were incapable of civic duty. "The only way I see by which civil rights can be conceded to them is to cut off all their heads in one night and to set new ones on their shoulders which should contain not a single Jewish idea. The only means protecting ourselves against them is to conquer their promised land and send them thither" (Sachar, 1965:276-77, 286).

unchanging nature, therefore, it was most difficult if not impossible to enlighten or regenerate him. Hence, the Jew was consigned to the role of the eternal 'alien'.*

With the destruction of the ancien regime, the basis for a new world order had been laid making the political supremacy of the growing middle class possible. 'The rights of man' and the 'citizen' were proclaimed. By September 27, 1791, opposition to Jewish emancipation had been overcome to the degree that complete emancipation was granted, first for the Sephardic Jews with about 3000 - 4000 members, several years later for the 30,000 Ashkenazi Jews (Hertzberg, 1968:2). For the first time in the modern history of the West, all the Jews within the borders of a European state were united with all of its other citizens as equals before the law (Hertzberg, 1968:2). More fundamentally, their economic status had now been completely altered. New opportunities were now open to them. With Napoleon's armies extending across the European continent, the notion of Jewish emancipation was carried forward and the possibility of equality became a reality.** Yet emancipation for the Jew was not granted without a price. In exchange, Jews were expected to fully assimilate into the French nation as 'hommes' and as 'citizens'. As a member of the French National Assembly declared: "One must refuse everything to the Jews as a nation, but one must give them everything as individuals; they must become citizens (Hertzberg, 1968:360; Weinfeld, 1976:9).

*Simmel's concept of 'the Stranger'.

**After 1848 in various states in Central Europe, Jews achieved legal emancipation. In the Balkans, this occurred in 1878, except in Russia. Here 'enlightened' Jews believed that with the growth of liberalism, the assimilation of the Jews would be inevitable.

Although equality of the individual was legally constituted, there was no similar indication that minority groups would be accorded equal toleration as they had enjoyed in Holland for over 200 years (Weinfeld, 1976:10). Assimilation, for the leaders of the revolution, was the means whereby Jews and non-Jews were to become more 'like all other Frenchmen.' Many Jews eager to achieve this long-awaited opportunity willingly acknowledged their inferiority to that of the majority (Hertzberg, 1968:349). In this way, the destruction of the organized Jewish community was seen as not only possible but desirable. In retrospect, the failure to achieve this goal was ultimately the failure of the liberal assimilationist policy, a failure which generally went unrecognized as assimilatory policies continued to be maintained throughout the Nineteenth and much of the Twentieth centuries. Moreover, while political emancipation was achieved it was quickly recognized that this was not synonymous with social acceptance. Continued outbursts of anti-semitism and pogroms which were particularly virulent in Eastern France could not be stifled by the new regime.* The old social stigmas continued to prevail, and persecutors rarely distinguished between the assimilated and the unassimilated.** To a large extent, Hertzberg found, this was encouraged in Eastern France by some of the language of the extreme Jacobins and that "this was to be

* Sachar tells us that "On the very night when the Bastille fell and Frenchmen rejoiced in the collapse of the old regime, riots began in Alsace which compelled thousands of terror-stricken Jewish families to flee to Switzerland where they received a very cool and reluctant ceremony" (Sachar, 1965:278).

** Heinrich Heine has provided us with an interesting evaluation of his conversion to Christianity. "I am hated alike by Jew and Christian", he wrote in 1826. "I regret very deeply that I had myself baptized. I do not see that I have been the better for it since. On the contrary I have known nothing but misfortune and mischief." (Sachar, 1965:289).

the post-Christian secularized rhetoric of at least one wing of the revolutionary left in France and all over Europe" (Hertzberg, 1968:367).*

In conclusion, along with the belief in democracy and universalism, assimilation became one of the fundamental assumptions of liberal, bourgeois ideology. Significantly, this assumption became incorporated within the Marxist ideology as well, for socialists believed even more avidly than the liberals that total emancipation was inevitable, and was to be part of the coming social revolution. For the Jews, however, the French Revolution had merely scratched the surface in solving the 'Jewish problem'. Many of their problems were to remain and were to become increasingly aggravated in the Nineteenth Century, demanding new ideologies and new solutions.

Eastern Europe and Jewish Emancipation.

While the Enlightenment movement swept through Western Europe in the Eighteenth Century, it was not until a century later that its influence began to permeate into Eastern Europe. For the first time, secularism became a viable option for East European Jewry. For the first time, Jews were able to deviate from the tradition-bound religious beliefs and practices of their forefathers and yet remain as Jews. This movement known as the Haskalah (Enlightenment) was initiated by a small but influential group known as the Maskilim (Humanists) who succeeded in making a

*Hertzberg makes a most penetrating observation. "The era of Western history that began with the French Revolution ended in Auschwitz. The emancipation of the Jews was reversed in a most horrendous way" (Hertzberg, 1968:5).

"profound and enduring impact on the life and times of their people and their civilization" (Sachar, 1965:199).

The Haskalah came about as a result of increased east-west trade after the Congress of Vienna, and significantly, it was the merchant that transported the ideas of Western life-styles to the East. Predominantly, this was a middle-class movement similar to the bourgeois orientation of the Eighteenth century, Western Enlightenment. Many of the intellectuals of the Haskalah were from wealthy merchant families; the movement reflected many of their class needs. One of the most important aspects of the Haskalah was its focus on spreading education and knowledge amongst the Jewish masses in the hope of dispersing the superstition and parochialism that ghetto life had fostered. Thereby, secular Jewish education came into existence and "broke sharply from the old theory that Jewish education was a religious exercise or a spirit discipline rather than a means of developing the intellectual and aesthetic potentialities of man" (Sachar, 1965:332). It was Hebrew, ironically, the language of the Bible, that became the language of the Maskil and of the Haskalah literature. This became another vehicle of separating the middle-class from the Yiddish speaking masses.*

Although the Maskilim advocated full equality and recognition for all Jews, their social philosophy masked their middle-class orientation. They continually exhorted and proselytized for the productivization of the

Jewish masses, frowning upon the demeaning petty trade of the pedlar and the hawker. Though there was a disproportionate number of Jews in this area compared to their Russian neighbors, the Maskilim failed to make the distinction that Jews also had more than their share of artisans and workers (Sachar, 1965:201-204). It soon became very clear to the Jewish working class that this liberal, democratic orientation was unlikely to provide the answers for their immediate problems and that their answers had to be sought elsewhere.

Nevertheless, it was the Haskalah movement that paved the way for socialist thought within the Jewish community. Now unfettered by religious, parochial traditionalism, large numbers of Jews embraced socialism as the panacea for all their social ills. Many became active in the Marxist Social Democratic Party - first organized in the 1850's in Germany and in Russia in the 1880's and 1890's (Sachar, 1965:296).

"Almost every substantial Jewish community produced at least one Marxist study group" (Sachar, 1965:296).

However, middle class secularism was not without its problems. As Guttman pointed out, identity crisis is far more complicated when "conversion of a Jew is to a secular creed - for example to Marxism" (Guttman, 1971:7). While the German Jewish socialist wholeheartedly embraced the internationalism of Marxism and the primacy of class, their Russian comrades emphatically repudiated this assimilatory solution. For the East European Jewish socialist community, a torrent of nationalist emotion and activity developed as they attempted to find a common ground for the Jewish national struggle and the struggle of international socialism.

II. Socialism and The 'National Question'.

While liberal ideology was in its heyday in the Eighteenth century, the ascendancy of socialism was evident in the Nineteenth century. Since it was a product of the Enlightenment, it exhibited many of the same ideals - equality, justice, progress, the use of science, rationalism, the perfectibility of man, etc. (Ward, 1966:89). Similarly, assimilation became the focus for bringing many of these goals to fruition. Although this became recognized as fundamental to a Marxist theoretical perspective, some groups within the movement, for example, Jewish radicals, did not concur. Thus, the relationship between socialism and nationalism, involving Jew and non-Jew alike, proved to be the movement's most persistent internal problem. The 'National Question', as it became known, was vigorously debated not only in Europe but in North America as well. Since the debate continues, an understanding of its intellectual roots remains crucial to our discussion of radical ideology as a factor in ethnic survival.

Volumes of literature have been devoted to the 'Jewish problem'. However, only a meagre amount is written in a Marxist vein. The first attempt at a scientific analysis, was undertaken by Karl Marx himself in an article "On the Jewish Question" written in 1843 in a debate with Bruno Bauer.* This article has been used on frequent occasions as the

*Bruno Bauer, a lecturer at the University of Berlin, was a member of the 'Young Hegelians' and was one of the first to critically analyze the historical role of religion. In 1838, Bauer advanced the notion that religion was the self-alienation of man. It was Bauer who taught Marx atheism (McClellan, 1971:XII).

basis for establishing Marx' anti-semitic biases, more often it has been recognized that Marx had a 'blind-spot' in his analysis of and attitude towards the Jews and 'Jewishness' and that his primary concern lay in exposing Judaism and Christianity as religious systems (Borochoy, 1973: 19).^{*} Over the intervening years, Marx' analysis of the 'Jewish problem' has been recognized by many as inadequate and misleading. In it, Marx made two basically unsubstantiated assertions about Jewish economic involvement as an agent of social change. Marx argued that: a) Jews were the cataclysmic agent in transforming Feudalism to Capitalism; b) all Jews were members of the bourgeoisie.

In the first instance, Marx paraphrased this passage from Hamilton:

The Jew, who in Vienna, for example, is only tolerated, determines the fate of the whole Empire by his financial power. The Jew, who may have no rights in the smallest German state, decides the fate of Europe. While corporations and guilds refuse to admit Jews, or have not yet adopted a favourable attitude towards them, the audacity of industry mocks at the obstinacy of the medieval institutions (Marx, 1975:170).

For Marx, capitalism and Judaism were synonymous, the eradication of one would necessarily see the elimination of the other. In his analysis of Jewish economic life, Marx stated:

^{*}An attempt to understand Marx' attitude to the Jews was made by Winchevsky, who is considered as the 'father of Jewish Socialism'. Marx was born at the time when the Haskalah-Shmad (Enlightenment movement which led many Jews to convert) movement was at its height in Germany. Marx' father in Germany, "descended from a line of rabbis" (McClellan, 1971:XI). Like the Disraeli family in England, the Marx family converted to Christianity in 1816. This signified becoming a German in Germany, Englishman in England. For Marx, Jewishness meant solely the adherence to religion, and, the Jew, corrupted in and by the Diaspora would and should eventually disappear, melting into and with the people among whom he lived, the sooner the better. Winchevsky found that "Marx' assimilatory conversion psychology was to make himself free of Jewish roots, thereby enabling him to make contemptuous comments about Jews" (Canadian Jewish Outlook, 1972:7). Winchevsky's remarks were part of an essay entitled "My National Belief" written in 1911.



What is the secular basis of Judaism? Practical need, self-interest. What is the worldly religion of the Jew? Huckstering. What is his worldly God? Money (Marx, 1975:169-170).

In this way, Marx was able to define the Jews as part of a homogeneous class, part of and essential to capitalism and its class relationships. The 'Jewish spirit' of capitalism, moreover, had now been transfused into the 'Christian spirit', with capitalism as the dominant spirit of the age.

The Jew has emancipated himself in a Jewish manner, not only because he has acquired financial power, but also because, through him and also apart from him, money has become a world power and the practical Jewish spirit has become the practical spirit of the Christian nations. The Jews have emancipated themselves insofar as the Christians have become Jews.

The social emancipation of the Jew is the emancipation of society from Judaism (Marx, 1975:170-174).

Engels differed substantially with Marx on these two basic assumptions.* He recognized that Jewish capital was insignificant and marginal in the development of capitalism, a factor that was far more relevant in a feudal than in a capitalist economy. Furthermore, Engels not only recognized the traditional class divisions within the Jewish community and the bitter lot of the Jewish proletariat, but also their

* Marx' thesis on Jewish capitalism was later incorporated by Werner Sombart in his controversial book The Jews and Modern Capitalism (1911) which argued that it is likely that the beginnings of capitalism began in the Jewish ghetto. This thesis continues to be debated today without resolution along with the theories that Jews were the creators of Christianity and Communism. In a more recent refutation of Marx' Jewish analysis, Gal shows that capitalism developed in England at a time when there were no Jews, and its development occurred primarily in those areas - in agriculture and in manufacture - in which Jews were least involved (Jews were expelled from England in 1290 after a century of relentless Jew-baiting, and were re-admitted only after 1657, 400 years later when Cromwell 'rode roughshod' over all opposition, i.e. the merchants and the clergy, at a time when capitalism was already a reality in England (Sachar, 1965:199-200,231). Secondly, Gal shows ample historical verification to substantiate the class basis of Jewish society, replete with class antagonisms and class conflict (Gal, 1973:2).

significant role in the socialist movement (Gal, 1973:3). His sympathy towards the Jews can be readily seen in his letter to an unknown correspondent written on April 19, 1890:

Anti-semitism is the characteristic sign of a backward civilization and is therefore only found in Prussia and Austria or in Russia. Only. . . where there is as yet no strong capitalist class and therefore also no strong wage-earning class, where capital, being still too weak to control the whole national production, has the Stock Exchange as the main scene of its activity, and where production is therefore still in the hands of peasants, landowners, handicraft workers and similar classes surviving from the Middle Ages - only here is capital predominantly Jewish and only here is anti-semitism to be found.

Anti-Semitism, therefore, is nothing but the reaction of the medieval decadent strata of society against modern society, which essentially consists of wage-earners and capitalists . . .

And apart from this, we owe much too much to the Jews . . . Have I not been turned into a Jew myself by the Gartenlaube? and indeed if I had to choose then rather a Jew than "Herr von . . ." (Von, German prefix indicating aristocratic birth) (Gal, 1973:3).

Engels' letter revealed more than mere sympathy. His prediction concerning the fate of the Jews indicated that the Jews would be totally absorbed with the advance of capitalism. This assessment was based on two reasons. First, while Jewish capital was significant in the feudal economy, Jews had lost this unique function under capitalism. Without an economic base and without a unique role in the economic order Jews would tend more and more to assimilate into the dominant society. While economics was one area of Jewish existence, Engels saw that anti-semitism was the second reason for Jewish survival. Although anti-semitism continued to plague the Jews, it was essentially of a pre-capitalist nature, and would totally disappear with the full development of capitalism (Gal, 1973:3). (See Appendix A for a modern capitalist version of anti-semitism in Canada.)

While Engels argued that assimilation was already an ongoing process under capitalism, Marx, on the other hand, maintained that Jews would become fully integrated in a socialist society. Since the Jews

were already fully integrated into the economic capitalist system as the bourgeoisie (the reason for their hatred), Marx argued that as a people, the Jews would be absorbed only under socialism when their specific economic function would be totally eliminated.

Marx' analysis of Judaism became a dogma for some,* rejected by others. Nevertheless, the article made two important theoretical contributions to Marxist thought. First, in his statement, "Judaism continued to exist not in spite of history, but owing to history", (Marx, 1975:171) Marx laid the basis for dismantling the prevailing view that religion has been the essence of Jewish survival throughout the ages (Bauer's position). This has provided the basis for a secular, historic analysis of the role of the Jew not through religious mystification, but, similar to all other phenomena, Jewish survival could now be analyzed through scientific means. Second, Marx recognized that political emancipation, won by the bourgeoisie during the French Revolution, had narrow limitations; political emancipation was an insufficient condition to bring about the 'true emancipation for all men'. And, although Marx recognized that political emancipation represented great progress, it is not the final form of human emancipation but must be seen as the "final form of human emancipation within the hitherto existing world order" (Marx, 1975:155). As Marx stated:

All emancipation is a reduction of the human world and relationships to man himself.

Political emancipation is the reduction of man, on the one hand, to a member of civil society, to an egoistic, independent individual,

*Franz Mehring - a staunch Marxist supporter commented on Marx' study of the Jews. "These few pages are of greater value than the huge piece of literature on the Jewish problem which appeared since that time" (Borochoy, 1973:19).

and, on the other hand, to a citizen, a juridical person.

Only when the real individual man re-absorbs in himself the abstract citizen, and as an individual human being has become a species-being in his everyday life, in his particular work, and in his particular situation, only when man has recognized and organized his 'forces propres' (his own powers) as social forces, and consequently no longer separates social power from himself in the shape of political power, only then will human emancipation have been accomplished (Marx, 1975:168).

Although Marx did not explicitly express an assimilationist position, it is, nevertheless, implied as the means towards the evolution of human emancipation.* As Weinfeld points out, Marx suggested that the Jews were already "so perfectly in tune with the value system and social foundation of capitalism, that only with the final dissolution of the capitalist economy into a socialist society, will human liberation for Jew and non-Jew be possible" (Weinfeld, 1976:12). In effect, there was no room for particularist affiliations or particularist loyalties in Marx' desire for human emancipation.

In a less philosophical vein, expressing the 'ultra-doctrinaire' views within the movement, Karl Kautsky in Are the Jews a Race? made assimilation the explicit Marxist position on the 'Jewish question'. In his attempt to counteract the widespread increase in anti-semitism throughout Europe at the turn of the century, Kautsky vigorously attacked the racist theories of Chamberlain and Gobineau, denying their allegations that the Jews were a distinct race. Because they were not a race, Kautsky argued,

*In his argument with Bauer on Jewish emancipation, Marx wrote: "Therefore, we do not say to the Jews, as does Bauer: You cannot be emancipated politically without emancipating yourself radically from Judaism. On the contrary, we tell them: Because you can be emancipated politically without renouncing Judaism completely and incontrovertibly, political emancipation itself is not human emancipation. If you Jews want to be emancipated politically without emancipating yourselves humanly, the half-hearted approach and contradiction is not in you alone, it is inherent in the nature and category of political emancipation" (Marx, 1975:160). In this way, the retention of Judaism and human emancipation are incompatible, one must give way for the other.

there was no innate physical or mental qualities that could be attributed to them, hence, Jews were capable of being assimilated. (A similar argument to that of the earlier French emancipationists.) Hostility towards the non-native sections of the population, Kautsky argued, could only be eliminated when they, the "non-native sections of the population cease to be alien and blend with the general mass of the population. That is the only possible solution to the Jewish problem, and we should support everything that makes for the ending of Jewish isolation". Essentially, Kautsky articulated and incorporated both the cultural meliorist and egalitarian positions within the Marxist structure:

The only force capable of a thorough overturning of the present order and a complete destruction of all oppression, of all legal and social inequality, now remains the proletariat, which must achieve this end in order to achieve its own liberation. Only a victorious proletariat can bring complete emancipation for the Jews; all of Jewry, except insofar as it is already fettered to capitalism, is interested in a proletarian victory.

The Jews have become an eminently revolutionary factor, while Judaism has become a reactionary factor. It is like a weight of lead attached to the feet of the Jews who eagerly seek to progress, one of the last remnants of the feudal Middle Ages, a social ghetto still maintaining its existence in the consciousness, after the tangible, physical ghetto has disappeared. We cannot say we have completely emerged from the Middle Ages as long as Judaism still exists among us. The sooner it disappears, the better it will be, not only for society, but also for the Jews themselves (Kautsky, 1926:240-241,246).

Clearly, Kautsky remained ambivalent in his theoretical formulation of the roots of the 'Jewish problem'. At one point he concurred with Engels. The Jews were seen as a remnant of the feudal past to be finally assimilated under capitalism. Later, he suggested that the recent rise of anti-semitism under capitalism made assimilation impossible and that the final disappearance of the Jews as a distinct people would have to await the proletarian, socialist revolution (Kautsky, 1926:240).

The 'Jewish question' however, was peripheral to the larger

issue of nationalism, an issue which was particularly vexatious in the second half of the Nineteenth century with the 'national awakening' of minorities in the Austro-Hungarian Empire as well as in Eastern Europe.* In a hundred years survey of the emergence of European national consciousness, a Polish scholar observed, "The national consciousness does not limit itself any longer, as it did in 1801, to the nobility and some isolated middle-class men, it has penetrated into the peasantry, even to the Jews..." (Kohn, 1965:66-67). For Marx and Engels, however, nationalism was fundamentally a reactionary movement, a bourgeois tool to disorientate and to disrupt the unity of the working class from their revolutionary goal. They regarded nationalism as intractably opposed to the realization of socialism and communism (Weinfeld, 1976:10). Inevitably, bourgeois nationalism was historically bound to give way to proletarian internationalism. Workers had no country. Patriotism was nothing more than chauvinism. Class identification and class consciousness was the only valid identification necessary in a modern, industrial, capitalist environment. Already there were signs, Marx and Engels argued, that national differences were dissolving under the influence of capitalist necessity. Capitalist influence was rapidly spreading throughout the world, organizing its own forms of institutions, urbanization, bureaucratization and technology. While capitalism had begun the process, the ultimate goal of universalism and egalitarianism would finally be achieved with the triumph of socialism and communism.

* The Austrian-Hungarian Empire involved national groups such as the Magyars, the Croations, the Slavs, the Romanians, the Serbs, the Czechs, and a large German faction. In the Russian Empire were found the Poles, the Ukrainians, the Finns, the Estonians, the Latvians, the Lithuanians. Jews were to be found in both Empires (Kohn, 1965:65-67).

Under this scheme, it seemed useless to worry about national minorities, or to 'research a vanishing phenomenon' when it was far more crucial to understand the capitalist system and how to finally terminate it. In this way, Gal pointed out that, "the inevitable conclusion . . . was to ignore Jewish nationalism (and all other national manifestations) as well as to neglect the field of research of the economic characteristics of the Jews in the framework of capitalism" (Gal, 1973:5). However, theory and social reality could not be reconciled, and although Marxists expressed concern and gave temporary support to some nationalist movements, i.e. in Poland, Ireland and India, they remained theoretically opposed to nationalist movements, nationalist loyalties and identification (Weinfeld, 1976:14). Whether a bourgeois phenomenon or a liberating movement, the 'National Question' has yet to be recognized by the Marxist movement and has still to be dealt with in theory as well as in practice as a genuine problem within capitalism.*

*In a letter of June 21, 1866, from Marx to Engels, Marx reported on a meeting of the general Council of the First International, (two years after its inauguration) which indicated a milder attitude to the 'National Question'. Marx wrote: "Finally the representatives (non-workers) of 'Young France' exploded with the idea that nationality and nationhood have outlived their usefulness and are doomed - Proudhonistic Sternerismus (The Anarchist wing in the International). The English were very amused when I opened my speech by noting that our young friend, La Farge, who wiped out the nationalities, addressed us in French. In other words, he spoke in a language which was not understood by nine-tenths of the audience. I went on to point out that La Farge himself was not conscious of the fact that the meaning he places on the words 'doing away with the nations' simply means that the model nation, i.e. France, would swallow all other nations" (La Farge later became Marx' son-in-law and a French Marxist) (Winchevsky, 1975:8). It is evident that Engels also modified his position on this issue, suggesting that Marxists must differentiate between "nationalism as a needed prerequisite in certain cases for building socialism" and the type of nationalism that was the reactionary ideology of the ruling class. Engels stated: "It is historically impossible for a large people to discuss seriously any internal questions as long as its national independence is lacking. . . An international movement of the proletariat is in general only possible between independent nations . . . To get rid of national oppression is the basic condition of all free and healthy development . . ." (a letter from Engels to Kautsky, February 7, 1882) (Weinfeld, 1976:14).

Opposition to the orthodox position came from varied sources over an extended period of time. Several examples are cited to indicate the extent and the intensity of the debates. In an address to the Reichstag on January 11, 1883, Wilhelm Liebknecht* engaged the opponents of socialism in a debate on the relationship of nationalism with internationalism:

You tell us that we alienate all citizens who might indeed otherwise support us, if it were not for our internationalist point of view. And this presumably means that we do not recognize the rights of nationalities. Sirs! Who has thus informed you?! When I call myself an internationalist, it in no way means that I am against nationality. National groups are necessary whether their base is related to language or some other basis (Winchevsky, 1975:7).

More than a decade later, on December 14, 1897, August Babel** (1840-1913) addressed a group of students in Berlin on the question of internationalism and nationalism. Arguing against assimilation, Babel stated:

We wish to develop internationalism even further. It is not our desire to engage in merging (Tzunoifgus). . .Why should we deny our peoplehood (nationality)? Why give up our language, our customs? Who or what compels us to do so? No one. What we do want to give up is national exclusiveness and chauvinism (Winchevsky, 1975:7).

*Rosa Luxemburg, along with Liebknecht, led the German Socialist movement. Luxemburg strongly displayed a doctrinaire position vis-a-vis the 'National Question', a position that became known as 'luxembourgism' (Weinfeld, 1976:14). Gal pointed out that there was a strong tendency amongst Jewish assimilators to take a 'dogmatic, ultra-leftist', socialist position, citing Luxemburg and Trotsky as two examples amongst many others (Gal, 1973:136-137). In 1932, Trotsky stated, when asked his citizenship, "I am not a citizen of any country". . ."The Communist Manifesto" - proclaimed that the proletariat have no fatherland, their only goal is the creation of the toilers' fatherland embracing the whole world." (Granite, 1972:9). Luxemburg, in a similar vein, saw that the national problem was extinct:

"National states and nationalism are empty vessels into which every epoch and the class relations in each particular country pour their material content" (Granite, 1972:9).

**Babel and Liebknecht were leaders of the Marxist Social Democratic Party of Germany.

Possibly the first theoretical attempt to recognize and accommodate the deep-rooted nationalist aspirations within the socialist framework came from two Austrians, Karl Renner and Otto Bauer. This accommodation, as Weinfeld suggests, had practical implications. The doctrinaire Marxist position had proved a liability in extending socialist thought throughout Central and Eastern Europe where multi-national groups existed. While Renner and Bauer recognized and accepted the assimilatory process that capitalism inevitably evoked, they did not recognize it as a general phenomenon. In contradiction to the Marxist orthodoxy, they saw that assimilation was exclusive to the ruling class, while within the proletariat and the exploited masses, nationalist feelings remained deeply 'rooted in local customs and traditions'. Unlike their predecessors and many of their contemporaries, the two theoreticians expected that a proletarian revolution would result in an increase, rather than a decrease, in national consciousness and in a heightened awareness of national differences.* For Bauer, it was not territory that was the distinctive feature of a nation, rather it was "the totality of people who are united by a common fate. . . So that they possess a common character". (This criterion is similar to Kurt Lewin's concept of 'interdependence of fate' as a key element today in group identity and solidarity) (Weinfeld, 1976:15). With this fundamental distinction, Bauer was able to advance the idea of 'extra-

*In Nationalism and Ideology, Barbara Ward made a similar observation. Discussing the continuation of nationalism within the Socialist countries, Ward pointed out that: "Nationalism should not be there. But it is there. Communism does not act as a dissolvent. On the contrary, by modernizing the economy, increasing literacy, and creating a sense of popular participation, it can even become an agent of national self-consciousness" (Ward, 1966:101).

territorial national cultural autonomy', whereby each group within the larger context of the nation state would be granted autonomy over its cultural affairs. In this way, the multi-national groups scattered throughout the Empire without territory would be given formal recognition, thereby their national survival would be ensured.

The concept of national cultural autonomy* was eagerly accepted by many concerned socialists as a possible solution for those with widely dispersed communities, i.e. the Armenians, the Byelorussians, the Georgians, the Jews. For others, particularly among a segment of Jewish radicals, national autonomy within the Galut** could not eradicate the 'Jewish problem'. As one opponent of this idea argued:

I admit that with the achievement of national autonomy in Galut we shall gain a base for a political class struggle within Jewish life. But even this base will be narrow and limited in its social aspects. Our autonomous Galut life will never be a substitute for a Jewish national home (Borochof, 1973:96).

*Borochof defined autonomous national rights - often called "minority rights" - as "the rights granted by a government to a minority population (which differs from the majority in race, language, or religion) to regulate its own communal, religious, and educational affairs. In the broadest sense minority rights imply self-government of the minority population, its language being recognized in the government courts and institutions. In the narrower sense, minority rights refer only to the cultural autonomy granted to the minority population. After the World War minority rights were incorporated in the treaties made with most of the East European countries. At present, (1917) minority rights remain in force only in Finland and in Czechoslovakia" (Borochof, 1973:90).

This would be considered today as "equality of collective rights" (Morris and Lanphier, 1976:3) or what Gordon has termed 'corporate pluralism' (Gordon, 1975:106).

**The Galut is a term used by Zionists and refers to exile, diaspora. As Borochof defined it, "In the geographic sense, it refers to all territories inhabited by Jews outside of Palestine. Galut life refers to the experiences, persecutions, mental reactions, mannerisms, customs, etc. of the Jews living outside of Palestine. Galut champions or adherents of Galutism refers to the philosophy and view of those who see the solution of the Jewish problem within the territories where Jews reside - excluding, minimizing, or opposing the idea of a Jewish homeland. There are various types of Galutists; the assimilationists, certain Yiddishists, cosmopolitans, extreme radical, etc." (Borochof, 1973:59).

While national survival was their ultimate goal, translating the ideal into practice became the ultimate stumbling block within the Jewish radical community with 'What kind of nationalism?' as the overriding problem to be solved. Out of this dissension, two main streams of thought eventually developed and became organizationally expressed through the Bund and the Territorialists (later the Socialist Zionists). The first group, the Bundists, the larger of the two, saw the solution of the 'Jewish problem' as fundamentally linked to a socialist solution. It was in a socialist milieu in a more sympathetic environment that Judaism could freely flourish and develop. To achieve this objective, the Bund strongly endorsed and actively sought national cultural autonomy. The second group, the Territorialists, were passionately convinced that while Jewish survival was inalterably linked to a socialist solution, it could only be achieved through territorial acquisition, through establishing a Jewish sovereign socialist state. Both ideologies, the Bundists and the Territorialists, gained tremendous influence among the Jewish masses and with widespread Jewish migration after the turn of the century, the struggles and the debates between the two groups were transplanted and became part of the struggles wherever Jewish radicals were organized. It is because of their centrality to our discussion of the Jewish radical movement in North America in general, and in Winnipeg in particular, that a brief survey of both groups - the Bund and the Territorialists - is necessary.

A. The Bund: The Struggle for Jewish Cultural Autonomy.

The Bund, the "Algemeiner Idisher Arbeiterbund in Lita, Poilen un Russland" (General Jewish Labor Federation of Lithuania, Poland and Russia) was organized in 1897 as part of the Russian Social Democratic Party * (the Marxist party that was influential amongst the urban masses) specifically catering to the needs of a growing Jewish proletariat. By the turn of the century, it was estimated that 40% of the Jewish population had been proletarianized (H. Sachar, 1958:287). Their impoverished condition was described by one author, Jacob Lestschinsky in The Jewish Worker as a life of

destitution, poverty and privation, need and hunger in the fullest meaning of the word, sweating-system, shrunken chests, lifeless eyes, pale faces, sick and tubercular lungs - this is the picture of the Jewish street, these are the conditions under which the Jewish worker had to fight for social reforms, for the future ideal of socialism (H. Sachar, 1958:290).

A group of fifteen, all workers except for one - Arkady Kremar, the first president - initiated the idea of a Jewish socialist organization, the Bund. Its functions were defined as:

A general union of all Jewish Socialist organizations will have as its goal not only the struggle for general Russian political demands; it will have the special task of defending the specific interests of the Jewish workers, carry on the struggle for the civic rights of the Jewish workers and above all carry on the struggle against discriminatory anti-Jewish laws (H. Sachar, 1958:291).

By the turn of the century, the Bund's effectiveness had become evident as

* The forerunners to the Russian Social Democratic Party were the narodniki in the 1860's and 1870's, the agrarian populists, and the People's Will Party in the 1880's and 1890's, a terrorist group whose main targets were Czarist officials. It was only when Russian industrialization was intensified and the emergence of an urban proletariat arose that Marxism became applicable. The Social Democratic Party in Russia was organized by George Plekhanov, a former narodniki. Its immediate goal was to establish a middle class constitutional regime, ultimately replaced by socialism. Until then, trade unions were to be organized and a program of indoctrination by means of strikes and mass meetings were to be undertaken (H. Sachar, 1958:287).

'tens of thousands' found their way into the ranks of the Bund, drawn to the ultimate promise of liberation from both Czarist and capitalist exploitation and oppression. Moreover, agitation by the Bund for better working conditions brought tangible material results and further enhanced its popularity amongst the Jewish masses (H. Sachar, 1958:291).

As the language of the Jewish masses, Yiddish became the medium of expression of the Bund. Under its influence, a distinct working class culture was created: the working class cultural renaissance was composed of a distinct progressive Jewish literature, educational and propogandist activities, including newspapers, lectures, readings, cultural evenings and 'agitational plays' that reflected the plight of the East European workers (Harap, March, 1974:4). By the turn of the century, it was estimated that the Bund had organized 30,000 Jews (Harap, April, 1974:19).

The Bund, out of necessity, was an underground organization. Its functions were manifold; its energies served its Jewish membership in three areas: 1) the cultural field, 2) as a highly militant trade union organization, and 3) as a political party. In their trade union activities, the Bund organized massive strikes, held protest meetings and street demonstrations, and distributed hundreds of thousands of leaflets. During the 1903 - 1905 period of intense anti-Czarist activity, 4,500 Bundists were arrested in one summer as they organized a growing succession of strikes in factories, in railways, in sweatshops and textile mills (Sachar, Howard, 1958:289-296).

National cultural autonomy was accepted as a major goal in the Bund's party platform in 1901. The platform stated that "the concept of nationality is also applicable to the Jewish people, Russia must in the future be transformed into a federation of nationalities, with full autonomy

for each, regardless of the territory which it inhabits" (Weinfeld, 1976:16). By 1903,* the Bund had split from the Social Democratic party and formed an independent organization. This was predicated on two fundamental demands made by the Bund upon the SD party. The first was its position on national cultural autonomy, the second was a demand that the SD party become a federation of national parties. On both issues, the Bund was vigorously attacked as nationalistic, as separatist, and non-Marxist by such party leaders as Lenin, Trotsky, Plekhanov, etc. While these ideas initially received a hostile reception, the Bund gained support among the Mensheviks when both the federalist and cultural autonomy positions were officially accepted by them in 1912. As a result, the Bund became formally affiliated with the Mensheviks. (When the Bund rejoined the SD party in 1906 as a result of the intense pogrom activities in Russia, the question of national cultural autonomy was 'tacitly left in abeyance' (Harap, April, 1974:19-20).**

Lenin's position on the 'National Question' and on the Bund was perhaps crucial since it was under his leadership that the 'National Question' was given direction in the newly created proletarian state - the Soviet Union. In a series of articles beginning in 1903 until his death, the 'National Question' received

*In 1903, Vladimir Medem, the successor to Kremar, became the most eloquent exponent of Jewish autonomism. Born in 1879, Medem came from a completely assimilated family. As a law student in Kiev he studied both Marx and the bible. He became involved in the socialist movement and found his way into the Bund where he became an ardent Bundist. At the second congress of the Russian Social Democrats (RSDP) in London in 1903, at 24 years of age, Medem demanded autonomy for the Bund on a federated basis within the RSDP. When the party refused, Medem and the Bund delegates walked out (H. Sachar, 1958:292).

**A current assessment of the contribution and the position of the Bund can be found in Harap's three-part essay on "The Bund Revisited" in Jewish Currents.

a great deal of his attention.* Like Engels, Lenin was sympathetic to the plight of the Jewish people. He recognized their traditional class composition and praised their great contribution to the socialist cause. However, as a people, their future was limited, for the continued existence of the Jews and the continued anti-semitic outbursts were but the residual manifestations of the feudal past. With the advance of capitalism, Jewish emancipation and assimilation would inevitably occur. (This was closer to Engels position than to that of Marx) In 1913, Lenin wholeheartedly subscribed to the theory of 'the imminence and desirability of assimilation'. He saw it occurring in this way:

What is left is capitalism's world-historic tendency to break down national barriers, obliterate national distinctions, and to assimilate nations - a tendency which manifests itself more and more powerfully with every passing decade, and is one of the greatest driving forces transforming capitalism into socialism (Lenin, 1913:28).

Upon this assessment, assimilation was a progressive manifestation, a process that was now recognizable in America where "the progressive nature of the grinding down of nations" was occurring (Lenin, 1913:31). Anyone opposing it was a reactionary, a bourgeois nationalist. Specifically, Lenin concluded that:

It is that only Jewish reactionary philistines, who want to turn back the wheel of history, and make it proceed, not from the conditions prevailing in Russia and Galicia to those prevailing in Paris and New York, but in the reverse direction - only they can clamour against "assimilation"...(Lenin, 1913:29).

Marxism could never be reconciled with nationalism, Lenin

* In 1903, in his article "The National Question In Our Program", Lenin recognized the rights of national self-determination. However this did not universally commit the party to support every demand for self-determination. The primary task of the party was the self-determination of the proletariat in each nationality, the goal was to create the unity of all proletariat of all nationalities (Lenin, 1903:454). When this was granted in the Soviet constitution, Lenin did not expect that it would be exercised 'to any significant degree', for he expected that the smaller nations would assimilate into the larger Russian culture as an economic necessity (Weinfeld, 1976:16).

believed, for bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism were "two irreconcilably hostile slogans . . . and express the two policies (nay, the two world outlooks) in the national question" (Lenin, 1913:26). Lenin further urged that all socialists must distinguish between 'national culture' and the 'international culture of democracy and of the working class movement'. 'National culture' which was often touted by the bourgeoisie as the 'true culture', often in its abstract 'pure' form, was essentially the expression of the ruling class, a tool used to confuse and mystify the masses. On the other hand, Lenin had this to say on 'international culture': "We take from each national culture only its democratic and socialist elements: we take them only and absolutely in opposition to the bourgeois culture and the bourgeois nationalism of each nation" (Lenin, 1913:24). In the Jewish example, as an effort to point out the Bund's tendency to speak in the name of Jewish culture, Lenin made the crucial observation that was to guide Jewish socialists thereafter:

Whoever, directly or indirectly, puts forward the slogan of Jewish 'national culture' is (whatever his good intentions may be) an enemy of the proletariat, a supporter of all that is outmoded and connected with caste among the Jewish people: he is an accomplice of the rabbis and the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, those Jewish Marxists who mingle with the Russian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, and other workers in international Marxist organizations, and make their contribution (both in Russian and in Yiddish) towards creating the international culture of the working-class movement - those Jews, despite the separatism of the Bund, uphold the best traditions of Jewry by fighting the slogan of 'national culture' (Lenin, 1913:26).*

*One Jewish socialist, Shalom Levin, was later to recall his difficulties in working amongst non-Jewish workers. "I hoped that by becoming their 'good brother' I would be able to make them class conscious. In the end neither of us achieved anything. They could not make me a drunkard, and I could not make them class conscious" (Howe, 1976:23).

Besides its separatism, Lenin's disagreement with the Bund stemmed from the Bund's two basic demands upon the party, national cultural autonomy and a federation of autonomous national parties. Lenin considered both as antagonistic to the proletarian movement. In the first instance, the solution to the 'Jewish question' was to be found not in Jewish autonomy but in the process of voluntary assimilation.* Furthermore, it was impossible to consider the Jews a nation since they lacked an essential ingredient of nationhood - territory. Since the Jews lacked both territory and a common language, the Bundists had no valid claim to nationhood. It is both ironic and prophetic that, in his polemic against the Bund, Lenin foresaw that these two conditions might indeed materialize. In 1903, in an article "Positions of Bund in The Party", Lenin wrote:

. . . quite recently, examining the problem of nationalities in Austria, the same writer (Karl Kautsky) endeavoured to give a scientific definition of the concept of nationality and established two principal criteria of a nationality: language and territory . . . All that remains for the Bundists is to develop the theory of a separate Russian-Jewish nation, whose language is Yiddish and their territory the Pale of Settlement (Lenin, 1903:99-100). (See Appendix B for a map of the Pale of Settlement in Russia)

As Lenin recognized, the Bundists' claim of national autonomy was indeed not too farfetched, since the language of the Jews was Yiddish and they were officially confined to the Pale of Settlement.

In fact, it was left to Stalin to formalize the principal criteria of a nation within the Marxist theoretical framework. (This was

*In his attempts to weaken the Bund's arguments on this issue, Lenin argued that even Otto Bauer, the principle theoretician of 'cultural-national autonomy' did not suggest autonomy as a viable solution for the Jews. "Now in Russia, it is precisely among the Jews that all the bourgeois parties - and the Bund which echo this - have adopted this program (Lenin, 1913:38).

later endorsed by Lenin.) In "Marxism and The National Question",* written in 1913, Stalin outlined the necessary criteria to determine the existence of a nation, criteria which ensured that any claim by the Jews for national status was invalid:

A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in common culture. It must be emphasized that none of the above characteristics taken separately is sufficient to define a nation. More than that, it is sufficient for a single one of these characteristics to be lacking and the nation ceases to be a nation (Gal, 1973:6-7).

In an attempt to assess the Bundists position for cultural autonomy, Harap pointed out, in what is now clear, that the Bundists did not "trust a proletarian state necessarily to respect Jewish national rights...the only guarantee...was national autonomy". This was necessary, they argued, since victimization of the Jews was never a selective process, a process which, traditionally, cut across all class alignments.

Lenin's opposition to the Bundists' second demand, for a federation of autonomous national parties within the Party, stemmed from his belief in the necessity of greater party centralization. Decentralization, he argued, would weaken the party at a most crucial time in its development

* It was only after the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party that a closer examination of Stalin's thesis on the national question was undertaken. One critique, pointed out in "International Affairs" stated in 1964: The 'definition of a nation' contained in the work with its 'five features', the absence of one of which is supposed to deprive the nation of the right to exist, has not been confirmed by the history of the national-liberation struggle of our time. It appears that a nation can form, exist and struggle without a common language (Indonesia, India, Ghana, etc.); or with a common language but no common territory and no economic life (certain processes in the Arab East); or a nation forming in the struggle of the peoples of different countries against imperialism, etc.

The metaphysical nature of Stalin's definition and the fact that it applies only to the specific conditions of the national movements in Europe became evident as soon as the movements acquired a wider scope and their historical and economic basis changed (Gal, 1973:7).

(Harap, March, 1974:4) Moreover, increased centralization in all areas was a growing requirement of capitalist production and that the "class conscious proletariat will always stand for the larger state (Harap, March, 1974:5).

After the Bolshevik revolution, the problem of dealing with 'hitherto oppressed nations and nationalities', had to be faced. While assimilation was their theoretical goal, its immediate implementation was impossible. Theory and practice had somehow to be reconciled. While in 1913, Lenin saw that assimilation was the objective tendency of capitalism, Lenin recognized in his essay on "Infantile Leftism" written after the 1917 Revolution, that "national and state difference. . .will continue to exist for a very long time even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a world scale" (Harap, March, 1974:8). Furthermore, abolishing national differences, he saw, was a "foolish dream at the present moment". Of greater importance and to assure the success of more immediate goals, was the abolition of national privilege and the guarantee of equality for formerly oppressed groups. In 1919, Lenin appealed for "particular care. . .in regard to the national feelings of oppressed nations". So that they can achieve actual equality, more positive action must be undertaken "for the development of the language, the literature of the working masses of the formerly oppressed nations. . .in order to remove all the traces of the lack of confidence and alienation inherited from the epoch of capitalism" (Harap, March, 1974:8). His intense concern for the Jews was expressed in a speech in 1919. "Disgrace and infamy to whoever sows enmity against the Jews and hatred of other nations. Long live brotherly faith and unity in the struggle of all nations for the overthrow of capitalism" (Harap, March, 1974:8).

It was in this egalitarian spirit that Lenin's national policy was first applied to almost three million Jews who, for the first time, were liberated from Russia's ghettos and discriminatory laws. In this milieu, Yiddish schools were established and Yiddish press and publishing houses were organized. In some areas, where Jews were highly concentrated, Yiddish was given official language status. In the Ukraine, there were to be found some Jewish village Soviets, Jewish courts and Jewish collective farms. While a process of integration and assimilation was visible, national sentiments remained strong and Jewish culture flourished. With Stalin's ascendancy, the pace of assimilation was not proceeding as rapidly as he deemed necessary, resulting in a policy of repression and 'forcible assimilation'. Thereafter, this became implicit policy throughout his leadership.

In this very short period of freedom of national expression, when particularist loyalties and cultures were positively construed, positive results were achieved in a policy of accommodation with the national minorities. Ironically, the Bund's and the Menshevik's position on cultural autonomy was vindicated as this became the official policy of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was constituted as a federated, socialist republic with autonomous states defined on a national basis, i.e. Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Finland. The Jewish Autonomous region of Biro-Bidzhan was established in 1928 and remains in existence today (Gal, 1973:8). In assessing the establishment of Biro-Bidzhan, Drucker observed that this was "an open recognition (by the Soviet Union) of the right of the Jews to survive as a national group" (Borochov, 1973:

17).*

In this brief review of the Bund, the elements essential for the expansion of Jewish radicalism in North America has been outlined. In 1900, the first branch of the Bund was organized in the U.S.A. by Bundist immigrants from Russia. By 1904, a growing membership joined together to form the 'Friends of The Bund' at their first convention. Even though their main efforts lay in supporting Bund activities in the old country, it was their stimulus and their ideologies, viz. national cultural autonomy and a federated party structure that became the basis of Jewish radical activities in North America (Schappes, 1958:158). In Canada, the concept of national cultural autonomy, known in North America as a 'Jewish parliament', was initiated by Canadian Jewish radicals, with its greatest input supplied by Winnipeg Jewish radicals. The Canadian Jewish Congress, which was the result of the struggle for national cultural autonomy, was established in Montreal in 1919 as a 'grass roots' movement with the Jewish working class as its most ardent supporters (L. Rosenberg, 1970:3-4).

*The famous speech by Michail Kalinin, the President of the Soviet Union, set the tone for the establishment of a Jewish socialist autonomous state in the USSR. In 1926, Kalinin stated that:

. . .if we view this problem ideologically from the national standpoint, I consider it at least possible that behind the drive (for national settlement) is concealed a powerful, unconscious mass manifestation: the wish to maintain one's nationality. To me this trend appears as one of the forms of national self-preservation. As a reaction to assimilation and national erosion which threaten all small peoples deprived of the opportunities for national evolution, the Jewish people has developed the instinct of self-preservation, of the struggle to maintain its national identity. . .The Jewish people now faces the great task of preserving its nationality (Gal, 1973:8).

B. The Territorialists: The Socialist-Zionists.

The second stream within the Jewish radical movement, concerned with national self-determination, was the Socialist-Zionists.* Generally it has not been recognized that the concept of Jewish statehood was first advanced by a Marxist, Moses Hess (1812-1875), and rose long before Theodore Herzl initiated the First Zionist Congress in Basel in 1897. For a time, Hess was a 'fellow fighter' of Marx and Engels, as well as a participant in the 1848 Revolution. He was greatly influenced by the various national liberation movements that were sweeping the European continent, particularly by Mazzini and Garibaldi in the struggle of the Italians against their Austrian oppressors. Hess assessed these attempts as progressive struggles against the dominance of the feudal empires that controlled vast numbers of divergent cultures, religions and vast territory. This was the struggle before the epoch of modern imperialism. Hess was generally treated with ambivalence by his socialist contemporaries for his nationalist views, and his book Rome and Jerusalem** published in 1862 earned him the title of 'communist Rabbi' (Borochoy, 1973:19).

* The term Socialist-Zionism has been used interchangeably with 'Labor Zionism', 'proletarian Zionism', 'Poale Zionism' (Borochoy, 1973:7). It is only recently that some of the original writings of the Socialist-Zionist theoreticians have been translated into English and their positions within the movement re-evaluated.

** In this book, Hess noted the historical basis for Jewish nationalism. For Hess, national freedom of the Jewish people, was closely interconnected with the struggle of all oppressed peoples, "The Jews have felt for a long time that the struggle of the people for national rebirth is their own struggle and everywhere they have associated themselves with enthusiasm in the political-social movements" (My translations) (Grol, 1975:342).

The movement for territorial acquisition by the Jews gained impetus not only from the national fervour in Europe but also from the massive anti-semitic outbursts that swept Europe toward the end of the Nineteenth century. Herzl's theory of 'eternal anti-semitism' became the central theme of the General Zionist ideology, with ample evidence in Russia and in Central Europe to support it. First, the intensity and destructiveness of the 1881 pogroms in Russia shook the whole world. In particular, their effects were greatest upon the Russian Jewish revolutionaries who had considered themselves as 'cosmopolitan socialists'. Many amongst them were forced into the realization that their Russian comrades saw these pogroms as the beginnings of a "progressive revolutionary tendency" in Russia.* The realization that Jews were again the eternal 'scapegoat' forced many Jews to abandon their belief in socialism and to join the General Zionist movement. Others, who would not or could not give up their ideological beliefs, came to the realization that a Jewish homeland was the only answer to the 'Jewish question', and sought to find a synthesis of their national aspirations and their socialism. Many maintained an indifference, claiming that "there were no Jewish people, no Jewish language, and no Jewish workers" (Borochov, 1973:22). In general, there was complete bewilderment within the Jewish movement as

* In 1881, the committee of the Narodnaya Volya (idealist movement of organized terrorists responsible for the assassination of Alexander II in 1881) in a proclamation, called upon Ukrainian peasants to maintain their pogrom activities "because the Jews were guilty of all their sufferings". In 1882, in another proclamation they stated that "we have no right to be negative or even indifferent to a pure folk movement", and maintained that the revolution would begin with the "beating up of Jews". Although the attitude of the group later changed, the lesson was impressed upon the minds of many Jewish revolutionaries (Borochov, 1973:22). It was general in Russia, Parkes noted, that people were "encouraged to let off steam on their Jewish neighbors, and pogroms provided the safety valve of the decaying empire from 1881-1905...and especially in the civil war interum until the Bolsheviks established stability in 1920" (Parkes, 1946:XVIII).

expressed by one revolutionary leader, Leo Deutch in a letter to a friend:

It is impossible for a revolutionary to solve the Jewish problem in a practical way. What can be done by revolutionaries in places where the Jews are attacked? To defend them would mean to arouse the hostility of the peasants against the revolutionaries. It is bad enough that they killed the Czar; yet in addition they are defending the Zhids. The revolutionaries are faced with two contradictions. It is simply a situation without an escape, both for the Jews and for the revolutionaries...Do not think that I was not embittered and faced by the dilemma. Nevertheless I shall always remain a member of the Russian Revolutionary Party and will not leave it even for one day, because this contradiction, the same as many others, was not created by the Party (Borochoy, 1973:22-23; Howe, 1976:24).

Whatever their reactions, there was a growing recognition among Jewish radicals that socialists had grossly neglected not only the problem of anti-semitism but also the day-to-day problems that confronted the Jewish masses. As a result, Jewish organizations with socialist tendencies began to flourish, i.e. the Bund, the Poale Zion, etc.

Second, zionist tendencies were also strengthened with the rise of political anti-semitism in the newly created German nation. Although the Jews in Germany, France and Austria comprised the smallest communities (only 1% in Germany, under 1% in France and slightly more than 1% in Austria) the Jews became the 'political scapegoat' for Central Europe, reviving earlier attitudes and behaviour in an attempt to divert attention from many of the country's problems. As Parkes defined the problem, rapid industrialization had brought about serious moral and social crisis, bringing into conflict the old landowners and peasant society with the newly emerging urban classes, the middle class and the working class. Moreover, the sudden emancipation of the Jews in Western Europe created additional problems. And, although political emancipation had been achieved in Central Europe, anti-semitism remained implicit and highly visible in

specific areas of social life. Unless baptized, Jews were not allowed in the army or in the civil service, creating a high proportion of Jews in medicine, law, commerce, journalism, entertainment and as part of the intellectual class. Jewish participation in German society was exceptionally high as many Jews became integrated into or assimilated with the German middle class. Often they were associated with liberal, revolutionary thought and activities, especially with the 1848 revolution. Ideas of human justice and equality began to be freely expressed. With strong opposition to the growing 'progressive ideas of liberalism' coupled with political, economic and religious problems, Bismarck utilized anti-semitism as a political manoeuvre to undermine opposition to his newly created state. In this way, liberalism, secularism, socialism, and industrialism were conveniently labelled as Jewish (Parkes, 1946:20-32). "The Jews are our misfortune" became the single, most often expressed cry as waves of violence spread throughout German cities and towns (Sachar, 1965:341).

Unfortunately, German socialists were not immune to anti-semitic propaganda. "It is the only case during the whole period," Parkes wrote, "in which the Socialist Party of any country came near to falling into the trap of believing that 'the Jews' were the enemy which they should be fighting" (Sachar, 1965:32).* In an attempt to counteract this trend, August Bebel, the great German leader of the Social Democratic Party made his famous statement, "Anti-semitism is the socialism of fools" (Sachar, 1965:340). It was in this milieu of heightened nationalism and overt

*For a short time, an anti-semitic party was founded in Austria and Germany after 1879 (Parkes, 1946:34; Sachar, 1965:341). In France, a long period of anti-semitic agitation culminated in the Dreyfus affair in 1894 (Sachar, 1965:346).

anti-semitism that Jewish nationalism became attractive to many Jews, socialists amongst them.

The first meaningful attempt at a synthesis of zionism and socialism began with the introduction of Political Zionism in Basel in 1897.* Later, one of the founders described this early period as "the period of theoretical chaos" (Borochov, 1973:28). Two trends eventually emerged, the pro-Palestinians and the anti-Palestinians. This conflict was generated by England's offer in 1903 to provide territory for a Jewish national home in Uganda. Although rejected by the main body of zionists, one group staunchly supported the need for any territorial acquisition as the immediate, realistic solution to the problem of European Jewish emigration that had become a mass exodus since 1881. This group was known as the Socialist-Territorialists under the leadership of Israel Zangwill.**

The Palestinian faction was strongly supported by the "Poale Zion" group in Southern Russia, led by Ber Borochov (1881-1917). Borochov has been recognized as the leading exponent of Socialist-Zionist thought and one of the first to refute the "vulgarized 'Marxian' concept of cosmopolitanism and its indifference and opposition to nationalism" (Borochov, 1973:8). 'Borochovism' became the official theory of the

* Political Zionism was established in 1897 in Basel, Switzerland. In its first program, zionists declared that, "The object of Zionism is to establish for the Jewish people a publicly and legally assured home in Palestine" (Sachar, 1965:354).

** Israel Zangwill, described as "the most eminent Jewish man of letters" (Sachar, 1965:354) seemed to have given up his territorial aspirations upon arrival in America for he was the first to advocate the 'Melting Pot' theory. The idea was incorporated into a play of Zangwill's that appeared on Broadway in 1908 which was widely acclaimed. Gordon described it as a play "dominated by the vision of its protagonist, a young Russian Jewish immigrant to America, a composer whose goal is the completion of a vast American symphony which will express his deeply felt conception of his adopted country as a divinely inspired crucible in which all the ethnic divisions of mankind will divest themselves of their ancient animosities and differences and become fused into one group signifying the brotherhood of man" (Gordon, 1964:120).

world-wide Poale Zion Organization during the coming generations (Leon, 1970:10-11). It is only recently that Borochoy's works have been translated into English and a re-examination of his input into socialist thought has been undertaken. In the evolution of Socialist-Zionism, Germain noted that;

The contradiction between the petty-bourgeois character of Zionism and the rigorously internationalist conclusions of Marxism drove the Zionist working-class leaders to formulate a new theory which, by combining their socialism - which they wanted to be scientific - with their Zionist aspirations, would invest the latter with some semblance of Marxist justification. This is how the strange theory called "Borochoyism" - from the name of its author, Ber Borochoy - was born...(Leon, 1970:10-11).

The theory was made necessary, Borochoy argued, because Marxists had failed to clearly formulate a Marxist approach to many of the problems that arose as a result of national differences. In addition, the importance of nationalism as a factor in the analysis of the class struggle had been minimized simply because many of the revolutionary leaders had the security of being part of the majority group, while minority leaders who suffered the repression of the majority, were usually more concerned with group survival. Following Marx' materialist analysis, Borochoy extended Marx' and Engels' theory of the 'relations of production' with the notion of 'conditions of production'. Conditions of production were, to Borochoy, a vital factor in understanding the limitations under which 'relations of production', operated. Under this category there was included the "sum total of conditions under which production takes place: the geographical, anthropological, and the historical which function both within the respective group and in connection with its relation to other groups" (Borochoy, 1973: 34). The problem of nationalism always arose as a "result of the clash between the developing forces of production of a nation and the conditions

of production under which it lives". As defined by Borochoy, nationalism was the "feeling of kinship created as a result of a common historical past, the roots of which arise from the common conditions of productions" (Borochoy, 1973:34).

A product of the development of capitalist society, the proletariat is necessarily concerned with nationalism - territory - in two ways, as a place of work and, as a strategic base for class struggle. Since it can obscure the class struggle, Borochoy recognized that nationalism can be a dangerous and reactionary phenomenon, especially when it is expressed by a nation with a normal economic life. However;

The situation is different among nations which live under abnormal economic conditions because of either national subjugation or the lack of own territories. This uncertain strategic base of the proletariat of such a nation causes its class consciousness to be closely identified with its national consciousness. Its class struggle assumes both objectively and subjectively national characteristics and trends. Its national consciousness is derived only from the desire of the proletariat to overcome the abnormalities of its strategic base. The nationalism of the organized revolutionary proletariat of a subject of landless nation has as its purpose the struggle for a normal work-place and a strategic base. It cannot achieve its aims without striving for the normalization of the conditions of production for the entire nation. Its nationalism is thus the only real nationalism since it does not strive to obscure the class relationship nor does it call for class collaboration (Borochoy, 1973:35-36).

As a 'landless nation', economic and social necessity forced the Jews to adjust to the demands of the majority. Inadvertently, assimilation was always the first adjustment required. However, this requirement was always in contradiction with its second requirement, which demanded the isolation of the minority group from its majority members. Inevitably, this brought into play the isolation/assimilation clash and debate.

In the economic sphere, Borochof found that Jews had maintained a fairly stable - though exploited - position in the feudal economy. With the emergence of capitalism and capitalist competition, the minority group was the first to lose its economic position to the emergent capitalist class. As a result, "national competition forces it (the minority) to engage in branches of economy which are the least important and the weakest." Because of this process, Jewish workers have played a minimal role in the nation's vital economic areas. Very few Jews were and are to be found in heavy industry, instead they were heavily concentrated in the peripheral areas of economic life and were often expendable in times of economic crisis. While the social composition of the national majority resembled a pyramidal structure with the majority of workers at its base, with a smaller number of handicraftsmen as its middle layer and a few elites at its apex, the social composition of the Jews, on the other hand, resembled an 'inverted pyramid' with a large layer of handicraftsmen resting on the "narrow layers of workers - who were moreover engaged in non-vital sectors of industry - and had to bear the full weight of an enormous mass of businessmen" (Leon, 1970:16).

To eliminate this untenable socio-economic situation, Borochof advanced his solution. Jews, like all other national groups, must acquire a homeland where a normal economic base can be established, where the Jewish worker will be able to develop his strategic base, conduct the class struggle and eventually bring about the social revolution. With an impassioned plea, Borochof argued that this could only be achieved in Palestine, for Palestine is "not only our 'strategic base' but is our National Home" (Borochof, 1973:

124).*

While competition between the 'Palestinians' and the 'anti-Palestinians' continued among the Jewish radical leaders, the concept of a Jewish homeland began to gain ground among the Jewish masses. Their organizations soon became strong competitors to the Bund's hegemony. Although they were convinced that Jewish survival in the Galut-Diaspora was impossible, they were forced to compete with the Bund and to deal with relevant social issues. As a result, they concerned themselves with economic issues and trade union activities (Borochoy, 1973:28).

Not unexpectedly, zionism - in whatever form it took, socialist, Marxist, religious, secular - was regarded by orthodox Marxists with a great deal of suspicion, as a reactionary force that acted as a "break upon the revolutionary activity of the Jewish workers throughout the world, as the break upon the liberation of Palestine from the yoke of English imperialism, as an obstacle to the complete unity of Jewish and Arab workers in Palestine" (Leon, 1970:18). Others maintained that zionism was "an escapist movement which refused to face the necessity of bettering the conditions of Jews in the countries where they were living" (Parkes, 1946: XXIII). Debate became particularly intensified with the 'Balfour Declaration' in 1917 which made the acquisition of a Palestinian homeland a

* Palestinian migration became a reality for many Jewish radicals after the defeat of the 1905 Russian Revolution when radicals and Jews were hounded out of Russia by the Czarist police. Many came to North America and became the nucleus for the establishment of the Jewish radical movement throughout the North American continent, the subjects of our case study (to be more fully discussed in Chapter V). Those that emigrated to Palestine were essentially Jewish workers and artisans intent upon creating their own national homeland founded upon socialist principles. Toward this goal, the first collectives were created. The Kibbutzim remain today as an important institution in Israel.

possibility. Though Israel is a reality today, orthodox Marxists continue to find zionism - in whatever form it takes - problematical. Nevertheless, with the inclusion of these two major themes - cultural national autonomy and Socialist-Zionism - national survival was introduced into the Marxist framework as an alternative to the Marxist' assimilatory theories.

Conclusion

Assimilation was a shared assumption for the French Emancipationists and Marxists alike. Whether through political emancipation or through human emancipation, both gave promise to the principles of universalism and egalitarianism. Toward this goal, particularist loyalties were construed as a divisive force, an appendage of a feudal past that inevitably would become extinct. Irrespective of national distinctions, individualism became the new focus bringing into existence the slogans of 'the rights of man' and 'the citizen'. However, in an age when the nation state and nationalism had become the dominant force in Europe creating a national fervour unprecedented in modern history, it was indeed irrational, certainly utopian, to deny the national consciousness of minority groups or to believe that it could be eliminated so quickly to suit the needs of the dominant, national society. As a result, neither the liberals nor the Marxists have been able to come to terms with the continued existence of nation states and national consciousness. As Barbara Ward concluded; "They (the liberals and the Marxists) both belong, in intention, to the post-national age. And they both fail before the tough inheritance and the tougher institutional necessities of actually working in a world of states" (Ward, 1966:88).

CHAPTER IV

Political Ideology, Social Class and Ethnicity: A Reformulation

Long after they had predicted its extinction, the continuation of ethnicity has exhibited the limitations of both the liberal and Marxist theoretical formulations. Since our primary focus is upon the Marxist orientation to the 'National Question', this study will attempt a reformulation of its position in order that theory and practice can be more closely brought into harmony. "Since Marxism is an amalgam and synthesis of theory and practice, both these trends act and react on each other in developing situations in a bewildering manner" (Ganguli, 1974:178). As a guide to action, Ganguli cautions dogmatists that Marxism cannot be accepted as 'readymade solutions in all possible situations' but must be continually reviewed and re-examined lest Marxism becomes "rigid and ceases to develop in consequence" (Ganguli, 1974:178). It is in this spirit, in the recognition that Marxism is "subject to the tides of history", that this reformulation will be undertaken.

While Marx' model of class as the basis of all 'hitherto struggles' remains an invaluable and fundamental insight into social relationships, reality has shown that while it is a necessary condition it is insufficient to explain the strength of renewed ethnic conflict and national ideological orientations since World War II. Its inadequacy becomes apparent in examining the experience of one ethnic group - the experience of Jewry - throughout this century. During this period, Jews have lived under capitalism and socialism, and although they have exhibited generational change

i.e. dress, language, behaviour, etc., which has often been interpreted as assimilatory trends, Jews have singularly maintained an identification with and expressed the desire to remain as Jews. This has been universal whether in a more liberated or more repressed environment. Further evidence that class has not always been the determining historic factor was the more recent stark revelations of genocide perpetrated by the Nazis against six million Jews regardless of class, religious convictions or ideology, an act that was based solely upon one criterion - ethnic identification - Jewish identification. Furthermore, the establishment of the state of Israel has provided the territorial base for Jewish survival, incorporating various classes, ideologies and cultures, a phenomenon that exhibited nationalist, rather than class, yearnings of world Jewry. Lastly, the rise of current sentiment among Soviet Jewry against forcible assimilation has further strengthened the ethnic identification factor.

Although not as broad in scope as the above examples, the case study undertaken in this thesis will attempt to show that Marx' theory of class was also insufficient in explaining the tenacity of Jewish radicals in maintaining both their identity as Jews and as radicals. It is our contention that this was achieved by linking three key factors together: 1) ideology; 2) social class; and, 3) ethnicity. An examination of these three elements will be initially undertaken, followed by an attempt to incorporate these elements into a reformulation of Marx' theory of class.

I. IDEOLOGY

Although sociologists have not utilized political ideology as an essential analytic component in understanding ethnic survival, the study of ideology is firmly rooted in contemporary Western intellectual thought. Ideology, a revolutionary term coined by a French philosopher during the turbulent years of the French Revolution, has undergone numerous mutations in definition. However it was defined, it has remained traditionally imbedded as part of social philosophy.* (See Ganguli for an historic discussion of the various definitions of ideology.) Although there is generally more agreement upon its definition now than ever before, ideology remains an explosive term. The Random House Dictionary defines ideology in broad objective terms as "the body of doctrine, myth, symbol, etc. of a social movement, institution, class or large group." It is in this context that the definition of ideology has relevance to our case study, the Winnipeg Jewish radical community. However, since the definition lacks a subjective component essential in understanding another facet of ideology, perhaps Ganguli's definition of ideology as a 'world-view' provides a more subjective/objective frame of reference. In Ideologies And The Social Sciences, Ganguli defines ideology as:

Modes of thought and behaviour, social-psychological attitudes, social awareness and commitment by which human beings try to live and act in a meaningful manner in response to changing social reality - a kind of cognition or 'consciousness' which has the phenomenological dimension of 'intentionality' (Ganguli, 1974:11).

Today, it is generally recognized by Marxists and non-Marxists alike, that

*The general use of ideology as a concept in the Social Sciences is directly attributed to Marx (Rocher, 1972:100).

Marxism is an ideology. Yet it is clear that Marx and Engels defined and understood ideology in such a way that "there could be no question of their system of ideas being an ideology" (Ganguli, 1974:91).

For them, ideology was defined as a system of ideas that was meant to mystify and falsify social reality. This falsification was made explicit by Marx in Introduction to a Critique of Hegels' Philosophy of Law. Here, he spoke of "this state, this society, produces religion - an inverted consciousness of the world - because the world itself is an inverted world" (Ganguli, 1974:91). While religion was but one manifestation of ideology, Marx used the term in its broadest sense* (similar to the way culture is used today with ideology as one of its components) and included morals, religion, metaphysics and the "rest of ideology". The 'rest' involved law, ideas and consciousness (Rocher, 1972:101-102). In his better known discussion of ideology in "The German Ideology" of 1845, the role of ideology was made explicit:

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas; i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of its dominance (Marx, 1973:47).

*Thirteen different meanings have been attributed to the term ideology by Marx himself and by the Marxist tradition. Gurvitch is correct in pointing out that "It cannot be disputed that Marxist Sociology must make a selection among these thirteen meanings of the term ideology. Without this the term risks losing its scientific value" (Rocher, 1972: 102).

From this interpretation, orthodox Marxists have latched onto the commonly held proposition of a 'determining base and a determined superstructure'. (See Raymond William's discussion of "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory" (1973).) In what has become a static formulation, "the notion of a fixed economic or technological abstraction" which determines ideologies, culture, social institutions, and social relationships, has become entrenched Marxist rhetoric. It is clear that both Marx and Engels recognized this drift as a denial of the very essence of the dialectic. Both later argued that all factors are continually interacting and are therefore mutually dependent. It is interesting to note Engels' views on this matter. "It is not that the economic position is the cause and alone active, while everything else (politics, religion, etc.) has only a passive effect. There is, rather, interaction on the basis of economic necessity, which ultimately always asserts itself". In essence, Engels recognized interaction of a series of factors, yet in the final analysis not all factors in the dialectic were equal, for the economic factor always remained the most dominant.

Although discussions of base and superstructure are not new in Marxist circles (for example, Lukacs, Gramsci) there is a current re-evaluation of this dynamic process within the Marxian framework. While Williams does not negate the essential insights that 'base and superstructure' have provided in analyzing the structure of capitalism, he also recognizes the fact that a society at any given historical period contains not only "the ruling ideas of the ruling class" - the dominant ideology - but simultaneously, exhibits both 'residual' and 'emergent' ideologies and cultures. (Specifically, Williams deals with a Marxian analysis of culture with ideology as one aspect of it.)

According to Williams, 'residual culture' is that culture which maintains the heritage of a 'previous social formation' and continues to affect the social thought and behaviour patterns of a segment of contemporary society. While Williams considered this as operational for only a segment of the population, Schwendiger and Schwendiger point out that this is not necessarily the case. "Under rapidly changing national conditions, intellectuals frequently search the past for suggestive ideas to solutions of new problems. Old categories and phrases are used in new ways" (Schwendiger and Schwendiger, 1974:97). However it is utilized, the persistence of residual thought patterns continue to have an input "because they represent areas of human experience, aspiration and achievement, which the dominant culture undervalues or opposes, or even cannot recognize" (Williams, 1973:12).

'Emergent culture'* is defined by Williams as either 'alternative' or 'oppositional' to the dominant cultural stream. The 'alternative' stream seeks to find different life styles isolated from the larger society. While the 'oppositional' trend also seeks different ways to live, this can only be achieved by radically changing the society (Williams, 1973:11). 'Emergent culture' arises, Williams explained, because "no mode of production, and therefore no dominant society or order of society, and therefore no dominant culture, in reality exhausts human practice, human energy, human intention". While certain areas of emergent thought will always be extrapolated into the dominant stream, "There will always be

* Parsons introduced a similar concept in 1935 when he referred to "counter-ideology" as the ideological aspect of a sub-culture. He stated: "In such cases of an open break with the value system and ideology of the wider society, we may speak of a 'counter-ideology' (Yinger, 1968:61).

areas of practice and meaning which, almost by definition from its limited character, or in its profound deformation, the dominant culture is unable in any real terms to recognize" (Williams, 1973:12). Many of these areas will be 'approached or attacked' only when these areas become 'operational in an explicit way' (Williams, 1973:14). Hence, Williams' analysis of differentiated ideologies and cultures within a given society at a given point in time has provided the dialectic necessary to place Marxism in the realm of ideology. In this way, Marxism can be seen in relation both to the 'residual' as well as to the 'dominant' ideologies.

It is in this context that ideology becomes significant to this case study. Marxist ideology, at the turn of the century, was an emergent ideology, in opposition to and often violently attacked by the dominant ideological forces. Moreover, as a world-view, it committed its followers to social action and social commitment.* This commitment was not only evident in Europe, but was the *raison d'etre* in the formation of the radical movement in North America. Its adherents were provided with a set of goals, a meaningful life-style and a commitment to social action. In particular, Marxist ideology provided the necessary niche in the ideological spectrum which Williams referred to as 'oppositional' to the dominant stream.

*In A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, Marx gave recognition to the positive aspect of ideology and spoke of "ideological forms in which men become conscious of the conflict and fought it out" (Ganguli, 1974:95).

II. SOCIAL CLASS

The second factor relevant to a discussion of the Winnipeg Jewish radical community is social class. It is relevant to our thesis in three ways. First, the members of this radical group were both objectively and subjectively part of Winnipeg's working class. Not only did they view themselves as such, but objectively, in their life-styles, in their occupations, in their housing conditions, as well as in their income level, immigrant Jews, in general and, Jewish radicals in particular, were predominantly workers.*

From various sources - oral interviews, Jewish newspapers, auto-biographies and secondary sources - there is evidence that Jews were to be found in such diverse occupations as painters, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, tinsmiths, hat-makers, furriers, and factory workers. The unskilled found their way into heavy industry as track layers, hydro-linemen, in slaughter houses, on railways and in construction. Others turned to petty-trade and became pedlars, store keepers, shop keepers, and later were involved in the clothing industry as manufacturers, establishing a Jewish middle class (Belkin, 1956:82).

* For a discussion of conditions of Winnipeg's Jewish community during this period, see Usiskin's "Continuity and Change: The Jewish Experience In Winnipeg's North-End 1900-1914". There is no known empirical evidence in Canada to establish occupational distribution along ethnic lines during this period. However, the Russian Census of 1897 found that a larger number of Jews were artisans, journeymen, apprentices and factory workers than traders. Jews were found to be heavily concentrated in six industries, clothing primarily, metal-work, wood-work, building, textiles and tobacco. In addition, they worked in sixty other occupational areas confined largely to light industry. Since the greatest proportion of Jewish immigrants came from Russia, this census has some relevance to our discussion as it gives some indication of the occupational pursuits of Jewish immigrants upon arrival into North America (Schappes, 1958:122).

Second, the strong ideological identification with social class amongst these radicals stemmed directly from their Marxist concerns. It was through class conflict and class struggle that their hopes for a future proletarian, socialist society were to be achieved. As a result, identification with and concern for the proletarian class struggle was of greatest priority.

Third, although class concerns were accorded the greatest priority and recognized as a necessary condition to their existence as a Marxist movement, it is the basic contention of this thesis that social class was, in this instance, an insufficient explanatory condition. Along with their class concerns, Jewish radicals gave equal prominence and equal concern to guaranteeing their Jewish survival. Since social class is a focal point of our theoretical re-formulation, a brief discussion of social class within a Marxist framework will be undertaken.

In his last and unfinished chapter in Das Kapital, Marx posed the question "What constitutes a class?". The question remained to haunt both his supporters as well as his opponents. Although a definitive answer was never advanced by either Marx or Engels (Ossowski, 1963:71), (Marx died before the work was completed) Marx had devoted a great deal of attention to the subject as it constituted a fundamental place in his ideological framework. Although Marx gave credit to bourgeois historians and economists for first describing the existence of social classes in modern society, his contribution, he acknowledged, was to provide the link between the existence of social class with "a particular historic phase in the development of production" (Bottomore, 1965:18). From this fundamental insight, Marx recognized that social classes arose when the first historical productive forces expanded beyond the level of mere

subsistence, when the division of labour extended beyond the family, when surplus wealth was accumulated, and when private ownership of economic resources emerged. "Thereafter, it is the differing relations of individuals to the privately owned instruments of production which form the basis for the constitution of social classes" (Bottomore, 1965:19).

For Marx, the element of conflict, arising from private property, constituted one of the fundamental characteristics of social class. This is what Marx had to say in "The Holy Family" about property and the core of antagonisms arising thereof:

The proletariat and wealth are opposites. As such they form a whole. They are both products of the world of private property. The whole question is what position each of these two elements occupies within the opposition. It does not suffice to proclaim them two sides of one whole.

Private property as private property, as wealth, is compelled to preserve its own existence and thereby the existence of its opposite, the proletariat. This is the positive side of the antagonism, private property satisfied with itself.

The proletariat, on the other hand is compelled to abolish itself and thereby its conditioning opposite - private property - which makes it a proletariat. This is the negative side of the antagonism, its disturbance within itself, private property abolished and in the process of abolishing itself...

Within the antagonism as a whole, therefore, private property represents the conservative side and the proletariat the destructive side. From the former comes action aimed at preserving the antagonisms: from the latter, action aimed at its destruction...When the proletariat wins victory, it by no means becomes the absolute of society, for it wins victory by abolishing itself and its opposite. Both the proletariat itself and its conditioning opposite - private property - disappear with the victory of the proletariat (Tucker, 1972:104-105).

In sum, a class is a social group that is structurally antagonistic to the very existence of that class which appropriates private property. The only possible solution to this conflict is a radical restructuring of society by abolishing private property.

In his dynamic social change model, Marx advanced a dichotomous

class division in modern societies. In "The Communist Manifesto" the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are the two main protagonists, and are defined in this way:

By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of production and employers of wage-labour. By proletariat, the class of modern wage-labourers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labour-power in order to live (Marx, 1973:108).

In Marx' static model of capitalist analysis, a trichotomous model is at times advanced as in Capital with owners of capital, owners of merely labour power and land-owners having their respective income sources derived from profit, wages and ground rent (Ossowski, 1963:80). While a dichotomous view is first advanced in "The Communist Manifesto" Marx goes on to describe a 'multi-divisional structure' (Ossowski's term), which enumerates the proletariat class, the bourgeoisie, the petit-bourgeoisie, and the lumpenproletariat. In Ossowski's analysis, "we obtain an image in which the capitalist society is functionally differentiated into seven, eight or even nine classes or **strata**" (Ossowski, 1963: 82). Nevertheless, it was to the dynamic model that Marx repeatedly returned, stressing that:

For almost forty years, we have emphasized the class struggle as the primary force of history, and especially the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and proletariat as the great lever of modern change. Without conflict, no progress: this is the law which civilization has followed to the present day (Dahrendorf, 1959:9 and 27).

Moreover, class struggle means political struggle. It is only when a class enters into the political arena, that it then becomes a class with its own consciousness (Borochoy, 1973:142). It is then able to develop the subjective element of class formation, class consciousness. While class has an objective reality, for a "class achieves an independent existence over and against the individual..." (Marx, "The German Ideology",

1973:48-49), there exists also the subjective element - consciousness of class. Often, sociologists have failed to make this fundamental distinction and assumed, because of the non-existence or undetected class awareness, that class does not exist. Here is Mills' refutation of this argument; "Because men are not 'class conscious' at all times and in all places does not mean that 'there are no classes' (Anderson, 1974:136).

Class consciousness, for Marx, was a long term developmental process that occurred in various stages.* Marx referred to the 'class-in-itself' (an sich') as the initial class formation. "The proletariat insofar as it is simply fighting for higher wages without recognizing that this is part of a necessary class struggle between themselves and the bourgeoisie that will end in the victory of one or the other, is a class 'an sich'" (Lipset, 1973:23). At this time, the members of this class will accept the ideology of the ruling class. The second stage is the 'class-for-itself' (fur sich'), the stage where there is a developed self-conscious class whose members conceive of themselves as a class sharing similar interests, exploited by and in conflict with another class. It is at this stage that bourgeois ideology is rejected and a radicalization of ideology occurs.

It is this latter aspect, the link between social class, class consciousness, and ideology that is crucial to our theoretical re formulation. With the growth of class consciousness, (class consciousness, in the Marxian sense indicates that a worker must be socialist, and is distinct from saying

* In The Poverty of Philosophy, Marx made further reference to class formation. "Many researches have been made to trace the different historical phases through which the bourgeoisie has passed from the early commune to its constitution as a class" (Borochoy, 1973:142).

that a worker is conscious of his class position in the capitalist structure), Marx believed that ideological development would similarly grow and develop, reflecting the class' real cultural, political and social needs. In becoming a 'class-fur-sich', for example, the ideological orientation of the proletariat would undergo a radical change from the dominant towards a socialist orientation. In a causal sequence, social class, in a process of continuing interaction with both objective and subjective conditions, would ultimately change and effect its ideological orientation. (See the representation of Marx' model of class later in this chapter.)

Bottomore's analysis has shown that Marx' theory of class "has been the object of unrelenting criticism and tenacious defence". One of the major criticisms, one that is similarly levelled here, is that Marx neglected "other important social relationships, and in particular those which bind men together in national communities. This distorted his account of social change in two ways. It led him to underestimate the influence of nationalism and of conflict between nations in human history" (Bottomore, 1965:22). It is this conflict, viz. national and ethnic identity, that must be reinstated into the Marxian theoretical framework so that Marxism is relevant to contemporary problems.

In conclusion, this discussion of social class has relevance to this thesis in several ways. The study of Winnipeg's Jewish radical community deals specifically with Jewish workers. Radical in their ideology, they had attained a level of class consciousness that recognized and accepted the historical revolutionary role of the proletariat as the agent of social change. With this fundamental goal as their guide to

action, the group was actively involved in raising the level of consciousness of Winnipeg's working class in general, and the Jewish working class in particular. As the case study will attempt to show, Jewish radicals were in the vanguard of the class struggle, particularly visible in the first two decades of this century as Canada was rapidly industrializing her productive base. As such, they were involved in political action, in trade union formation, in political and cultural education, and in creating a distinctive working class culture. By their very existence in Winnipeg, in Canada, they provided legitimacy for the radical movement and aided in the growth of Marxist thought. Moreover, an examination of social class has shown that while social class was fundamental to their existence, it was insufficient to fulfill another social relationship which was basic to their existence as Jewish radicals, Jewish survival, particularly the survival of Jewish working class culture, became their ardent goal. In reality and in practice, the two goals were not incompatible as they combined social class, ethnic survival and ideological commitment. As one Jewish radical leader, Joshua Gershman, recently expressed in his reminiscences; "Above all I still feel my Communism and my Jewishness very strongly" (Gershman, 1977:213). Combining the two goals, Jewish radicals proved the flexibility of Marxism in the practical realm. It remains for the theoretical realm to give it recognition.

III. ETHNICITY

Ethnicity is the third relevant factor in our discussion of Winnipeg's Jewish radical community and to the proposed theoretical reformulation. Recent recognition of ethnic survival has provided social scientists with another link in defining a multi-dimensional approach to social relationships within contemporary societies. This link has, however, a long history. In North America, ethnicity has been identified with the tremendous influx of diverse immigrant groups. Its relevance to Winnipeg's social development has been, and remains today, incalculable. Since Winnipeg is the locus of our case study, it is essential to understand the 'climate of opinion' that was operative at the turn of the century in relation to the newly arrived immigrant communities.

At this time, Social Darwinism was the dominant, prevailing influence regulating ethnic relations. This was based on the "social doctrines that implied an inherent quality of racist peoples" (Porter, 1965:61). Western societies, particularly Britain, led all others in technological advancement, hence, they were seen as the apex of all evolutionary social formations. For it was argued that "through struggle and conflict certain societies and groups came out on top. Any interference with the process of struggle would have an adverse effect on social development, encouraging poorer quality stock to increase at the expense of the superior" (Porter, 1965:61-62). At the very top of the pyramid, there were to be found the preferred, the 'Aryans' and the 'Nordics' and it became a moral duty to mold all others into this image.

By the turn of the century, Canada's immigration composition had changed from the more desirable British, American and Northern European to

the less desirable Eastern and Southern European, a change that Winnipeg's elites - the Anglo-Saxon, Protestant majority - often viewed with ambivalence.* While on the one hand, they expended much energy in attracting the immigrant's labour power, their distaste for the 'foreigner' relegated these 'undesirables' to second-class status (Artibise, 1975:124).

Here is how W. L. Morton in Manitoba: A History described the mixed multitude that swept into Manitoba and into Winnipeg at this time.

When the tale of the immigrants is counted, it was apparent that all the diversity of Europe, in race and creed had been imposed on the already diversified population of Manitoba of the first generation. The leading question of the day was whether this conglomeration of peoples could be fused with the British Canadian majority to make a real community which would preserve the salient features of the old British Allegiance, English speech, the rule of law, the democratic process, and the creed of common friendliness and good neighborhood (Morton, 1973:311).

The extent to which this rapid influx into Manitoba occurred is evident from Winnipeg's population indices. In two periods, from 1881-91 and from 1901-11, Winnipeg had attracted more newcomers than any other city in Canada. While Manitoba averaged 81% and Canada only 20%, Winnipeg averaged 131% as the decennial growth rate for Winnipeg during the 1890-1921 period. From a village populated by 241 inhabitants in 1871, Winnipeg was incorporated into a city in 1873 with 1,869 residents. By 1911, it ranked as Canada's third largest city with 136,035 (Artibise, 1975:132). One third of this population was foreign born (Woodsworth, 1909:259), creating a city with the most diverse ethnic composition found anywhere in Canada numbering more than thirty ethnic communities (L. Rosenberg, 1946:13). Within this composition, Winnipeg's 1906 census showed that

* This ambivalence was also exhibited among middle class reformers, i.e. Woodsworth, Ivens, Sisler, etc. See Chapter III for examples of their attitudes toward the less desirable immigrant population.

out of a total population of 90,153, British born numbered 67,634, while 22,432 were foreign born. Of this foreign element, East Europeans - Russians, Jews, Ukrainians, Poles, Hungarians, etc. totalled 9,499 (Woodsworth, 1909:216).

From a meagre beginning of twenty-one in 1881, the Jewish community grew quickly, absorbing the streams of pogrom victims that first arrived in 1882, so that by 1911 the Jewish community constituted the second largest ethnic community in the city (Manitoba Free Press, June 2, 1882). By 1921, the 'North End' of the city had gathered together 60% of all Germans, 86% of all Ukrainians, 84% of all Jews of Winnipeg. (Carlyle, 1974:32). From this brief resume, the ethnic factor can be readily seen as a decisive one in the development of Winnipeg's social relationships.*

Ethnicity is a relatively new term, coined by David Reisman in 1953. This was necessary to replace the often misused concepts of 'race' and 'nationality', or 'volk' in German and 'people' used by anthropologists (Shibutani and Kwan, 1965:40; Hughes and Kallen, 1974: 83-84). Therefore, the 'Jewish race', the 'Jewish nation' or the 'Jewish people' were used synonymously. The term ethnicity first appeared in the Random House Dictionary in 1966, defined as "belonging to or deriving from the culture, racial, religious or linguistic traditions of a people or country

*Certainly, over the intervening period, ethnicity has not lost its significance in Winnipeg's social structure, as ascertained by various research studies, (Taylor and Wiseman (1977) "Class and ethnic voting in Winnipeg: the case of 1941"; Peterson (1972) "Ethnic and Class Politics in Manitoba"; Gordon, (1972) "The Winnipeg Jewish Community: Patterns of Leadership in an Ethnic Sub-Community", Dreidger, (1975) "Toward a perspective on Canadian pluralism: ethnic identity in Winnipeg"; Dreidger, (1972) "In search of cultural identity factors: a comparison of ethnic minorities in Manitoba.")

especially a primitive one." A further stipulation restricted its definition as 'pertaining to non-Christians'. Since then, the definition has undergone a process of refinement. Today, sociologists have broadened its scope and the term refers "not only to subgroups, to minorities, but to all groups of a society characterized by a distinct sense of difference owing to culture and descent." Hence, Anglo-Saxons are included as an ethnic group. Of greater significance, ethnicity is now recognized as comprising both objective and subjective components (Glazer and Moynihan, 1975:3-4).

These two components are fundamental to an understanding of the continued existence of ethnicity, since there is continual interaction between the objective and subjective factors. For example, the greater 'the degree of conflict' (i.e. prejudice, discrimination, stereotyping) that is found in a society and the lower 'the degree of access to societal rewards' (i.e. economics, politics, institutions) the greater the degree of ethnic identification will be found. Conversely, the greater the degree of voluntary association and feeling of 'oneness' and ethnic consciousness that a group exhibits, the greater will be its visibility and its distinctiveness within the larger society, often creating animosities, status conflicts, etc. (See Newman (1973) for a discussion of ethnic accessibility to social rewards, etc.)

In the orthodox Marxian analysis which is our primary focus, this subjective reality of ethnic consciousness is almost totally disregarded. As indicated earlier, Marxists have concentrated solely upon providing a materialist conception of Jewish survival. More pointedly, they have attempted to show that Jews occupied a unique economic position, perform-

ing a vital function in a given mode of production. Living in the Diaspora for over two thousand years, both in Ancient as well as in Medieval times, the Jews were concentrated in commerce and finance in what was essentially a subsistence economy. Gal has pointed out that "Commerce and finance were consequently suited to being carried out by an element detached from the productive process in a specific geographic area" (Gal, 1973:10). Hence, over the centuries, Jews have developed certain distinctive characteristics defined by their economic position in society.*

Marxists' analysis of Jewish decline is centred on the destruction of the feudal economy and the transition of the Jews into the age of capitalism. With the emergence of capitalism, production and trade, commerce and finance became central to its existence. Along with this process, new social relationships were established, creating new indigenous classes within each national boundary. Jewish hegemony over feudal trade and commerce was now found threatening to this emergent, bourgeois class. In the process, Jews became 'disconnected' from the new economy thereby creating 'the Jewish problem'. With no unique function to fulfill in the capitalist economy, Marxists predicted a rapid demise of Jewish existence. Assimilation would quickly result, hastened by the capitalist process of rapidly integrating the economy along national, territorial lines (Gal, 1973:10).

* These characteristics Gal defined as: a) the ability and tendency to deal with commerce and finance and related branches; b) high intelligence potential and aptitude for non-mental activity; c) inclination towards individualistic, economic independence; d) ready adaption to economic activities of a cosmopolitan nature (Gal, 1973:10).

While this analysis provided a unique and fruitful contribution in de-mystifying the continued existence of Judaism, Marxists did not anticipate either the 'richness of the capitalist processes' or the tenaciousness of 'the past's heritage'. In an attempt to enlarge upon the Marxian framework, to make it relevant to the present ethnic reality, one Marxist researcher, Allon Gal in Socialist-Zionism; Theory and Issues in Contemporary Jewish Nationalism has further explored some of these issues. In the first instance, Gal showed that instead of becoming 'disconnected' from the Capitalist economic system, the Jews "became rather significantly interconnected with the new economy." Furthermore; "This interconnection did not erase the unique economic character of the Jewish people but served instead as a medium through which to develop that character" (Gal, 1973:11).* Denying the homogeneity of a Jewish class structure as Marx had claimed, Gal found that while some Jews were undeniably involved in commerce and finance in the feudal economy, the larger segment was involved in the production of consumer goods, as artisans and small traders in food, clothing and shoes, etc.

In these two areas - commerce and finance, and the production of consumer goods - the Jews were re-integrated into the capitalist economic system of production. This allowed the Jews a continuity with their past, performing those economic functions familiar to them. In this

* Abram Leon in The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation also discussed the specific social, economic functions of the Jews. He coined the term the 'people class'. In an introduction to Leon's book, Weinstock found that "the theory of 'people class' does not only apply to the Jews, others - in the midst of host populations, have survived with their particular religious, linguistic, and cultural traits by virtue of their specific social and economic functions. Examples of these are the Gypsies, the Armenians living in exile, the Chinese merchants of Southeast Asia, the Copts, the Indian usurers in Burma, the German communities in Slavonic regions, etc. Such cases simply generalize the original pattern of an initially foreign group surviving in precapitalist society as an agent of monetary economy" (Leon, 1970).

way, Jewish continuity was assured as an objective reality under capitalism.

The second consideration is the subjective element of ethnic consciousness, a consideration that still must be incorporated within the Marxian framework. It is therefore not surprising to find a paucity of material of a theoretical nature for contemporary Marxists interested in explaining ethnic consciousness in general, and Jewish consciousness in particular. Perhaps Ber Borochof's analysis provides one source of theoretical inspiration for this undertaking and will therefore be elaborated more fully. (See Chapter III for a discussion of Ber Borochof).

While Marx and Engels were able to explain the relations of production in a capitalist society, defining the division of labour and the class structure, the existence of differentiated groups in society was not given much attention even though both were cognizant of their existence. Engels recognized that many factors can shape a society including geography, the race and 'even the human type' which has in different places developed differently. In Capital, Marx also gave recognition to the non-economic forces significant in creating a unique economic development and unique social interactions. Marx wrote: "the same economic base can develop differently in different ways because of different conditions, such as natural environment, race and external historical influences" (Borochof, 1973:137).

This insight formed the basis for Borochof's introduction of the notion of 'conditions of production' as an extension to Marx' 'relation of production'. For Borochof, 'conditions of production' varied from the geographic, the anthropological and the historic, and it is these forces, 'the conditions of production', that are always fundamental in shaping both the forces and the relations of production. Since these 'conditions of

production' are different in different places, not only will the economic structures be different but the social divisions will also be correspondingly different, i.e. creating tribes, families, peoples, nations. For example, since nation states are the newest of these social divisions and were developed out of capitalist necessity, each state has created a distinctive division of labour, a distinctive social class composition and distinctive social institutions. In this way, Borochof recognized the existence of class struggle as well as national struggle, **as the struggle** between social entities (Borochof, 1973:139). National conflicts arose, Borochof maintained, because of the "clash between the developing forces of a nation, and the conditions of production under which it lives". The class struggle, on the other hand, occurred between the forces of production and the relations of production. The ascendancy of the national struggle evolved because of two reasons: a) external pressures that demand national defense; b) a nation's intent upon enlarging its forces of production by annexing territories belonging to other social entities. Both the national and the class struggles are intimately related. Since each nation is class differentiated, each class will have different interests in the nation's wealth. As a result, different forms of nationalism will be expressed by these different classes. The bourgeoisie will be intent upon maintaining and preserving its status-quo interests and cultural traditions. This is generally expressed in such terms as national culture, national language, and national unity. (This followed closely Lenin's analysis of national culture as a tool of the ruling class). The 'pure' form of national emancipation can occur, Borochof argued, only amongst the progressive elements of the masses and the intelligentsia. Their purpose

is to normalize the 'conditions of production' with the 'forces of production' so that a normal strategic base for the maintenance of labour and the class struggle will continue (Borochof, 1973:139-141).

Borochof established one further factor that is of direct concern to our study. In the evolution of nationalist development,* Borochof recognized that social entities begin to develop group consciousness and, within national boundaries, they begin to develop national consciousness. This consciousness develops only after an extended period of time and only if the group exhibits common harmonious interests, a feeling of kinship and affinity with their common past. In a process similar to the development of class consciousness, Borochof maintained that national consciousness undergoes continuous change.

This process was clearly visible in the change from Feudalism to Capitalism. The social entity under Feudalism was known as a 'people', their commonality grew out of a particular 'conditions of production'. A nation and nationalities was but a higher stage of development that arose with the development of capitalism. The change from a 'people' to a 'nation' developed only when the same social entity was also united "through the consciousness of the kinship between its members..." (Borochof, 1973:142). In the first instance, there is an objective recognition of group differentiation, in the second, there is a subjective conscious recognition by its members of belonging, of kinship, of group affiliation.

* Nationalism is defined by Borochof as a "striving to preserve the national interests, which are always in some manner or other related to the base of the conditions of production, the territory, and to its instruments of preservation..." (Borochof, 1973:144).

In relating this theme to the existence of Jewish consciousness, Jews have existed under various 'conditions of production' i.e. Western Europe as distinct from Eastern Europe, creating the numerous diversities found in Jewish experience. As a 'people', Jews were scattered throughout feudal Europe fulfilling a distinct economic function, forming a relatively distinct social entity. With the rise of capitalism which "developed along the lines of a relatively separated economic geographic units" (Gal, 1973:14), Jews were often artificially separated by territorial boundaries. This division, a stychic phenomenon under capitalism,* forced into existence a heightened Jewish consciousness, heightened feelings of kinship that were generally unrelated to national boundaries. With the eventual integration of Jews into the capitalist mode of production, the continuity of Jewish existence was firmly established both in the objective as well as in the subjective sense. Moreover, under differing 'conditions of production', Jews have displayed not only Jewish consciousness but class consciousness, as well.

It is this relationship that is fundamental to an understanding of our case study, the Winnipeg Jewish community. As we will attempt to show, Jewish radicals maintained not only a heightened awareness of 'kinship arising out of a common past' but also a heightened class consciousness that was related directly to their social class position.

* The concept 'stychic process' is found as a basic element in Borochov's writings. The term is of Greek origin meaning 'order, in religious terms it is frequently used to denote 'the elements of nature operating in the cosmos'. While in Russian Marxian terms as well as in sociological literature, the concept denotes processes which are not within the sphere of man's consciousness and will. Borochov used the term in dealing with the unforeseen processes occurring with the rise of capitalism (Borochov, 1973: 127).

While they made few attempts at theoretical formulations, American Jewish radicals exhibited little ambivalence in integrating and unifying these two realities. These themes were explicitly expressed, in different ways, at different times. Two examples, removed in time, provide some evidence of this unity. In an essay written in 1911 entitled "My National Belief", Morris Winchevsky* expressed his views;

I clearly envision a fraternal, international mankind in which each people will have its place, each nationality the opportunity to further develop in accord with its specific peculiarity, its historical and cultural strivings (Winchevsky, 1972:7).

A contemporary Canadian Jewish radical expressed similar sentiments in this way:

A Jewish atheist can remain a Jew, can stand up for his national rights as a radical. But he goes beyond that. He would agree that such a standard is by no means inconsistent, that the defense of nationalist sentiment need not be incompatible with the needs and objectives of the world proletariat. Behind such a course of action is the conviction that the two causes do not of necessity run counter to each other (Freedman, 1969:3).

Today, there is increasing recognition by social scientists that identification with a heritage and a culture is a self-affirming process necessary to the human psyche. Social Psychologist Kurt Lewin,** in an article entitled "Bringing Up The Jewish Child" has stressed the necessity of an "early build up of clear positive feelings of belongingness with 'interdependence of faith' as the main criterion, a feeling that one is bound up with the fate of a particular group. (As pointed out above, this

* Morris Winchevsky - 1856-1932 - is considered as the "grandfather of Jewish socialism". When he arrived in USA in 1894, he was widely known in labour circles as a Jewish labor editor in London and for his songs depicting the struggle of the Jewish masses, the first of its kind in Yiddish (Schappes, 1958:138).

** Kurt Lewin experienced first hand the Nazi period and witnessed the identity crisis of many assimilated German Jews.

was similar to Otto Bauer's definition for establishing national cultural autonomy; the nation was defined, according to him as "the totality of people who are united by a common fate".) For Lewin, this did not suggest the need for establishing group homogeneity, instead he found that:

Strong and well organized groups, far from being fully homogeneous, are bound to contain a variety of different sub-groups and individuals. It is not similarity or dissimilarity that decides whether two individuals belong to the same or different groups, but social interaction or other types of interdependence. A group is best defined as a dynamic whole based on interdependence rather than similarity (Lewin, 1948:184).

Furthermore, Lewin denied the validity of the often debated theme still prevalent in North America of 'double allegiance'. For Lewin, "belonging to more than one overlapping group is natural and necessary for everyone. The real danger lies in standing 'nowhere' in being a 'marginal man', an 'eternal adolescent'" (Lewin, 1948:184).

It is in this sense that Jewish radicals demonstrated their clear sense of identification. Precisely, it was not their similarity with the Jewish community that bound them to Judaism but rather their interdependence with world Jewry, 'united by a common fate' and common heritage. As Jews and as emergent Canadians, Jewish radicals did not hesitate in adding consciousness of class to make their identification complete.

Theory Reformulation

For orthodox Marxists, to tinker with Marxist theory is often tantamount to heresy. For them, Marxism remains an ideology replete with 'immutable certainties'; for others however, C. Wright Mills' cautionary note that "the notion of eternal orthodoxy is absurd" has been generally accepted. It is this latter position that forms both the basic assumption and the intent of this paper. This thesis will attempt to expand Marx' social class thesis so that it more clearly reflects ethnicity as another aspect of social reality.

Fundamentally, Marx based his entire theoretical framework upon a class analysis of society as witnessed by the opening lines of "The Communist Manifesto" of 1848: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles". Class struggle was the basis, therefore, for not only all social change but for all social interaction. Although Marx and Engels later attempted to soften the deterministic implications of this monocausal model, (See discussion above) it was this model of class that was widely accepted as both a necessary and a sufficient condition to explain all social interaction. To recapitulate the earlier discussion of social class, Marx' model postulates a causal relationship between social class and ideology with class consciousness as the subjective, intervening variable. This relationship will occur as an inevitable process, reflecting the inherent contradictions within a given mode of production. As conscious awareness of class and its relationship to an exploiting class is recognized, the resulting change in ideology will also reverberate into the political, cultural and social orientations of that class bringing into existence political action, class culture, and

attitudinal changes in social interaction. In the capitalist system for example, the eventual radicalization of the proletariat would result in an ideological re-orientation, from their former submission to the dominant ideology towards a socialist orientation. This would constitute a new, revolutionary phase in the class struggle and the eventual overthrow of the existing class system.

A graphic representation of Marx' model of social class would appear as follows:

Diagram I

Social Class	Level of Class Consciousness	Political Ideology
1. Working class	class in-itself	- Dominant ideology
	class for-itself	- Socialist ideology
2. Lower Middle Class	class in-itself	- Dominant ideology
	class for-itself	- Reformist or Socialist ideology
3. Upper Middle Class	class in-itself	- Dominant ideology
	class for-itself	- Reformist ideology
4. Upper Class	class in-itself	- Dominant ideology
	class for-itself	- Dominant ideology

1. Working Class

The model for the working class is clearly predictable. As the working class becomes conscious of its class position in relation to the ruling class, it will reject the dominant ideology and accept its historic role as the revolutionary proletariat bringing into existence a socialist society.

2. Lower Middle Class

The lower middle-class, upon the development of class consciousness, will at first tend to a reformist position, (Social Democracy) attempting to maintain its position by reforming or ameliorating the present structure. Marx' position regarding the lower middle-class was indicated in "The Communist Manifesto":

The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat, they thus defend not their present, but their future interests, they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat (Marx, 1973:117-118).

In other words, with the eventual polarization into a dichotomous class structure, the lower middle class will "sink gradually into the proletariat" and take on the socialist ideology of the proletariat.

3. Upper Middle Class

The third classification of this model is the upper middle-class or what Nicholas referred to as the 'surplus class'. This class includes those who are unproductive, those who live off surplus value created by the working class. Here the whole financial apparatus essential to maintaining the capitalist structure can be found, insurance, real estate, credit institutions, advertising, domestic and personal servants catering to the ruling class ("lackeys"), the ideological employees found in government, military, legal and religious institutions. As Nicholas pointed out, this class is essential to capitalism. Since the proletariat produces more than it consumes, it is also necessary to have a class that consumes more than it produces, thereby preventing the system from disequilibrium

and collapse (Anderson, 1974:55). Within this category, there are found also those performing socially useful functions which do not necessarily uphold the system per se i.e. health care and educational workers. As a latent function, however, they also serve the ruling class for they ensure the continued productivity of the working class. This would equally apply to the independent professionals.

The ideologists, in this class, are often of an ambivalent nature. They are those "who make perfecting of the illusion of the class about itself their chief source of livelihood". As the justifiers of the ruling class, some can "even develop into a certain opposition and hostility. . ." (Marx' "The German Ideology", 1973:117). In time:

. . .the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent, glaring character, that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift and joins the revolutionary class, the class that hold the future in its hands. . .now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole (Marx' "The Communist Manifesto", 1973:111).

Generally, ideologists will reflect the ideology of the dominant class in its struggle with the proletariat. In instances where this class finds itself in conflict with the ruling class, a small portion of the intelligentsia will join with the proletariat, the larger portion however, will tend toward a reformist ideology, upholding the general structure of capitalism and the retention of their class position within it.

4. Upper Class

Similar to all other classes, the ruling class, the fourth category,

has never been a homogeneous entity.* The classical confrontation within this class was described by Marx in "The Class Struggles In France, 1848 - 1850", as a conflict between the financial aristocracy (those in control), and the industrial bourgeoisie (the eventual victors). The upper class will always maintain its ideology, even though as a result of economic cycles, certain conflicts of interests will be inevitable (Anderson, 1974:57).

This model of Marx' social class within a capitalist framework generally presumes that capitalist development will occur in the same way, in all places, at all times. While the model remains immensely helpful in distinguishing broad tendencies,** it does not enable us to differentiate the numerous variations and parallel developments that are subsumed under the term 'capitalism'. As a result, orthodox Marxists tend to consider a capitalist society in a vacuum, without history, without geography, without culture, without what Borochoy termed 'the conditions of production'. Hence, Bottomore's criticism of Marxism as underestimating other social relationships "in particular those which bind men together in national communities" has much merit. It is indeed ironic that Marxists in discussing

*Otto Bauer described the conflict within the German and the Austro-Hungarian ruling classes in this way: ". . .the German Empire, governed by the dynasty and the Junkers, under the forms of a militaristic and bureaucratic authoritarian State, only admitting the upper sections of the bourgeoisie, high finance, and the heavy metals industry to an actual share in the government; Austro-Hungary, ruled by the dynasty, the generals, the bureaucracy and the clergy, in which Magyar gentry, Bohemian feudal lords, Polish barons and the German-Austrian bourgeoisie were only admitted to an indirect share of government. On the one hand was the rule of the bourgeoisie; on the other, the predominance of the dynasties, of the generals, and of the nobles - such was the social antagonism" (Bauer, 1925:70).

**In "The Communist Manifesto", Marx differentiated the role of the Communist Party with other working class parties in this way: "In the national struggles of the proletariat of the different countries, they (the Communists) point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality" (Marx, "The Communist Manifesto", 1973:120).

social relationships such as ethnicity and nationalism, both with broad historic roots, become ahistorical. While Marxists have generally called for an 'historical treatment of phenomena', Ossowski has shown that often this became "a weapon of defence for the existing state of affairs" for they have not appreciated "the different habits of thought and motivation of action found in people of differing cultures and social orders . . .". For Ossowski, it is incumbent upon the social scientist to recognize historical specificity of phenomena as well as its comparability to 'more comprehensive categories'. "Our knowledge of the world becomes more profound by following these two paths" (Ossowski, 1963:191-192). This theme was reiterated by Lukacs who found that: "The most important function of historical materialism is to deliver a precise judgment on the capitalist social system, to unmask capitalist society" (Lukacs, 1976:90).

It is from this perspective that ethnic survival as a continuing social relationship both within capitalism and socialism, must be recognized and incorporated within the Marxist tradition. Specifically, this thesis will attempt to incorporate ethnic consciousness, the need to express 'historical identification' as an extension of Marx' social class theory. In this way, both ethnic consciousness and class consciousness are considered as intervening variables which in a given socio-historic context will ultimately affect the types of ideology and culture developed. These in turn will ensure ethnic survival as well as a class oriented ideology. Because this thesis is posited only in the specific Jewish experience, its applicability to other ethnic groups remains tentative and requires further examination.

Following the earlier diagram, a graphic representation of Marx' class theory incorporating consciousness of ethnicity, i.e. assimilation or survival would take this form:

Diagram IIMarx' Theory of Social Class with the addition of Ethnicity
as an essential component in Political Ideology formation
of Jewish Society.

Social Class	Ethnic Consciousness	Class Consciousness*	Political Ideology
1. Working class	a. assimilation	not class conscious	-Dominant
		class conscious	-Socialist working-class culture
	b. survival	not class conscious	-Dominant -National Cultural Autonomy -General Zionists
class conscious		-Socialist - working-class Jewish culture -National Cultural Autonomy -Labor Zionists	
2. Lower Middle-class	a. assimilation	not class conscious	-Dominant
		class conscious	-Socialist or -Reformist
	b. survival	not class conscious	-Dominant -National Cultural Autonomy -General Zionist
class conscious		-Socialist, working-class Jewish Culture -National Cultural Autonomy -Labor Zionist -Reformist	
3. Upper Middle-class	a. assimilation	not class conscious	-Dominant
		class conscious	-Dominant (if in struggle with working-class) -Reformist (if in struggle with upper class)
	b. survival	not class conscious	-Dominant -General Zionists
class conscious		-Dominant or Reformists -National Cultural Autonomy (greater tendency) -General Zionists	

*Marxian sense

4. Upper Class	a. assimilation	not class conscious	-Dominant
		class conscious	-Dominant
	b. survival	not class conscious	-Dominant
		class conscious	-National Cultural Autonomy -General Zionists

While the model indicates a unilinear process, we have recognized and argued throughout this thesis that there was also interaction between and among these three factors. Hence, political ideology is seen as an essential component in the process of ethnic survival.

In this extended theoretical formulation, we have followed Borochoy's premise that different classes have developed different relationships to the 'National Question', that is to ethnic survival or assimilation. The degree to which each class actively developed ethnic consciousness as well as consciousness of class, it was felt, would ultimately be reflected in a range of ideological options open to the Jews at this historic period, i.e. between 1905 - 1920. Besides those common to all Canadians, these options included: the Zionist option, either Socialist-Zionism or General Zionism (establishing a capitalist Jewish homeland) or the establishment of Jewish cultural autonomy, whereby Jews would democratically organize and control the cultural, social, educational, religious and often the welfare institutions within the Jewish community, and the socialist option. As the socialist alternative to the dominant ideology, radicals directed their energies to raising the level of class consciousness among Jewish workers within a Jewish social, cultural, educational, and political milieu. In addition, as active participants in the establishment of Jewish cultural autonomy, Jewish socialists fought to ensure its democratic character as representative of the Jewish masses rather than of the elites.

1. Working Class.

Upon their arrival in Canada, the majority of Jews could be categorized as working class. This might be more accurately labelled as the 'new working class' today, as they were involved in mainly light industry - manual workers, tailors, needle trades, fur, millinery, painters, shoe makers, carpenters, tinsmiths, etc. - rather than the classical industrial proletariat described by Marx (Belkin, 1956:32; L. Rosenberg, 1946:3; Schappes, 1958:122; Zedec, 1973:108). Generally, this class exhibited the least assimilatory tendencies. Mainly, they provided the backbone for both continuity and change within the Jewish community, for there could be found among them the religious traditionalists and the Jewish socialists.

The idea of a Jewish state was less commonly held amongst the Jewish working class* since before the Balfour Declaration of 1917, the idea of a Jewish homeland was more fantasy than reality. By and large, as Gal pointed out, working class Jews were primarily concerned with trade unionism and in 'moving up' the ladder (Gal, 1973:101). Jewish involvement in trade union struggles at this time was considerable. Lipton noted that the National Trades and Labour Congress in 1904 considered hiring 'two Hebrews' to better organize Canadian Jewish workers. Between 1900-1914, 40,000 Jews took part in 158 strikes (Lipton, 1966:110).

The assimilated working class Jew devoid of class consciousness would follow the dominant ideology for it would provide him with the oppor-

* It is significant that Ossenberg in "Social Pluralism in Quebec" finds a similar parallel in today's class alignments in regard to the question of Quebec's independence. Ossenberg notes that "It has been the lower class French Canadians who have inhibited, thus far, the growth and influence of the new middle class based **separatist** ideology" (Ossenberg, 1971:108).

tunity of 'making it' without being labelled a Jew. The assimilated Jew, on the other hand, with a developed class consciousness would be found within the general socialist movement, ideologically convinced that socialism would ultimately assimilate the Jews in its unalterable universalizing process.

Working class Jews with a strong ethnic consciousness but devoid of class awareness, would be expected to follow the ideology of the dominant society. For, although they began life as immigrants "at the bottom of the economic ladder, engaging in more laborious and less skilled, less remunerative and less secure jobs" (Dubovsky, 1968:16), the promise of upward mobility held out to them by the dominant society aroused within many Jewish workers a devout loyalty to the dominant ideology. This was further enhanced by the greater freedom of cultural expression than they had earlier experienced. As a result, Jewish workers fully supported the notion of an autonomous cultural body as the guarantor of Jewish existence within the larger Canadian context. In addition, a small number of Jewish workers with a heightened ethnic consciousness advocated General Zionism. This was an extension of their dominant ideology, which advocated the establishment of a Jewish capitalist Palestinian state.

Since a major focus of this thesis is that group of Jews who exhibited both heightened class and ethnic consciousness within the working class, their ideological orientations will be discussed in greater detail in the body of this thesis. Briefly, this group was to be found within the Jewish wing of the socialist movement, united in matters concerning their class interests, separated in their cultural, social and educational endeavours. While they shared the goals of the entire movement, they stubbornly continued to reject the socialist's assimilatory orthodoxy.

Instead, they insisted that their class interests and their ethnic concerns were not contradictory factors but, in reality, could be harmoniously integrated within their ideological framework.

To further lend support to this thesis, Gal found that "A genuine Jewish socialist policy in Europe as well as in America, was developed mainly by socialists from the white collar proletariat and petty bourgeoisie groupings. It was representatives of these strata who elaborated socialist-Zionist ideology" (Gal, 1973:101). Although the Socialist-Zionists were few in number among the working class they were devout in their determination to influence Jewish workers in the struggle for a Jewish state.

Working class Jewish radicals gave enthusiastic support to the creation of a Jewish autonomous body, and at the formation of the Canadian Jewish Congress in 1919, they sought to direct and to influence it ideologically.

2. Lower Middle Class.

Along with the proletariat, the lower middle class (the petty bourgeoisie) which included the merchant, the pedlar, the store-keeper, the artisan with a precarious 'cottage industry' existence, the teacher - were economically the most vulnerable element in society. As Borochof had earlier pointed out, the lower middle class was most closely bound to the Jewish masses for it was directly dependent on their market (Zedek, 1973:108). In Europe, this class "felt the pressures of the isolating and discriminatory factors in the sharpest way" (Gal, 1973:100). As a result, their first reactions to the growth of anti-semitism was toward migration, seeking friendlier environments with greater economic opportunities.

Following our model for this second category, the assimilated

lower middle class Jews without class consciousness would lean toward the dominant ideology recognizing the possibilities open to them in a developing capitalist society. On the other hand, the class conscious assimilated Jew would see his position in society as tenuous, as extremely vulnerable to the ebb and flow of capitalist trends. From this more enlightened position, there were those within this class who maintained their ties with the socialist movement, even though it was more moderately expressed. As will be shown in our case study, this was particularly visible among a segment of the petty bourgeoisie who were deeply involved within the Jewish socialist movement. Many voiced a milder, reformist type of socialism and eventually found their ideological niche within Social Democracy, i.e. within the CCF and later the NDP.

Ethnic consciousness was strongly expressed in numerous ways by this class. They were instrumental in providing Canadian Jewry with the momentum necessary for the establishment of The Canadian Jewish Congress, which institutionalized the existence of the Jewish people within the Canadian context. Finally, there existed within the lower middle class, a nucleus of dedicated Labor Zionists who kept alive the idea of a Jewish homeland for, they argued, establishing socialism in the Diaspora would not necessarily guarantee the solution of the 'Jewish problem'. Toward this goal, they organized parallel organizations. As our case study will reveal, Labor Zionists actively participated with the Jewish radical community in expressing their allied class concerns. Moreover, Labor Zionists were instrumental in mounting a political struggle against the General Zionists for they were ideologically polarized on class and national issues (Gal, 1973:113).

3. Upper Middle Class.

The upper middle class, or the more moderate branch of the Jewish bourgeoisie, was composed of merchants, manufacturers in light industry, and the more prosperous professionals and intellectuals. Within this stratum, a significant number were still economically tied to the interests of the Jews, since much of their capital investments were in consumer goods and services. This economic sensitivity provoked this group to act "generally on a national level, displaying its attachment to local interests. Thus, the concept of modern nationalism was not strange to those who comprised the ranks of the moderate Jewish capitalists" (Gal, 1973: 100). It was from this stratum that Herzl found his initial support for the political Zionist movement, a movement that was essentially based on creating a Jewish bourgeois state (Gal, 1973:100).

The intellectual stratum within this class, however, displayed a more ambivalent attitude in expressing their ethnic consciousness. Those from Central Europe - Germany and Austria - were decidedly assimilationist, rapidly integrating into the dominant Western culture and liberal ideology. In 1911, Borochoff described their assimilatory tendencies in this way:

Assimilation in its various nuances finds support among those individuals who are unconsciously dominated by careerism, and who seek anxiously to assure their own future even at the price of breaking their bond with their unfortunate and landless people (Borochoff, 1973:103).

In contrast, many East European intellectuals who were influenced by the Haskalah (Enlightenment), more readily expressed their concern for the plight of the Jews and Jewish survival. Often, they exhibited a class consciousness that transcended their class positions aligning themselves with the more radical element in the Jewish community. Schappes indicated

the direction which this element followed:

The movement of the Jewish middle class in Europe challenged feudal traditionalism in Jewish life and practice. While the upper circles of the Haskalah ended in full cultural assimilation, the bulk of the movement created a literature in Hebrew and Yiddish (Schappes, 1958:112).

Schappes further emphasized the participation of many Jewish doctors, lawyers, and landlords who were "drawn into the struggles by the suffering and heroism of the Jewish workers" (Schappes, 1958:112).

Following our theory re formulation, it is our contention that assimilated upper middle-class Jews devoid of class consciousness, would seek to integrate into the dominant society, intent upon universalizing the experiences and life-styles of the dominant ideology. This assimilatory goal, however, has always been subject to the changing attitudes exhibited by the dominant society, vis. the degree of social acceptance, anti-semitism, etc. For these class conscious assimilated Jews in this stratum who recognize their position vis-a-vis the upper class would have two options available to them, options that would be dependent on the character of the ensuing class struggle. If the conflict became polarized between the bourgeoisie and the working class, the upper middle-class would support actively the ruling class in maintaining the system and their security within that system. If, however, the class struggle involved a struggle between upper class with the upper-middle class then the latter would move toward a more reformist position, advocating adjustments, meliorations, etc. to safeguard their position within the system.

For those more concerned with ethnic consciousness than with class concerns, this segment would direct its energies towards the General Zionist ideology, reflecting the dominant, liberal perspective. It was from

this class, as we have indicated above, that Theodore Herzl, "a prosperous journalist and writer", and a product of this class, gained his greatest backing for political Zionism in Europe. The same alignment was found in the formation of the U. S. Zionist movement with Richard Gottheil, a professor at Columbia University as the organization's first president (Gal, 1973:109). Both in Europe and in America, the weakness of this moderate element of the bourgeoisie as opposed to the upper class was noted by several Zionist leaders. To overcome this weakness, Zionists were forced into appealing to the Jewish masses "for broader awareness and support". This stratum, along with the Labor Zionists, continued to expose the opposition of the upper classes to the Zionist cause (Gal, 1973:108).

The stratum with both ethnic and class consciousness within this class would follow, we would suggest, a similar ideological pattern indicated for the assimilated, class conscious upper middle class Jews, displaying either a dominant or reformist ideological tendency depending on the character of the class struggle. This group would similarly be involved with the General Zionist movement. Perhaps their greatest concerns during the early formation of the Jewish community in North America were directed towards national cultural autonomy. In effect, this became the symbol of class conflict within the entire Jewish community, as all subordinated classes were vigilant against the control of the upper class over Jewish affairs.*

* In the U. S., a prominent upper-middle class leader, Rabbi Stephen Wise, expressed this class conflict in this way: "The real difficulty lies in the circumstances that the German Jewish millionaires in this country, led by (Jacob) Schiff, persist in treating the Jewish masses as if they were forever to be in a state of tutelage and incapable of having anything to say with respect to the management of their own affairs. It is a very serious question and must be fought for" (Gal, 1973:111).

4. Upper Class.

In 1897, it was estimated that there were only "several hundreds of over-rich Jews" (Gal, 1973:108). The majority lived primarily in Western Europe, although they were highly visible throughout the world. This visibility often became the symbol for labelling all Jewry as 'International Financiers', of controlling the world's wealth and power. (See Hubman's The Jewish Family Album for a pictorial description of the tremendous socio-economic disparity within Jewish life, in particular between Eastern and Western Jewry). This externally imposed stereotyping created tremendous internal class tensions within Jewish life, and ironically, the reaction of the working class as well as the middle class often turned upon the 'Jewish plutocracy' as the symbol of all their problems. Here is how Max Nordau, a middle-class Zionist leader evaluated the situation in 1897:

These people (the Jewish bourgeoisie) are the principal protexts (sic) of the new Jewish hatred, which has more economic than religious causes for its existence. For Judaism, which suffers on their account, they have never done anything, with the exception of throwing down alms - no sacrifice to them. For ideal purposes their help is never available. Many of them, therefore, leave Judaism. We wish them joy on their journey and only regret that Jewish blood flows in their veins, and that of the very scum (Gal, 1973:108).

Assimilation, amongst this class, was widely practised and was a prominent feature of the life of Western Jewry (Borochoy, 1973:80; Gal, 1973:99; Sachar, 1965:356). Heinrich Heine, the great German Jewish poet, noted that the wealthy Jewish women "brought their entrance to European culture" by converting to Christianity (Hubman, 1975:10). (See Chapter III for reference to the conversion of Karl Marx' family). Conversion often became the key to social acceptance, acceptance which money could not buy. It has been estimated that in the mid-Nineteenth

century at least half of Berlin's Jewish community had voluntarily been baptized (Hubman, 1975:10).

Those of this class that remained within the Jewish fold expressed their cultural and religious needs through a reformist philosophy, attempting to "reshape Jewish practices to fit easily into European life". This was accomplished by removing many of the obsolete traditional customs and rituals of orthodox practice. Reform Judaism was created with Abraham Geiger - a German scholar and critic - as its foremost leader (Sachar, 1965:330). By the mid-nineteenth century, Reform Judaism had made substantial inroads into the U. S. and into Eastern Canada.* Although philosophically, Reform Judaism was in the 'current of progressive thought', Sachar's evaluation of its pragmatism was significant:

Too often, unfortunately, Reform Jews were little concerned with the true significance of their faith. They flocked to Reform because it made their life more comfortable or because it enabled them to climb higher upon the social ladder. But where the true spirit of Geiger's ideals was caught, there was a happy revitalization of Judaism (Sachar, 1965:332).

Deeply rooted in European economy, the Jewish bourgeoisie were involved in finances that went beyond national concerns. As bankers, industrialists, railway entrepreneurs, manufacturers (Hubman, 1975:80-90), members of this class developed cosmopolitan attitudes and international concerns. As international capitalists, particularist concerns were a definite hindrance. As Borochoy observed before the first World War:

* Attempts to organize a Reform Temple in Winnipeg began in 1903. This Temple was initially known as the Holy Blossom Congregation and advertised that it was eager for gentile attendance at its services. "Too liberal" to serve the needs of a more conservative Jewish community, the congregation changed the name of their temple to the Shaarey Shomayim Congregation in 1905 removing the Reform stigma. By 1913, the Reform elements merged with the Shaarey Zedek Synagogue, a more conservative congregation (Chiel, 1961:81-85).

The Jewish manufacturer who is about to become a big capitalist wants to sever, as soon as possible, his relations with the Jewish community from which he emerged. He does it for two reasons. He wants to conquer the Gentile market and be on the same footing with the Gentile manufacturer. His Jewishness is in this respect a disadvantage, since his competitors refuse to recognize him as an equal. He is, therefore, eager to display his goyish (non-Jewish) patriotism. Secondly, to the extent that he is traditionally bound up with his people, he seeks to govern them. He utilizes his influence in the kehilla* and in the charitable institutions as a means of crushing the Jewish masses and public opinion. The fewer ties he has with the Jewish community, the less he fears its control. He is anxious to employ Gentile workers and managers and, to as great an extent as possible, restrict his commercial intercourse to Gentiles because he wants to identify himself with his Gentile competitor and rid himself of Jewish public control. To the Jews, he offers charity and faith; in his business, however, he prefers to associate with Gentiles or with Jewish assimilationists of his own kind (Borochoy, 1973:80-81).

Because of their privileged position, the Jewish bourgeoisie were often able to avoid or mitigate the effects of anti-semitism. As a result, the need for a solution to the 'Jewish problem' was not as acutely perceived or as actively pursued as it was within the other classes.

Jewish nationalism, they believed, was merely a myth, a delusion which could **endanger only further** the advantages that Jews had already achieved.

Hence, Jewish nationalism, Zionism, was strongly opposed by this class.**

Several - Baron Edmund de Rothschild, Baron Maurice de Hirsch - devoted their energies and vast resources to philanthropic endeavors. Under their guidance, numerous colonization schemes were undertaken, in Argentina, in Canada, in Palestine (Sachar, 1965:319). However, there was never an

* Kehilla refers to Jewish community (chiefly Eastern Europe) of a given town or city which was empowered by the government to assess or collect taxes and regulate all Jewish religious and communal affairs (Borochoy, 1973:81).

** Jewish financiers, Sachar pointed out, fled from Herzl 'as from a plague' when they were approached to support the Zionist cause (Sachar, 1965:356). See also Gal for a discussion of Herzl's confrontation with Rothschild in Europe and also the response of American Jewish bourgeoisie to the idea of a Jewish homeland (Gal, 1973:103-108).

attempt, at any time, to redress the class imbalance within the Jewish community or to advocate a Jewish homeland.

To a lesser extent, these characteristics of the Jewish bourgeoisie were also evident within the Winnipeg Jewish community. Residentially segregated from the North End working class, the South End became the enclave of Winnipeg's Jewish affluent,* an enclave whereby the elites were able to create their life styles without scrutiny and without guilt. Evidence of class antagonisms between the 'North-Enders' and the 'South-Enders' were numerous with many editorials in The Israelite Press pleading for peace and unity in the community. In one article entitled "Peace", Hestrin made this observation of a "small community but with almost a warlike attitude":

First, there exists a subway which divides us into two parts, south end and north end. We did not build it but the mighty C.P.R. did and not for this purpose, that Winnipeg should be divided. But see how we are divided - the south end Jews from the north end Jews when we meet together (The Israelite Press, August 17, 1915).

Specific issues revolved around charities, leadership, a lack of Yiddishkeit (Jewishness), a lack of "social, intellectual or even philosophical activity" amongst the South-Enders, and above all, the class economic differentiation (The Israelite Press, March 17, 1915; April 19, 1915; October 12, 1915; April 20, 1917).

As indicated in our re formulation, the assimilated Jew with or without consciousness of class would be deeply rooted within the dominant society, economically, culturally and ideologically. However, it was

* By 1931, North-End Jews (Ward 3) accounted for 86% of Winnipeg's Jewish population. Ward 1, South-End, had increased from 6.3% of the total Jewish population in 1931 to 8.5% of total Jewish population in 1941 (L. Rosenberg, 1961:9).

evident then as it is today, that this class encountered its greatest difficulty in the social sphere. It was in the social sphere that Jews were denied access to positions of power (Porter, 1965:83), to 'preferred' social clubs, to those primary relationships that remained strongly entrenched within the Anglo-Saxon elites (See McWilliams for a discussion of social discrimination against the Jews). As a result, many were forced back upon their ethnic community.

For those who were concerned with Jewish survival, attaining hegemony within the Jewish community became a primary goal. This often evoked major conflicts as they struggled not only to control major Jewish institutions but also its form and content as expressions of the dominant liberal ideology.

Conclusion.

The theoretical reformulation that **has** been undertaken in this thesis has essentially revolved around Marx' concept of class, class consciousness and political ideology. During an earlier examination of the Winnipeg Jewish radical community,* it became evident that Marx' concept of class was a necessary but insufficient condition to explain Jewish radicalism. We would suggest from the historical evidence that ethnicity i.e. Jewish survival, and Jewish existence, was a fundamental factor of Jewish radicalism and therefore must be an integral component of any model that purports to fully explain social relationships within a multi-ethnic, **class stratified society.**

* Usiskin, "The Winnipeg Jewish Community: Its Radical Elements, 1905-1918", a paper that fulfilled a B.A. Honors requirement in History and Sociology at the University of Winnipeg in 1976.

As the intervening variable, we have shown that ethnicity links social class and class consciousness in providing us with a more precise analysis of the variations within the realm of political ideologies that were available to the Winnipeg Jewish community during this time span. In the larger context, this analysis has provided us not only with a deeper understanding of the dynamics of Marxism but it has also introduced a new factor - political ideology - as another dimension in the study of ethnic survival.

While our reformulation has theoretical relevance for all social classes in a capitalist society, this thesis will provide evidence only for that segment of working class Jews who exhibited both a heightened class and ethnic consciousness. This group was to be found within the Jewish radical community of Winnipeg during its formative period 1905-1920. The evidence for this case study will be presented in the following chapter. Specifically, three areas will be examined in which Jewish radical interaction was significant and made a lasting impact upon the entire Jewish community. These areas are: A) the parallel socio-cultural organizations that Jewish radicals developed; B) the parallel educational institutions that Jewish radicals established; C) the radical political parties in which Jewish radical participation was significant. It was in these three key areas that Jewish radicals, as working class Jews, were able to synthesize their two primary concerns, Jewish survival and Marxist ideology.

CHAPTER V

Jewish Radicalism in Winnipeg

It was in Winnipeg's North-End* that the Jews found a haven and it was here that they became firmly entrenched as one of its integral components. This enclave, the North-End of Winnipeg has assumed such legendary proportions that it has been granted a significant role, not only in Winnipeg's but also in Canada's history as the symbolic home of the working class, as the ghetto where ethnic communities were able to live together harmoniously while retaining their cultural uniqueness, and as the breeding ground of Western Canadian radicalism.

Radicalism was a direct result of industrial capitalism's intensive and haphazard economic growth - a growth indiscriminate of its human toll. Worker's exploitation, child labor, slum housing, and high infant mortality rates - in other words human degradation - were all in abundance in North Winnipeg. The economic prosperity and optimism that Winnipeg's elites had boasted about had not materialized for Winnipeg's working masses. In fact, studies have clearly established that before 1920 real wages in Western Canada had declined (McCormack, 1977:14).** As a result, the seeds of Western Canadian radicalism, of which the Jewish movement formed an essential part, became firmly rooted.

*At the turn of the century, the North-End of Winnipeg was defined as that area north of the C.P.R. tracks to Burrows Avenue, and west of the Red River to McPhillips Street (Evans, 1974:32). The area was often referred to as the 'C.P.R. town', the 'Foreign Quarter' or 'New Jerusalem', the latter two giving negative recognition to the area's ethnic mix.

** See Sutcliffe, "Economic Background of the Winnipeg General Strike: Wages and Working Conditions", for a full discussion of economic conditions during this period.

Jewish radicalism, however, is not a contemporary manifestation. Jewish radicalism has ancient historical roots that have become deeply embedded in the Jewish consciousness. At times it has remained dormant, at other times its manifestations have been expressed in various forms; in questioning, in analyzing, in interpreting, and not infrequently in challenging the prevailing social order and social thought. Carried forward by a minority, its impact has been decisive in opening new channels of thought processes not only for the Jewish community in particular, but often for the larger community in general. This philosophical tradition has been traced back to "Philo of Alexandria, through Moses Maimonides to Franz Rosenzweig, Martin Buber and others who have attempted to combine Judaism with modern thought" (Guttman, 1971:61). Extended into contemporary thinking, modern radicalism has primarily centred around Marxism.

By the turn of the century, Jewish radicals, reflecting these historical antecedents, brought with them the divisiveness that had split the European Jewish movement. This divisiveness was generally expressed in three main streams of thought: 1) the Internationalists - revolutionary Marxists (The Bundists); 2) the Anarchists; 3) and the Nationalists - (Social Zionists). Together, these factions comprised the radical colony in Jewish community life in Winnipeg. Generally, they were compatible in rallying their combined membership around the political and socio-economic problems that confronted them in their new environment. However, they were unable - neither then nor today - to resolve their divergent approaches to the 'Jewish problem' and the relationship between socialism and zionism.

While these divisions were of European origins, Canadian Jewry, the radical elements included, very early began to reflect its North American rather than its European environment.* Its ties with the American Jewish community became close, not only on the personal level, as families and 'landsleit'** moved relatively freely across a common border, but increasingly as Canadian Jewish life became strongly influenced by American organizational models. As one sociologist noted; "Indeed, Canadian Jews are probably a greater Americanizing influence in Canadian life than any other ethnic group of comparable size" (Wrong, 1959:50). By 1915, this Americanizing influence had become quite pronounced as expressed in The Israelite Press. When efforts were being made to organize an autonomous national cultural body of Canadian Jewry, one editor posed this question to Canadian Jews:

Can the Canadian Jews participate in this body as independents or must they see themselves as part of American Jewry? The number of American Jews are now greater than the English Jews in Canada, but are Canadian Jews, as part of the Empire required to side with English Jews? This question - who will Canadian Jews follow - is one of the first questions Canadian Jewry must answer (The Israelite Press, September 22, 1915).

Perhaps this question was but a reflection of the greater Canadian dilemma rather than that of Canadian Jewry in particular.

*The American influence upon Canada, in general was noticeable by the turn of the century. In a visit to Western Canada in 1903, André Siegfried, a French academic, noted that "Winnipeg, for instance, so American in so many ways. . .The habits and customs of the people are entirely those of the States. Regina, Winnipeg, Vancouver are cities built in the American fashion - huge skyscrapers flung up alongside wooden shanties. The railways are modelled exactly as American railways. The way business is conducted, the accent with which English is spoken, the appearance of the people, their hotels and bars and theatres - everything combines to make the visitor feel that he is a guest of Uncle Sam and not of John Bull. You have to look much more closely to see under the surface the strong British current that is still flowering (Siegfried, 1966:191-192).

**'Landsleit' - people from the same 'shtetl' (town) or city in the Old Country.

In Canada, American organizational models were clearly discernable among the Jewish radical organizations established during this period. The American and Canadian Jewish radical movements were linked directly along cultural, social and educational lines. For it was in the U.S. that:

In the years 1890 to 1910, there evolved in America the progressive Jewish People's culture, in particular, in the fields of literature, the press and later the theatre, which all manifested strong socialist overtones with a definite dynamic which sought to get a firm grip in the American environment.

The main beneficiary of this culture was the Jewish shop worker and the Jewish working class intelligentsia which began its education in the old country but matured in America (Massey, 1971:10).

It was upon this basis, 'the evolvement of a progressive Jewish people's culture', manifesting strong socialist tendencies for the benefit of the Jewish working class, that Jewish radicalism spread throughout North America. It was to be found in every urban area where the Jewish immigrant working class became rooted. In Canada, in particular in the large urban centres, in Montreal, in Toronto, and in Winnipeg, Jewish radicals exhibited a dynamic intensity as they began to develop rapidly numerous parallel organizational structures to reflect the radical presence in the Jewish community.

Although structurally independent, Winnipeg's radical Jewish organizations were closely interrelated both in membership overlap and in their ideological commitments. Many became the nuclei of the three institutions to be studied here, that is, in the schools, in the political party and in the socio-cultural organization (Sholem Aleichem School Twenty-Five Years Jubilee Book, 1946:50-75). In whatever area, their commitment to Jewish survival and a socialist society became the underlying premise of Jewish radical existence.

Structurally, Jewish radicals in Winnipeg organized: A) in the

socio-cultural sphere, three branches of the American 'Arbeiter Ring' (The Workmen's Circle); B) in the educational sphere, the National Radical School (later renamed the I. L. Peretz School) and the 'Arbeiter Ring Shule' (later renamed the Liberty Temple Shule, then the Sholem Aleichem Shule); C) in the political sphere, the Jewish branch of the 'Social Democratic Party of Canada' (SDPC). Each organization will be dealt with separately. An attempt will be made to indicate the internal dynamics, the ideological focus, and the activities of each group not only as they related to the Jewish community but also to their larger environment, within the Winnipeg and the Canadian context.

One of the first organizations that encompassed the three streams of Jewish radical thought - the Revolutionary Marxists (many Bundists were found here), the Nationalists (the Socialist-Territorialists and the Poale-Zion), and the Anarchists - was the Arbeiter Ring. In this socio-cultural organization, Jewish radicals were allowed the freedom to incorporate both their Marxist ideology and their Jewish identity in creating a unique Jewish working class culture.

A. Socio-Cultural Life Within the Jewish Radical Community.

The 'Arbeiter Ring' - (The Workmen's Circle).

The 'Arbeiter Ring' (AR), founded in 1900 by a group of East European Jews with revolutionary tendencies, was organized as the first Jewish labour, fraternal organization in the United States. Although there were other fraternal organizations at that time, they were largely representative of middle-class Jewry. The AR was distinctive in that "the worker kept his self-respect because he was participating in a program

of self-help with fellow workers" (Schappes, 1958:156). From 300 members in 1900, the organization grew rapidly to 48,000 in 1915, dispersed into 546 branches throughout North America* (At this time, the AR was larger than the B'Nai B'rith with 40,000 members) (Schappes, 1958:156).

Together with 'landsmanshaften' that were innumerable at that time, the AR was primarily a self-help organization essential then to cushion the immigrant worker from unemployment, illness, and all the hazards of a developing capitalist society. While mutual aid was its immediate concern, socialism was the main-spring of its being and was its goal for the future. Their slogan printed on the cover of the Report to the Fifth Convention in 1905, was indicative of these concerns, "We Fight Against Sickness, Premature Death and Capitalism" (Schappes, 1956:156). The constitution, until 1920, pledged their members to vote only for socialist candidates.

The AR membership included the wide gamut within the socialist spectrum and each persuasion was guaranteed support without partisanship or discrimination. In other words, each ideological faction within the radical spectrum (usually congregated into one branch) was free to practise its particular brand of socialism. Ideological stimulation and membership recruitment for the AR, as it was for the entire Jewish socialist movement, generally came from the East European Jewish socialist movement, with particular input from the Bund (Gale, 1970:7; Howe, 1976:290-295). As Howe pointed out;

The Bundists had the advantage not only of political experience but also of sustained discussions regarding the relationship of Jews to the socialist movement. They inclined politically to the left wing of international socialism; they were strongly orientated to practical work in the trade unions; they believed in fostering a

* At their annual convention held in Detroit, Michigan, in May 1919, the AR reported a membership of 68,652. Their purpose was defined as "Fraternal, insurance and Mutual Aid" (American Jewish Year Book, Vol. 21, 1919-1920:326).

coherent Jewish culture, secularist and modern in outlook and based on Yiddish as the language of the Jewish masses. Committed to Jewish national survival (or, as they put it in Europe, "autonomy"), they were nevertheless strongly opposed to Zionism, which they dismissed as a utopian fantasy (Howe, 1976:292-293).

Ideologically, the Bund's influence was significant in two fundamental ways. The first, as Howe indicated above and discussed in Chapter III, was its belief in national cultural autonomy, the second in the formation of a radical federated political party structure with 'autonomous national sub-divisions' (Harap, March, 1974:293).^{*} Both objectives, the first in the socio-cultural realm, the second in the political realm, had one primary goal - Jewish survival. This became their primary concern. While the first objective was more general in scope, that is the survival of all Jewry in Canada, the second objective specifically delineated and defined its boundaries as Jewish Marxists within the general radical community. In this way, and at different levels of interaction, Jewish radicals sought to extend their influence both within the Jewish community and within the broader radical movement. Both objectives, national cultural autonomy and a federated radical party structure, will be discussed more fully below.

Generally, the AR operated on three levels, indicating the diverse but interrelated concerns of the organization. The first was the social level. Concern for the plight of the working man became the greatest unifying factor within the Jewish radical movement. Numerous activities were undertaken, some of an international scope, others of a more local nature. The second level of interaction was in the cultural realm. The

^{*} In the U.S., the Jewish Socialist Federation became an autonomous sub-division of the Socialist Party in 1912 (Howe, 1976:293). In Canada, the Social Democratic Party of Canada was organized as a "federation in which the various language sections had retained sovereign powers" (Buck, 1970:9).

cultural life that was developed by the AR was rich and varied and was carried throughout the North American continent to nourish and succour the immigrant Jewish worker. In content it ranged from lectures on political, philosophical and social issues, song groups, drama groups, readings and recitations that were "steeped in Yiddish literature of social protest and social idealism" (Schappes, 1958:158). Jewish working class culture became a reality in North America and was set apart from the developing bourgeois oriented variety. In the ideological realm, the third level of AR interaction, the philosophical relationships between socialism and zionism, between class and ethnicity were defined and operationalized, giving meaning and purpose to their existence both as Jews and as radicals. It was at this level that class and ethnic consciousness was given ideological expression.

The Arbeiter Ring in Winnipeg.

In Winnipeg, Harry Gale a member, recalled the tremendous popularity that the early Jewish radical organizations enjoyed, for "They had acquired great influence among the young people because the ideals of freedom, internationalism, brotherhood and working class unity had captured everyone's imagination" (Gale, 1970:5).

Organizationally, the three branches of the AR in Winnipeg tended to reflect the cleavages within the Jewish radical movement: 1) the Revolutionary Marxists - Bundists - were organized into Branch 169; 2) the Nationalists - Socialist Territorialists - into Branch 506; and 3) the Anarchists* into Branch 564. Because of this ideological distinct-

* From available literature, the anarchists, did not seem to participate in the ideological debates on the 'Jewish question'.

iveness, each branch will be discussed separately bearing in mind their interrelatedness and interdependence on numerous levels of interaction. As one member recalled in an interview "When an important issue arose, we worked together, we supported each other" (Simkin Interview, 1977). To coordinate their joint activities, a City Committee of the AR was organized. Not only did this body link the branches together, but organizationally linked Jewish radicals to their counterparts in Canada, as well as in the U. S.

1) Branch 169.

The Revolutionary Marxists.

The Revolutionary Marxists were the founders of the AR in Winnipeg in 1907* (Belkin, 1956:27), and remained thereafter the determining spirit within the organization. It was this group that became the ideological inheritors of the European Bund (Simkin Interview, 1977). They were distinguished from the other branches as the 'Marxists', the 'Bundists', the 'internationalists' and often as the 'extremists'. Their beliefs were strongly held, their leadership vigorous, their passion for social justice fervent and they possessed an unflinching commitment to their ideals both as Jews and as radicals.

Their concerns at the social, cultural and ideological levels were extensive, with activities primarily devoted to raising and strengthening both the class and ethnic consciousness of the Jewish masses. On the social level, only a few examples are necessary to illustrate the range of Branch activities which helped alleviate the social ills that were in

* In Canada, the AR organized branches in Montreal, the first, Branch 204, was organized in 1906; in Toronto, Branch 169 was organized in 1908 and in Hamilton in 1910 (Belkin, 1956:27).

abundance for the immigrant Jew.

Very early, Branch members organized the 'Arbeiter Ring Free Loan Association'.* Mutual aid was their primary purpose providing loans, sickness and death benefits, and dispensing concern and advice whenever it was needed. In their own small way, members had devised an early, albeit crude form of social security, the only means available to the newly arrived working class.

While there were numerous 'landsmanschaften'*** being formed in the city at this time to aid the Jewish immigrant, the distinctive feature of the AR Free Loan Association was its class emphasis. While the former were mutual aid societies based on city of origin, i.e. Nikoliever, Kiever, Bobrover Landsmanschaften, the latter was solely concerned with the needs of the Jewish worker. Toward this goal, the Association entered into the numerous activities of the AR and were responsible for independent functions, as well. One example that was given wide publicity in the press was a play, "Unzer Gloiben" (Our Belief) by Sholem Asch that was held in the Queen's Theatre on Monday, October 7, 1918 (The Israelite Press, September 27, 1918).

During the war, this branch was also instrumental in uniting Jewish radicals with other Jewish organizations in organizing the 'Jewish War Relief Committee'.*** This became a major concern for all North American Jewry

* In 1917, the 'Arbeiter Ring Free Loan Association' reported in a financial statement to The Israelite Press that there was almost eighty-four members in the association with a working capital of almost \$3,000.00. S. Simkin, the president, reported that the organization was organized on co-operative principles and was considering changing the name to the 'Arbeiter Ring Co-op Bank' (The Israelite Press, June 7, 1917).

** See Chiel for a list of landsmanschaften that were still in existence in Winnipeg in 1956.

*** While the report did not include the listing of the other organizations, the Jewish radical organizations were delineated as the co-sponsors of the conference. These included the Arbeiter Ring Branches Nos. 169, 506, and 564; the Arbeiter Ring Temple Assoc.; the Arbeiter Ring Free Loan Assoc.; The Jewish Branch of the Social Democratic Party of Canada (The Israelite Press, August 25, 1915). Similar committees were to be found in Montreal and Toronto. In the U.S. a similar organization was called the 'Central Relief Committee' (L. Rosenberg, 1970:4).

with repeated reports of continuing atrocities against East European Jews (The Israelite Press, August 25, 1915). It was during these momentous times when the fate of East European Jewry was at stake that ethnic consciousness rose to the surface and took precedence over all other factors, when radicals found common cause with non-radicals and played a decisive role in the larger Jewish community.

To relieve the plight of all working men, members of the Branch expressed their class concerns through numerous activities, both on a local and international plane. Locally, the branch members called a conference of the Jewish radical community in 1917 in response to the growing number of strikes in the city and the large number of Jewish workers involved. Ten organizations were involved (besides those mentioned below, the report also included the Women's Branch of the SD Party, the Poale Zion, Young Socialists and the Peretz Literary Farein). The conference adopted the name 'Help the Strikers Conference'. Concern for the working conditions of the Jewish workers extended to both financial and moral support. In one of the strikes that they were involved with this resolution was passed:

It has been decided to extend our sympathy to the strike of the local butchers and to help them both morally and financially until they have achieved a victory. Signed S. Simkin and G. Rosenfeld (The Israelite Press, March 9, 1917).

On a national scope a further effort during this same period concerned the plight of Jewish workers in Montreal. The report by Jewish radicals in The Israelite Press was titled "The Duty of Winnipeg Workers". From its title and content, Jewish radicals, concerned with raising the consciousness level among Winnipeg's working class Jews, urged working class solidarity:

It is already six weeks that a bitter strike continues in Montreal. 5000 tailors, most of them Jews, are involved and together with their families, they constitute an army of 15,000 Jews that are starving . . .

and hunger is the biggest ally of the manufacturer.

Till now, Winnipeg Jewish workers have not helped their Montreal comrades. It is not too late. Montreal workers will feel morally stronger with our support and will be able to continue their struggle for a more humane life (The Israelite Press, March 2, 1917).

These social concerns were the common bond that united all the members of the AR for their class solidarity was never in doubt. However, it was their ideological approach to the solution of the 'Jewish problem' that became a focus of major debate, and the major obstacle to unity within the Jewish radical movement. **Opposition arose from several** sources. Revolutionary Marxists not only had to fend off attacks from the orthodox community which branded them as apostates, heretics and as 'international revolutionaries', but also from those within the ranks of the broader socialist movement, particularly from the Jewish radical assimilationists. As discussed earlier, many radicals had opposed the Yiddishist orientation of the Bund, seeing their greater contribution as revolutionaries in the larger movement. To them, as 'cosmopolitan' socialists, or 'universalists', any association with one's past, with one's traditions and culture smacked of parochialism and nationalism. (See Freedman's apt description of the dilemmas of the revolutionary Marxist in Chapter I). This was the ultimate insult to the Jewish revolutionary, who distinguished between the negative, ethnocentric, chauvinistic form of nationalism and the healthy, positive nationalism of self-affirmation and self-identity. One debate by two Americans, one which could easily have transpired in Winnipeg or anywhere in Canada, perhaps epitomized this ongoing dilemma. When one uncompromising assimilationist inquired of a dedicated Jewish radical, "What kind of Jewish 'cultural' independence is it that 'enlightened' socialists wish to maintain?" he was answered:

To be national means to possess national self-consciousness - that is, the recognition that certain individuals belong to my nation, and that my nation is no better and no worse. . . than all other nations, and has the same right to exist as all other nations. 'National' and 'international' are not opposites, but concepts that complement each other (Howe, 1976:291-292).

Perhaps the most bitter internecine feud was conducted between the Revolutionary Marxists and the Labour-Zionists, a feud that remains intact to this day. While theoretical debates on Zionism had existed from the late 1890's,* it was not until the Balfour Declaration of 1917 that the potential for a Jewish state became a possibility and fired the imagination of a significant segment of world Jewry.** With this declaration, world Jewry was thrown into great turmoil, particularly within the socialist movement. In Winnipeg, as elsewhere, Zionism grew rapidly both in organization and in membership. Revolutionary Marxists - both within this branch and within the Jewish branch of the SD party - were quick to recognize and accept the 'new' Zionist challenge. Numerous meetings and public debates resulted. One, a "Debate About Poale Zion", was held on April 1, 1918 with eight hundred to nine hundred people in attendance which gave some indication of the intensity of the subject. S. Almazov and W. Baum, members of this branch debated with A. Cherniak - a member of the AR Branch 506 - and I. Pearlman of the Labour-Zionists, the Poale Zion (The Israelite Press, April 5, 1918). All four members were prominent, popular members of the Jewish community.

*Opposition to Zionist ideology occurred not only among socialists. In a recent appraisal of Zionist history, Dr. L. Levenberg found that opposition came from numerous sources. "Orthodox elements believed that only the Messiah would bring Jews to Zion. Assimilationists claimed that political Zionism was endangering the process of Jewish emancipation. Capitalists suspected Herzl's liberal social ideas. Revolutionaries accused Zionists of diverting the attention of Jewish workers from the struggle against reactionary governments" (Levenberg, 1978:4).

**S. Almazov, a member of this branch and a spokesman for the Jewish radicals in Winnipeg recalled the excitement amongst Winnipeg Jewry when the Declaration was first announced. "There were parades in the streets; people kissed for joy; and there was joyful dancing. Anyone who dared to question the declaration was considered an enemy of the Jewish people"

Briefly, **Labour Zionists** argued that only zionism was the answer to the 'Jewish problem'. A Jewish homeland, they reasoned, would eliminate the fear of assimilation. Following Borochov's theoretical framework, **Labour Zionists** contended that only a Jewish state would eradicate the abnormal class structure of the Diaspora. This was to be achieved by creating an agricultural class in Palestine. Moreover, a Jewish state would allow Jewish culture to flourish and grow in a sympathetic environment; it would create a socialist homeland; and above all, it would cater to the national aspirations of the Jews, aspirations that were similar to all other nationals.

In reply, Almazov maintained that capitalism was the enemy of all workers, only socialism could secure cultural fulfillment and social equality for both Jews and non-Jews. A Jewish homeland, he reasoned, was no assurance against capitalism and it was idealistic to assume that the creation of a Palestinian homeland automatically meant a socialist state. In addition, because Palestine lay midway between Europe and India, Almazov feared that it had the potential for becoming the scapegoat of the great powers. For Baum, Palestine could never solve the 'Jewish problem' since it could never incorporate all world Jewry. Consequently, the 'Jewish problem' would remain. Zionism, he insisted, was merely idealism, not at all based in reality. Consequently, this idealism would necessarily divert the Jewish workers from the class struggle. It was incumbent upon Jewish socialists to enter into the class struggle wherever Jews were located rather than isolating Jew from non-Jew, as Zionists advocated.

With the advent of the Balfour Declaration, new social alignments within Jewish life rapidly changed. For the Revolutionary Marxists, opposition to Zionism became a major factor in isolating them from the Jewish

masses. This became significant as a heightened, emotionally charged nationalist feeling spread throughout the world Jewish community. Opposition to the Balfour Declaration was tantamount to heresy, and social ostracism became an effective control mechanism to guard against its spread.* Jewish Marxists became the initial target, a stance that was more clearly visible in Winnipeg than elsewhere in Canada. For it was the Revolutionary Marxists, particularly those involved in this branch, Branch 169, and the Jewish Branch of the Social Democratic Party of Canada, that first initiated opposition in Canada to the Balfour Declaration. These radicals based their opposition on their understanding of England as an imperialist power, a power that could not be trusted to honour the territorial promises within the Declaration. This was merely a manoeuvre of British imperialism for their own purposes in the Middle East. The Jews were merely a pawn toward this goal. British imperialism, they argued, would never "bring the Jews any good" (Almazov, 1947:43).

It was not until the establishment of the Canadian Jewish Congress in March, 1919 that Winnipeg's Revolutionary Marxists voiced their dissent on a national level and felt the full weight of their isolation. Since the Bund's national cultural autonomy was the ideological forerunner of the Canadian Jewish Congress, a brief discussion of the development of Congress will be undertaken with particular emphasis upon the ideological input of each AR Branch.

Agitation for a Jewish parliament began soon after Jewish radicals

*Similar loyalties continue today, for criticism of the State of Israel is often construed as negative, as divisive to the existence of the state, even though there is much criticism and debate within Israel itself.

arrived in Canada, imbued with the Bundist's dream of national cultural autonomy. While socialism was their ultimate goal, cultural autonomy in a more liberal climate was their immediate goal and was the means whereby Jews could gain some self-control over their social, educational, cultural development while participating economically and politically in the larger Canadian environment. A Jewish parliament was envisioned as the vehicle whereby Jewish existence would be safeguarded. Moreover, it was at this national level that radicals hoped to exert their influence over the Jewish masses.

Indeed, radical influence upon the development of the Canadian Jewish Congress was strategic, as one historian noted in appraising fifty years of its existence:

It was from its inception a "grassroots" movement, a people's movement, which arose among the masses. It found its most ardent advocates among the Jewish working class, the landsmanschaften, the labour Zionists and the Jewish trade union movements, and those who had come to the American continent from Eastern Europe during the period from 1905-1914, who had personal experience of the pogroms, the repression and the Anti-Semitic discrimination in the lands of their birth; and the economic and cultural problems faced by the immigrant during their early years in the new country (L. Rosenberg, 1970:3-4).

Many attempts to establish a Jewish Congress in Canada were made (Cherniak, 1970:84). One attempt under the name of the "Folks Farband" was undertaken in 1915, given impetus by similar attempts in the U.S. In both instances, the main concern over the plight of Russian Jews brought to the fore the necessity for a coordinating body, first as a pressure group on world governments, secondly to coordinate, on a national level, overseas aid (The Israelite Press, September 20, 1915; September 21, 1915). The "Folks Farband" failed when the General Zionists attempted to take over its control and direction (The Israelite Press, November 4, 1915; Belkin, 1956:44; Chiel, 1961:141). When this became apparent, a special meeting in Winnipeg

was called of the AR Branches, the SD Branch and the Poale Zion. A decision to recall their delegate - Mr. A. Cherniak of Branch 506 - was unanimous, a decision which was indicative of their concerns for a democratic Jewish body.*

With a change in leadership in 1918, the attitudes of the General Zionists toward the establishment of a Canadian Jewish Congress "altered drastically" (Chiel, 1961:143). Opposition was also strongly voiced at this time by "certain wealthy members of Montreal's Jewish Community" (Cherniak, 1969:84) and was similar to the experiences in the formation of the American Jewish Congress. (See Gal for a discussion of these class struggles in the U.S. in respect to the formation of a democratically controlled Jewish parliament). In Canada, this struggle was not as clearly defined; perhaps the Canadian Jewish bourgeoisie more readily saw the advantages open to them in a unified body.

The immediate impulse to bring the Congress into fruition at this time arose ultimately from the practical needs of that period. Soon after the war, the Paris Peace Conference was being convened and had called for world-wide Jewish representation. American Jewry decided to send a contingent and to present a "Jewish Bill of Rights" calling for equal civil,

* This unilateral action by the Zionists engendered a public debate organized by the AR entitled "Debate over Jewish Congress between Zionists and Arbeiter Ring". As reported in the press, the debate brought to the fore some of the internal misgivings that Revolutionary Marxists had on the merits of a Jewish parliament. The greater number were wholeheartedly in favor and were concerned with "the question of worker's participation in the Congress". The majority recognized that "though Jews are split like other peoples into classes with different interests, it is recognized that the Jewish people have general interests that can unite all Jews to work together. This particular time is critical for the existence of the Jewish people in Eastern Europe and all Jewry, all classes must unite in finding a solution". Those few opposed to this position argued that Congress can do nothing for Jews. The only way to alleviate the 'Jewish problem' is through a protracted struggle to free mankind from the present capitalist system. "Socialism is the only answer to the 'Jewish question'" (The Israelite Press, March, 1915).

religious, political and national rights for all Jews in the newly created European states. Many Zionists saw this as a propitious occasion to gain support from the Peace Conference for their territorial aspirations in Palestine. The American Jewish Congress, as a result, was born in Philadelphia on December 15, 1918. Five delegates from Canada were in attendance, Mr. A. Cherniak among them. The birth of the American Jewish Congress and the enthusiasm of the returning delegates spilled over into Canada and aroused a determination among the Jewish masses that the time was ripe to create their own Jewish parliament and to participate in these momentous events (Schappes, 1958:184-185; Chiel, 1961:143).

The first conference of The Canadian Jewish Conference was held in Montreal on March 16, 1919, representing 124 organizations from all factions and elements within the Jewish community. Delegates had earlier been elected in each city by secret ballot. Throughout Canada, 24,866 ballots were cast electing 209 delegates. Of these, 43 delegates were from Western Canada - twenty from Winnipeg * (L. Rosenberg, 1970:5).

Cherniak vividly recalled the excitement generated by this first election in Winnipeg:

In Winnipeg, the election took place in the large Talmud Torah Hall on a cold Sunday in December, 1918. Twenty candidates were elected and 3,500 Jews, elderly people amongst them, made their way to the third floor of the Talmud Torah and paid ten cents for the privilege of voting... Rabbi I. Kahanovitch received the highest number of votes, followed by M. J. Finkelstein and myself. Of the twenty delegates, our Democratic Socialist group elected seven and the Communists elected one, S. Almazov (Cherniak, 1969:84).*

Almazov,** the sole representative of Winnipeg's Revolutionary

* See Appendix F for the results of the Winnipeg election and the ideological orientation of the delegates and also see Appendix G for a profile of these delegates.

** The author interviewed Mr. Almazov in New York in May, 1976 where he has been living since he left Winnipeg in 1919. His book in Yiddish "Mit Dem Vort Tzum Folk" (With a Word to the Masses) devotes two chapters to his early experiences in Winnipeg (My translation).

Marxists at the Congress, was an articulate leader of this Branch as well as of the Jewish Branch of the SDPC. Because Almazov played a crucial role at the Congress, because he articulated an opposing point of view at that time vis-a-vis the Balfour Declaration, it is essential that Almazov's recollection of this period be entered as evidence of the ideological position of this branch. This is crucial since this evidence has not been recognized by earlier historians, and will provide the reasons why they were able to elect only one delegate to the Congress even though their popular appeal was high in Winnipeg.

In addition to the Balfour issue, another point of contention adversely influenced the election of radicals to the Congress. Again the two protagonists were the Revolutionary Marxists and the Poale Zion. This issue involved the affiliation of the Poale Zion to the Canadian Labor Party (CLP). The Jewish Branch of the SDPC, in response to a request by the CLP concerning the socialist 'tendencies' of the Poale Zion, wrote a memorandum recommending that the Poale Zion should not be admitted to CLP membership. This decision by the Jewish SDPC members was based on the fact that the Poale Zion, by advocating migration of Jewish workers to Palestine, was seen as harmful to the working class, as a divisive force in separating the Jews from the Canadian working class movement. The memorandum was publicly disclosed by the Poale Zion at a meeting specifically called to endorse Congress nominations. At a stormy meeting at the Talmud Torah, Almazov defended the position of the Social Democrats as being consistent with that of all other socialist parties vis-a-vis the Poale Zion.* This argument, however, was not one which could appeal to those imbued with

*Poale Zion emphatically refuted this allegation by the SDPC Jewish branch, pointing out that the Holland and Scandinavian Socialist Committees, the Socialist Party in England and Socialists in Germany as well as many American workers endorsed the national aspirations of the Jews (The Israelite Press, February 28, 1919).

national fervor, with territorial aspirations as the answer to the 'Jewish problem'. The Poale Zion officially withdrew from the National Workers Committee as hostility between the two groups became explicit, often acrimonious in the long, heated debates voiced in the Yiddish press. It was in this heightened atmosphere that Revolutionary Marxists faced the first Congress elections (The Israelite Press, February 18, February 21, February 28, 1919).

Under the sponsorship of the National Workers Committee, Revolutionary Marxists nominated six candidates for the first Congress election. S. Almazov and W. Baum represented the Jewish Branch of the SDPC, Mrs. R. Alcin (Elkin) for the Jewish Branch of the SDPC, I. Dvorkin and W. Gorsey for the AR Branch 169, and I. Prosov for the Anarchist Branch 564 (The Israelite Press, February 25, 1919). Since the establishment of the Congress elections was concomitant with the Balfour Declaration, the Congress elections provided the Revolutionary Marxists with a platform to explain their position on the Balfour Declaration. But national debate had now become impossible. Only one delegate, S. Almazov, was elected. As Almazov explained:

A bitter campaign was carried on against us, particularly by the Poale Zion. There were proclamations stating that we were traitors to the Jewish people; one proclamation carried a huge heading with the well known phrase that stated that the annihilators of the Jewish people will emerge from within their own ranks. This huge heading threw fear into the people. . . .

The unity that was forged in the self-help organizations which was carried on co-operatively by all factions is now blown asunder. People who formerly sat around one table, appeared together at meetings, went together to collect monies - these people now come forward with bitter denunciations and accusations one against the other. These accusations, in later years proved to be a saleable commodity, used to create the notion that these were Moscow agents that dared to denounce the Balfour Declaration (Almazov, 1947:44-45).

At the conference, Almazov learned for the first time that the position of Winnipeg's Revolutionary Marxists regarding the Balfour Declara-

tion was not in line with that of their Eastern counterparts. The Eastern representation of Revolutionary Marxists consisting of 38 delegates from Toronto and Montreal, had enthusiastically endorsed the Balfour Declaration. They were concerned primarily with influencing the Congress toward a radical orientation. Their concern was expressed to Almazov: "The Jewish Congress will have to take into account the strength and influence of the Jewish socialists among the Jewish masses" (Almazov, 1947:45).

When Almazov was called to address the Conference as the Winnipeg delegate 'with the democratic right to express a contrary opinion', delegates were vociferous in their disapproval; "Throw him out! He will not speak here! He is an enemy of the Jewish people!" His rights defended by the chairman, Almazov proceeded to present the views of his Winnipeg comrades in a two hour speech. His concluding remarks won the admiration of many delegates and enabled him to play a significant role in the future proceedings of the Conference:

Worthy delegates, I know that I have said many things that have caused you pain for I have disturbed many of your illusions. But it was my duty to say that which I have thought to be the truth. I know that your main fear stems from the fact that we are living in a British Dominion and you are afraid of the results when it is known that one in your midst has opposed the Balfour Declaration. You would prefer unanimous approval. . . I said what I had to say, that was my duty but I will not vote against your resolution; I will abstain from voting* (Almazov, 1947:49-50).

*After the Balfour Declaration, the fear by some sections of the Jewish community of displeasing the British and their foreign policy became manifest in various ways. One example involved the Polish pogroms against the Pinsker Jews. Jews throughout Canada held protest meetings and attempted to influence their parliamentary representatives, etc. When protests began to take on a more public character, i.e. a parade to the City Hall and an open air rally, Winnipeg's Jewish elites became a little concerned. A delegation headed by M. Steinkopf, approached Almazov (Almazov was one of the initiators of the protest as well as one of the key speakers) and requested that, since Britain was supporting Poland, Jews might be well advised to tone down their protests. The meeting and parade went on as scheduled. Almazov brought in a resolution condemning the atrocities of the Polish government against the Jews. The resolution was forwarded to the Federal and Provincial Governments with a request that Canada's delegates at the Paris Peace Conference be made aware of the concern of Canadian Jewry (Almazov Interview; The Israelite Press, May 2, May 6, May 13, 1919).

Much later, the analysis by Almazov and his Winnipeg comrades of the Balfour Declaration proved prophetic when imperialist Britain refused to honour its commitment to the Jews. Furthermore, they proved to be instrumental in changing the attitudes of their Eastern comrades to a more analytical analysis of the Balfour Declaration and of British imperialism. Even though Revolutionary Marxists underwent a period of isolation, they had already established their presence as a vital factor in the Jewish community.

In founding the AR in Winnipeg, the Revolutionary Marxists laid the base for a parallel Jewish radical institution that was able to function on three levels, the social, the cultural and the ideological. As a result, secular Jewish activity and a secular Jewish lifestyle became possible, and in time became accepted as an integral, dynamic component of the Jewish community. In practice, they were able to link their class concern i.e. social justice, better working conditions, self-help organizations for the immigrant worker, with their concern for Jewish survival, i.e. national cultural autonomy, the struggle for the establishment of the Canadian Jewish Congress, and particularly for the survival of the culture of the Jewish working class. (Their cultural involvement will be discussed in greater detail in that section dealing with the City Committee of the AR). By their very existence, Jewish radicals provided a clear and determined opposition to both the liberal and Marxist assimilationist orientation.

2) Branch 506

The National Element - The Socialist-Zionists.

Branch 506 represented the national aspirations within the more moderate spectrum of Jewish radicalism. This link between Zionism and socialism was organizationally expressed within the first radical groups in

the city, the Socialist Territorialists and the Poale Zion.* Significantly, the early activities initiated by these groups, established Winnipeg as a cultural oasis in North America, a tradition that has been retained to the present.

Most of the information of the ST or as they were more commonly known in Russia and in the U.S., the 'Socialist Zionists', was made available to us by the late Mr. J. A. Cherniak, one of the founders of the ST in Winnipeg and an influential leader of the Winnipeg Jewish Community in general.

In Winnipeg, the ST organized in 1906 with five members and grew to thirty-five members in three months (Belkin, 1956:44). The ST was part of the larger North American organization. Their first convention, held in Boston, was attended by Mr. Cherniak. Here they defined their basic goals "to find a territory, to build it and to transform it into a paradise for Jews to inhabit. A major decision, perhaps the most pressing, was to build Jewish schools in North America" (Cherniak, 1969:81). (While Revolutionary Marxists in Branch 169 were more involved in social issues, education became the main thrust for this Branch, and they were instrumental and successful in not only organizing the first radical Jewish national school in Winnipeg, but in maintaining its existence to the present as the I. L. Peretz School).** It was at this first convention that Mr. Cherniak made

* As discussed earlier, the Socialist-Territorialists - ST - were those socialists who advocated a homeland for the Jews irrespective of location. Uganda was actively considered at one time. The Poale Zion were those who sought to re-instate Palestine as the historical homeland for the Jews. The Poale Zion were the followers of Ber Borochov. (See Chapter III for discussion of Borochov's ideologies). Both the ST and the Poale Zion are thought of as Socialist Zionists, or as Labour Zionists.

**See Appendix C for the location of the I. L. Peretz School during its earlier development, today it is located on Jefferson Avenue in West Kildonan.

Winnipeg known in Jewish radical circles. As a result, many renowned speakers were brought to Winnipeg early in the ST formation. The first was Chernichov-Danieli, a leader in the Russian movement, who addressed an audience of five hundred people paying fifteen cents each for the privilege. Another world renowned guest was Dr. Nachum Syrkin, the theoretician for the ST as well as the editor of their journal. It was Dr. Syrkin who introduced the idea of a Jewish parliament at the second ST convention. Of the twenty delegates present, Mr. Cherniak was the only one to appreciate its potential and transplanted the idea to Winnipeg and to Canada where he later spearheaded the drive towards its ultimate fruition. Of these early personalities whose dedicated leadership gave sustenance to the entire Jewish radical movement, Cherniak recalled that; "They wore old threadbare clothes and worn shoes. Yet these persons dedicated themselves to the task of not only finding but also of building a land for the suffering Jewish people. These individuals, and others like them, later built and rebuilt the Jewish communities in America and in other lands" (Cherniak, 1969:80-81).*

(The working class intellectual was not remote from working class experiences. Many were intimately involved with the workers in the factory and knew first hand the plight of the immigrant Jewish masses). Their knowledge and participation in the Canadian Jewish radical community was extensive, in fact it was Dr. Syrkin who was the main guest at the first conference of the Canadian Jewish Congress in 1919. While their ultimate ideological goal was a Jewish territorial state and the creation of a socialist state, Jewish existence in the Diaspora had to be safeguarded, and its democratic

* When Dr. Syrkin arrived in Winnipeg, Mr. Cherniak recalled his arrival and his poverty. "Dr. Syrkin arrived by tourist train on a cold Sunday morning. He was tired from a two day journey, and his only suit in which he had travelled was so creased that in such a condition we could not possibly allow him to appear on a platform. We held an emergency meeting. We outfitted him in a new suit, which did not fit him, and brought him to the hall where he was to deliver his lecture" (Cherniak, 1969:81).

character ensured. These were the two major goals of this branch, one immediate and one of the future.

The ST worked closely with the Poale Zion.* Patterned after the American parent organization, the Poale Zion first became active in Winnipeg in 1906. Mr. Aaron Osovsky, a Russian immigrant, a CPR labourer, guided this small but dedicated membership in carving out for themselves a unique position within the Jewish community. For it was the Poale Zion who were the first to organize a Jewish library in 1907. They were the first to establish a choir which performed in both Yiddish and Hebrew. They were the first to organize a 'Yiddish Drama Club' where they staged numerous plays with 'social content' for a large, appreciative audience (Belkin, 1956:45). One Poale Zion meeting called in 1906, and nostalgically recalled by Mr. Levadi, perhaps best indicated the ferment, the vitality and the strongly held idealism of these early Socialist-Zionists. In a lecture by Bella Pevsner of New York, the discussion became so argumentative between the extremists and the moderates that "the lady fainted in the middle of her lecture, and thankfully recovered just in time to finish her speech" (Belkin, 1956:45).

However, by 1910, the impetus for both organizations - the ST and the Poale Zion - had weakened with little immediate hope of solving their territorial aspirations. Periodically, the ideal was revitalized. In 1915, the Poale Zion was infused with new enthusiasm with the visit of Isaac Ben Z'vi, who later became the second President of the State of Israel. His appearance in Winnipeg, sponsored by the Poale Zion, was aimed at

* Belkin's The Labour Zionist Movement in Canada: 1904-1920 is the only record of this important organization. It is written in Yiddish. (My translations).

recruiting the territorialists to the idea of a Palestinian homeland. Ben Z'vi's topic was 'Nationalism and Socialism'. The discussion, as reported in the press, was succinctly described. To the territorialist query "If territory, why Palestine and not another?" Ben Z'vi answered "If territory, why not Palestine? In Palestine, there already exists some pioneer developments" (The Israelite Press, August 18, 1915).

These incidents were sporadic, however, and the Socialist Zionists made little headway until 1917. In the interim, they concentrated their efforts on establishing Yiddish schools that were to be "secular, national and socialist in character and ideology" (Herstein, 1964:98).^{*} Toward this goal, they founded the 'Yiddish Yugend Farein', "a literary, cultural club that became the most active organization of its kind in the Jewish community" (Herstein, 1964:98). The Farein was an amalgam of all shadings, for as Mr. Cherniak recalled, "We were Jews and socialists in the widest sense. Therefore, we had to immediately found a school with a Jewish radical program for the children of the Jewish masses" (Cherniak, 1969:82). But this precarious ideological alliance was not long lasting. The Farein existed merely two and a half years, torn by internal dissension. In 1912, many joined the AR as the 'Jewish Young Workers Circle', Branch 506 (Belkin, 1956:245). Here, they continued in their efforts to establish secular education in Winnipeg.

It is not surprising, therefore, that this Branch's particular mentor was Dr. Chaim Zhitlovsky, considered as the "father of Jewish education in America". Not only was he influential in the field of education,

^{*} A fuller discussion of the development of Jewish radical education in Winnipeg will be undertaken in Section B of this chapter.

but his frequent visits especially in 1915, 1916 and 1917 infused a "new nationalist climate into the Winnipeg Jewish community" (Cherniak, 1969: 82). This nationalist climate, as indicated above, found fertile ground in 1917 with the Balfour Declaration and there developed "a long range process of realignment of all forces, including anti-zionists and non-zionists to the reality of the Jewish community in Palestine" (Schappes, 1958:194). The ST, at a conference in New York, declared its support for a Palestinian homeland as the only realistic possibility for contemporary Jewry (The Israelite Press, May 11, 1917). In Canada and in Winnipeg, the old alliance between the ST and the Poale Zion re-emerged to join forces with the 'Jewish National Alliance' first organized in Montreal in 1909, and in Winnipeg in 1917.

By 1918, the alliance in Winnipeg showed a marked increase in membership, a phenomenon, described by The Israelite Press, as the unification of nationalism and socialism. Labour Zionism had become unified (The Israelite Press, January 25, 1918). This group included such leading personalities as I. Hestrin, W. Keller, A. Cherniak, I. Perlman, B. Sheps, S. Green, M. Averbach, M. A. Gray, Marcus Hyman, and I. Stein (Chiel, 1961: 159). Politically, many became influential in the more moderate spectrum of the Jewish community, many became leading personalities within the CCF and NDP tradition, and expressed the growing petit-bourgeois character slowly developing in the Jewish community.

In analyzing the formation of the Canadian Jewish Congress, it is clear that each ideological persuasion within the Jewish community sought to influence and direct the future orientation of the Congress: Revolutionary Marxists (Bundists, Social Democrats) and Socialist-Zionist (Poale Zion, ST) as the expression of the working class and the petit-bourgeoisie were

pitted against control by the dominant ideology as expressed by the General Zionists and the 'money powers' of the Jewish ruling class. In the final analysis, it was the Socialist Zionists who gained supremacy, and it was the petit bourgeois character that shaped the early formation of the Congress. Their two major purposes, that is, to democratize Jewish life and to accelerate the securing of a Jewish state, became the pillars of the Congress. The latter goal was expressed in one of the main resolutions of the Congress. As Cherniak recalled, the Congress "unanimously resolved that the proposed Jewish national home would be run on the principles of social justice and that the land and all the resources, transportation and public utilities would be state owned" (Cherniak, 1969:85). Further decisions at that time centred on the immediate social concerns of the Jewish community, particularly on the needs of the working class, i.e. the formation of a Jewish Immigrant Aid Society, the liberalization of Canada's immigration regulations, and the coordination of Jewish War Relief Campaign activities in Canada (L. Rosenberg, 1970:5). It was this group, the Socialist Zionists, as Almazov pointed out, that turned against the Revolutionary Marxists, pointing out the uneasy alliance that was traditionally problematic within the Jewish radical community. The nationalist fervor that the Balfour Declaration called forth could not be stemmed. For the majority of the Jewish community, it was the Socialist Zionists that came closest to expressing their immediate needs, their national aspirations and their more moderate form of socialism.

In summary, the role of the Socialist Zionists in Winnipeg as in Canada was profound and expressed both the moderate socialist tendencies within the community along with the national territorial aspirations of the

Jewish masses, especially after 1917. It was at this turning point that Labor Zionism gained hegemony within the Jewish community and irreparably widened the chasm between the Revolutionary Marxists and the Socialist-Zionists. The former argued for Jewish cultural autonomy, for participation in the class struggle in whatever country Jews were located, and that socialism would bring about all human emancipation. The Socialist Zionists, on the other hand, argued that only Palestine as a Jewish state, as a socialist state, would solve the Jewish problem. Their vitality in the cultural realm, in education as well as in the ideological realm made a lasting impression upon the Winnipeg Jewish community, one that remains strongly entrenched today.

3) Branch 564.

The Anarchists.

The third branch of the AR and the last to join in 1915 was the Anarchist Branch with 35 members. Earlier, they had been organized as the 'Free Society', a name that they retained in the AR (The Israelite Press, May 11, 1917).

The anarchists were the first of the Jewish radicals to organize in Canada. Their members were primarily of East European descent, survivors of the 1905 Revolution. Numbers of them first migrated to England where they were drawn into the British anarchist movement.* In Canada, they organized in the large centres where Jewish workers were highly concentrated. In Toronto, they organized the 'Red Circle', in Montreal the 'Freiheit' and

*Emma Goldman reported that "Anarchist activities in London were not limited to the natives. England was the haven for refugees from all lands, who carried on their work without hindrance. By comparison with the United States, the political freedom in Great Britain seemed like the millenium come" (Goldman, 1931:165).

the 'Free Society' in Winnipeg. As Belkin pointed out, these organizations were often disunited "so that Winnipeg anarchists knew little of Montreal anarchists" (Belkin, 1956:27). Winnipeg anarchist activities, Belkin estimated, began in late 1904 or early 1905 with the organization of a 'Radical Library'. This became the rallying point, the centre, for all the early Jewish radicals irrespective of their ideological differences. For a while, the anarchists had the largest membership and were the strongest of all the Jewish radical groups in the city. With the arrival of the Bundists and the Socialist-Zionists, ideological divisions resulted in structural separation, yet as Simkin recalled "when an important issue arose, we tried to be together" (Simkin Interview).

There is little information not only about the early activities of the anarchists in Winnipeg or in Canada but also during its latter period when the Yiddish press began in 1910-1911. This is ironic since Mr. Faivel Simkin, the publisher of The Israelite Press, (Winnipeg's first Yiddish newspaper) was one of the earliest Jewish anarchists in the city.* It would seem that anarchists maintained a low profile, particularly in elaborating the anarchist's theoretical position on their relationship to the 'National Question'. However this was not peculiar to Winnipeg anarchists. There is little evidence to indicate the position of the larger movement on this question. Some indication can be pieced together from bits of American anarchist literature and from the writings of several Jewish anarchist leaders. Both the literature and the leaders were important influences in

* Faivel Simkin arrived in Winnipeg in 1906 when he was 21 or 22 years of age. In the old country, he was an active Bundist carrying on clandestine activities in defending Jewish communities against the pogroms. Simkin became an anarchist only after he arrived in Winnipeg and came into contact with the Jewish anarchists in the city, the Malkins and the Prasovs. The author was able to interview Mr. Simkin at his home in February, 1977. Today, Mr. Simkin is well into his 90's.

Canada and provided the radical movement with another radical alternative. To provide some background to anarchist thought and anarchist influence in Winnipeg, a brief review of its development in America, and its basic philosophies will be undertaken.

Two forms of anarchism had great influence on the American Jewish worker, particularly in the late 1880's and 1890's. These were anarcho-syndicalism and anarcho-communism. Both had captured the imagination of the more radical elements within the Jewish working class and there developed a fierce competition for loyalties between anarchists and socialists. But as Howe found, not everyone "was certain as to which he really was, or what the differences amounted to, and some...shifted back and forth between anarchism and socialism before coming to a halt" (Howe, 1976:104). Clutching at any and all radical philosophies at one and the same time, utilizing any or all tactics at one time or another was not inconceivable to those working under the harsh, dehumanizing conditions of early American industrialization. Anarcho-syndicalism became one of the tactics employed in the desperate struggles that workers had to wage in the work place.*

Anarcho-syndicalism was first defined by George Sorel in France, 1885. The syndicate was a free association of workers, employing direct

* The Haymarket affair, a strike led by anarchists for the eight hour day in Chicago and their subsequent massacre, brought the anarchist movement into the American limelight. Many were radicalized as a result and swelled the ranks of the anarchist movement. With the scars of the Russian pogroms fresh in their memories, the Haymarket affair evoked not only bitter memories but a call to action for many Jewish radicals. Jewish anarchists published a Yiddish pamphlet on the Haymarket martyrs. David Edelshtadt, the Jewish poet, dedicated a poem, "Who Were They?", to their memories. The poem was popularized throughout the continent in the Yiddish anarchist press Die Freie Arbeiter Shtime (The Free Worker's Voice) (Schappes, 1958: 136-137).

rather than political action to gain worker's rights.* To anarcho-syndicalists, direct action meant the general strike. In this way workers could paralyze the economy of the country. While they agreed with the communists that the wage system had to be eliminated, that capitalism had to be destroyed by class war, their basic differences centred on the means to achieve this common goal (Forman, 1975:31). In North America, the Knights of Labour and the International Workers of the World (IWW) were direct expressions of this form of syndicalism. As McCormack found, syndicalist propaganda began to infiltrate the North End of Winnipeg soon after the turn of the century:

The interest that it held for workers in the immigration ghetto related in part to the IWW presence and to the fact that eastern European itinerants wintered there, but the anarchist tradition among Jews and Russians was undoubtedly important as well . . . The Syndicalists urged radicals to reject political action, 'get inside the labor movement', and employ the unions to achieve the revolution (McCormack, 1977:113).

Amongst the American Jewish working class, anarcho-syndicalism found fertile soil among the cloakmakers who were predominantly made up of Jewish workers. Jewish anarchists, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, were closely involved in these unions, first in the Pioneers of Labor and later in the IWW (Goldman, 1931:55). In Canada, while Jewish workers were also heavily involved in the needle trades the relationship between Jewish anarchists and the unionization of the needle trades in Winnipeg remains an unexplored area and demands further research.

The second form of anarchy with strong appeal to American Jewish radicals was anarcho-communism, often termed 'collectivist anarchism'. This

*A syndicalist differed from a trade union in that they had no centralized authority while trade unions were generally highly centralized.

form, first given expression by Mikhail Bakunin, underwent several stages and refinements. Bakunin, a Russian aristocrat, was a former Marxist. While he agreed with the Marxists' policy advocating the abolishment of private property and the capitalist economic system, Bakunin called for immediate revolt of not only the proletariat, but of all underprivileged, the students, the intellectuals, the peasants and the workers against the 'state, Church, and God'. For Bakunin, destruction was seen as a creative act, an act of destroying the old society, the decadent state apparatus, thereby allowing the creation of the new. It was the state that Bakunin particularly defiled:

A state without slavery, open or disguised is inconceivable - that is why we are enemies of the state. . . We reject all legislation, all authority, and all privileged, licenced, official, and legal influence, even though arising from universal suffrage, convinced that it can turn only to the advantage of a dominant minority of exploiters against the interests of the immense majority in subjection to them. . . This is the sense in which we are really anarchists (Forman, 1975:33).

While Marx envisioned state socialism as a transient stage toward the development of communism, Bakunin as most later anarchists, completely negated the role of the socialist state as another form of tyranny. This was the one fundamental principal basic to all anarchists and the basic point of contention between the anarchists and the Marxists thereafter.

To replace the state apparatus, Bakunin advocated a 'free federation of communities' which were to be guided only by the 'scientific discovery of natural laws' so that 'human nature' and 'natural laws' would be brought into greater harmony. These federations were to be decentralized units, locally controlled for the benefit of the local inhabitants (Forman, 1975:34). In the U.S., Johann Most became Bakunin's best known disciple and called for 'propaganda by the deed', individual acts of terrorism against the big American industrialists. Although this type of fervor

attracted a small segment of Jewish radicals, for many, 'propaganda by the deed' was clearly repugnant and 'shocked a good many of the Yiddish speaking comrades' (Howe, 1976:107). Instead, many turned to Kropotkin's form of anarchism as eminently more acceptable, more humane, more refined and without the violence that they had hoped they had left behind.

Kropotkin, (1842-1921) also a Russian aristocrat, was a world renowned scientist. In addition, Goldman described Kropotkin as "the most outstanding exponent of anarchist communism, its clearest thinker and theoretician. He was recognized by friend and foe as one of the greatest minds and most unique personalities of the nineteenth century" (Goldman, 1931:168). Although Kropotkin accepted Darwin's evolutionary theory, similar to Marx, he rejected the underlying concept of the survival of the fittest. Rather, Kropotkin saw the cooperative nature of man's evolution that "mutual support rather than conflict was the basis for evolution" (Forman, 1975:38). Co-operation and mutualism became the tenets of Kropotkin's philosophy.* By 1880, Kropotkin was vigorously debating with Russian socialists the futility of the ballot and his opposition to the dictatorship by force. For Kropotkin, neither the parliamentary forms of government advocated by socialists nor the dictatorship of force advocated by the communists would bring about the future communist society. Besides the anti-statist position, opposition to the ballot and the dictatorship by force became the basic premises of Kropotkin's followers in America. Kropotkin's 'truth' was contained in this policy: "Nothing good or durable can be done except by the free initiative of the people, and every govern-

*In 1910, The Voice reported on Kropotkin's article "Mutual Aid as a Factor in Evolution". Kropotkin, the reviewer noted, did not dispute the doctrine of survival of the fittest but asked the question "Who are the fittest?" The mutual aid and associations that Kropotkin advocated "don't fight amongst each other but combine most effectively to overcome their enemies" (The Voice, May 20, 1910).

ment tends to destroy it" (Kropotkin, 1927:243). To a large extent, Kropotkin's policy had clearly delineated the future policies of North America's anarchists in regard to their anti-war position, their anti-conscription stand and their opposition to the Bolshevik revolution. Kropotkin's followers were Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman who had earlier rejected Most's 'propaganda by the deed' for a more collectivist approach. It was this stream that was significant to the Jewish radicals in North America and in Winnipeg.

Jewish anarchism in North America found its greatest expression in an anti-religious crusade. This became the core of the anarchist struggle against the existing order. In the extreme positions that they took, in their intransigence and insensitivity to the vast numbers of pious Jews, anarchists, along with Social Democrats, would often arrange parades and balls on the holiest day of the Jewish year, Yom Kippur, to flaunt their new found freedom. By such behaviour, anarchists lost a great deal of their support because, though many Jews had loosened their religious ties, they still retained a traditional respect for ritualism and religious holidays. Too late, one anarchist leader recognized that "the war against God. . .played a great part in the decrease of anarchist influence in Jewish life" (Howe, 1976:106). Although Winnipeg had no parades and balls comparable to those in New York's East End, there were nevertheless meetings arranged and other overt anti-religious expressions to impress Winnipeg's Jewry. Moreover, anarchists' rejection of the ballot box as a means of social change was contrary to the expectations of the large majority of immigrant Jews who saw the need for immediate palliatives in their desperate situation, even though many recognized its limited potential. Many turned

away from anarchism to the more activist oriented Social Democrats. Nevertheless, for those concerned with the more metaphysical questions of man's freedom, and liberty 'unrestricted by man-made laws', anarchist philosophy continued to inspire a significant number of Jewish radicals.

Although Winnipeg's Jewish anarchists adhered to the basic anarchist philosophies, there were times when they felt it expedient to bend the rules to 'make a point'. One such occasion occurred in 1919 after the General Strike when Winnipeg workers in Ward 5 attempted to oust the anti-unionist, conservative (school board incumbent) lawyer Max Steinkopf by running an unknown Mrs. Rose Alcin (Elkin), a social democrat. (See Chapter 5, Section C for a discussion of this election and the issues that were involved). Anarchists wholeheartedly endorsed the campaign. Recalling the incident, Mr. Simkin defended their actions in this way: "Well, strictly speaking the anarchists shouldn't have voted because they were against government. Well, we overlooked some things because we wanted to make a point. . . We wanted to show that we could do something too." (Simkin Interview). A similar bending of the rules occurred when members of this branch - AR Branch 564 - nominated I. Prosov to run for Congress elections (The Israelite Press, February 25, 1919).

While anarchists prided themselves on being internationalists, on being freed from their traditional restraints, Howe recognized their tremendous need to identify with their own people. "Their statements of internationalism notwithstanding, these early radicals wanted to keep within the familiar bounds of the immigrant culture, for even when scoffed at on the East Side, it was still the place where they felt most at home" (Howe, 1976:105). For Winnipeg Jewish anarchists, the North End was their home, the link to their historical roots. It was here that

they found a receptive audience for their ideology, it was here that they were able to maintain themselves as Jews and helped to fashion a creative working class culture. Anarchists took great pride in their efforts toward this goal and in this effort brought into the Winnipeg Jewish cultural milieu an exciting array of personalities.

The first guest lecturer representing anarchist philosophy was Emma Goldman (1869-1940) described as 'young, vibrant, brilliant' whose presence in Winnipeg in 1907 was cause for excitement not only among Jewish radicals and the Jewish community - for after all she was a 'Jewish daughter' - but for the entire radical community. Her visit was arranged by the anarchist branch of the Winnipeg Radical Club (Arnold, April 10, 1975). Goldman gave five lectures on a variety of topics at the Rupert Street Trades Hall, three in English, one in Yiddish and one in either Russian or German. When questioned "What ought to be done with the Hebrew race, who live chiefly out of the produce of other's labor?" Goldman, in defence of the Jews, replied, "They were great producers...the only reason they do not do more producing was because they had not access to the land... You get off his back and give him a chance" (Arnold, April 25, 1975). In her autobiography Living My Life, Goldman reported great satisfaction with her reception in Winnipeg, particularly with the 'extraordinarily decent' editorials in Winnipeg's press. The editorial made this comment on her visit:

Emma Goldman has been accused of abusing freedom of speech in Winnipeg, and anarchism has been denounced as a system that advocates murder. As a matter of fact, Emma Goldman indulged, while in Winnipeg, in no dangerous rant and made no statement that deserved more than moderate criticism of its wisdom or logic (Goldman, 1931:398).

Goldman returned to Winnipeg again in 1926-1927. Throughout her long career, she continued to maintain a close relationship with and empathy

for the Jewish communities wherever she lived and visited. She was outspoken on the plight of the Jews in East Europe and on anti-semitism in America. Her wide circle of friends included many Jewish activists such as David Edelstadt, M. Katz, Bovshover, Zhitlovsky, etc. (Goldman, 1931: 55:350). A conversation with the latter perhaps best described the attitude of many Jewish anarchists to Judaism and the internationalism that they professed:

Zhitlovsky had come to America with Babushka. A Socialist Revolutionary, he was also an ardent Judaist. He never tired urging upon me that as a Jewish daughter I should devote myself to the cause of the Jews. I would say to him that I had been told the same thing before. A young scientist I had met in Chicago, a friend of Max Baginski, had pleaded with me to take up the Jewish cause. I had repeated to Zhitlovsky what I had related to the other: that at the age of eight I used to dream of becoming a Judith and visioned myself in the act of cutting off Holofernes' head to avenge the wrongs of my people. But since I had become aware that social injustice is not confined to my own race, I had decided that there were too many heads for one Judith to cut off (Goldman, 1931:370).

It was not until 1913 that anarchists were able to attract another world renowned figure to Winnipeg. In April of that year, anarchists and the entire radical community welcomed Rudolph Rocker to Winnipeg. Rocker was a German bookbinder who made his home in London's East End Jewish community. Although not a Jew himself Rocker had learned to speak Yiddish and edited the Jewish anarchist press Der Arbeiter Freint (The Worker's Friend). Rocker worked closely with Jewish anarchists who had been deported from Germany. His primary concern was with the exploitation of Jewish tailors in London's sweatshops (Forman, 1975:45). Goldman described her first meeting with Rocker in this way:

The moving spirit of the work in the East End was Rudolph Rocker, a young German, who presented the peculiar phenomenon of a Gentile editor of a Yiddish paper. He had not associated himself with Jews until he came to England. In order to fit himself the better for his activities in the ghetto, he had lived among the Jews and mastered

their language. As editor of the Arbeiter Freund and by his brilliant lectures Rudolph Rocker was doing more for the education and revolutionizing of the Jews in England than the ablest members of their own race (Goldman, 1931:254).

In his autobiography The London Years, Rocker recalled his first visit to Winnipeg and the hospitality his Winnipeg comrades gave him, singling out Frank (Feivel) Simkin, the Prosov's with whom he stayed, and Mr. Matlin. All three had devoted a great deal of energy to ensure the success of his visit. Of the Winnipeg audience, Rocker remarked, "there was a good intelligent Jewish public in Winnipeg, and I felt very happy among them. I stayed in Winnipeg a whole month. I delivered twelve lectures there, on social subjects, economic questions and literary themes. The discussions that followed were extremely interesting" (Rocker, 1956:233-235). Simkin's recollections of this momentous occasion were similarly complimentary :

He was a lovely man...he was very clever. He once had a debate with Zhitlovsky on the topic of Peretz (Jewish author). He had a different interpretation of Peretz than Zhitlovsky...(He once spoke) on the question of Palestine...Well, he said the Jews should not get too optimistic. It was the time of the white paper (The Balfour Declaration) but that England would be against the Jews and would go with the Arabs. Once at a meeting, Schapiro who was the principal of the Peretz School jumped up on the stage to debate with Rocker, that Rocker doesn't know what he is saying. The end was that in 1929 there was a pogrom on the Jews in Palestine. Hestrin used to drop in often to see me at the newspaper and Hestrin was a zionist and pro-Israel. He said to me, 'Feivel, do you know, Rocker was right' (Simkin Interview).

Ironically, when Rocker returned to Winnipeg in 1925, he was shattered at the change that he perceived in the class composition of the anarchist group. "If I had known what kind of anarchists there were in Winnipeg, I would not have come for I found a group of contractors, bosses, and 'alrightnikes' with only two workers among them" (Rocker, 1956:235).

Bringing anarchist speakers to Winnipeg was only one facet of their activities. As earlier indicated, Jewish anarchists worked closely

with the other Jewish groups in establishing and maintaining Jewish radical schools, in the numerous self-help programs that were necessary at that time for the Jewish worker, in the public forums, in the social and cultural activities that were rich in abundance and provided all Winnipeg Jewry with an exciting milieu. Perhaps the most exciting event of the first decade was the Federenko case.

With a passion for human justice and freedom, and with a deep-seated hatred of Czarist tyranny, Jewish anarchists became intimately involved in Winnipeg's cause celebre, the Fedorenko case. The drama of the Federenko case kept all of Winnipeg and other larger centres in Canada and the United States in a state of suspension during the latter months of 1910. Savva Federenko had been a member of the Social Democratic Party of Russia, involved as a peasant organizer during the 1905 Revolution. At the time, he was accused of committing acts of arson and robbery but was not apprehended. Early in 1908, the Russian government charged him with the murder of a policeman in a small village. Fedorenko fled first to Vienna, then to Argentina and finally to Winnipeg in July, 1910 where he was arrested on August 14 on a charge of arson and murder. The charge, laid by the Russian Government, asked Canada for his extradition so that he could be brought to trial in Russia.* It was later revealed that letters written to his family in Russia had facilitated his arrest (Chisick, 1972:87).

In recalling this incident, Simkin did not know why Fedorenko chose Winnipeg as a hideout. This however was unimportant for "Our fight

* Under an 1886 extradition treaty with Canada, the Russian government had legal grounds for extraditing Fedorenko. However, the treaty did not allow for 'extradition for trials of a political nature' (Chisick, 1972:87). It was upon this definition, maintaining that extradition of Fedorenko was of a political nature, that the defense rested its case.

was against the Russian government. . . We were only interested that the Russian government should not succeed in their demand to extradite him. So we organized a Fedorenko committee. . . There was Orlikow and I and the Prasovs - the anarchists - and even the Poale Zion, Berl Miller and Gurevitch" (Simkin Interview). It is unclear whether this committee became the Winnipeg nucleus of the Russian Freedom League which had been organized throughout North America in support of Russian revolutionary exiles. Appeals to all radical elements in the city and throughout Canada and the U.S. were made for both moral and financial aid (The Voice, October 21, 1910). W. H. Hoop, a representative from the Trades Council, was sent on tour throughout Canada and the U.S. to solicit financial support for this cause (The Voice, October 28, 1910). Strong support was received from Montreal, New York and Chicago (The Voice, October 21, November 4, 1910). Assistance came in many forms, legal assistance from New York brought a Mr. Isaac Hourwich, late of St. Petersburg, to Winnipeg to 'advise council for the defence' since there had been similar cases in the U.S. and all had successfully been concluded (The Voice, September 23, 1910).

On October 21 the courts had delivered an adverse judgement against Fedorenko and the procedure to extradite him began. Agitation against the judgement became intensified, with headlines in The Voice declaring "Fedorenko Must Not Be Surrendered" (The Voice, November 4, 1910). A mass meeting at the Walker Theatre was called and was supported by many civic representatives as well as Mayor Sanford Evans. Rigg and Saltzman of the SDPC among others spoke passionately against extradition and the horrors that awaited Fedorenko if sent back. The meeting gained encouragement with reports of the tremendous support that the case had engendered throughout

the country. It was reported that the Alberta legislature had sent a resolution to the Federal Minister of Justice demanding that Canada refuse extradition. The Walker meeting endorsed the resolution. With renewed support, the defense filed for an appeal. The court of appeal, under Justice Robson, freed Fedorenko on December 17. However, on a technicality Fedorenko was re-arrested and held for 48 hours before being released again for the last time on December 19. The technicality - "the seal of the Russian government had not been properly authenticated" - was sufficient to cause concern to the defense committee. As Simkin explained:

We won the case. . . But, the Russian papers were not in order. So when our government ruled that he couldn't be taken from here by the Russians, the lawyer, Max Finkelstein took me to a side and said "don't keep him here. The Russian government has more money than you to fight the case. As soon as the new papers come from the Russian government, they will arrest him again. Send him anywhere you like but don't let him stay here". So I called a meeting, there were about nine or ten (Simkin Interview).

The meeting decided - upon Finkelstein's advice - to buy Fedorenko a 'class one' ticket to England. "They weren't likely to look for the likes of him in the class one section". Simkin was selected to 'escort him out of here' (Simkin Interview). Fedorenko was never heard of again but his name remained a page in the history of Winnipeg, a highlight of intrigue and excitement in the struggle of Winnipeg's radical community in general and for Jewish radicals in particular in their struggle for social justice against Czarist tyranny.

As members of the AR, anarchists along with other socialist elements strongly upheld the socialist credo of an 'anti-imperialist neutrality position' (Schappes, 1958:194). To a large degree, pacifism was the cement that bound and healed, for a time, the dissension within the Canadian radical community. From the IWW, the SPC, the labour federations,

the SDPC and the anarchists, the war epitomized, as the SPC declared "the disputes of the international capitalist class for markets. . .the struggle in Europe is of no real interest to the international working class" (McCormack, 1977:119). Notwithstanding radical efforts, national rather than class concerns became the driving force for many Canadian workers. Every means of the government's propaganda machine was applied to engender that degree of patriotism necessary to encourage voluntary military service. As Goldman had declared in 1910, "patriotism is not for those who represent wealth and power. . .They are cosmopolitans, perfectly at home in every land. . .It (patriotism) is good enough for the people. . ." (Goldman, 1910:136-137).

To a great extent, Canadian anarchists and socialists were hampered in carrying out a full scale anti-war campaign, like their counterparts in the U.S. for Canada, as part of the British Dominion, became immediately involved. Moreover, the War Measures Act of 1914 placed many radicals of German and Austrian descent in a precarious position because many were considered to be quasi enemies. The anti-war campaign was therefore circumscribed by the fact that Canada was at war and by the limitations of wartime legislation. Numerous restrictions on civil liberties were enforced and many radical activities had to be curtailed or held clandestinely. (See Section C of this chapter for further discussion.) While Jewish anarchists and socialists were not as seriously handicapped as their German counterparts, "they did not take as extreme a position as their American comrades" (Belkin, 1956:131).

Both in the U.S. and in Canada, the war had created a heart wrenching dilemma for many within the Jewish community and among the Jewish radicals.

Among the thirteen million Jews in the world, nine-and-a-half million were located in the warring states, primarily in Russia, a country that had now allied itself to Britain. Their universal hatred of Czarism prodded many into a pro-German position. In the American Jewish community at the beginning of the war, "the great bulk of middle and upper middle class Jews and even sections of the Jewish working class, whose attitude to the war was based only on anti-tsarism, thus became pro-German. To be against tsarism and not pro-German required rigid and consistent anti-imperialist neutrality found only in firm socialists"* (Schappes, 1958:176). As indicated above, most socialists and anarchists did maintain an anti-imperialist neutrality. For the majority of Canadian Jews however, the dilemma had another complication. For as British subjects, Jews were expected to be loyal to the allied cause. This fear of divided loyalties was manifestly expressed by upper class Jewry. Many Jewish elites expressed concern that Jews would be less patriotic than others. Canadian Jewry, however, responded with the same patriotism as others. Many voluntarily joined the Canadian armed forces (Belkin, 1956:130-131). In conclusion, the Canadian socialist movement, along with the entire world socialist movement, were unable to affect the international class solidarity required to end the war. Similarly, while Jewish radicals maintained a neutral anti-imperialist position, they were unable to influence the vast majority of Jews to follow suit.

* Although the Poale Zion maintained a neutrality position, many Zionists in the U.S. were pro-German based on the rationale that a "German conquest of Poland and Romania would free the Jews there...and a victorious Turkey, allied to Germany, would then agree to Palestine's becoming a Jewish province. The German government, eager for Zionist support, promised in November, 1916 to create a Jewish democratic central council to govern Jewish communities in territories conquered by Germany - and the Zionists rejoiced." This led to Britain's intensified efforts to woo the Jews, hence the Balfour Declaration of 1917 thereafter changing the loyalties of world Jewry toward the allies (Schappes, 1958:176-177).

It was the 'October revolution' that brought anarchists into direct confrontation with the Marxists, a confrontation that became irrevocable by 1922. At an international conference of anarchists held in Berlin, the Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat was emphatically repudiated.

In the initial period following the revolution, anarchists had given wholehearted support to the revolution. Many of the great anarchist leaders in North America and in Europe i.e. Goldman, Berkman and Kropotkin,* used every means at their disposal to defend the Bolsheviks 'against calumny and slander'. As Goldman declared:

Though they were Marxists and therefore governmentalists, I sided with them because they had repudiated war and had the wisdom to stress the fact that political freedom without corresponding economic equality is an empty boast (Goldman, 1931:645).

Anarchists quickly made the distinction between the revolution and the Bolshevik dictatorship. The revolution, anarchists recognized, had been carried out by the soviets. The soviets, Berkman analyzed, were fundamental to Russian village life: "The entire village life was built on the soviet principle...On the equal right and representation of all members alike...They represented the toiling masses" (Berkman, 1972:152). To anarchists, the revolution utilized the tactics that they had long advocated, the 'general strike', 'direct action' and the spontaneity of the masses to assess and act upon their own needs. It was the soviets and their collective activities in the factories, in the fields, in the army, in the house committees and cooperatives that were created soon after the revolution

* During the 'Red Scare' in 1919, many anarchists and socialists were deported to the Soviet Union. Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman were among them. Also, in the first excitement of the October revolution, many radicals, many Jews as well, voluntarily left for the Soviet Union to help in the reconstruction.

that fundamentally constituted the revolution for the anarchists (Berkman, 1972:156).

Because the Bolsheviks recognized the power of the soviets, and since this was not in accord with the principles of a highly centralized state under the control of the Bolsheviks, they began a systematic attempt to erode the power of the soviets. By April, 1918, the Bolsheviks had gained entire control (Berkman, 1972:157).

It was not long before anarchists in the Soviet Union were disillusioned with the wholesale arrests of numerous anarchist leaders, 'the conversion of the local soviets into rubber stamps for a new bureaucracy', the breakdown of popular initiative of the workers, and finally the Kronstadt uprising in March, 1921 which Berkman described as the symbol of 'the beginning of a new tyranny' (Berkman, 1972:xii). (See Goldman's account of her experiences in the Soviet Union during this historic period).

On her return to Canada (the United States remained closed to her), Goldman undertook a cross country lecture tour to expose the Soviet situation. To many, Emma Goldman had now become a traitor, endangering the future of the socialist revolution. In 1926-1927, Goldman spent six weeks in Winnipeg. Her description of her visit perhaps best indicated the erosion within the ranks of Winnipeg's radical movement: "Lack of cohesion in our ranks, badly organized meetings, and Communist obstruction at every gathering made the situation anything but a cheerful prospect...The alert and active young people in the Arbeiter Ring organization, and the girl students of the University who invited me to speak, were the saving grace of my ordeal" (Goldman, 1931:988-989). For some the revolution was the messiah, for others a pariah. The unity within the ranks of

the radical movement had been irrevocably sundered.

In conclusion, Jewish anarchists had provided the radical Jewish community with a third option, the anarchist version of socialism. The inclusion of the anarchists as a Branch in the AR united, for a short time, the various shadings in the Jewish radical movement. This unity, they all recognized, was essential in establishing the radical presence within the Jewish community. Even though there were visible chasms, the Jewish radical element was firmly established by the end of the first two decades of the century. By their very presence, anarchists had strengthened the bonds between class and ethnicity. Stressing both areas as vital to their existence, anarchists provided the individual the choice to maintain his identity as Jews, while expressing his working class concerns.

The City Committee of the AR.

As the co-ordinating body of the AR in Winnipeg, the City Committee functioned to integrate and unify the three ideological factions of its members into a cohesive whole, while, at the same time, allowing each group freedom of expression and activity. In the ideological sphere, this was often a herculean task, but in these areas i.e. social, cultural, and class concerns, the organization was united in carrying out constructive programs of vital interest to the Jewish working class.

The City Committee functioned not only on a local level, but united the organization with its national and international counterparts. Internationally, the Branches participated in sending delegates to the annual AR conventions held in the U.S.* One example of this involvement

*When the 15th convention was held in Chicago in May, 1915, 10,000 marchers turned out to greet the delegates. There were 96 delegates from 44 cities, 2 delegates from Canada. Twenty thousand came out to hear the opening speech by Socialist Congressman, Meyer London (The Israelite Press, May 4, 1915).

can perhaps indicate their devotion to the larger body. At the 1917 convention in New York, each Branch was represented by one delegate, M. Elkin of Branch 169 who at the convention served on the Fraternal Committee, A. Cherniak from Branch 506 on the Educational Committee and F. Simkin of Branch 564 on the Resolutions Committee. Their report, upon return, indicated that the AR had increased its membership to 61,000 even though immigration was almost halted. The financial report was also gratifying with \$120,000 added to the organization's assets of \$2/3 of a million and a reserve fund of half a million dollars (The Israelite Press, May 4, 1917). While the following convention showed similar membership and financial gains, there was growing evidence of an undercurrent of dissatisfaction amongst the Labour Zionists with the "small minded people in the leadership" who had made no mention at the convention "of the real possibility of a national homeland for the Jews, as they were afraid to take sides on this issue" (The Israelite Press, May 16, 1918).

Nationally, the City Committee joined with the Canadian AR to implement policies specific to the Canadian scene. However, at times this was not always possible, as Almazov indicated. (East and West differences re: the Balfour Declaration). As one example of national effort, a special 'Arbeiter Ring Tag Day' was proclaimed across Canada in 1917 to raise funds for European war victims (The Israelite Press, February 9, 1917).

At the local level, the City Committee organized a variety of activities that dealt with the cultural, political, and economic life of the Jewish community. Though primarily aimed at accommodating their own membership, these activities were always designed to attract and influence

the larger Jewish community. Such an activity was the 'Jewish Radical Forum' established by the AR in 1915.* This activity became an important event in the life of the Jewish community. The forum, open to the public, was held every second Sunday at the Jewish Radical School Hall. It provided Winnipeg Jewry with a series of lectures and debates ranging from "social problems in all their manifestations" to theoretical analysis. At its inception, the Jewish press commented on the high quality of the topics:

From these topics, it is noticeable that their appeal is limited. Topics are serious and only those most interested are expected to attend. It is possible that the Forum will become an important institution of learning - a very necessary one if one remembers how superficial the radical movement in America is and how in Canada one follows all that Americans do.** (The Israelite Press, December 2, 1915).

The aim of the Forum was to "spread knowledge among Jewish socialist workers. All radical organizations are asked to popularize it." The first lecture by W. Baum of the Jewish Branch of the SDPC was titled "The Reasons that Brought The International to the Present Situation" (The Israelite Press, September 17, 1915).

United, the AR was able to attract to Winnipeg the finest, richest, cultural elements that North American radical Jewry had developed. They strongly denounced the culture of the bourgeois nationalists as an

*The Forum was first initiated in Winnipeg in 1910 by J. S. Woodsworth as 'The People's Forum'. It was designed to have 'positive educational value' to the immigrant Winnipeg community. The idea spread quickly to other Canadian cities (McNaught, 1958:44).

**Implicitly, one can sense the growing concern for greater Canadian autonomy amongst the Winnipeg Jewish radicals. Why this particular concern at this particular time was not further elaborated on by the press or by the AR. Perhaps this is what is meant when Park stated that the "Jews tend to be more sensitive to the trends in the larger society than others and that as a result they often anticipate the general cultural trends of the future".

"ideological weapon with which to strangle all progressive strivings of the people". Maxim Gorky, the founder of the art of socialist realism, became their mentor. Gorky stated:

The culture of capitalism is nothing but a system of methods aimed at the physical and moral expansion and consolidation of the power of the bourgeoisie over the world, over men, over the treasures of the earth and the powers of nature. The meaning of the process of cultural development was never understood by the bourgeoisie as the need for the development of the whole of the mass of humanity (Guralnick, 1952:6).

The period 1915 - 1920 was a particularly exciting time when Winnipeg Jewry played hosts to such notables as the author Sholem Asch in 1915 and 1918 (The Israelite Press, March 4, 1915; February 1, 1918); Peretz Hirshbein, the dramatist, in 1917, who had to a large extent been responsible for the renaissance of European theatre (The Israelite Press, September 21, 1917); frequent visits with Dr. Chaim Zhitlovsky (The Israelite Press, October 12, 1917); and others. A new culture was being created, a vigorous secular culture, for and by the Jewish immigrant worker, one that mirrored not only his pain and his degradation as he was first introduced into the industrial work place but his hopes for the future. From the North American Jewish community, four proletarian poets became renowned throughout the world, their poems translated into many languages. Primarily, wherever Yiddish was spoken, workers gained inspiration and courage from these militant poets whose first hand sweatshop experiences vividly depicted the life of the Jewish masses. These four were Morris Rosenfeld (1862-1923), David Edelstadt (1866-1892), Joseph Bovshover (1872-1915) and Morris Winchevsky, the grandfather of the Jewish working class (1856-1932) (Schappes, 1958:136-137). Many of their works were put to music and became the basis for the numerous secular, radical choirs that were emerging in North America. Many of these songs and poems were sung

or recited in Winnipeg by Jewish workers, by their children in their homes and in the Jewish radical schools, and on stage, as they are today.

On the economic and political plane, the AR sought to integrate its concerns with those common to the working class of Winnipeg. Some of these activities became highly visible during the second decade of the century. One example, in 1918, can best illustrate this interaction. Numerous factors, including unemployment, inflation, the decline of labour's 'real wages', "the evils of unsanitary factories and the shortage of housing" aggravated further by the influenza epidemic, had brought about not only a deteriorating economic condition but also an explosive political situation (Morton, 1973:360). Numerous strikes were called which reached almost a general strike proportion (Morton, 1973:360). In this precarious situation, the AR called a 'Strike Conference' on May 29, 1918 held at the Liberty Temple. The conference united all the radical organizations as well as those organizations and individuals sympathetic to labour's plight. I. Prasov, the chairman, (Branch 564, the anarchist branch) explained the work of the conference. Rev. William Ivens,* representative of the Central Strike Committee reported on the strike situation. A strike fund was set up by the convention and \$144.22 was initially gathered (The Israelite Press, May 29, 1918). Through their initiative, the radical Jewish elements were slowly beginning to influence Winnipeg Jewry in transcending their ethnic

*Rev. W. Ivens, was a methodist minister who founded the labour church after he broke with the official church on the question of pacifism. He also edited the Strike Bulletin in 1919 and gained a reputation among Winnipeg's working class. In 1920, he was elected to the legislature (Penner, 1973:12).

boundaries and uniting, even though in a limited way, with Winnipeg's working class.

One of the earliest goals of the entire AR membership, particularly of Branch 169, was achieved in 1917 with the opening of its cultural and social centre (Noznitsky, 1947:17). This centre, the Liberty Temple (Freiheit Temple) at Pritchard and Salter, became renowned throughout Canada as the home of Winnipeg's progressive Jewry * (See Appendix C for its location. It was later renamed the Sholem Aleichem Shule). In announcing the opening of this centre by the Committee of the AR Labor Temple, September 19, 1917, The Israelite Press reported that "It was already ten years since the radical colony of Winnipeg had strived to acquire its own home...where all its cultural and spiritual life shall be centred" (The Israelite Press, September 7, 1917). A year later, at its first anniversary celebration, three hundred people packed the Temple to capacity. Frank Simkin of the anarchists was the guest speaker, with additional speeches from I. Prasov, L. Orlikow, D. Goldin and W. Baum. All spoke of the history of the Winnipeg Jewish radical colony (The Israelite Press, September 5, 1918). Along with other labour and ethnic radical centres that were being created at that time, (for example, the Ukrainian

* When the purchase of the Liberty Temple was announced at a meeting on August 13, 1917, the committee called for the support of all Jewish workers "from the country, the town and the farms for the establishment of a Jewish progressive home". \$3,000.00 had already been collected. There was also displayed a picture of the new purchase on the front page of the paper (The Israelite Press, August 19, 1917).

The first executive of the Liberty Temple consisted of L. Orlikow - President; F. Simkin - Vice-President; S. Prosov - Treasurer; M. Posen - Financial Secretary; M. Alcin (Elkin) - Manager; L. Geller - Assistant Manager; and the following Trustees: D. Goldin, M. Cirulnikoff, F. Penner, D. Faiden, M. A. Gray, F. Donner, S. Elkin; H. Berman - Treasurer Entertainment Committee and W. Gorsey - Legal Advisor (Wilder, 1931:32).

Labour Temple), the Liberty Temple became the symbol of radical culture, and radical education in an environment that was often described as 'home' to both students, parents and members alike. In analyzing the achievements and the functions of the Liberty Temple, Joshua Halevi wrote in 1922:

Alone, but strong, stands the Liberty Temple. . .many organizations attempt to ameliorate conditions through charity, pity, and temporary help. . .none of these has the courage to look the truth in the eyes . . .none has undertaken the task of eliminating or helping to better the existing order. Uncompromisingly, the Liberty Temple stands alone in the struggle for a better order. . .it is the home of the AR . . .of other organizations whose aim is to help the freedom movement for a better social order in which all classes will be equal, regardless of nationality or race (The Israelite Press, February 17, 1922 in Herstein, 1964:126).

In conclusion, each Branch of the AR had its own particular niche in the socialist spectrum and each carried on activities mirroring their particular philosophy. United by their strong commitment to socialism and to the development of a Yiddish working class culture, the AR became a vital, social and cultural force in the Jewish community, bringing to it a level of awareness of both class and ethnic consciousness, of dedication and leadership that was unequalled in the general Jewish population (The Israelite Press, December 2, 1915). By its very existence, the AR* was able to legitimize the radical elements within the Jewish community as an acceptable alternative among the many that were being offered to the immigrant Jew. Although this acceptance was always tenuous, Jewish radicalism had become an established fact; at all times, its presence had to be considered.

In this chapter, we noted in passing that Jewish radicals had established parallel educational institutions in Winnipeg. The following section will provide a more detailed analysis of the role of radical education within the Jewish community as that vehicle whereby Jewish working class culture, Jewish survival and the struggle for socialism was to be preserved and transmitted.

* See page 174 . . . /

* Although outside our designated time span, it seems necessary to indicate the major split that occurred within the entire AR community in the 1920's beginning in the U.S. and then in Canada. The Bolshevik revolution, as earlier indicated, evoked ideological differences between the pro and anti-revolution forces. In the latter group, there were the anarchists, the moderates, many who had become by then lower middle class, and those who had fallen prey to the 'Red Scare'. In the ranks of the AR throughout North America as well as in the left wing unions, sharp struggles were waged between the 'rightists and the leftists'. One member recalled "It was civil war in the ranks of Jewish labor, and only the enemy, the organized employers benefitted" (Schappes, 1958:191). Revoking its non-partisan pledge, the more right wing leadership of the AR began a systematic campaign to remove the leftist elements.

In the 1921 convention, the AR refused to support the communist newspapers by a vote of 59 to 56. Although there was unanimity at the following convention on a call to all states to recognize the Soviet Union, there were sharp differences on a proposal to the Soviet Government to "allow full freedom to all socialist parties in Russia" and also "to free the socialist political prisoners". The vote this time was 100 to 49 favoring the resolution. This convention was highly critical of the 'methods' used by the newly organized Jewish leftist paper Freiheit as well as the Jewish section of the Workers Party who had become outspoken critics of the AR leadership. By 1925, the convention decided to take punitive action against the left by dissolving 64 branches, removing leftists from the leadership, etc. This factionalism was accompanied by much abuse and recriminations on both sides (Schappes, 1958:194).

The split, after a protracted battle, became irreversible and gave impetus both in Canada and in the U.S. to the founding of a new left-wing Jewish fraternal organization. The International Workers Order (IWO) was founded at a convention in March, 1930 with delegates from 157 branches of the AR and also of 13 minority groups who had joined. The Jewish section of the IWO was established in 1933, named the Jewish People's Fraternal Order (JPFO) (Schappes, 1958:194). The IWO - the Jewish section - grew from 5000 in 1930 to 51,000 members by 1939. As a multinational organization, the IWO had 15 sections and 161,624 members. In 1940, the JPFO had acquired a membership of 46,000 and 200 branches in 36 states. Both the IWO and the JPFO became targets of the McCarthy era (Schappes, 1958:223,254,279). In Canada, the UJPO also suffered similar repression at this time. Their membership in the Canadian Jewish Congress was rescinded.

In an analysis of the Canadian scene, Philip Halparin, editor of Der Kamf, (the first Jewish radical paper published in Canada in 1924) wrote:

The decision was not lightly taken for we battled a long time to remain within the ranks of the AR. But when the branches in Montreal and Toronto were disbanded for having sided with the progressive elements in the organization - those who sought justice and tolerance in the AR - the die was cast. The important reason why the progressives broke away from the old AR is that the AR broke away from them

(Reprinted in the Canadian Jewish Weekly, April 28, 1966).

In Canada, the organizations that were subsequently developed were not structurally united. Montreal and Winnipeg retained the AR name, but both were autonomous organizations. Toronto organized the 'Labor League'. It was not until 1945 that they were nationally unified into the United Jewish People's Order (UJPO), a fraternal, socialist oriented body that is in existence today although with a weakened influence in Canadian Jewish life. In a limited way, it strives to provide some measure of alternative thought in a community that after the war had developed a middle class, status quo mentality.

B. The Jewish Radical Educational Institutions In Winnipeg.

The development of Jewish radical schools in North America was the most vivid example of "the synthesis between radicalism and Yiddishkeit" (Basman, 1946:5). This synthesis, originating in Eastern Europe, now crossed the Atlantic, began to reflect the North American environment, the plight of the working masses, their fears and frustrations, their exploitation but above all their hopes for a brighter future. These sentiments became deeply imbedded into the newly created Jewish literature and secular culture. This 'cultural renaissance' became a viable option to the tradition-bound religious beliefs and practices of their ancestors, an option that many believed was eminently more suitable to a modern, enlightened world. It was this creative synthesis that became the basis for Jewish radical education in North America. The Jewish radical school became the vehicle whereby this synthesis, Yiddishkeit and radicalism, could be effectively transmitted to future generations.

The foundation of Jewish radical schools in North America required a long process of ideological alignments and re-alignments before definite forms could be distinguished. Generally, three streams have emerged within the larger scope of Jewish radical education. A sketch of these will help to lay the basis for further discussion of Jewish radical education in

Winnipeg. 1) The first stream was under the aegis of the Nationalist Radical Schools which, for a very short time, merged the various ideological factions in the Jewish radical community. Eventually, the Socialist-Zionists - the nationalists - gained hegemony and the schools became expressions of the more moderate spectrum in the Jewish radical community.*

2) The second stream arose as a reaction to the moderate, more nationalistic expressions of the Socialist-Zionists. The AR Shules (schools) expressed the more left wing, internationalist approach within the radical spectrum. 3) The third stream began to take shape after the Russian Revolution when an ideological struggle ensued between the pro - and anti-revolution forces. The pro forces were led by the International Workers Order (IWO) with overt expressions of sympathy toward the Soviet Union. Their schools were guided by the principles of revolutionary class struggle, internationalism and the utmost devotion to the Jewish working class culture (Basman, 1946:5). In Winnipeg the Liberty Temple Shule was the third stream in the development of Jewish radical education. In sum, while Jewish radicals were ideologically divided, their desire for and love of Jewish culture often overcame their differences. As a result Jewish radical education in North America became a fact.

Yet it would be incorrect to imply that the drive towards education was confined solely to Jewish radicals. Traditionally, concern for education amongst the Jews "has been second in importance only to their search for livelihood" (Chiel, 1961:92). Very early, Jews recognized that education was basic to their survival. Due to discrimination, Jews were

*Herstein defined these elements as generally secular, national and right-wing socialist.

rarely allowed to participate in government institutions. Thus, Jews readily accepted responsibility for transmitting their culture. For the East European Jew, still steeped in medieval parochialism, education was confined to biblical learning in the ancient language. Hebrew was transmitted by the melamed, a private tutor, and the cheder, the private school (Herstein, 1964:55).* Both forms were transplanted into the North American environment and served only a limited, wealthier portion of the orthodox community: "It was precisely for the education of the poor that the synagogues in America established the Hebrew Free School - the Talmud Torah - to transmit Jewish learning and teaching" (Herstein, 1964:57). In 1907, after various attempts, the Talmud Torah was established in Winnipeg, backed by the General Zionist community. (See Appendix C for location of the original Talmud Torah).**

The Talmud Torah was not to retain its hegemony for very long. For after 1905, with the arrival of secular and radical Jews, orthodox education could no longer be the sole representative of Jewish education in Winnipeg. In opposition to Hebrew as the language of religion, these elements undertook to promote Yiddish not only as the cultural expression of the Jewish masses but for the first time, Yiddish became the language of instruction. The language of the masses was no longer to be separated from its culture and its education. Yiddish was defended against the attacks by

*The first cheder was established in Winnipeg in 1884 with the arrival of the first wave of Russian immigrants in 1882. The melamed was also an early Jewish institution providing prayer and bible studies in the home. A third form of education in the early pioneering community was a Sabbath School, established by the English speaking Jews of the Beth El Congregation. Bible and Jewish history in English were offered (Chiel, 1961:94).

**The Talmud Torah is presently located at Matheson Avenue and Powers Street in the North End. In 1919, they had 634 students, 101 paid no tuition fees; 4 paid 50 cents; 28 paid 65 cents; and 7 paid 75 cents; the remainder paid from \$1.00 a month to \$4.00 (4 pupils) (Herstein, 1964:74).

the traditionalists, who were the strongest opponents of Yiddish as a language of culture. In a strongly worded editorial, one Yiddishist lashed out at his opponents:

...These are not opponents in principle; these are the ones who would cut off their noses so they would not resemble a Jew. These would extirpate the Yiddish language just because this is the language used by the poorer classes of Jewry; simply out of contempt for the language which these highly placed...have evicted from their salons and homes... these do not yearn for the nebulous future of a Jewish nation when, perhaps, Hebrew will be spoken (The Israelite Press, February 24, 1914; Herstein translation, 1964:101).

Another defender, Mr. Cherniak, concluded a lengthy essay with these observations:

...What remains that will unite us as a nation - we who are despised over the whole world; we who are divided in different groups?...Will our religion, whose influence loses from day to day its minutest meaning, keep us together?...Is it perhaps Hebrew literature from which we have separated so long; the literature which our grandfather regarded with very little love and trust; which our fathers know very slightly and our mothers know not at all?...The Yiddish language and literature with the 'jargon' of nine million Jews in all corners of the earth are our claws and fangs in our desperate struggle against the surrounding waves of assimilation (The Israelite Press, February 13, 1914; Herstein translation, 1964:100).

While Yiddish was the medium of expression, socialist content was to be its heart and soul, the very essence of Jewish education and Jewish culture. This constituted its uniqueness and from this new insight, Jewish history was to be rewritten. There were constant editorials and articles re-affirming their goals and principles as socialists and as Jews. One visitor to the city, Mr. A. Glantz, cogently expressed the views of many Jewish radicals at that time. In an article "The National Radical School", Mr. Glantz seemed to be addressing not only religious opponents but also those 'vulgar assimilationists' within the larger radical community who denounced the parochialism of the Jewish Radical School.

...A truly free man can be only he who is a good, proud, and conscious Jew...Is the German socialist not a German and a proud conscious German? And the French socialist? And the English one?...The National

Radical Schools. . .are not modernized Talmud Torah's, not Jewish chederim. The children are taught not only Jewishness, their human dignity and pride are developed; they are taught to love all mankind, all nations; they are taught to feel with all sufferers and to want to help all the oppressed. Everything that is noble, good, and just is aroused in them--without difference, whether it is Jewish or not . . .these are the free schools with the widest humanitarian content, but the form is Yiddish; worldly content in Yiddish form is our motto (The Israelite Press, February 12, 1914; Herstein translation, 1964: 103).

Jewish radicals were keenly aware of new pedagogical methods that were being introduced into the more progressive areas of education. These methods, based on the needs and welfare of the child, were far removed from the oppressive methods of the melamed or the cheder and they were determined to break not only with the content but also from its form and methods (Basman, 1946:5).

Moreover, the radicals quickly recognized that their new environment demanded new responses and adjustments within the Jewish educational system. At the same time, they were also alert to the possibility that these responses and adjustments might hasten the process of assimilation that was being advanced by both liberals and orthodox Marxists alike. A leading Winnipeg radical educator, L. Basman, pointed out that "'vulgar assimilation', in the name of socialism, (was) especially ripe in America" and that Jewish radicals had to meet this challenge (Basman, 1946:6).

This fear of assimilation was further intensified when the public school became a way of life for the North American child. For the immigrant parent, the public school system evoked mixed feelings, of fear and hope. For the Jews particularly, this was the first time in their history that all levels of education were available to them, and like locusts, they descended upon the schools to such a degree that attendance of Jewish children in the Winnipeg public school system was close to 100% and

illiteracy became virtually non-existent (L. Rosenberg, 1939:263-265). They fully recognized and accepted the fact that English, as the official language of instruction, was the road to social mobility, to success in the new world. However, while the future looked bright, their fear of assimilation became intensified. This fear was not unwarranted, for as Woodsworth and others repeatedly pointed out, the schools had but one concern. The schools were to become the 'greatest assimilator' (Woodsworth, 1909:28). For Sparling, a Winnipeg school principal, assimilation was the only hope of educating and elevating "the incoming multitude or they (would) surely drag us and our children down to their level. We must see to it that the civilization and ideals of Southeastern Europe are not transplanted to and perpetrated on our virgin soil" (Shack, 1973:9). As Morton pointed out, "Manitoba, at the cost of a severe struggle, had established a common or national school system partly in anticipation of the need of unifying a diverse population" (Morton, 1973:311). The great hope then for the dominant, liberal society was the public school system, the agency for assimilating and unifying this diversified immigrant population.*

The fear of assimilating its youth was publicly expressed by Jewish radicals in 1912 and perhaps provided one of the most cogent factors in the establishment of secular, Jewish radical schools not only in Winnipeg but throughout North America. The result was the following resolution:

Recognizing that the Jewish environment in America is leading its youth away from the Jewish language, Jewish literature and Jewish people; recognizing that the Jewish youth has become a stranger to Jewish life; with misunderstandings between parents and children;

*See Sybil Shack's experience both as student and as educator for an account of this assimilatory action in practice. Also W. J. Sisler.

further, recognizing that the existing methods found today in Jewish education are not in agreement with the demands of modern pedagogy and progressive ideas, we have decided to found a school where we can raise the future generations in a progressive Jewish spirit (Belkin, 1956:245).

1) Jewish Radical Schools.

The initial impulse for organizing Jewish radical schools in Winnipeg came in 1911 with the founding of the 'Yiddish Yugend Farein' primarily composed of national elements from the ST and Poale Zion. As noted earlier, this was a literary, cultural club that gained wide popularity in the city even though it had only been in existence for two and one half years (Herstein, 1964:98). Education was their primary function, a policy that was agreed upon at a Labor Zionist's convention in New York in December, 1910 (Schappes, 1958:48), where the goal was to establish Yiddish schools throughout North America. This in time became the National Radical Schools that were "secular, national and socialist in character and ideology" (Herstein, 1964:98). In Winnipeg, the Farein was joined by other radical elements for as Cherniak recalled, "We were Jews and socialists in the widest sense, therefore we had to immediately found a school with a Jewish radical program for the children of the Jewish masses and for our children when they would reach school age" (Cherniak, 1969:82).

However, this radical alliance was not long lasting and many joined the AR Branch 506. As discussed earlier, education became their primary goal and in this pursuit the Branch called a conference to immediately implement their 1912 resolution. All Jewish socialists were invited.* The

* The representation was as follows: From the Socialist National Groups (ST and Poale Zion) many from Branch 506, were: Dr. B. Ginsberg, Mrs. F. Cherniak, Mr. A. Cherniak, T. Geller, Dr. I. Pearlman, I. Goorevitch. The Anarchists sent I. Prosov as delegate while the SDPC Jewish Branch had C. Zoltsman, W. Baum, A. Golomb, Mr. & Mrs. Elkin and B. Taubman. (Belkin, 1956:245).

proposed name of the school, the 'Jewish National Radical School' immediately brought into question this precarious alliance when the Revolutionary Marxists, particularly those within the Jewish Branch of the SDPC who saw themselves as the internationalists and the Labor Zionists as the nationalists, objected to the connotations and chauvinistic tendencies of the name 'national'. A compromise was reached only when the name was changed to the 'Jewish Radical School' (Belkin, 1956:247). This alliance can only be appreciated when it is recognized that Winnipeg had the only Jewish radical school in Canada in which the SDPC was active in its initial formation (Belkin, 1956:246).

The first classes were opened in May, 1914 at the Aberdeen School after permission had been granted by the Winnipeg School Board for the use of two classrooms.* Classes were held Monday to Thursday from 5 to 7 p.m. (The Israelite Press, May 8, 1914). Paying fifty cents a month, seventeen children from eleven 'brave' families enrolled (Herstein, 1964:103). The number increased rapidly to ninety in March, 1915 so that a third classroom was required, and again, in October, a ten-fold increase until they occupied five classrooms. Two teachers were initially hired, I. Hestrin and B. Ginsberg, adding several more with the increase in enrollment (The Israelite Press, March 12, 1915; October 7, 1915). A choir director, B. Cohen, was also hired (Belkin, 1956:247).

The school quickly expanded its range of activities, for by October, 1914, there was a demand from a group of young Jewish workers to establish evening courses. Teachers, who had offered their services on a voluntary basis, provided instruction in Jewish language and Jewish history (The Israelite Press, October 9, 1914).

*M. Abramson, a Jewish School Trustee of Ward 5, presented the request to the Board (The Israelite Press, May 8, 1914).

The reaction of the Orthodox community to this new phenomenon was immediate, as synagogue leaders threatened parents with excommunication if they dared send their children to an 'apostate school', to a 'mission house' (Chiel, 1961:103; Herstein, 1964:102). When the School Board suddenly rescinded permission for the use of the classrooms, B. Sheps expressed the strong suspicions of the founding members that the Orthodox community had somehow used their influence with the Winnipeg School Board, a suspicion that was, however, never substantiated (Belkin, 1956:247).*

Internal tensions continued to plague the school. In 1916, a major rift occurred over the slogan of the school "The Jewish Child For The Jewish Folk". Again, this proved to be too chauvinistic for the SDPC and members of the AR Branch 169. Most of their members resigned from the executive and from the school (Belkin, 1956:249). As Chiel succinctly formulated the problem: "How could a nationalist program be reconciled with the thinking of the internationalist Social democrats or the anti-nationalist philosophy of the Anarchists?" (Chiel, 1961:104). Furthermore, the language problem between the ST and the Poale Zion was another divisive factor as the ST insisted on Yiddish, the Poale Zion on both Hebrew and Yiddish while the 'leftists' insisted on Yiddish only (Chiel, 1961:104).

In 1915, the school was renamed the I. L. Peretz School, the name it retains today, as a tribute to the classical Jewish writer who had died earlier in the year (Herstein, 1964:104). The membership was now predominantly Labour Zionist and, as a concession to its Poale Zion members,

*The Israelite Press, in reporting this occurrence, stated caustically: "It seems that even in free Canada, a Jewish school appears to be something of a stepchild". There was no mention of Shep's accusation but stated there were "various reasons why the School Board was unable to provide classroom space. Although this will be more difficult financially, it will be a freer atmosphere in our new location at McKenzie and Pritchard". In a later report, it was announced that the AR Branches would now be meeting in the new Radical School Hall (The Israelite Press, September 29, 1915; October 7, 1915, October 14, 1915).

Hebrew was introduced into the school's program in 1917. The Peretz School had now been cast into the more nationalist, more moderate mold. Many of their leaders, as Gale remembered, were already involved in small businesses which made it somewhat easier for them to support the school, although they were often plagued by financial difficulties and had to appeal for mass support (Gale, 1970:7).

The school continued to grow not only in numbers but in its innovative programs and teaching techniques in many hitherto unexplored areas. In 1919, an active 'Mutter Farein' was organized and their energies were immediately devoted to establishing a kindergarten. In the first year of their existence, the kindergarten with eleven children and one teacher, became a reality. However, they were not to be content with half measures, for in the following year, the Mutter Farein made history in North America by establishing the first day school. This, they deemed necessary to accommodate the first graduating class for they did "not consider it necessary to divide the child's life between the regular public school and the Yiddish evening school" (Herstein, 1964:108). A class was started, teaching regular Grade I subjects in a day that was divided into one half teaching Yiddish, the other English. This became the format that has been carried forward to the present. By 1942, the Peretz School* offered seven grades in the day school, kindergarten classes and evening classes with post-elementary studies as well.

While there was tremendous growth in school attendance, and while the school's existence had been legitimized in the community, a great many

*In 1922, the I. L. Peretz School bought their own building at 418 Aberdeen Avenue and became an important centre for many national organizations in the city as well as the home of a large Jewish Public Library. The growth of the Peretz School is indicated by the growth of day school classes. In 1920 - 1 class, 3 in 1924, 4 in 1925, 5 in 1929, 7 in 1942 (Herstein, 1964: 109).

parents continued their tradition bound customs by sending their sons for bar-mitzvah and kaddish training* to the Talmud Torah. As a result, the school always had an imbalance of girl students over boys. For many parents, there were no qualms about sending their daughters to the Peretz School while their sons received their religious training at the Talmud Torah (The Israelite Press, June 2, 1916; Herstein, 1964:106; Chiel, 1961:104).** To overcome this handicap, and as a concession to the Poale Zion as indicated above,*** Hebrew was introduced into the curriculum, but was insufficient incentive to convince parents to redress this imbalance. However, for the dedicated, more moderate socialists, the Peretz School remained the avenue for preserving and transmitting Yiddish culture and Yiddish secular values to their children. It was among this group that agitation for a national homeland was kept alive until its fruition. Today, members of the Peretz School are strong supporters of Israel's Labor Zionists.

Finally, from its earliest inception as the Jewish Radical School and later as the I. L. Peretz School, this first stream of radical Jewish education became the political and cultural inheritors of the Socialist-Zionist movement that had been founded earlier in Europe.

*Bar-Mitzvah - a boy's coming of age and assumption of religious responsibility at the age of thirteen. A ritual celebration.
Kaddish - a prayer said by a mourner, especially by a son for his dead parent. The male heir.

**The first indication of this phenomenon was in a report to The Israelite Press in 1916. In four grades with 185 pupils, there were 58 boys and 127 girls (The Israelite Press, June 2, 1916). Later, Herstein estimated that between 1925 and 1944, 70% of the enrolment was girls (Herstein, 1964:106).

***Because of the language question, there was a split within the ranks of the Labor Zionists. Many of the Poale Zion persuasion left the Peretz School in 1930 to found their own "Folks Shule" where they placed greater emphasis upon Hebrew instruction and Zionist content. In 1944, the two schools merged under the name I. L. Peretz Folks School (Chiel, 1961:105).

2) The Arbeiter Ring School.

With their resignation from the Jewish Radical School, the Revolutionary Marxists, or the more leftist elements, those within the AR 169 and the Jewish Branch of the SDPC, began to agitate for a school of their own, based on their ideological approach. Numerous attempts were made. An initial venture was undertaken by the Jewish Social Democrats in 1916 who founded a Folks Shule. Morris Winchevsky, who was in Winnipeg at that time, was the guest at the school's opening (Belkin, 1956:247). This was but a temporary arrangement and little headway was made. Later that year, at a convention of the AR in May, 1916, a decision was made to develop 'Arbeiter Ring Shules' wherever the AR existed to "rival the religious Talmud Torahs and the Labor Zionist schools" (Schappes, 1958: 167).* While the AR had conducted Sunday Schools in English throughout North America since 1900, this was to be their initial attempt at establishing permanent Yiddish educational institutions.

In Winnipeg, this declaration by the parent AR paved the way for the Winnipeg section to found their own school, a process that began under the guidance of Branch 169 (Noznitsky, 1946:17). The possibilities for establishing a school were further enhanced when this Branch bought the Liberty Temple and provided the physical base for its existence. The

'Arbeiter Ring Shule' was opened in 1921,**but from 1917 on, a protracted

* The declaration at this convention stated: "Our children are growing up alien to our language, to the ideals and customs of our people. They look down upon the majority of our people...as an inferior culture. Occasionally their attitude is that of contempt...Our children should be acquainted with the treasures of Jewish culture, old and new...that they may be able to continue to create its culture (Cohen, 1972:164-165).

** The first executive of the AR school consisted of: A. Goluboff, Goldsmith, F. Simkin, D. Matlin, L. Gutkin, G. Dorfman, Marckashnov, Silverstein, Kurke, Yaffe, Goldstein, Bergort, M. Goldin, Mrs. R. Alcin, M. Alcin, Mrs. Goluboff and Mrs. Glow (Wilder, 1931:32).

struggle was carried on within the Liberty Temple Association where an assimilationist element put up a strenuous fight against establishing a parochial, isolated Jewish school. Why, they questioned, was it necessary to establish Jewish socialist schools when the same content could be taught in English? On an experimental basis, Sunday Schools were attempted, with English as the language of instruction and socialism as its content. Within a year, the experiment had failed, and efforts were renewed to honor the AR commitment (Noznitsky, 1946:18). The final establishment of the AR Shule was seen as a victory for the Yiddishists not only in Winnipeg but for the entire Canadian socialist movement, for the victory represented the deeply felt needs of the membership whose language and culture remained profoundly rooted in their identity as Jews (Basman, 1946:5-12). It was this element who provided the school and its pupils with its unique spirit and vitality. As Basman found:

The pioneering spirit of the first school founders, young and spirited with endless energy, quickly infused the first students with fatherly and motherly concern as they attempted to protect them from the surrounding capitalist, poisonous atmosphere; to give them a new, enlightened, socialist content; to enrich their Jewish and general knowledge; to broaden and deepen their world-outlook and intelligence (Basman, 1946:8).

The aims of the school were announced just prior to the school's opening.

In an article in the press by Ben Joseph entitled "To The Opening of The AR School", the aims were:

- To teach the child to read, write, speak Yiddish, and to acquaint him with the best examples of Yiddish literature.
- To make the child aware of the life of the working men and the labouring masses in America and in other countries.
- To familiarize the child with the history of the Jewish people and with the episodes of the struggle for freedom in history generally.
- To develop a feeling for justice, for love for the oppressed, and respect for the fighters of freedom.
- To develop in the child a sense for beauty.
- To inculcate high idealism and the desire for great deeds, which are necessary for every child of the downtrodden class, for a better

social order in the future (The Israelite Press, August 5, 1921; in Herstein, 1964:125-126).

The AR Shule began with eighteen children, September 19, 1921, in one grade. In what was described as 'a phenomenal growth' the school had two hundred and sixty pupils by 1927 in kindergarten, primary and secondary levels of education* (Noznitsky, 1946:18; Herstein, 1964:125-126) with seven teachers and the principal, M. Blostein. Blostein's devotion and warm personality inspired both pupils, teachers and parents as friend, as teacher and as comrade.

The school, an institution "supported by class conscious socialists" (Noznitsky, 1946:18) developed a curriculum that did not "stress Jewish national hopes and traditions as did the Peretz School and the Talmud Torah" (Herstein, 1964:126). Instead, they concentrated on Jewish history, history of the working class, Jewish language and literature, current events and singing (Basman, 1946:5-12).

Not only did the AR school begin to make an impact upon the Winnipeg Jewish community, but as Noznitsky pointed out "the school became recognized and respected as the second best of the AR schools on the North American continent" (Noznitsky, 1946:18). Essentially, its focus was the working class Jew, and the children of the Jewish working class. The activists, Basman noted, were never the "professional Jewish intellectuals . . .with their abstract generalities", but were of the working class.

It was this working class element that developed an array of active

*There were 18 pupils in 1921, 40 in 1922, 140 in June, 1922, and 185 in 1923 (Herstein, 1964:127). The school's phenomenal growth must be seen in its context, for the school grew despite the numerous attacks on it. In his "memoirs", Noznitsky recalled the "bitter and unwarranted attacks on the school in its early years. For a long time, not one Sabbath went by in the synagogues without some kind of agitation against us. Parents were repeatedly warned not to send their children to a 'godless school'" (Noznitsky, 1946:17). See G. Simkin and Basman for numerous versions of the same theme.

organizations around the school, a Mutter Farein with several branches, a library, fraternal organizations and labor unions.

The AR schools throughout North America were not to escape the ideological ferment of that historic period, and though members attempted to shelter the school from these internal bickerings, the deep ideological splits that had developed soon after the Russian Revolution, began to infiltrate the Shule ranks. Fundamentally, the issues stemmed from the Russian Revolution and its interpretations. One group strongly condemned the Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat as a denial of socialism, the other group, staunch supporters of the Bolshevik faction, saw the revolution as a triumph of the Russian people, a necessary first step in bringing to fruition the socialist revolution. Numerous attempts were made to preserve intact the Shule in Winnipeg, i.e. the name was changed in 1930, to the Arbeiter Ring Liberty Temple School to appease the left, but to no avail. By 1932, the split was unavoidable. The leftists, who were the majority, retained and kept control of both the building and the school, changing its name to the Liberty Temple School and again in 1940 to the Sholem Aleichem School. The Arbeiter Ring faction, the more moderate, anti-Soviet faction, attempted to maintain the school in rented quarters, but by 1937, the Arbeiter Ring Shule had lost its thrust. Many of the activists found their way eventually into the ranks of the Peretz School and thus into the more moderate stream in the socialist movement (Basman, 1946:5-12; Herstein, 1946:128-130).

3) The Liberty Temple (The Sholem Aleichem School).

Although outside our designated time span, it seems necessary to discuss briefly the third ideological stream that emerged as part of the

Jewish radical education. The struggle that brought the Liberty Temple, later the Sholem Aleichem School, into existence was, as noted above, but one link in the larger chain. In the U.S., the major break within the AR (See earlier discussion of the split in the ranks of the AR) began to ferment in 1926 when the National Executive of the AR withdrew its support from eighteen of the twenty-four schools in the New York area. This ousted faction immediately formed the 'Non-Partisan Yiddish Workers' Children's School (an ironic choice for a very partisan group), and quickly grew in both enrolment and in the number of schools, surpassing the AR schools (Schappes, 1958:194).

In Winnipeg, the struggle came to a climax at a much later date and therefore became embroiled with other issues of that time. These included the class struggle of the 1930 depression, the rise of fascism and the anti-socialist hysteria of that period. The struggle to maintain the radical leftist position, to maintain its role as the conscience of the Winnipeg Jewish community, to withstand the continuous anti-socialist hysteria, finally broke the AR ranks in the school. Moreover, as Basman noted, by the 1930's "there were some of the original founders of the school who had become successful economically and had begun to move ideologically away from the class character of the school. The process took a long time to develop, and not infrequently, this factor brought into the school numerous quarrels as to content, curricula and activities" (Basman, 1946:5-12).

The final break from the AR and the final victory of the left was, to a large extent, assured by the substantial support of the Jewish section

section of the International Workers Order* (See earlier discussion of AR for details of this organization.) Some of the finest teachers were sent to Winnipeg from New York; "a fact that showed the tremendous respect and concern of the Order to the Winnipeg situation and to the future existence of the school" (Basman, 1946:9).

The Liberty Temple School, as the most left wing of the Jewish radical schools, was ideologically linked to the revolutionary class struggle, linked to support of the Soviet Union, and linked to the Leninist policy (autonomy) on the 'national question' (Basman, 1946:8). The curriculum was devoted primarily to Yiddish language, literature, and history, to the history of the working class and socialist movements, to political economy, to singing and club activities (Basman, 1945:9).

During the 'cold war' period particularly, the school was systematically isolated and secluded from communal financing. The Jewish Welfare Fund, in defence of their policy found that ". . .in the opinion of the Board, the objectives of the school were not in consonance with the basic aims of Jewish education -- Jewish survival"(Herstein, 1964, 132). The question was, as Herstein correctly pointed out ". . .is there room within a democratic community for non-conformist political groups" (Herstein, 1964: 133). We would argue that it was at this point that the democratic character of the Canadian Jewish Congress which had been established so painfully and with such tremendous struggle had now become extinct. Furthermore, this action displayed unequivocally, the growing bourgeois character of the Jewish community and its subservience to the dominant cold war mentality that was prevalent at that time.

*In regards to radical education, the philosophy of the IWO stated that "The past of the Jewish people is intimately bound up with our present interests; the history of the masses is one history. We must acquaint the Jewish child with his people's past, bringing to light every position and significant element in Jewish history, and hand them over to the child as his historical inheritance" (Chiel, 1961:106).

This factor, plus others that need further analysis, (See Herstein for some discussion of this aspect) forced the school to close in 1963, thereby ending a chapter in the history of one of Winnipeg's educational institutions.

Conclusion.

The growth of Jewish radical education in Winnipeg was part of the larger process that was occurring throughout North America. To a very large extent, its development mirrored the ideological divisions within the entire Jewish radical movement, that is, the Socialist-Zionists in the National Radical Schools and later in the I. L. Peretz School; the AR Shules, that reflected the Bundist position and catered to the needs of the Jewish working class in their present environment rather than seeking territorial alternatives; and, finally, the more doctrinal, ideologically committed Revolutionary Marxists in the Liberty Temple School.

As part of the Winnipeg Jewish community, these radical schools provided the early Jewish community with alternate forms of expression and social thought. Fundamentally and irrevocably, they altered the traditional educational patterns of the Old Country and brought Jewish education into the modern era. The schools became not only a link to the Jewish radical movement throughout the world, but also to the larger radical movement, as well. Even though they were largely concerned with the Jewish scene, both historical and contemporary, the Jewish child was instilled with an awareness of his fellow man and of the environment that they equally shared. Finally, the schools provided for the Jewish socialist movement some form of balance in contrast to the assimilatory trends that were expressed in the larger community. In essence, the founders of the Jewish radical schools,

in whatever stream they were to be found, were convinced that both their 'Yiddishkeit' and their socialist ideals could continue to exist and to survive in the Winnipeg scene.

The above evidence, we would submit, offers evidence to support our thesis that ethnicity links social class and class consciousness. For these schools were a visible objective manifestation of the importance of the ethnic factor within the Jewish radical community in Winnipeg.

The following section will explore in greater detail another physical manifestation of the importance of ethnicity as a linkage between social class and class consciousness, namely the involvement of the Jewish radical community in the political sphere. This was manifested primarily within the SDPC. My purpose for this analysis is not to provide a detailed historical account of the SDPC in Winnipeg (See Chisick for a detailed discussion of this aspect) but rather to highlight the active involvement of the Jewish radical community in the formation of a political ideology that is both Marxist and Jewish.

C. Political Involvement Among the Jewish Radical Community.

In the political arena, Jewish radicals attempted to broaden the narrow parochialism of the early Jewish immigrant community onto the level of class orientation, for they recognized, as Marx had taught them, that political struggle was but another manifestation of the class struggle. It was during the first two decades of this century that this process of accommodation between ethnicity and class was undertaken. On a larger scale, Jewish radicals were involved with the larger radical community in the struggle to integrate radical ideologies into the mainstream of

Canadian political thought. Through the political institutions that they built at this time, radicals sought to legitimize and institutionalize a radical party structure as alternative to the existing dominant, liberal political structures.

This integration, in this early formative period, was not an easy process, for as we have seen neither the Jewish radical movement nor the larger movement was ever of a monolithic character. It exhibited numerous tensions as political parties, labour unions and ethnic immigrant communities fought for hegemony, entered into alliances and re-alliances until some form of stability and political pattern was formulated. In the main, these ideological struggles centred on reformism and revolutionary Marxism. While both saw the necessity to change society, they could not agree upon the means whereby this could be achieved. Often, the distinctions were obscure and never clearly formulated. Often, there was overlapping as one could advocate reform and revolution at the same time. This was not uncommon among some of the Jewish radicals. While they generally accepted the need for parliamentary action and reformism, others were never to abandon the long term goal of destroying capitalism by revolutionary means.

However, the groundwork for Jewish involvement in the Canadian political scene had begun much earlier with the first arrival of Jews into Canada. Jewish political emancipation in Canada dates back to 1832 (Rhinewine, 1932:11) (See Appendix J - the Bill of Rights for Jewish emancipation in Canada). From then on, Jewish participation in Canadian politics, though sporadic, laid the basis for Jewish political integration and for the community's strong faith in the parliamentary system (The Israelite Press, June 11, 1914). Reasons for this faith and integration, Schappes argued, lay in the fact that "While about one-third of all European immigrants arriving

between 1880 and the first World War went back home, and in some groups the percentage was as high as two-thirds, amongst the Jews the disappointed road back was less than one-third" (Schappes, 1958:122). Most of the East European Jews came as political emigres or as draft dodgers. For them there was no turning back. Conditions in the new country had to be made amenable, hopefully through legislation.

With a long history of tyranny, East European Jews came to Canada with a great deal of expectation but with little experience in a democratic parliamentary system. Their first experiences were fraught with endless frustrations as they encountered numerous unforeseen obstacles, party bosses, corruption, property qualifications, broken election promises, and anti-semitism (Sack, 1945:213). (See Appendix A for continuing anti-semitism in Canada today). Many became cynical and indifferent but for others, achieving the potential of the system became a challenge.

Very early, Jewish political support was divided between the Conservatives and the Liberals. Both parties vigorously wooed the Jewish voter, particularly in Ward 5 where the Jewish vote was decisive* (Wilder,

*The Ward system in Winnipeg underwent numerous changes. In 1874, Winnipeg was divided into 4 wards. This was extended to 6 in 1882, and to 7 wards in 1906 until 1920 when, for political reasons, it was changed to a 3 ward system. During the first two decades, the wards had taken on political, social and economic characters. Ward 2 and 4 were the central core of commercial enterprise. There was also a mixed class and ethnic population housed here. The North End comprised Wards 5, 6 and 7 where Winnipeg's heavy industries were to be found and the 'foreign' element within the lower classes. Wards 1 and 3 were the 'South End' of the city, where the Anglo-Saxon middle and upper classes resided. Little industry or commercial establishments were to be found here (Artibise, Winnipeg in Maps, 1975:51). L. Rosenberg, the official statistician for Jewish population studies, had found that Winnipeg's Jewish population prior to 1891, was centred on Henry Avenue, the area immediately south of the CPR tracks. By 1901, they had shifted northward to Jarvis Avenue, but there were 'few, if any' to be found north of Burrows Avenue (Burrows Avenue was the northern extension of Ward 5, this then was the area of Jewish concentration during the first two decades after their arrival in Winnipeg. Ward 6 extended north of Burrows Avenue to the city limits (Artibise, Winnipeg in Maps, 1975:51). By 1921, the centre of Jewish population had begun to move northward again, to Selkirk Avenue, and in 1941, Jews were located on Aberdeen, the area which was earlier designated as Ward 6 (L. Rosenberg, 1946:23).

1932:30). As a means of integrating the Jews into the political system, an 'Independent Political Club' was organized in 1896 where both viewpoints were allowed expression. However, this mis-alliance was short lived and a 'Jewish Conservative Club' and a 'Jewish Liberal Club' emerged (Chiel, 1961:171). The basis for Jewish political participation in both parties had been established when Moses Finkelstein of the Conservative Party was elected in Ward 5 as the first Jewish alderman in 1905* and S. Hart Green, a Canadian born Jew, also representing Ward 5 was elected to the Prowincial legislature as a liberal in 1910. Green was the first Jewish MP in Canada (Wilder, 1932:30).** By 1915, however, there was a growing recognition in the community as expressed in The Israelite Press, that, indeed, there was little difference between the parties (The Israelite Press, August 19, 1915).

Jews engaged in numerous discussions about the necessity or desirability for a 'single block of ethnic votes'. Although there was a growing awareness of class alignments, (Chiel, 1961:172) the position of the vast Jewish majority was emphatically stated in The Israelite Press in 1914 when the editor argued:

It would be best if there was no 'Jewish vote' but this could only be realized when Jews no longer had to contend with anti-semitism, and only when there was no longer a Protestant or Catholic vote. We don't want to separate ourselves from others, but this is only possible when we gain full recognition like others (The Israelite Press, February 18, 1914).

By 1917, attitudes were slowly beginning to change when readers

*The first attempt to elect a Jewish alderman was made in 1895 by Louis Wertheim, a businessman. He ran in Ward 5 but was defeated (Chiel, 1961: 170). See Appendix H for a list of Jewish elected representatives and Appendix L for Provincial election results in Ward 5.

**Wilder points out that Green's appeal to the Liberal Party was precisely because he was Canadian born and was chosen over other Jewish immigrants with similar qualification (Wilder, 1932:30). Green became an outspoken critic of the Roblin administration.

were advised to reject their ethnic or religious preferences; instead, Jews would be well advised to consider their class interests (The Israelite Press, November 23, 1917).

To a large extent, it was the entrance of the radicals into the political arena that began to change - but never to entirely eradicate - the voting behaviour of the Jewish community from an ethnic alignment into a more class oriented, ideological position. With a growing working class, ethnic voting was often found to be inadequate to deal with the demands of an industrial, capitalist society. Increasingly, workers - Jew and non-Jew - looked to their legislative bodies to acquire the equality of condition and opportunity that the democratic society promised. This realization was particularly stark in Winnipeg's North End.

Earlier in this thesis, we noted the deplorable living conditions found North of the CPR tracks. It was against this background that a growing number of both class and ethnic conscious Jews and non-Jews agitated for radical political action. In this pursuit, familiar models and familiar ideologies were called upon. Although there was a proliferation of socialist and labour parties during the 1905 - 1918 period, radical Jews were primarily involved in the Socialist Party of Canada (SPC) from 1905 to 1910, and from 1910 to 1921 in the Social Democratic Party of Canada (SDPC). Although their greatest involvement and impact upon the Jewish community was as members of the SDPC, a brief discussion of the earlier party is necessary, as the SDPC was a result and the direct outgrowth of the SPC.

The SPC was founded as a national party in 1904, after the party had established a significant following in B.C., particularly in the outlying, isolated coal mining areas where radical solutions had proved both necessary

and acceptable. The socialism that they propounded was doctrinaire Marxism known as 'impossibilism'. "Impossibilism" denied the utility of trade unionism, rejected reforms as impossible, calling only for the destruction of the wage system and the eradication of capitalism. They relied exclusively on propaganda and political action (McCormack, 1977:87). Even in this area, there was ambivalence as to the utility of political action, as party leaders often preferred education and propaganda. In Winnipeg, as elsewhere in Canada, the party became isolated from the working class and trade union movements which were involved in immediate problems and solutions. However, 'impossibilism' was only one point of contention within the party.

Predominantly, the SPC was founded and controlled by British immigrants and, as East European radicals began to make their way into the SPC after 1905, there was little attempt at ethnic integration. This was especially true in Winnipeg's North End where the party had a dedicated immigrant membership consisting of Germans, Ukrainians, Jews and Finns. In fact, it was these elements that organized the SPC in Winnipeg in 1906 under the strong leadership of J. Penner, H. Saltzman, W. H. Hoop and W. S. Cummings. (See McKillop for a discussion of Jake Penner's involvement in Winnipeg's radical community.) It is estimated that there were 44 members at the first meeting (McKillop, 1970:106).* It was in Winnipeg that party hegemony between the English and the Europeans hung in the balance. Although separate language groups had been established, the demand by Western Ukrainians for a federation with "complete autonomy in matters of organization, propaganda and publications", and the right to associate with other socialist

*It is interesting to note the platform and constitution of the earlier Socialist Party of Manitoba organized in 1902. (See Appendix I for its platform in comparison to the doctrinaire SPC.)

parties throughout the world was categorically refused by the Dominion Executive of the party. This superior attitude of the SPC to their ethnic affiliates was one of the immediate grievances that led to the final split in 1910.

Further, there was a growing dissatisfaction with and rejection of the rigidity of the SPC's doctrine of impossibilism. The party's refusal to include 'immediate demands' in its platform on the grounds that this constituted a form of revisionism and an obstacle to the achievement of their socialist society, was in direct contrast to the pragmatic, activist experiences of European radicals. What had often seemed impossible for the English dominated SPC's, became very possible for the Europeans. Thereafter, this group was labelled as the 'possibilists'. One Jewish activist voiced his frustrations and inactivity in an article entitled "Immediate Demands" in The Voice. H. Saltzman voiced his strong disapproval over "the rhetoric of the SPC. . .only talk and no action. . .We can't bring about the revolution with only talk. We have to see to the needs of the people and bring about reforms". For Saltzman, the 'impossibilist' position was held "only among the English comrades", while the "foreign born were more interested in reform work, in progress, in democracy, in immediate demands which will palliate existing conditions" (The Voice, July 29, 1910).

Another point of contention centred on the admission and the role of intellectuals and the middle class into the party. While the party maintained an exclusive, working class membership (membership was granted only upon passing an oral examination), there was a deep-seated distrust against infiltration and eventual control by middle class intellectuals. By 1910, strong positions were held on this issue as indicated in The Voice in

an article "Who Are The Intellectuals?". This article favored their admission for; "if these people throw their forces on the side of the rising proletariat, socialism, for them (can become) a worthy ideal" (The Voice, April 8, 1910).

The fourth major dispute arose over the SPC's refusal to join The International. This seemed a particular vexing problem to the Winnipeg Jewish local. In an article in The Voice, this local accused the party of "slighting the International Bureau". When the Jewish local was unable to sway the Dominion Executive to reconsider its decision, they demanded, in a resolution, that the decision be submitted to membership vote. This was signed by the Resolutions Committee of the Jewish Branch of SPC of Winnipeg, H. Saltzman, and W. Weisman, secretary and treasurer. The demand was not acted upon by the national body (The Voice, August 20, 1909).

By 1910, the SPC's dogmatic, doctrinaire policies had little relevance for those far removed from the rugged conditions of B.C. As McCormack pointed out, the "party's strict internal discipline and ethnocentricity were incompatible with the Eastern European immigrants' cultural baggage" (McCormack, 1977:75). The split, that was greatly influenced by the European Socialist movement, brought another European institution onto the Canadian scene. The Social Democratic Party of Canada was born in 1910, largely an inheritor of the Social Democratic Parties of

Europe.*

Winnipeg's North End locals played a decisive role in withdrawing from the SPC. At a meeting held in the Manitoba Hall in the North End, the Jewish, Lithuanian, Ruthenian and German locals strongly condemned the actions of party members in Winnipeg Centre for having entered a 'spoiler' candidate, W. S. Cummings, in the 1910 Provincial elections, thereby defeating, by a narrow margin, the liberal endorsed labor candidate, Fred Dixon. (See Appendix L for the electoral results of the 1910 Provincial election.) Members complained that "The English local in the city which is less in number than the others, adheres strictly to the narrowest wing of the party and constituted itself the guide and announcer of local policy." It was resolved, therefore, that:

...the members of the north Winnipeg locals of the Socialist Party of Canada do sever their connection with the party, and form a new party to be known as the Social Democratic Party of Canada, based on a constructive practical policy and democratic management of the affairs of the party (The Voice, July 29, 1910; August 12, 1910).

Penner's early recollections of the split from the SPC is significant in understanding the ethnic immigrant composition of the SDPC:

* It must be pointed out that European Social Democracy had gradually developed internal structural changes that reflected to a large extent the socio-cultural development of Eastern and Western Europe. After the turn of the century, the European SDP had developed into two distinct streams of thought. The Russian SDP, as we have earlier pointed out, followed an orthodox, classical Marxist form of socialism. The Western version reflected more moderate tendencies of the French Enlightenment. This was heightened with the influence of Eduard Bernstein of Germany and Jean Jaures of France. The 'revisionists' argued for a more gradualist, reformist approach and for political democracy rather than the classical Marxist emphasis on political revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Westerners were willing to work with all elements in society as long as they were willing to fight for pacifism, parliamentary democracy, economic and industrial reform. Many Jews in Western Europe found this a more palliative form of socialism and became committed 'social democrats' particularly with the SDP's strong opposition to European anti-semitism. Thus, Jews were to be found in the more moderate form of socialism as well as in the revolutionary stream (Watkins, 1964:79-80; Sachar, 1958:285-286).

Membership of the Socialist Party at the beginning was composed mainly of native Canadians. Then later on as immigration became quite pronounced from 1908 to 1914 plenty of Socialists from European countries came. They particularly found that there was such a difference from their methods at home that I myself became quite convinced that the line of the S.P. was wrong and I became a leader of that wing that demanded political activity. I soon had the members who were immigrants; among whom were John Queen, A. A. Heaps, Robert Rigg, all from England. Soon we were the majority. The fights became so hot that we decided it was no use to transform the party but to step out and organize a new one. We stepped out and this left the Socialist Party Local in Winnipeg in a very weak condition. In 1908 we formed the Social Democratic Party of Canada. It was the first local established in Canada ...The composition of the Social Democratic Party locals was a great deal more European than that of the Socialist Party of Canada. We had a large membership in the Ukrainian field so we formed language locals. We had English, Russian, Jewish, Ukrainian locals and it was quite a movement. I was secretary of the English local. This local had in it Tipping, Queen, Beeching, Morton, Robertson, MacGregor, Heaps, Riggs, and others. The Ukrainians had a membership of some sixty or seventy. The Jewish branch had about thirty or forty. The English branch was the smallest (Penner, 1974:376-377).

Founded by Jake Penner, Herman (Chaim) Saltzman, Saul Simkin, Mathew Popovitch, Fred Tipping, John Navizowsky and others, the SDPC was based on the philosophy of Marxism (McKillop, 1970:108; McCormack, 1977:92). And in that spirit, the SDPC immediately joined the Socialist International (Belkin, 1956:5). The party's ten-point program, drafted by Rigg, Penner and Saltzman, was a blend of the 'revolutionary and the pragmatic' and ranged from advocating an eight-hour day to the abolition of the senate. Designed primarily to educate the proletariat, they were equally committed to reform, "determined to wrest from the ruling class every concession for the improvement of the life of the workers within the present system" (McCormack, 1977:92). Although they recognized and conceded that reforms had inherent limitations, they nevertheless attempted to minimize the worst effects of the system. Their attitude to trade unionism was positive, pledging their support and full cooperation, seeing the trade unions as the potential for the radicalization of the working class. As a result, several of

the SDPC's activists were elected to union positions (including Rigg, Heaps, Tipping).*

By 1913, the SDPC had become the largest socialist party in Canada with over 3,500 members in 133 locals (Avakumovic, 1975:2). By the end of 1915, it had grown to 5,300 members largely composed of East European elements (Belkin, 1956:5). Its largest constituency, almost 20%, was found in Winnipeg, predominantly in Winnipeg's North End, where the radical ethnic communities were concentrated (McCormack, 1977:93). Generally, the ethnic divisions remained in the party with the Anglo-Saxons dominating the executive positions, while the Europeans, with greater language difficulties, providing the rank and file (Avakumovic, 1975:4; McCormack, 1977:94). With Anglo-Saxons as spokesmen for the party, its image was more respectable.

The Jewish Branch of the Social Democratic Party of Canada.

While the overwhelming majority of the Social Democratic Party of Canada was composed of an ethnic mix of Ukrainians, Jews, Ruthenians, Germans and Finns, the Party was also able to attract many of the more moderate British socialists who had become disenchanted with the SPC. From its beginnings in 1910 to the Russian Revolution in 1917, the SDPC had gathered together various shadings within the socialist ranks that were more in agreement on immediate goals than upon their understanding of socialism and of Marxism. This was most apparent in the Winnipeg ranks where there was to be found orthodox Marxists such as Jake Penner and John Queen, the standard

*As a result of this close alliance, the SDPC was asked to affiliate with the Trades Council in 1914 (McCormack, 1977:94).

bearer of British socialism* (McKillop, 1970:110). From the outset then, the SDPC had a more inclusive membership that incorporated a more diverse segment of socialist thought than the SPC.

To accommodate the strong ethnic faction, the SDPC was organized as a federation in which the various ethnic groups retained sovereign power (Buck, 1970:9). Fred Tipping's observation that the SDPC was 'really a reaction from life in Europe' (McCormack, 1977:93), was clearly reflected in the SDPC's establishment of a federated party structure. This struggle, initiated earlier by the Bund in 1901, along with the question of cultural autonomy, remained the two major points of contention between the Bund and the European Social Democratic Parties,** and was transported as part of the cultural heritage of the European socialists. This demand for a federated party structure effectively illustrated the tremendous desire to main-

*John Queen, a Scot, a member of the SDPC, was the co-founder of the Winnipeg Socialist Sunday School. He was elected a member of the Manitoba Legislature in 1920 and as Mayor of Winnipeg seven times during the depression, Winnipeg's first labor mayor (Penner, 1973:9). He was employed by the North-West Laundry delivering laundry by horse and wagon.

Mr. Gale recalled an interesting anecdote concerning John Queen and the Jewish voters:

In those days, the SD Party wanted to nominate an English worker in the ward where the residents were all workers, including Jews, Ukrainians, Poles and some English. This was the North End Ward, formerly represented by Alter Skaletar who came from the Jewish middle class. John Queen was the choice of the SD, and being nominated he was called upon to give his first political talk at the election headquarters in Segal's Bakery Building on Selkirk (Ave.). He came up to the table to speak in a crowded hall and there were no 'mikes' in those days. John Queen, the tall, thin Scotsman, in overalls, with a red face, opened his mouth and stood there unable to utter a word. This was the start of his political career (Gale, 1970:11).

McKillop claimed that Queen became a member of the Jewish Branch of the SDPC (McKillop, 1970:108). However, we were unable to verify this from the Yiddish sources.

**The struggle for a federated party system was also evident in the U.S. spearheaded by the Bundist, political exiles from the 1905 Revolution. In 1910, the year that the SDPC was formed, the American Socialist Party as well as the Socialist Labor Party accepted affiliation of ethnic language federations. In 1912, the Jewish Socialist Federation was formed in the U. S. (Schappes, 1958:158).

tain and to foster the 'historical identification' of Winnipeg's ethnic radical communities.

In Winnipeg, the SDPC had a membership of 200 at its formation in 1910* (McCormack, 1977:92; Gale, 1970:6). The Jewish branch which organized soon after included a small number of thirty to forty dedicated members trained in the Eastern European Marxist tradition. Even though few in number, Belkin described the group as "one of the strongest branches of the Social Democratic organization" (Belkin, 1956:5). Gale, a member, recalled that the Branch was not only the most popular group of young people, but had gained an extensive influence in the political life of the Jewish community (The Israelite Press, September 15, 1915: Gale, 1970:6).

The Jewish Branch, at its inception, met at the Fisher Hall on Main Street near Selkirk Avenue. Very quickly, Gale recalled, the party outgrew these quarters and the Jewish section moved to Magnus Avenue at Main Street. After the Liberty Temple was bought in 1917, the branch made it their permanent headquarters. At the Magnus location, the branch established a Jewish library, formed study groups, held series of lectures covering a wide range of topics, and avidly entered into the political arena at all levels (Gale, 1970:6: also The Israelite Press). These programs were primarily designed to influence, educate and activate the Jewish worker. These tasks were made explicit. Jewish party members were "to organize, to do propaganda work and to spread literature among the Jewish masses" (Belkin, 1956:5). Many of their efforts proved rewarding as indicated in a report to The Israelite Press in 1915. Here, the branch reported that all their lectures, fifteen in the past year, had been well received with an average attendance of 400 at each meeting. They were especially proud, *Gale claimed that 200 members "was a very large number in those days and perhaps even for today" (Gale, 1970:6). The only other Jewish branch of the SDPC was in Toronto (Belkin, 1956:5).

they reported, of their influence upon Jewish youth as they had been instrumental in organizing the "Young Socialist Organization" (The Israelite Press, September 15, 1915).

After 1913, the branch reached new heights with the acquisition of two highly capable, vigorous organizers who forged the branch into a beehive of activity. The first was S. Almazov,* who arrived with his family from Russia in 1913. Almazov's passion for social justice, love of Yiddish culture and thirst for knowledge quickly led him to formal education at the University of Manitoba. His organizational skills and his fiery oratory earned him respect among all elements within the Jewish community. His activities in the Jewish radical field were extensive in the AR, in the Shules, as well as in the Party (Gale, 1970:5; The Israelite Press, June 28, 1919). The second was W. Baum who arrived from New York in 1913. He was a professional organizer who had acquired his revolutionary training in the Old Country (Gale, 1970:6).**

The Jewish Branch of the SDPC campaigned vigorously at all levels of political activity. They eagerly accepted the challenge and the promise of the political arena as essential to their ultimate goal. This goal, as Chisick pointed out, "was the abolition of the capitalist system by working within the legal institutions of the land" (Chisick, 1972:9). For them

*Lipton mistook Almazov as the victim of the Winnipeg General Strike. Almazov was one of five foreigners arrested at that time. He was later allowed to leave for the U.S. where he now resides (Almazov Interview).

**There is some indication, supplied by Gale, that Baum was influential in early attempts at organizing trade union activities among Jewish workers. This research area has been badly neglected particularly in the 1920's when the garment industry became important to Winnipeg's economy. It was in this area that Jews were highly concentrated and Jewish radicals played an influential role in trade union activities. (See Gershman's reminiscences in the 1920's). Baum left in 1919 for reasons unrelated to the strike (The Israelite Press, September 19, 1919).

the class struggle was above all a political struggle, a struggle to politicize and to propagandize the working class through the ballot box and through the concessions that could be achieved. Numerous campaigns and elections were contested, at the municipal, provincial and at the federal level. Since their main constituency was in Winnipeg's North End, and since the Jews were heavily concentrated in Ward 5, this ward became the major focus of their struggles. The Jewish branch was, therefore, placed in a strategic position with the fundamental, often formidable task of re-aligning the voting patterns of the Jewish masses from an ethnic to a class orientation. The process was slow and often painful. In one year, the Jewish Press displayed ambivalent tendencies towards the ethnic versus class debate. In 1914,* an editor cautioned that there were some Jews that were not a credit to the Jewish people when placed as candidate for political office; "It is better to vote for non-Jews than for a Jew who will shame the Jewish community" (The Israelite Press, December 23, 1914). In the same year, the Jewish community in Ward 5 was unhappy about the re-nomination of Alderman Skaletar, a Jewish conservative alderman who had been first elected in 1912. The dissatisfaction lay in the undemocratic methods employed in "setting up Skaletar to get in by acclamation". While a number argued for withdrawing their support, a greater number argued that

*At that time, the press urged Jewish voters to rise above partisan politics and to elect Skaletar for "The North End has been too long neglected by our civic fathers. Sanitary conditions are appalling; street conditions are horrible. There is a need for a forthright spokesman on our behalf" (The Israelite Press, December 5, 1912). Indeed, Alderman Skaletar did make strong demands in City Council on behalf of the working class during his early years in office. Some of the measures that he sponsored were the establishment of a free employment bureau, free ice for the poor in the summer and a free day for the city police force besides agitating against rising bread prices. By 1916, there was growing dissatisfaction with Skaletar, with numerous accusations among his constituents that he was exhibiting middle class tendencies (The Israelite Press, November 16, 1916).

"even though he wasn't the most suitable person it would be a scandal for the Jews not to elect him" (The Israelite Press, September 10, 1914).

Skaletar was re-elected with a 400 majority vote; this was a victory, as the press explained, for "Skaletar had defeated three anti-semitists" (The Israelite Press, December 11, 1914).

The efforts of Jewish Social Democrats to educate class conscious Jewish workers began in Ward 5 with the nomination of H. (Chaim) Saltzman in 1911 as school trustee. Saltzman has been described "as fluent with the pen as he was with the tongue" (Wilder, 1932:31). His platform for the school system contained seven major proposals which were indicative of both class and ethnic concerns:

- 1) That three hours of school time per week be devoted by students to the study of their native language.
- 2) Free medical attention.
- 3) Free textbooks and scribblers for children.
- 4) That evening classes be conducted at high schools and technical schools for the poor children who must work during the day.
- 5) That public schools be available for concerts, lectures, and public gatherings for the community every evening.
- 6) That teachers be paid adequate salaries and that they be encouraged to carry forward their own studies during the summer holidays.
- 7) That no religious instruction whatsoever be permitted in the schools.

(The Israelite Press, December 1, 1911; Chiel, 1961:177).

Saltzman's* defeat was partially attributed to opposition by the religious community who had opposed a "free thinking" candidate despite his broad platform. Ironically, opposition also arose within the Jewish socialist ranks, for there were those who deplored Saltzman's tactics of campaigning in the synagogues. Despite these handicaps, Saltzman placed second, "running

*There is some discrepancy about Saltzman's first name. Because his Jewish name was Chaim, some have translated this to Charles (Chiel) and others to Herman.

against two English speaking men of the establishment, McMum and Blake" (Chisick, 1972:86).

Saltzman's next venture was undertaken in the 1914 Provincial elections when incumbent S. Hart Green, a liberal, announced his resignation. This allowed a whole spate of Jewish candidates of all parties to contest this choice riding. With their earlier taste of victory, Jews were determined to maintain the precedent set by Green. In their zeal, four Jews were nominated; Max J. Finkelstein, a Liberal; Ald. Skaletar, a Conservative; Marcus Hyman, an Independent, and H. Saltzman, SDPC. Displaying strong opposition to Roblin's government, Jews were strongly advocating the election of Finkelstein since, in their more liberal immigration policies, "liberals were the friends of the Jews". However, Finkelstein's forced withdrawal due to illness, and his replacement by a candidate who was accused by the Jewish press of 'expressing Jewish jokes', virtually eliminated the possibility of maintaining the seat for the liberals. Moreover, the Jewish vote had split to such a degree that a non-Jewish conservative was easily elected. Although Saltzman's supporters, organized under the name of 'National Workers Organization', (to be discussed below) carried on a spirited campaign, the radical elements were unable to overcome the disorganization in the Jewish community. Neither class nor an ethnic vote was expressed at this time (The Israelite Press, June 23, June 26, July 6, 1914). Nevertheless, socialists were generally encouraged with the increase in their popular support, which, in 1910 had been 1.65% and in 1914 rose to 5.7%, confined generally to the North End (The Israelite Press, July 16, 1914).*

*Chisick argued that Saltzman's strong affiliation with the Jewish community and his stance as a representative of the Jewish Branch of the SDPC was harmful to the outcome of the election: "The lesson to be derived was that a minority party of the left could ill afford to betray any divisive tendencies at a time when its political credibility was still a question. The next year would prove that the experiences of 1913 and 1914 were not lost on the Social Democratic Party" (Chisick, 1972:114).

(See Appendix L for results of 1914 Provincial election in the North End.)

It was not until a year later that a class victory at the provincial level was scored in Ward 5 and thereafter changed the voting patterns of that community. The preparation for this victory had been laid two years earlier in 1913 with the municipal election and the victory of Richard Rigg, a British SDPC member, for alderman in Ward 5.* This initial victory for the North End working class established a socialist, political tradition that has continued with the subsequent elections of Jake Penner, M. Forkin, J. Zuken, a tradition that continues to be recognized as unique in North America. Rigg's aldermanic victory was enthusiastically received by some sectors of the Jewish community for the press expressed the opinion that the victory must be seen as a 'victory for the Jewish proletariat' (The Israelite Press, October 21, 1914). Rigg conducted a spirited aldermanic performance on behalf of North End's working class; he campaigned against voting disqualifications,** he sought jobs for the unemployed, and he opposed corruption at all government levels. His activities kept him in the political limelight of the North End electorate, preparing his way for the Provincial election in 1915 (The Israelite Press, June 12, 1915).

The 1915 election was necessitated by the resignation of Roblin on charges of fraud and corruption. Liberals gained a landslide majority with 42 members, only 5 conservatives and 2 socialists, F. J. Dixon***

*Rigg was replaced by John Queen as alderman of Ward 5 (also a Social Democrat). Queen won the election with 447 votes, 55 more than his opposition (The Israelite Press, December 20, 1915).

**The SDPC was constantly hampered because of property qualification restrictions. In 1915, one SDPC candidate had to withdraw his nomination because of this factor (The Israelite Press, December 8, 1915).

***F. J. Dixon was the labour candidate in Winnipeg's Centre. He had been elected the previous year with the support of the liberals and was therefore mistrusted by many more orthodox socialists, especially the SLP.

and R. A. Rigg. This election ushered in the reform era in Manitoba (Orlikow, 1955:IX,210).

Although Rigg's election signified that ethnic barriers had been broken, it was not without strong opposition from two major Jewish contenders. It was perhaps this reason, Peterson believes, that the Jewish vote was split between Green and Elias Levinson (a prominent conservative lawyer from Australia) and Rigg's election occurred (Peterson, 1972:78; The Israelite Press, August 20, 1915). This was the conclusion of one editorial in The Israelite Press which bitterly complained that "Jews were divided amongst themselves". On the other hand, Rigg had been strongly supported by the Labour Representation Committee which gave him a wide base of support among the North End's ethnic working class (McCormack, 1977:94).

In a victory address organized by the Jewish branch, Rigg spoke to a Jewish audience:

The voice of the working class will be heard in the legislature. Not only are we in North Winnipeg victorious, but all of Manitoba and all of Canada look to the workers of North Winnipeg as those who have elected the first Social Democratic representative. For you - the Jews of North Winnipeg - this victory is of great importance. It is in the interests of the working class that all exploited nationalities shall have religious, national and political equality.

The situation of Jews in Russia is particularly difficult. The iron hand of Czarism inflicts the Russian Jew with a special strength. It is the duty of every rational person to fight against the bloody hand of the Czar. The National Workers Committee that you have founded for this purpose (to force the Czar for national rights) is an excellent method. You must send demands on the Jewish situation to all workers' organizations and unions at the Peace Conference, where the fate of all nationals will be decided (The Israelite Press, August 16, 1915).

Rigg received thunderous applause, as he gave public recognition to the two dominant themes among Jewish radicals, socialist idealism and Jewish survival. However, this enchantment had its less romantic side. Later, Jews took exception to Rigg's immigration policy as harmful to the Jews.

This policy of enforced immigration restriction was defended by Rigg, (in response to press agitation) as a necessary precaution at a time when unemployment was high. He meant only "to discourage Canadian agents in Europe enticing people into Canada under false pretenses" (The Israelite Press, February 9, 1915). That this policy was an embarrassment to Jewish radicals can be readily appreciated. They had a difficult time to rationalize it to their Jewish constituents concerned with Jewish immigration into Canada. In 1917, when Rigg resigned his provincial seat to run in the federal elections, he was replaced by a liberal, Robert Jacob, an Englishman* (The Israelite Press, January 11, 1918).

The SDPC branch was vitally concerned with illicit voting practices rampant in the North End's immigrant community.** The practice was viewed by some ethnocentrics as an inherent condition of all foreigners. Attacking the 'foreigner' was a preferable tactic to blaming the corrupt political parties that fostered these methods. This was how Woodsworth viewed the problem:

Peoples emerging from serfdom, accustomed to despotism, untrained in the principles of despotism, untrained in the principles of representative government, without patriotism - such peoples are utterly unfit to be trusted with the ballot (Woodsworth, 1909:287).

However, the immigrant community was deeply concerned with these practices, and particularly concerned with the image of the North End. In an attempt to expose these practices, Jewish radicals founded the first Jewish paper in Winnipeg. 'The Winnipeg Courier' was issued by members of the branch: Fred Donner, Ben Warhaft, Tom and Max Tessler, Moses Elkin

* There was some speculation that Jacob was a Jew, but the Israelite Press denied the allegation (The Israelite Press, January 11, 1918).

**See Peterson, also Donnelly for a discussion of corruption in Manitoba politics.

(Alcin), Orlikoff (Orlikow), M. Weisman, B. Taubman, and Saltzman*

(Canadian Jewish Weekly, April 28, 1966; Wilder, 1932:31).

Mr. Donner explained how some of these voting practices occurred:

Jewish votes were bought and sold to the candidate who paid the highest price. This went on in a very simple manner; they promised to provide Jewish votes for a certain price. The Jewish voters were told to vote for this one or that one, otherwise they would be deported back to Czarist Russia, to the pogroms, etc. (The Canadian Jewish Weekly, April 28, 1966).

These initial efforts to clean up both municipal and provincial politics led to a later expose, which had much greater effect. This expose was led by a Jewish radical, A. A. Heaps, an upholsterer, who was a contender in the Ward 5 municipal election in 1917, and involved voting discrepancies in one of the polls (55 votes were fabricated - votes registered for those already dead or for those out of town, etc.) (The Israelite Press, March 2, 1917). (See Appendix D for map of the North End's voting division). Several Jews were implicated, one of whom was the son of Alderman Skaletar, and the alderman was forced to resign (The Israelite Press, April 4, 1917). City Council assigned \$5,000.00 for an intensive investigation. At the trial, several witnesses accused the Returning Officer of anti-socialist remarks such as; "What do you think? Do you think I will allow these people to vote? These are Heap's voters!" (The Israelite Press, February 16, February 23, 1917). After the trial, the branch called a special meeting where Heaps reported on the findings and the new voting regulations that were

*Only the frontispiece of the first edition has been found, reprinted in The Canadian Jewish Weekly (Vochenblatt) in 1966 to commemorate 40 years of Jewish socialist press in Canada. Mr. Donner included an article of some of his early experiences in the Jewish radical movement in Winnipeg. It is thought that the paper had a very short existence. In 1918, the SDPC Jewish branch announced that it was beginning publication of a monthly called 'Social Democrat'. The first issue would deal with two basic issues, 'Bolshevism and Poale Zion' in theory and practice (The Canadian Jewish Weekly, April 28, 1966; The Israelite Press, April 5, 1918).

initiated as a result. (Henceforth, each voter was required to either sign his name in the register or make an X (The Israelite Press, April 20, 1917). Because of his activities, Heaps was elected alderman of Ward 5 (The Israelite Press, April 4, 1917) and later was elected to the House of Commons from Winnipeg North in 1925 to 1940 (Penner, 1973:58).

The incident touched off an intense discussion in both the Jewish and non-Jewish press. We had earlier indicated an example of the latter attitude. To a large extent, the Jewish press interpreted the attitudes of the dominant press as having anti-semitic overtones (The Israelite Press, March 2, 1917). The Jewish press assessed the issue in this way:

The election frauds, the crookedness has become so general not only in Ward 5, of course, but throughout the city and the province, that we cannot but welcome the fact that a beginning has been made to expose the wrong doings. We take a certain amount of civic pride that we, citizens of Ward 5, have set the pace.

Judge Meyers has absolved the citizens of Ward 5 and rightfully so, but he did more, he took pains to emphasize the fact that Mr. Heaps' charges were substantiated and his conduct justified.

We would like our South End neighbours to take notice of this when they turn up their noses. These crimes are perpetrated in all sections of the city, by every class, at every election. But it remained for Ward 5 to produce the backbone, the moral courage and determination to cry halt and demand that a proper effort be made to expose the miserable system (The Israelite Press, March 30, 1917).

Illicit voting practices was but one area of party struggle.

After 1912, Winnipeg's economic boom had collapsed (Morton, 1973:329-330): Winnipeg had entered a period of recession and decline but only after the basis for an industrial capitalist society had been laid. While unemployment had made its appearance in Western Canada by 1900 (Taylor, 1975:296) its full fury was not felt until after 1913. By 1913, Winnipeg had 3,000 unemployed, Toronto 7,650 and Montreal 3,825 (The Israelite Press, February 17, 1914). Desperate measures were advanced with foreigners

generally being the useful scapegoat. In an attempt to rid itself of the 'unemployed foreigner', the Canadian government in 1915, threatened deportation, particularly in the larger centres where the problem was highly visible. One Jewish 'foreigner' bitterly complained:

As long as the foreigner was useful, he was considered a good citizen. When railways were to be built, Canada would send well paid agents to Europe to talk him into coming to Canada. As soon as fortunes changed, attitudes to the foreigners also changed. English bosses benefitted from the sweat of foreigners' work in the most impossible jobs under the worst conditions. Now the bosses claim that since Canada is a British colony, their first concern is to look after the English speaking people (The Israelite Press, April 16, 1915).*

It was in this atmosphere of heightened suspicions that the SDPC played an active role in organizing the large numbers of Winnipeg's unemployed. A week-long demonstration in April, 1915 was organized with daily marches rotating from the City Hall to the Legislature (The Israelite Press, April 20-23, 1915). The highlight of the week was on April 22, 1915, when fifteen thousand people marched to the Legislature. Seven delegates - two Jews amongst them, both SDPC members - prodded Premier Roblin into meeting with them. This intense pressure, backed by heightened militant feelings of class solidarity forced Roblin to meet with city representatives to find some solution to the problem. From this action, the mayor of Winnipeg spearheaded a Conference of Canadian Mayors on this issue (The Israelite Press, April 23, 1915).

The week's activities concluded with a May Day Parade, again organized by the SDPC. Many Jews participated and for the first time the May Day rally demonstrated both its ethnic and class spirit as demonstrators

*This was never implemented due to the War but the threat of deportation always hung over the heads of the newcomers. Immigration in 1914 had fallen off by 68% from the previous year (The Israelite Press, February 26, 1915).

were addressed in several languages, including Yiddish. The May Day parade,* as announced in the press, was a "worker's demonstration opposing the existence of the capitalist system and an expression of international worker's solidarity" (The Israelite Press, April 30, 1915).

While the Jewish Branch of the SDPC was primarily concerned with the problems of the Canadian worker, Jew and non-Jew alike, they could not ignore the deepening crisis of European Jewry. Irrespective of class, ideologies or religious distinctions, the crisis had forged a unity within the Jewish community that was generally focused around the massive financial campaign that they collectively undertook. The War Relief Fund was begun, as one member described, with "such zeal and determination unsuspected in a community so diversified and so young". In four years, \$400,000.00 had been collected throughout Western Canada under the leadership of The Israelite Press managing board. Here, weekly reports on the campaign's progress were to be found as Sunday canvassers went from door to door, a ritual developed during this four year period. Jewish radicals played a significant role in this organization (Wilder, 1932:33). However, the issue of the pogroms remained internal to the Jewish community.**

This issue was tackled by Jewish branch members, as they sought to externalize the problem from merely a 'Jewish problem' to a problem facing all mankind. Essentially, they saw the problem of East European Jewry as part of the larger struggle that all radicals were waging against

*The first May Day was celebrated in Winnipeg in 1908 and was held at St. John's Park in the North End with some 5,000 people at the park (Krawchuk, 1974:26).

**There was a tremendous built-in resistance within the Jewish community, developed over centuries, in accepting external aid. There were numerous pleas in the press exhorting Winnipeg's Jewish community to greater efforts so that Jews would not be beholden to Christians. One editorial carried this sub-title: "Jews in need should not have to turn to Christians or to Christian institutions" (The Israelite Press, December 25, 1914).

despotism and human exploitation and degradation. The attempt to break out of this parochialism resulted in the establishment by the Branch of the National Workers Committee in 1915.* As Rigg pointed out, the goal was to influence the trade union movement, labour and socialist parties to pressure governments and people of influence.

At a meeting chaired by Baum and addressed by Almazov, Saltzman and Cherniak, the plight of East European Jewry was discussed. The audience was told that this organization was "the first in Winnipeg to put aside our local concerns and to organize a movement amongst Jews and non-Jews" (The Israelite Press, September 6, 1915). Their first major success was remarkable. For at the Trades and Labour Congress (TLC) meeting in B.C. in 1915, the Congress gave full support to the resolution of the National Workers Committee and forwarded a resolution to the Canadian government urging them to take action at the Peace Conference on behalf of the Jews.

The reaction in the Yiddish press was spontaneous:

. . . This support has given the Jews great courage and showed them that there is no need to fear in making their plight known. It shows that we must have courage to appeal to all Canadians and they will support us.

And, although the editorial went on to recognize the shortcomings of the TLC (it was strongly conservative and supported restrictive immigration policies), the editors nevertheless recognized that the TLC support was a tremendous victory (The Israelite Press, September 27-28, 1915).

*The inspiration for the establishment of the National Workers Committee came from the U.S. where Jewish socialists had organized the National Workmen's Committee for Jewish Rights early in 1915. 190 organizations were affiliated. Included were the AR, the Poale Zion, the Socialist Territorialists, the Jewish Socialist Federation, etc. Their purpose was also to mount a strong anti-war campaign (Schappes, 1958:179-184).

The extent of the Committee's influence was found in other areas of interaction. The Committee became a bridge between the party and the Jewish and non-Jewish working class, although how much direct interaction there was with the latter is difficult to ascertain. However, in the Winnipeg Jewish community, the Committee became the vehicle whereby the Branch was able to rally a strong body of sympathizers.

In addition to overseas concerns, they also dealt with problems relevant to the working class, to the Jewish community, and the role of the radicals within the community.

One of the problems that the Committee dealt with was the question of a Canadian Jewish Congress, whether the National Workers Committee should participate, and how to raise funds for this purpose. Several years later, radical delegates to the Canadian Jewish Congress were nominated and endorsed by the National Workers Committee. (See Appendix I for a profile of Congress delegates and those delegates endorsed by the National Workers Committee.) In creating the National Workers Committee, the Yiddish Press expressed the view that Jewish radicals sought to merge their class interests with the interests and survival of an ethnic 'people', which was ultimately the very essence of their political ideology (The Israelite Press, November 3, 8, 1915).

Toward the end of the war, the local concerns of the Branch were being superseded by momentous international and national events that were to drastically and irrevocably alter alliances within the world socialist movement. Three events, the 1917 Russian Revolution, the 1917 Anti-Conscription Campaign, and the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike, seemed to flow together at this time, and their combined effects rocked all of Canada and Winnipeg in particular.

The Russian Revolution* in 1917 caught the world by surprise. Its impact was dramatic. For Jews, it was a new beginning, an awakening. Page after page of excitement and joy filled the Yiddish press when the Czar was overthrown. One editorial called "On The Revolution" summed up the feelings of Winnipeg's Jewry at that time. I. Hestrin wrote:

A revolution in Russia. . .How long we have waited for this moment, and how unexpected it came. On the wings of the storm one would like to transport himself to the far off Russia, in the land where our loved ones tread the earth. . .

The dreadful night has finally ended, and a new day has a new beginning. Russia has renewed herself. . .

The people, the hungry Russian people have started the revolution. The workers were instrumental in the uprising. . .The old tried method was used, first the strike and then demonstration. . .(The Israelite Press, March 16, 1917).

While all Jewry acclaimed the March Revolution, there was little unanimity in assessing the October Revolution. For many, steeped in the liberal tradition, the March Revolution seemed the embodiment of the natural, evolutionary process of Russian capitalist development. However, for this Jewish element, the establishment of a socialist state, proclaiming the dictatorship of the proletariat, was a new and unexpected phenomenon. Viewed with fear and hostility, there began an anti-Bolshevik, anti-Soviet

*It is of interest to our earlier discussion of the Bund to note the attitude of the Russian Bundists to the Bolshevik Revolution. During the inter-revolutionary period, between March and October, the essential differences between 'Bundist socialism and Soviet communism' became clear. Since Jewish national autonomy was their main concern, the Bund argued that this could only be achieved under a democratic Russian government "committed to gradualist public ownership of the means of production" rather than a highly centralized, totalitarian, one party system. To a large extent, Bundists had become more in line with the SDP of the West. While they decided to accept the platform of the Soviet Government in March, 1919 after prolonged membership debates, they did not hesitate to condemn the acts of terrorism that were instituted after the revolution and called for "democratization of the Soviets, for freedom of speech and press". Several years later, the Bund was no longer permitted autonomous party status in line with the one-party program of the Bolsheviks. They became attached to the Yevseksia, the Yiddish language section of the All Union Communist Party (H. Sachar, 1958:300-301).

hysteria. But for a great many Jews - radicals, working class, intellectuals, and petit bourgeois - the October Revolution became a symbol, as expressed by Gershman, of "the greatest thing that happened in the history of mankind" (Gershman, 1977:192). For them, the dictatorship of the proletariat had for the first time established the dictatorship of the majority. This was the 'wave of the future', to peace, to international brotherhood and to industrial democracy.

The SDPC strongly defended the Bolshevik Revolution. They were extremely vocal in condemning Western intervention in Russia, particularly the Canadian military expedition in Archangel (Lipton, 1966:186). They were proud that the revolution had been led by the revolutionary wing of the Social Democratic Party of Russia which was not inconsequential in heightening the militancy among these radicals. On the strength of the Bolshevik program, they attempted a re-unification with the Socialist Labor Party (The Voice, March 15, 1918).

Jewish defenders of the revolution were highly vocal against the anti-Bolshevik 'attacks' in both Jewish and non-Jewish circles. In one instance, Jewish radicals were particularly incensed at the anti-semitic slurs in The Telegram. In one article, it was pointed out that many of the Bolshevik leaders had Jewish names; "not only are Bolshevik leaders Jewish but Polish, Lithuanian and Galician Jews have German blood flowing in their veins". And, anyone 'with German blood in their veins' was obviously suspect in a country at war with Germany. In bringing this accusation to public attention in the Yiddish press, radicals warned; "Let all Jews be aware of the nature of this paper" (The Israelite Press, October 25, 1918). The distrust by the dominant society of the Bolsheviks, socialist Sam Blumenberg maintained, was their fear that "the workers will become

enlightened enough to follow the example of the brother workers in Russia" (Penner, 1973:16).

The revolution was, however, not unanimously endorsed by all radicals. As McKillop pointed out, the revolution "ended the marriage of convenience" that had first brought the party together in 1910" (McKillop, 1970:109). In Winnipeg, the 'marriage that had united the British socialism of the John Queens with the orthodox Marxism of the Jake Penners" had now come to an end as each sought new alignments more compatible with their ideological commitments. John Queen was a staunch supporter of parliamentary democracy and a gradualist approach to economic, political reform. Although not unsympathetic to the revolution, Queen did not see this as a justification for the "severance of the British connection or British ideals for those of Moscow". John Queen went on to become a founder of the Independent Labour Party (ILP) of Manitoba along with F. Dixon, S. J. Farmer and W. Ivens (former members of the Dominion Labour Party) (McKillop, 1970: 109-112).*

Jake Penner and the pro-revolutionist faction, the majority within the SDPC, became the pioneers of the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) which was founded in 1921. Included were many of the ethnic federations, the Ukrainians, the Finns and the largest portion of the Jewish membership (McCormack, 1977:168). They were staunch supporters of the Soviet regime as they remain today.**

*The ILP was patterned after the Independent Labour Party of Britain that was founded in 1893. The party was based on electoral action (McKillop, 1970:109-112).

**For Morton, the rise of the Communist Party of Canada was not seen in ideological terms but rather, it represented a hard core of unassimilated aliens and unrelieved social discontent (Morton, 1973:373).

The second event of major consequence to the Canadian radical movement was the introduction of conscription in 1917, an event that exposed the country's tremendous social unrest and dissatisfaction. The fight against conscription, which was particularly virulent in Western Canada, became the dominant issue of this period and was successful in uniting the various strands within the labour and socialist movements. In a bitter anti-conscription campaign, the SDPC joined with labour and the SLP in threatening a general strike if conscription was legislated. The Voice strongly urged workers not to register* for this "would bring the workers to heel, depriving him of the right of collective bargaining and forcing him to accept whatever terms might be offered" (The Voice, December 29, 1916). Military conscription, as McCormack pointed out, was but one step from industrial conscription.

In addition, the fight against conscription became synonymous with the struggle against deteriorating economic conditions. Rigg, in an address to the Manitoba legislature, expressed not only the anti-conscriptionist point of view but clearly showed how economics, conscription and the question of war were intertwined and it was this interconnection that had to be exposed:

When people cry aloud for reforms and threaten capitalist profits, the capitalists start a war. When people cry for old age pensions, women's suffrage, workmen's compensation acts, the capitalists start war. The working men of one country have no quarrel with the working men of another country. The common enemy the world over is the capitalist class (Lipton, 1966:169-170).

This rising agitation throughout the country led to a grinding

* Registration was a scheme devised by the Canadian Government to "determine the manner in which men can better serve the nation at this time, whether in a military or industrial capacity". This information was to be achieved by a postal survey of every male citizen (McCormack, 1977: 123-124). There were threats that 'slackers' who evaded military draft would lose their voting privileges in Canada (The Israelite Press, November 15, 1918).

campaign of reprisal and terror against those who opposed the war on conscription". Under the War Measures Act of 1914, the SDPC was outlawed* and their activities were carried on clandestinely. Individuals were faced with intimidation, loss of employment, often prison or interment, etc. In 1917 and 1918, 3,895 people were arrested in Canada, mostly charged with anti-conscription activities (Lipton, 1966:174-175). To add to these grievances, an 'Anti-Loitering Law' was passed which allowed anyone without work to be arrested without warning (The Israelite Press, October 25, 1918).

The North End of the city, where many of the constituents of these outlawed organizations were to be found, suffered the brunt of these massive reprisals. Printing shops of all ethnic organizations were broken into. Among the Jewish community, the People's Book Store, Baker's Press, The Israelite Press, and the Liberty Temple were singled out for investigation. Books, newspapers, and journals of a 'dubious nature' were confiscated (The Israelite Press, October 4, 1918).**

*The "Forbidden Organizations" in Canada were: I.W.W., The Russian Social Democratic Party, The Russian Revolutionary Group, The Russian Socialist Revolutionaries, The Russian Workers Farband, The Ukrainian Revolutionary Group, The Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, The Social Democratic Party of Canada, The Socialist Labour Party, The Social Democratic Bolshevik Group, The Social Democratic Anarchist Group, The Workers International Industrial Union, The Chinese Nationalist League, The Chinese Workers Association. The Proclamation further stated that: "Anyone who is in an organization or officer of the above, is liable to one year and not more than five years in jail. Also, anyone with badges, cards, or anything to do with these organizations, anyone who pays dues to, gives donations to a forbidden organization, or who had belonged, will have to show that they have nothing more to do with these organizations otherwise they will be considered as members. No warning is needed to break into, at any time, to homes in search of the premises. All those who print material of a revolutionary character - calling for revolution, etc. - anyone who attends or takes part in a meeting where the language spoken is Russian, Ukrainian or Finnish will be given \$5,000.00 fine or not less than five years jail" (The Israelite Press, October 18, 1918). These languages were allowed only in religious services (The Israelite Press, September 17, 1918).

**One Jewish newspaper seller, Samuel Shternber, was arrested at his stand in front of the post office for selling a German newspaper. All his stock was confiscated. As a penalty, Shternberg lost the right to open a newspaper stand in Winnipeg again (The Israelite Press, October 15, 1918). The Israelite Press did not publish during the strike period. The last issue was on May 16, 1917. On June 20, 1919, the paper resumed publication.

This tremendous anti-government agitation was brought to a head in the famous Walker Theatre meeting on December 22, 1918. The meeting was co-sponsored by the TLC and the SLP 'against the Orders-In-Council and repression in general'. John Queen of the SDPC was chairman. The mood of the meeting and their concerns was later summed up by Rev. A. E. Smith, (a Methodist minister, MPP in 1920 for the Canadian Labour Party and later a communist) in his autobiography All My Life:

The meeting protested government orders-in-council under which Isaac Bainbridge in Toronto was imprisoned for publishing the banned Canadian Forward, official organ of the Social Democratic Party. Protest was made against the arrest of seven men in Sault Ste. Marie for belonging to the Social Democratic Party. They had been fined \$16,700 and many others had been arrested throughout the country. S. Blumenberg spoke in praise of the heroism of Karl Liebknecht in Germany. R. B. Russell, Secretary of the Metal Trades Council moved a resolution demanding the withdrawal of all military forces from Russia. The meeting closed with three cheers for the Russian Revolution (Smith, 1949:46). (See Penner for a full discussion of this meeting.)

Despite the fierce opposition, conscription became law in August, 1917.* The labour and socialist movement had lost a battle but its repercussions had long lasting effects. In Winnipeg, resentment over this issue ran close to the surface and was a significant factor in the 1919 General Strike.

Winnipeg's General Strike in 1919 was the third event that rocked the radical movement in Winnipeg in particular, and in Canada in general. Although it was local in origin, the strike had tremendous ramifications throughout all of Canada. Perhaps of greatest consequence was that it exhibited most clearly the class character of the Canadian society. While

* Six classes were to be conscripted, made up of all men, Canadian or British citizens aged 20 to 45 years. Winnipeg was to supply 3,000 out of 100,000 Canadian contingent (The Israelite Press, August 31, 1917).

repression of civil liberties was but one factor of the growing discontent of the Canadian working class, the post war era had introduced numerous difficulties for an economy geared to war production, viz. large unemployment, mainly composed of veterans, reduced international trade, inflation, low wages. The discontent and the struggles that erupted were expressed in different ways.

In 1919, union membership had increased from 248,000 to 378,000 and 336 strikes were reported (Lipton, 1956:184). Their struggles were generally centred around several issues, including the fight for industrial unionism to replace the outmoded craft unions. In this effort, the One Big Union (OBU) was formed in 1919 by militant industrial unionists. At its founding convention in Calgary, delegates called for the general strike as a new tactic to "reorganize rather than reconstruct society" (McCormack, 1977:159). The OBU was an attempt to unify into one single union all workers, and the 'direct action' of the general strike, militant laborites believed, would achieve its political and economic objectives by totally disrupting the economy. (See discussion of anarcho-syndicalism in Chapter V, Section A).

The general strike, as a new tactic, had been favored by militant industrial unionists in the U.S. before the turn of the century particularly by Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.). The OBU's basic doctrine, McCormack underlined, "was Marxist; its syndicalism was pragmatic: and it flourished during industrial crisis" (McCormack, 1977:98). Although the OBU was not officially organized at the time of the strike (a referendum was to be held to sever affiliation with their international organization) and, although there was no evidence to link it directly to the strike, the OBU became a convenient 'whipping boy'; a means to further

intensify the hysteria against all radicals, regardless of ideological distinctions.

The second issue was defence of the principle of collective bargaining. This principle had been accepted elsewhere in Canada but the Winnipeg Metal Foundry industry had steadfastly refused to recognize the Metal Trades Council. This denial of collective bargaining precipitated the strike in the metal industry and the subsequent sympathy strike brought 35,000 men out on strike, 12,000 of whom were unorganized workers (Lipton, 1956:190-191).

The third issue was based on the necessity for a 'living wage', for it was evident that by the end of the first two decades of the 20th century, the economic situation for Winnipeg workers had deteriorated. Sutcliffe's findings of his investigation of the pre-strike economy showed that:

. . .during the critical years 1915-1918 no group of workers managed to make any real gains. The average decline for the trade was 15.6%; . . .Thus by the end of 1918 it is little wonder that workers were restless. It appeared to workers that as soon as they made any gains at all, they immediately lost them in the ensuing period. By the spring of 1919, the frustrations of attempting to keep pace with the cost of living reached a climax as some 1,200 workers of the building trades struck on May 1, 1919 for increased wages (Sutcliffe, 1972:90).

However, the Winnipeg General Strike had taken on another facet beyond that of class for working class Jews as well as for all East European immigrant workers. The nativistic, ethnocentrism of the dominant class had zeroed in on 'foreigners' and the 'aliens' as the 'Bolshevist' instigators and initiators of the spread of radicalism in Western Canada. There was constant bombardment in the daily Winnipeg press of the 'foreign' element as being 'conspirators', revolutionaries and the worst element in the land'. These refutations, appearing in large ads under the auspices

of the Committee of One Thousand,* were rarely refuted and as the Yiddish press complained they "remained as evidence , ready for anyone to use against the foreigner, and that means of course, the Jews" (The Israelite Press, June 20, 1919).

Though 'foreigners' were accused of fomenting the strike and providing its leadership, the Strike Committee was essentially dominated by leaders of Anglo-Saxon, Protestant background.** Jewish involvement in the Strike Committee was minimal. Only Ald. A. A. Heaps has been positively identified. According to information supplied to Gale by Max Tessler, both Max Tessler and M. Temenson represented the Metal Workers Union in the General Strike Committee (Gale, 1970:10). However, as the rank and file, Jewish workers actively participated in the strike. A large number of Jews were

*The Committee of 1,000 was organized as soon as the strike was announced and although they were organized to 'maintain public services', Penner pointed out that in reality they were an effective agency of the Federal Government, bypassing City Council and the Province. Included in the Committee were members of the Builders' Exchange, Bankers and Grain Dealers, Insurance-Company executives, Auto Dealers, Metal Shop Owners, and heads of other employers associations. All helped to finance the committee (Penner, 1973:63). For Donnelly, the two examples that best exemplified the psychology of the Committee of 1,000 were Dafoe, the editor, and Clifford Sifton, the owner, of the Free Press. Sifton, Donnelly found, was unsympathetic to the plight of the workers while Dafoe had "a blind spot on the question of leftist activity. . .He had educated himself well on many subjects, but he never came to understand that there was a difference between British socialism and Marxist communism, and he condemned proponents of both with brutal vigour". However, both were in agreement as to their assessment of the 'foreign' element, both felt their Anglo-Saxon values and way of life were being threatened and "when the strike occurred they fell victim of unreasonable fears" (Donnelly, 1968:102; Penner, 1973:XVIII).

**Several of the Strike leaders were prominent Methodist leaders. Included in the Strike Committee were Bob Russell, R. J. Johns, William A. Pritchard, Rev. W. Ivens, George Armstrong, R. E. Bray, John Queen, S. J. Farmer, Fred Tipping and Fred Dixon.

found in the metal trades, and were involved from its very inception (Gale, 1970:6). In the main, the Jewish community gave strong moral and financial support to Winnipeg strikers, as indicated in the Yiddish press.

Although it was uncertain how many Jews were involved in the Committee of One Thousand, there is little doubt that Jewish elites were actively involved. Within the Jewish community, this class confrontation had almost immediate political repercussions. This involved the Jewish branch of the SDPC and Max Steinkopf, a member of the Committee, a conservative, a lawyer, and an affluent businessman. As the incumbent school trustee for Ward 5, Max Steinkopf was challenged by Mrs. Rose Alcin (Elkin) a member of the SDPC. To the surprise of the entire Jewish community, Mrs. Alcin, a newcomer to Winnipeg politics, was elected. Feivel Simkin who gleefully remembered the incident - recalled some interesting background to this episode:

Rose Alcin's father worked for the Talmud Torah (Hebrew School) and Steinkopf was the president of the school. Her father asked her not to run, but here it was different than at home, in the small Shtetl. Even there sometimes one didn't need one's father...it was a big honour for her. She could speak some English. She was elected. She ousted Max Steinkopf (Simkin Interview).

Mrs. Alcin became the first Jewish woman in Canada to hold public office (Chiel, 1961:179). Jews of Ward 5 were not in a hurry to forget their class antagonism towards Steinkopf, for 8 years later when he again attempted to run for provincial office, he was again defeated by another relative newcomer to politics - a conservative Jew, Captain William Tobias (Chiel, 1961:179).

The Yiddish press strongly voiced the animosity of the entire Jewish community toward the Jewish bourgeois involvement in the Committee of One Thousand. They were branded not only as anti-unionists but there

were strong suspicions that their loyalty to capitalism and to their class was greater than their loyalty to the Jewish people. This concern became pronounced when the character of the strike had changed from an initial class struggle to include an ethnic struggle. In its earlier manifestations, the strike had clearly brought to the surface the deep-seated prejudices of the dominant society. However, these prejudices gave way to active discrimination when arrested strike leaders were differentiated on the basis of ethnicity rather than class. Six Anglo-Saxon leaders - Ivens, Russell, Queen, Armstrong, Bray and Heaps (Heaps was Jewish but not active in Jewish life and as an Alderman, he was not classified as 'foreigner') - were granted bail within a few days of their arrest, while the 'foreigners' - Almazov, a Jew, S. Blumenberg, a Jew, F. Charitonoff, a Jew (editor of the Russian newspaper "Rabotchi Narod"), and M. Verenchuk and S. Chopelrei two unknowns but thought to be of Ukrainian descent - were denied similar treatment (Penner, 1973:164; The Israelite Press, June 20, 1919).*

Jewish members of the Branch were highly critical and vocal of this overt discrimination. They were highly critical, too, of the Anglo-Saxon strike leaders for not having maintained class solidarity with their arrested comrades and for having acquiesced in the values defined for them by the dominant society. A committee of Jewish workers under SDPC leadership was quickly organized to agitate for release of the arrested. They protested to the Strike Committee against the differentiation between Jew

*The five non-Anglo-Saxons who remained in jail after the others had been released proclaimed a hunger strike until allowed out on bail. They declared that "there is a great injustice being done, in that all English speaking were set free on bail while their only crime is that of being 'foreigners' (The Israelite Press, July 1, 1919). The defence committee set up by the Jewish Branch of the SDPC reported that money was 'pouring in'. The AR Branch in Saskatoon had sent in \$175.00 (The Israelite Press, July 8, 1919).

and non-Jew, and argued that 'foreigners' should not be separated and treated differently. This agitation by the Jewish committee proved fruitful as the Strike Committee accepted their assertions.

The Yiddish press strongly chastised the Jewish members of the Committee of One Thousand for not exhibiting the same vigilance as exhibited by Jewish radicals. They were censured for being a party to the 'rassen kamf' that had developed. The editorial compared the attitudes of the Jewish working class with that of the Jewish capitalist class and found that:

The Jews in the Committee of One Thousand should have declared themselves against this issue and recognized the dangers of the propaganda, and if they were unable to influence the Committee, then they should have withdrawn. This was not done. They made no protest. On the other hand, the Jewish workers have been elevated to a higher degree of awareness, of responsibility to their class as well as to their people. How is it that the Jewish workers took such quick action and the Jewish capitalists were afraid and were quiet? This is because the former struggle for freedom and the latter still maintain the ghetto mentality (The Israelite Press, June 20, 1919).

The social machinery necessary to control radicals and the discontent of the working class had been effectively applied by Winnipeg's elites. Numerous methods had been employed including propaganda, intimidation, job insecurity, physical violence, arrests, break-ins and abrogation of all civil liberties, but for the 'foreigner', there was an added measure. By mid-June, a new amendment to the Federal Immigration Bill provided the means whereby 'foreigners', even though naturalized Canadians, could be deported (The Israelite Press, June 20, 1919). When it was discovered that most strike leaders were indeed British, a re-amendment was 'pushed through the house in forty minutes' 'to destroy the right of trial by jury for all British born citizens' enabling the government to deport the strike leaders without a legal trial (Penner, 1973:4).

Almazov, after sixty days in jail, appeared before a Special Immigration Commission and in an impassioned speech eloquently pleaded his innocence. His speech made a 'strong impression on the Commission'. Almazov was freed much to the relief of the entire Jewish community. The Israelite Press devoted their front page to Almazov's full speech with a huge headline proclaiming "Almazov is Free. Holds Impressive Speech before the Immigration Commission, Magistrate Noble Warns Him to Conduct Himself Well in the Future" (The Israelite Press, August 19, 1919). Since Almazov was unable to guarantee that he would 'conduct himself well in the future', he left soon after for the U.S. (Almazov Interview). Blumenberg also was allowed to leave for the States, but the details remain vague (Penner, 1973:8). Only one of the 'foreigners', Oscar Chapelroi, was actually deported for some irregularities in his papers (Penner, 1973:220).

Assessment of the strike by Branch members brought numerous heated discussions and displayed the various attitudes towards the strike that were prevalent at that time. Almazov recalled that the majority of the Jewish Revolutionary Marxists within the SDPC did not see the strike in revolutionary terms. Instead, they argued that the idea of a revolutionary potential was a product of the capitalist class, designed to foment apprehension among the middle class. In this way, Jewish elites armed with the power of the state were able to take action against the working class (Almazov Interview). Others argued strenuously that the strike leaders themselves were ambivalent as to the nature of the strike: ". . .when they spoke with the bosses 'collective bargaining' was advanced as the dominant issue, however these very same leaders spoke differently at meetings and at parks. Here, their talk was revolutionary, instilling the

workers with the highest expectations, ready for big happenings" (The Israelite Press, July 8, 1919). This feeling of expectation and frustration was also recalled by Gale:

Rev. Ivens called on the workers to remain calm---his favorite words were "Do nothing", and the workers actually did nothing. They listened to speeches and went home happily. Because of this the other side did not sit by quietly. . .(Gale, 1970:10).

One assessment of the strike seemed to sum up the feelings of many radicals at that time:

In conclusion, it is simple, the strike was not initiated by the leaders of the Labour Temple but from the leaders of the Industrial Bureau. They planned the strike yet in the war years when they had to acquiesce to many labour demands. Now they merely provided workers with some provocation, knowing in advance the results. Anyone could see the confidence of the capitalists throughout the strike. The workers lost because the leaders did not consider the right time for the strike, moreover, they overestimated their own power while underestimating the strength of the employers. That is why the workers were not able to halt the social machinery not even for a minute. If this could not have been done, nothing should have been undertaken (The Israelite Press, July 1, 1919).

In analyzing the effects of the strike upon the Jewish community, there was tacit recognition that the strike had sharpened attitudes against 'foreigners' and that the government now had unlimited power to hound 'political criminals'. In a cautionary note, particularly aimed at Jewish radical 'hot-heads', one editorial summed up the situation in this way:

I am not one to scare people or to tell Jews to hide their heads in the sand, but I think that restraint is in order. No one has the right to bring pain and suffering to the whole community, a little restraint can avoid this tragedy. Jewish workers and sympathizers should reckon with the present conditions and be very careful what you do and what you say. When you as worker express your dissatisfaction remember that the 'others' will not see you as the worker but will instead recognize you as the 'Jew', the 'alien', the 'stranger' (The Israelite Press, July 1, 1919).

Although Jewish radicals had continually been accused of maintaining a narrow parochialism, in the final analysis, it was the dominant society

which effectively constrained and narrowed the ethnic boundaries of the East European communities.

In conclusion, the Winnipeg General Strike closed a chapter in the history of the radical movement in Winnipeg. During these two decades, as McCormack has shown, the radical impulse in Canada had been carried by the revolutionaries and militant trade unionists. Now, during the 1920's the impulse was to revert to the reformers. Within the Jewish radical movement, the end of the strike was also the end of the unity that had been achieved within the SDPC, one that had begun to erode with the Bolshevik revolution in 1917. Ideological differences had developed to such a degree that the SDPC split into its ideological components soon after the strike, the reformers into the Independent Labour Party and the Canadian Labour Party and the communists into the Communist Party of Canada. Jews were to be found in both streams.

In helping to found the SDPC, Jews and other East European radicals had created a party that gave expression to their two fundamental concerns, the class struggle and the survival of their ethnic communities. As a federation of various language groups, the SDPC provided each affiliate with a high degree of autonomy,* an opportunity that provided them access to their ethnic constituency as well as to the larger community of workers. They were internationalists, concerned with the plight of all workers. This concern was highlighted in The Israelite Press, when it

*In analyzing the decline of the SDPC, Tim Buck pointed to one factor as being the most divisive in the party: "But the SD movement had arisen as a federation in which the various language sections had retained sovereign powers. The reality of their autonomy was not eliminated by changing its constitution to that of a single unified party. Its language sections remained isolated from the general political life of the country, to a great extent even from each other. Because of these factors, and the very strong trend of anarchosyndicalism among its members, the SDP never developed its potential influence" (Buck, 1970:9). This position is understandable in the light of the strong assimilationist trend among orthodox communists.

noted that Jewish radicals served the entire working class community. In their struggles to provide Winnipeg workers with working class representatives, the press assessed their contribution as those who fought for: honest administration, the right of the unemployed to work, and the right to fair work practices and economic gain (The Israelite Press, December 13, 1915). Moreover, to a large extent, it was due to the efforts of the Jewish radicals that ethnic barriers within the Jewish community had first been transcended as Jewish workers began to look to their class rather than to their ethnic concerns in the political arena.

In summing up these two decades of Jewish involvement in the political arena, the evidence has indicated that Jewish radicals became an important influence in the Jewish community. And although their main focus was in the political realm, viz. raising the level of political awareness of the Jewish working class, the Jewish branch of the SDPC played a significant role in creating Jewish educational institutions, in the development of a Jewish working class culture and in creating a climate within the Jewish community whereby radical thought became legitimized.

CHAPTER VI

Conclusion

Since time immemorial, Jews have been provoked into defining and redefining their identity. Jewish history has been replete with numerous prophets foretelling their 'impending doom' (Kaufman, 1976:165). Again in the Twentieth Century, the identity crisis, particularly visible in North America, has occupied centre stage. Jews, along with other minority ethnic groups, have raised the assimilation/survival debates to the level of consciousness.

A product of the Eighteenth Century, the ideology of assimilation, along with the notions of 'Europeanization', 'modernization' and 'progress' have monopolized Western thought. Assimilatory forces were all construed as 'positive' and 'natural' in man's evolutionary struggle toward the ultimate goals of universalism and egalitarianism. However, after two hundred years, the policy of assimilation, whether advocated by liberals or Marxists, has failed to alter the reality of ethnic survival. We have neither experienced universalism nor egalitarianism. In fact, numerous national, ethnic and racial groups throughout the world have brought into question the efficacy of universalism, of 'Anglo-conformity', and of the 'Melting Pot' theory.

This has been particularly true in the Canadian context. The development of a Canadian identity has never been the product of a homogeneous people. The Canadian identity has evolved through a process of immigration, (unlike that of the European experience), which was initially an extension of the French and the English but later of the East European

and Asiatic societies. The people who came to populate the vast Canadian territory brought with them their diverse cultural heritage, religion, language, customs and identity that had been forged through hundreds, often thousands of years of historical experience. It was not accidental, therefore, that the immigrant persisted in maintaining his heritage and thereby fostering the ethnic heterogeneity of Canada's population. Furthermore, although the dominant liberal society advanced an assimilatory ideology, their overt discriminatory policies against 'the less desirable' immigrant elements, aided and abetted the survival of Canada's mix. As Marchak found in assessing the liberal, dominant ideology, "there are many gaps between ideology and reality and when the ideology is subject to close study, there are many flaws in its internal 'logic'" (Marchak, 1975:57).

However, the inadequacy of the liberal ideology in anticipating ethnic survival is not unique to liberalism. Similar inadequacies have been found within Marxist orthodoxy. The latter has essentially been based on the analysis of class and its historical relationship to a particular mode of production. From this perspective, Marxists advanced the notion that class identification would fulfill both the necessary and sufficient conditions for an understanding of modern capitalist society.

Though ethnic survival is a continuing social fact within both capitalist and socialist societies, there has been little attempt by Marxists to incorporate ethnic identity as political ideology into their theoretical framework. One of the central purposes of this thesis has been to recognize and incorporate ethnic reality into the body of Marxist literature.

Recognizing the inadequacy of Marxism, however, does not necessarily constitute its denial. It has been our contention that Marxism, as

a 'living guide to action', must be continually elaborated and reformulated. As Lefebvre pointed out:"...the concepts elaborated by Marx are still necessary but insufficient to understand the human reality of a century later" (Lefebvre, 1969:91). Today, with renewed interest in Marxism, these insufficiencies are continually being explored by Marxist scholars in an attempt to make Marxism relevant to the problems of the Twentieth century.

This thesis has operated primarily within these guidelines, for we have been concerned not with the negation of Marxism but with its reformulation. It was during an earlier examination of Winnipeg's Jewish radical community that it became evident that class, while a necessary condition, was nevertheless insufficient. Class could not explain that group of Jewish radicals who not only had a heightened class consciousness related directly to their class position but who exhibited a heightened ethnic awareness of 'kinship arising out of a common past'. By their very existence, Jewish radicals provided a clear and determined opposition to both the liberal and Marxist assimilationist orientations.

This study of the Jewish radical community in Winnipeg has illuminated the role and influence of political ideologies in the continuation of Jewish survival. It is our contention, therefore, that the existence of radical ideologies is a key force significantly affecting the survival of ethnic communities. On the basis of the present case study, we would suggest that ethnic studies should include, in the future, the dimension of political ideology.

We have attempted to show, by exploring the parallel structures that Winnipeg's Jewish radical community developed in response to their political ideologies during its formative period 1905-1920, how Jewish

radicals expanded their ideological framework so that it combined what orthodox Marxists had considered to be two irreconcilable factors, namely, working class internationalism and ethnic particularism or nationalism. Thus, a unique phenomenon in the historical experience of the Jewish community had been created, a Jewish working class culture, as distinct from the traditional religious ritualism.

Through a number of social structures, for example, the socio-cultural organization of the Arbeiter Ring, the educational schools and the Jewish Branch of the SDPC, Jewish radicals actively participated in and made a lasting contribution to the cultural, educational and political life of the entire Jewish community as well as the community at large.

In the socio-cultural sphere, we demonstrated through this case study that in each of the three branches of the AR (the Revolutionary Marxists as the internationalists, the anarchists, and the Labour Zionists as the nationalists), Jewish radicals expressed their unique version of socialism. Each branch found its particular niche within the socialist spectrum and each carried on those activities that mirrored its ideology. United, they were a cohesive unit bound together by their strong commitment to a socialist future and to the development of a Yiddish working class culture. Together they created a vital, social and cultural force in the Jewish community and provided a leadership that was unequalled. The AR, by its very existence, by its ability to survive, was able to legitimize the radical presence as an alternative ideology within the Jewish community. This was accomplished during the period 1905-1920. Thereafter, Jewish radicalism became rooted in the Jewish consciousness as well as in the Jewish communal structure, although its manifestations today are not as clearly visible.

The educational structures that Jewish radicals created, whether in the I. L. Peretz School or in the AR School, became the vehicle whereby Yiddishkeit and radicalism coalesced. It was through these schools that both Yiddish as a language and socialism as a political ideology were transmitted to future generations. It was here in the Yiddish schools that the dominant, liberal assimilationist policies were confronted and combatted. Perhaps Cherniak's earlier stated goals bear repetition in analyzing the role of the Jewish radical educational institutions; "We were Jews and socialists in the widest sense, therefore we had to immediately found a school for the child of the Jewish masses and for our children when they would reach school age" (Cherniak, 1969:82).

From the evidence that we have presented on the Jewish Branch of the SDPC, we have seen that Jewish radicals were involved with the larger radical movement in the struggle to integrate radical ideologies into the mainstream of Canadian political thought. Through the political institutions that they created during this period, radicals sought to legitimize and institutionalize a radical party structure as an alternative to those parties controlled by the dominant class. Specifically, Jewish radicals played a significant role in the political life of Winnipeg's North End, an area of not only Jewish concentration, but one in which all East European immigrant workers were highly visible. During these two decades, Jewish radicals succeeded in integrating the Jewish working class immigrant into the Canadian political arena. Although revolutionaries in the widest sense, Jewish radicals sought amelioratives, some measures of reform within the parliamentary system to soften the effects of a rapidly industrializing capitalist society upon the Canadian working class.

In their first encounter with this system, working class immigrants quickly found that ethnic representation was often inadequate in dealing with many problems. To a large extent, Jewish radicals along with their radical counterparts in other ethnic groups, were able to influence a re-alignment of ethnic voting behaviour. Within both the Jewish and other ethnic working classes, voting behaviour became more class than ethnic oriented.

However, these political concerns did not negate the ethnic concerns of Jewish radicals. By the very creation of an autonomous Jewish branch of the SDPC, Jewish radicals indicated their two fundamental concerns, to survive as Jews and as socialists. As a result, they were not only active in the political arena, but were equally influential in all areas of the Jewish radical movement.

While the thesis found evidence of unanimity on certain issues, for example, class, it would be incorrect to assert that common class consciousness as workers led Jewish radicals to agree on the question of cultural autonomy and territory. In other words, when the question was posed by Labour Zionists; "Is territory a necessary condition of ethnic survival?", widely divergent responses emerged. The Labour Zionists argued essentially for a Jewish solution which sought to isolate the Jews both physically and culturally from other groups by creating a Jewish national state that would be socialist. On the other hand, internationalists within the radical movement advanced the Bundist position of national, cultural autonomy within any society in which Jews were to be found. This belief stemmed from the internationalist's concern for achieving socialism not only for Jews but for the total society. The dilemma of territoriality

was but one area of divisiveness within the ranks of the radical movement weakening not only the Jewish but the whole socialist movement as assimilationists, revolutionists, anarchists and Labour Zionists battled for hegemony as the socialist spokesmen within the radical community. These questions remain today.

In this thesis, the Winnipeg Jewish radical community during its formative period 1905 - 1920, has been utilized as a case study whereby we have been able to test our reformulation of Marx' theory of class. In this reformulation, ethnicity has been introduced as a key variable within the classic Marxist theoretical framework. This key variable - ethnicity - has shown to be inextricably linked with social class and political ideology to form an extended model of social interaction. While Marx advanced the notion that class consciousness was the sole intervening variable linking social class and ideology, this reformation has included, along with class, ethnic consciousness. With this addition, we have been able to expand the hitherto often narrow and imprecise understanding of the formation of ethnic radical communities. For example, we have shown that political ideology plays an important role in the survival of ethnicity. This reformulation has enabled us to explore the numerous generally unrecognized ideological variations within the radical fold that were available to the Winnipeg Jewish community between 1905 - 1920.

In addition, these three variables have shown, in spite of external appearances, that the Winnipeg Jewish community was never a monolithic entity. As Chapter V demonstrated, the Jewish community encompassed a wide spectrum of social thought, class composition and ideologies; radicalism was but one of its manifestations.

As indicated, the analysis of radicalism in the Winnipeg Jewish

community has brought to the surface the recognition of ethnicity as a key variable with profound ramifications for the development of political ideologies. We would suggest, from these observations, that any Marxist model that purports to fully explore social relationships within a multi-ethnic, ideologically diversified society, must treat ethnicity as a fundamental component. Ethnicity, in such a society, cannot be treated as peripheral to class.

Although our case study has investigated only one segment of our reformulation, those Jews exhibiting both a heightened class and ethnic consciousness, we would suggest that there has been sufficient evidence to support the reformulation of the relationship between these three variables - social class, ethnicity and political ideology. Further empirical research is required to test its applicability to the remaining social class formations within the Jewish community.

From this analysis, two fundamental questions remain: 1) Is the theoretical relationship between the three variables applicable as a general model? 2) Can we extrapolate our findings concerning the relationship between and among the three variables within the Jewish radical community in Winnipeg between 1905-1920, to ethnic groups including other Jewish communities, in other historic periods? On the basis of the evidence of this case study, we would suggest that the answer to both questions would be 'yes'. On the basis of the above evidence, we would suggest that this reformulation can be utilized as a general model. In this way, it can be fruitfully applied to the study of other ethnic radical communities in other historic periods.

It is our contention that this model can be usefully applied

to other Jewish radical communities. For the Jewish radical community in Winnipeg was not a unique phenomenon to North American radicalism. As indicated above, the historic and intellectual roots of Jewish radicalism arose in Europe, predominantly in Eastern Europe. Along with streams of Jewish radical immigrants, radical ideology transcended its European origins and became in time, an integral, though often resented, component of North American ideology. Hence, Winnipeg's Jewish radical counterparts were readily found in all major urban centres wherever Jews were located. As a general model, we would suggest that these three variables are applicable to any and all of these communities.

Further, it is our contention that ethnic radicalism was not peculiar to the Jewish people but was and can be similarly found among other ethnic communities. As we indicated above, the demand for a federated political party structure within the SDPC that would guarantee ethnic survival for Ukrainians, Russians, Finns, Germans and Jews, was indicative of their fundamental concern for ethnic and cultural survival within the larger ethnic community. While they were willing to cooperate one with the other on numerous issues, they were never willing to assimilate. For these groups, ethnic identity was never a commodity of exchange. It is therefore essential for the further development of ethnic studies, that radical ethnic communities be recognized as an essential component of their ethnic communities. Further research in this area must be undertaken so that the role of political ideologies in the process of survival can be assessed.

Specifically, we would suggest that it would be fruitful to apply this reformulation to the study of the contemporary socialist

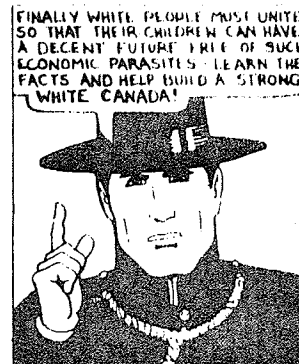
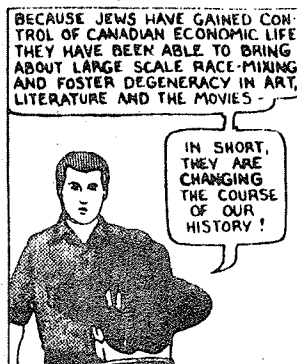
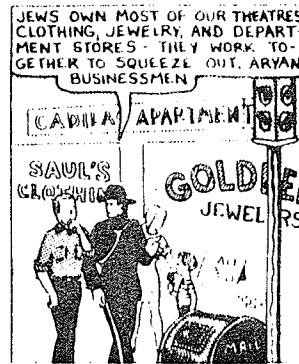
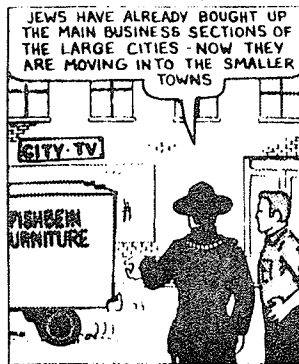
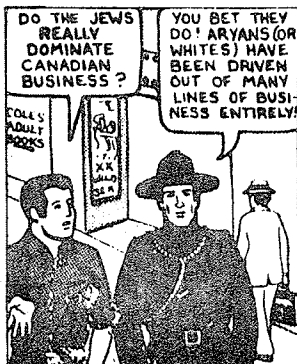
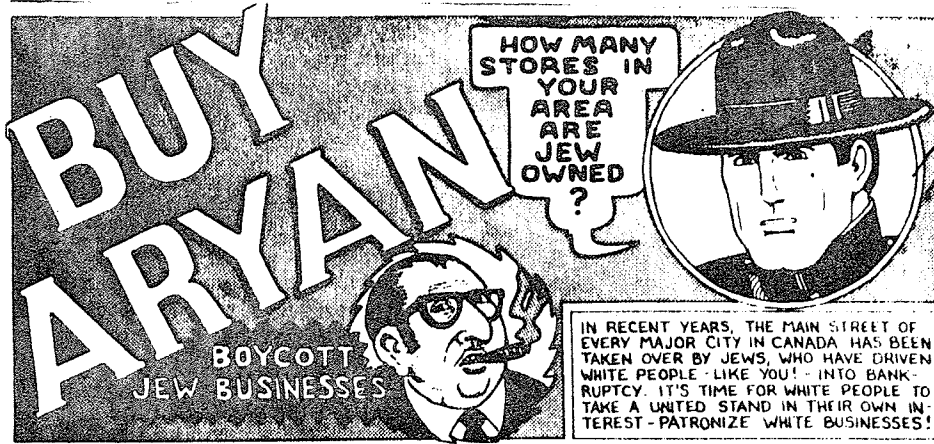
movement in French Canada. Several parallels have been noted in this study. A more comprehensive analysis of the role and contribution of socialist ideology in the nationalist movement, the class composition of this movement and the class attitudes toward this movement would shed further light on a complex situation.

Finally, this thesis has undertaken to evaluate the role and contribution of Jewish radicalism. This was found necessary so that the Jewish community in Winnipeg could be seen in its multi-dimensional character as well as in its relationship to the larger context of Winnipeg history. From this attempt, several implications have been noted that demand further investigation, as they bring into question accepted modes of approaching ethnic studies. An analysis of radicalism in the Jewish community has brought to the fore the necessity of recognizing that ethnic identity is one of a series of factors with profound ramifications for historical sociology. It is the linkage of ethnicity with political ideology rooted in the working class experience that has been the focus of this thesis.

A B B R E V I A T I O N S

AR	Arbeiter Ring (Workmen's Circle)
CPC	Communist Party of Canada
ILP	Independent Labour Party
IWO	International Workers Order
JPFO	Jewish People's Fraternal Order
OBU	One Big Union
RSDP	Russian Social Democratic Party
SDPC	Social Democratic Party of Canada
SPC	Socialist Party of Canada
SPM	Socialist Party of Manitoba
ST	Socialist Territorialists
TLC	Trades and Labour Congress
UJPO	United Jewish People's Order

Appendix A



NATIONAL SOCIALIST UNDERGROUND

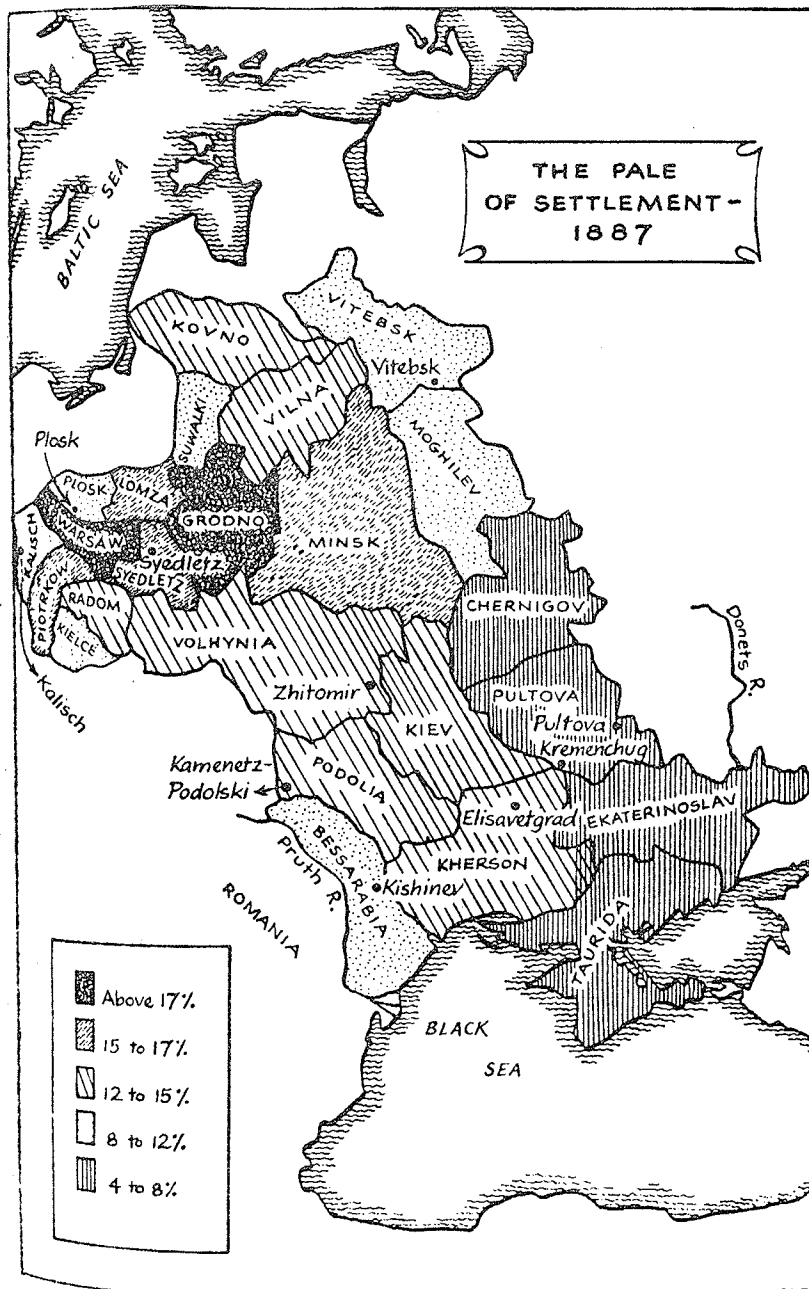
SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL WHITE NATIONALISTS

The above filth is being sent through the mails

April 1976 : 3

George Lewis, "Hitler's Heirs Among Us", Canadian Jewish Outlook, Vol. 14, No. 4, April, 1976, p. 3. A copy of this cartoon was received by the Canadian Jewish Outlook in March, 1976 and is one of a spate of hate-literature circulating throughout Canada in the past few years.

Appendix B



THE PALE OF SETTLEMENT IN WESTERN RUSSIA
(based on statistics of the Russian census of 1887)

Howard M. Sachar, The Course of Modern Jewish History, Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Co., 1956.

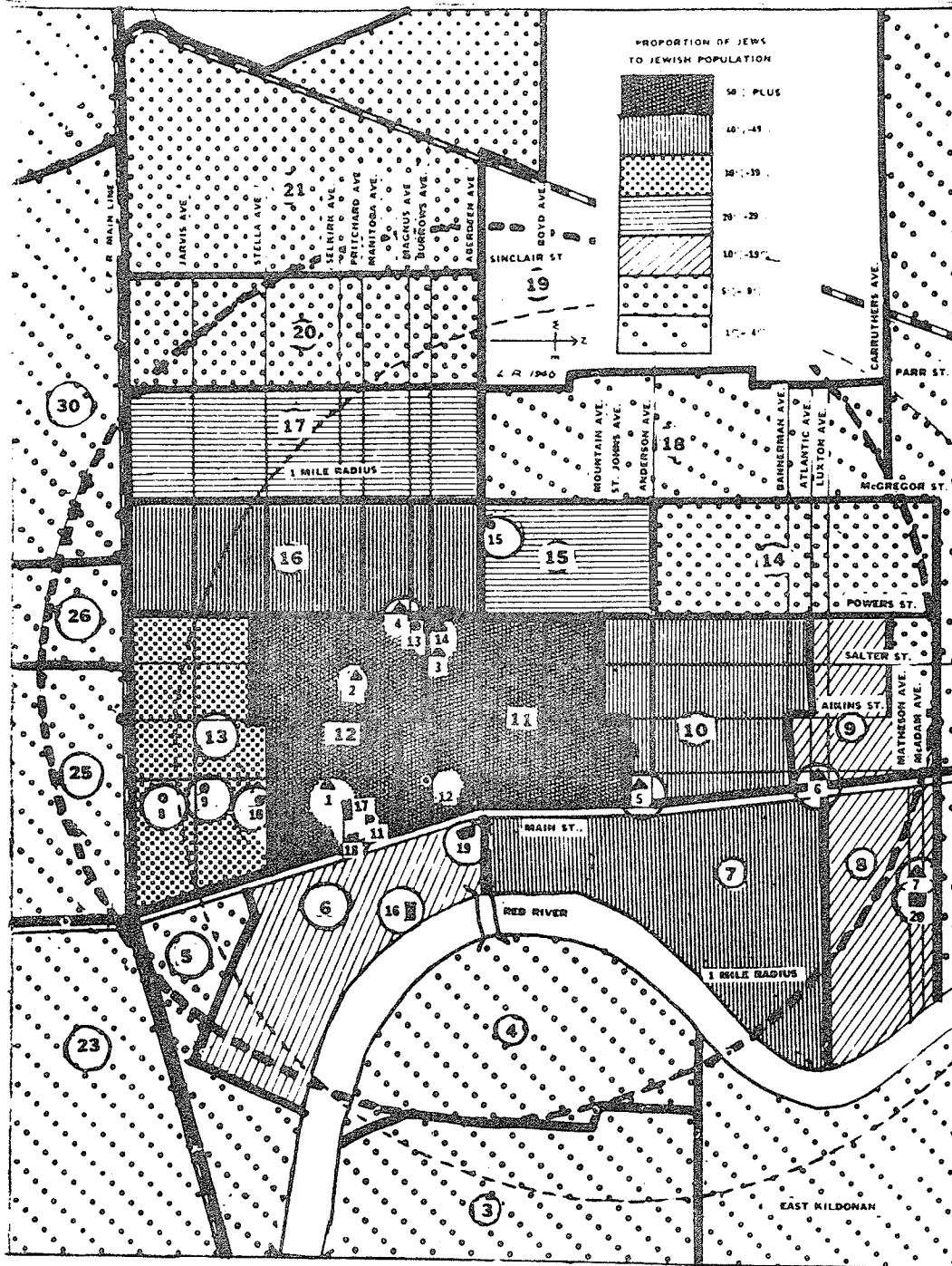
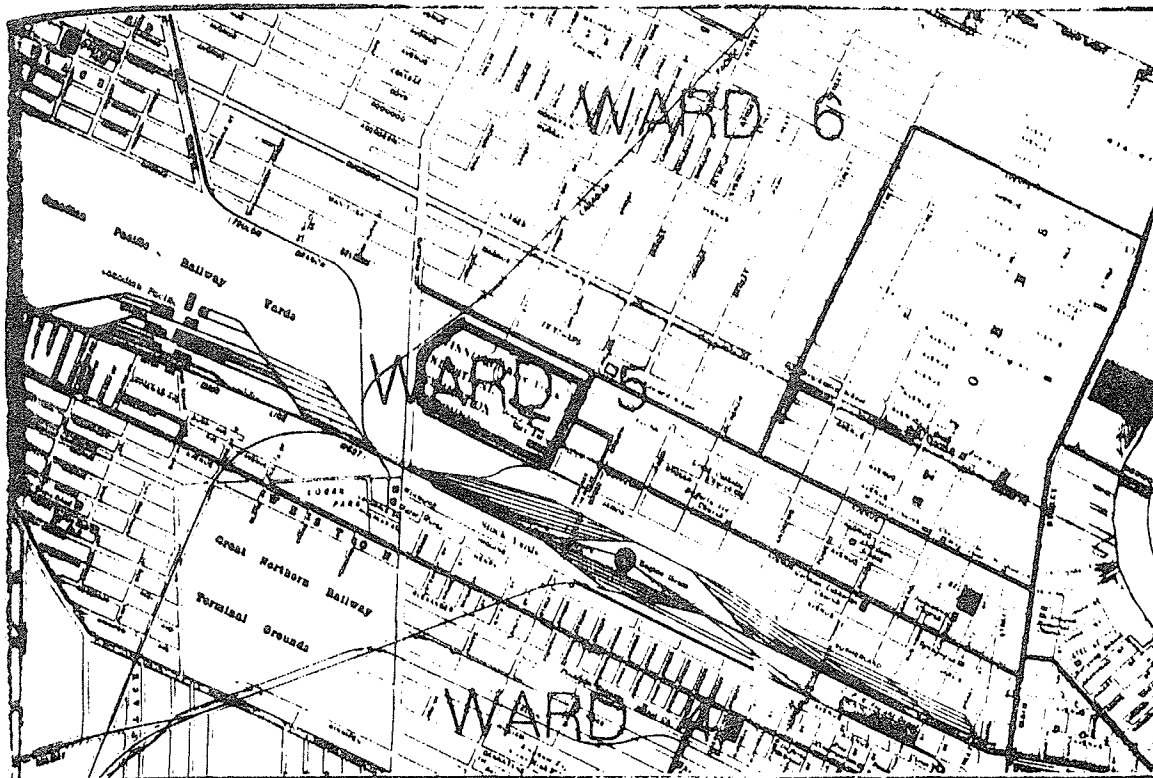


FIG. 2

Map of Social Areas in Ward 3, Winnipeg, showing proportion of Jewish to total population in each area and location of synagogues, Jewish schools, and other Jewish community facilities. Jewish institutions shown are listed at foot of page 23.

- | JEWISH SCHOOLS | SYNAGOGUES | COMMUNAL INSTITUTIONS |
|------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Talmud Torah | 8. Beth Jacob | 16. Jewish Old Folks' Home |
| 2. Sholom Aleichem | 9. Roumanian | 17. Hebrew Sick Benefit Hall |
| 3. Peretz-Folk branch | 10. Chevra Mishnayoth | 18. Hebrew Fraternal Lodge Hall |
| 4. Talmud Torah branch | 11. Beth Judah | 19. Zionist Hall |
| 5. Peretz-Folk branch | 12. Ashkenazi | 20. Jewish Orphanage |
| 6. Peretz-Folk branch | 13. Tifereth Israel | |
| 7. Talmud Torah branch | 14. Attereth Israel | |
| | 15. Lubavitch | |

Appendix D

Map of Winnipeg's Political Division in the North End

- later known as Ward Three.

Alan F. J. Artibise; Edward H. Dahl, "Maps In The Study of Winnipeg's Urban Development", Cities in the West, eds. A. R. McCormack and Ian MacPherson, (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), p.153.

THE WANDERING JEW IN THE MIDDLE AGES

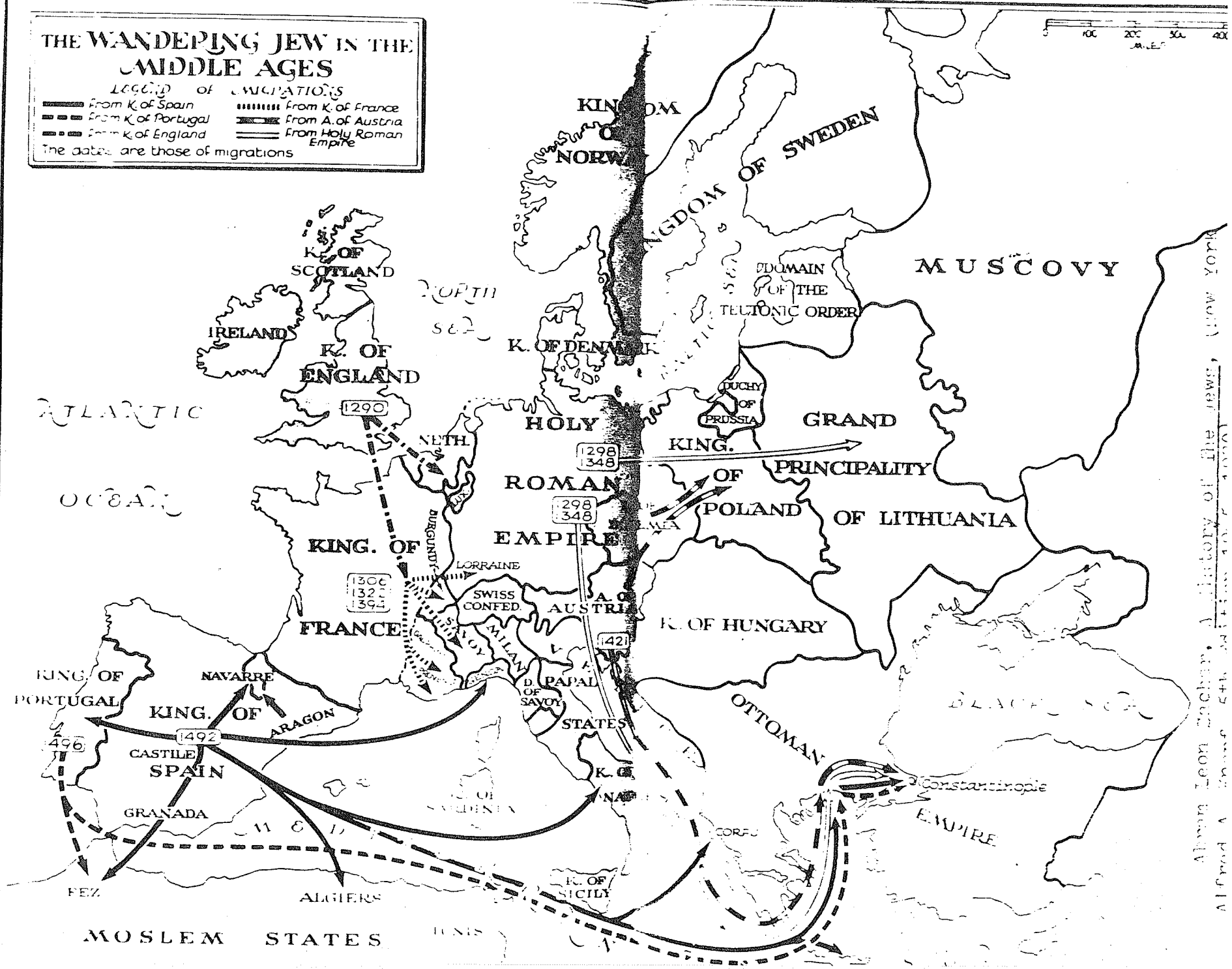
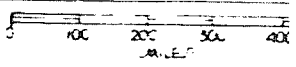
LEGEND OF MIGRATIONS

- From K. of Spain
- From K. of Portugal
- · - · From K. of England
- ||||| From K. of France
- ==== From A. of Austria
- ==== From Holy Roman Empire

The dates are those of migrations

250

Appendix E



Alphonse Leon Becker, A History of the Jews, New York
 Alfred A. Knopf 5th Edition 1917

Appendix F

Elected Winnipeg Delegates to the First Conference of The Canadian Jewish Congress, March, 1919.

<u>Delegate</u>	<u>Ideology</u>	<u>Votes</u>
Almazov, S.	Marxist	?
Asovsky, A.	Zionist	1,695
Averbach, Meyer	National Socialist	1,440
Cherniak, Alter J.	National Socialist	1,902
Cherniak, A.	Zionist	1,133
Finkelstein, Max	Zionist	2,453
Gorodsky, Rabbi	Neutral	1,645
Green, Sam	National Socialist	1,297
Hyman, Marcus	National Socialist	1,424
Hestrin, Joseph	National Socialist	1,333
Kahanovitch, Rabbi I.	Zionist	2,673
Miller, Berl	National Socialist	1,088
Ney, Philip	?	?
Sheps, B.	National Socialist	1,573
Steinkopf, Max	Zionist	1,438
Tessler, M.	Neutral	1,063
Triller, M. W.	Neutral	1,041
Waisman, M.	Zionist	1,326
Weidman, H. A.	Zionist	1,619
Wilder, H. E.	Zionist	1,383

Compiled from reports in The Israelite Press, March 7, 1919; Rabbi Arthur A. Chiel's, The Jews in Canada, 1961, pages 140-144; Cherniak's "Reminiscences", 1969, pages 84-85; L. Rosenberg's "The Canadian Jewish Congress 1919 - 1969" (1970).

Appendix G

Profile of The Winnipeg Delegates to the First Conference Of The Canadian Jewish Congress in Montreal, March, 1919.

- A. Asovsky - born in Russia - 15 years in Winnipeg.
post office employee, endorsed by the General Zionists
One of the founders of the Zionist Federation in Winnipeg
Active in many national organizations.
- S. Almazov - Born in Rovne, Voliener Gubernie - 7 years in Winnipeg.
Social Democrat - endorsed by National Workers Committee.
Active in Jewish Relief for War Victims. Very popular
among Winnipeg Jewish radical circles.
- M. Averbach - Born in Russia - 8 years in Winnipeg.
Teacher - Poale Zion.
Founder of first Poale Zion and Secretary of National
Arbeiter Farband, Branch 506.
Hebrew language advocate. Holds lectures on Jewish
History and Literature.
- A. Cherniak - Born in Mohliver Gubernia. 15 years in Winnipeg.
Superintendent. General Zionist. Founder of Talmud Torah
and B'nai Zion. Active in Hebrew Organization.
Endorsed by General Zionists.
- A. J. Cherniak - Born in Russia. In Winnipeg since 1904.
Lawyer. Poale Zion. Very popular in all Winnipeg Jewish
circles as speaker and activist.
Popular in National Radical circles.
Very active in Congress movement and "Hilfs Farband"
Founder of Western Canadian Congress Farband - attended
last Poale Zion Convention.
Endorsed by National Socialist block.
- M. Finkelstein - Born in Voliner Gubernia. Came to Winnipeg as a child.
Lawyer. Active in Canadian Zionist Federation.
One of the most active in advocating Congress and in
Western Canadian Congress Farein. Also in Dominion
Congress Administration which is carrying out organizing
of Congress.
- I. Gorodski - Born in Russia. 7 years in Winnipeg.
Orthodox Rabbi - Neutral.
Enthusiastic for a Jewish Congress where all factions
unite.
- S. Green - Born in Koselitz, Russia.
Harness Maker. Poale Zion.
Founder of National Youth Organization.
Works in Jewish Relief of War Victims.
Speaker - National Socialist Block.

- M. Hyman - Born in Vilna. 5 years in Winnipeg.
Lawyer. Poale Zion. Ex-President of "Hilfs Farband"
Treasurer of Western Canadian Congress Farein.
Active in Jewish Legionnaire movement. Lecturer and
speaker. National Socialist block.
- I. Hestrin - Born in Russia.
Principal of Peretz School. Poale Zion.
Executive editor of Israelite Press.
Involved in National Radical Organization - lecturer and
speaker - endorsed by National Socialist block.
- Rabbi I. Kahanovitch - Born in Russia. 12 years in Winnipeg. Orthodox.
Mizrachi. Active on behalf of the whole Jewish Community.
Founder and active in Talmud Torah. Respected not only by
Winnipeg Jewry but all Western Canada.
- B. Miller - Born in Russia. 13 years in Winnipeg.
Newspaper agent and book dealer.
Was active in Socialist Territorialists party.
Secretary of famous "Fedorenko Defence League".
Secretary of Worker's Clubs. 2 years vice-president of
Relief Fund. Executive member of Peretz School.
Treasurer of Unemployed Organization.
Endorsed by National Socialist Block.
- P. Ney - No information available.
- B. Sheps - Born in Russia. In Winnipeg since 1907.
Agent. Poale Zion.
Founder of first drama group. Organized the first
Western Canadian Congress Conference - one of the most
active in Congress.
Very popular in the Jewish Schools.
President of Relief Fund.
Endorsed by National Radical Block.
- M. Steinkopf - Born in Bohemia. 21 years in Winnipeg.
Lawyer. Active in Talmud Torah.
School Trustee.
Founder of B'nai B'rith.
Endorsed by General Zionists.
- M. Tessler - Born in Russia. 17 years in Winnipeg. Neutral.
Businessman. Organized North End Relief Association.
Active in all Jewish activities.

- M. W. Triller - Born in Bucharest, Rumania. 17 years in Winnipeg.
Neutral.
Founder of B'nai Abraham, President for 13 years.
Vice-President of North End Relief Association and was instrumental in uniting the North End Relief Association with the Hebrew Relief.
One of the founders of the Jewish Theatre in Winnipeg.
Manager of all New York Theatre Campaigns.
Secretary and Manager of Chesed Shel Emes.
Founder of Queens Theatre. Founder of Talmud Torah.
- M. Waisman - Born in Russia. 15 years in Winnipeg. Zionist.
Insurance Agent. Printer now.
President of Hebrew Sick Benefit Association and West Free Loan Society. Director of Jewish Orphanage of Western Canada. Active in many Jewish organizations. Keenly interested in Congress organization. Nominated by General Zionists.
- H. A. Weidman - Born in Russia. 37 years in Winnipeg.
Wholesale Grocer. Pioneer of Winnipeg Jewish Community. Mizrachi. Founder of Ezreth A Chim Shule.
- H. E. Wilder - Born in Rumania. 15 years in Winnipeg. 21 years a Zionist.
President and Manager of Israelite Press. General Zionist. Active in executive positions in all Zionist organizations. Chairman of Zionist Bureau. Treasurer of Jewish legion. Endorsed by General Zionists.

Information on the aforementioned profiles was taken from The Israelite Press, February 28, 1919.

Appendix H

Numerical Distribution of Total and Jewish Population of Winnipeg Among
the Three City Wards 1891, 1901, 1931 and 1941.*

	<u>Total Population - All Origins.</u>				<u>Jewish Population.</u>			
	<u>1891</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1941</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1941</u>
Ward 1	930	2,280	69,947	76,121	4	-	1,125	1,484
Ward 2	16,339	24,478	74,076	75,023	135	133	828	825
Ward 3	<u>8,370</u>	<u>15,582</u>	<u>74,762</u>	<u>70,816</u>	<u>506</u>	<u>1,023</u>	<u>15,283</u>	<u>14,718</u>
Total	25,639	42,340	218,785	221,960	645	1,156	17,236	17,027

*There is no comparable data available for the years 1911 and 1921 (L. Rosenberg, 1946:11).

Number and Density of Jewish Population of Winnipeg, 1881 - 1941.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Jewish Population</u>	<u>Proportion of Jews to Total</u>
1881	21	0.3%
1891	645	2.5%
1901	1,156	2.6%
1911	9,023	6.3%
1921	14,449	8.1%
1931	17,236	7.9%
1941	17,027	7.7%

(L. Rosenberg, 1946:10).

Appendix I

Platform and Constitution of The Socialist Party of Manitoba.

Objectives.

The socialization of the means of Production, Distribution and Exchange. To be controlled by a Democratic State in the interests of the entire community and the complete emancipation of Labor from the domination of Capitalism.

Platform.

- 1) All organizations and Administrations to be elected by Equal Direct Adult Suffrage and to be maintained by the community.
- 2) Legislation by the People in such wise that no projection of law shall become binding till accepted by the majority of the people.
- 3) The abolition of Standing Armies and the establishment of National Citizens Forces. The people to decide on Peace or War.
- 4) The administration of Justice to be free to all.
- 5) All education to be compulsory, secular, and industrial, with full state maintenance for all children.
- 6) The means of Production, Distribution and Exchange to be declared and treated as collective or common property.
- 7) The Production and Distribution of Wealth to be regulated by the community in the common interest of its members.

Immediate Demands.

- 1) The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts or combines. No part of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property, but to be applied wholly to the increase in wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees and to the improvement of service.
- 2) The education of all children up to 16 years of age, and state and municipal provisions for books, clothing and food. The establishment of Provincial Colleges for the education of both sexes.
- 3) No child to be employed in any trade or occupation until 16 years of age, the penalty for infringement by employers to be imprisonment.
- 4) The establishment of a public employment bureau. The provision of useful work for all unemployed at current wages.

- 5) Eight hours or less to be a normal working day, or not more than forty-four hours per week and a minimum wage to be fixed in all trades and industry by legislative enactment. Imprisonment to be the penalty for employers and employees infringing the law.
- 6) The establishment of adequate pensions for aged or infirm workers.
- 7) Equal civil and political rights to men and women. Abolition of finance and property qualification for candidates and electors at all elections. Canvassing to be made illegal. Election days to be legal holidays.
- 8) Abolition of the Senate, establishment of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and right of recall of representatives by their constitution.
- 9) The establishment of an exclusive national currency and the extension of the Post Office Banks so that they shall absorb all private institutions that derive a profit from operations in money or credit. All fire, life and other insurances to be operated in the interests of the whole people.
- 10) No further alienation of Dominion or Provincial lands. Grants to be revoked when conditions of grants have not been fulfilled. Land to be ceased only until such time as it is utilized by the community.
- 11) All revenue to be raised by taxation of land values, by cumulative income taxes, and by inheritance tax.
- 12) Municipalization and public control of the liquor traffic.
- 13) The establishment of free public hospitals, convalescent homes, medical service and dispensaries.

(The Voice, November 21, 1902).

Appendix J

BILL OF RIGHTS

S2 C. 56-57. Anno Primo Gulielmi IV. A. D. 1831.

Public Act . VIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this Act shall be taken and deemed to be a public Act, and as such shall be judicially taken notice of by all Judges, Justices of the Peace, and all others whom it shall concern without being specially pleaded.

CA P. LVII.

An Act to declare persons professing the Jewish Religion intitled to all the rights and privileges of the other subjects of His Majesty in this Province.

31st March, 1831.—Presented for His Majesty's Assent and reserved "for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon."
 12th April, 1832.—Assented to by His Majesty in His Council.
 5th June, 1832.—The Royal Assent signified by the proclamation of His Excellency the Governor in Chief.

Preamble. **W**HEREAS doubts have arisen whether persons professing the Jewish Religion are by law entitled to many of the privileges enjoyed by the other subjects of His Majesty within this Province: Be it therefore declared and enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Assembly of the Province of Lower Canada, constituted and assembled by virtue of and under the authority of an Act passed in the Parliament of Great Britain, intituled, "An Act to repeal certain parts of an Act passed in the fourteenth year of His Majesty's Reign, intituled, "An Act for making more effectual provision for the Government of the Province of Quebec, in North America," and to make further provision for the Government of the said Province of Quebec in North America." And it is hereby declared and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all persons professing the Jewish Religion being natural born British subjects inhabiting and residing in this Province, are entitled and shall be deemed, adjudged and taken to be entitled to the full rights and privileges of the other subjects of His Majesty, his Heirs or Successors, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever, and capable of taking, having or enjoying any office or place of trust whatsoever, within this Province.

Photographic Reproduction of the Act Granting Jews Equal Rights

(H.E. Wilder, 1932:11)

Appendix K

FIGURE 3

LIST OF WINNIPEG JEWS ELECTED
TO PUBLIC OFFICE*
1905 - 1963

School Trustees

Abramson, Moses	1914 - 1915
Steinkopf, Max	1916 - 1917
Alcin, Mrs. Rose	1920 - 1921
Hyman, Marcus	1924 - 1929
Gray, Morris A.	1927 - 1930
Hart-Green, Mrs. A.	1931 - 1932
Averbach, Meyer	1933 - 1936 : 1938 - 1949
Ross, William G.	1937 - 1940
Zuken, Joseph	1942 - 1961
Sheps, Mrs. Mindel	1943 - 1944
Orlikow, David	1945 - 1950
Cherniak, Saul	1951 - 1954
Matas, Roy	1958 - 1961
Wolch, Isidor	1958 - 1962

Aldermen

Finkelstein, Moses	1905 - 1907
Skaletar, Alter	1912 - 1917
Heaps, Abraham, A.	1917 - 1926
Blumberg, John	1920 - 1956
Gray, Morris A.	1930 - 1942
Brotman, Ernest A.	1943 - 1950
Orlikow, David	1951 - 1958
Cherniack, Saul	1959 - 1960
Danzker, Mark	1960 -
Zuken, Joseph	1962 -
Wolch, Isidor	1963 -

Councillors of Metropolitan Winnipeg

Blumberg, John	1960 - 1961
Cherniack, Saul	1960 - 1962
Green, Sidney	1962 -

FIGURE 3 (continued)

Members of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba

Hart-Green, S.	1910 - 1914
Tobias, William V.	1927 - 1932
Hyman, Marcus	1932 - 1939
Gray, Morris A.	1941 -
Orlikow, David	1958 - 1962
Cherniack, Saul	1962 -
Steinkopf, Maitland	1962 -

Members of the Federal Parliament

Heaps, Abraham A.	1926 - 1940
Orlikow, David	1962 -

*This list does not include the names of Jews who have been elected to office in municipalities, suburbs, or cities near Winnipeg (Herstein thesis:1964).

Appendix IElection Record, Province of Manitoba - Winnipeg North End, 1903 - 1920

July 20, 1903 Total number of voters - 3675

Sampson Walker	Conservative	1106	Elected
John W. Cockburn	Liberal	1057	
Robert Thoms (Labor)	Independent	<u>591</u>	
		2754	

1907 Provincial Election Total number of voters - 4576

J. F. Mitchell	Conservative	2244	Elected
Alex Macdonald	Liberal	<u>1874</u>	
		4118	

July 11, 1910 Total number of voters - 5055

S. Hart Green	Liberal	2175	Elected
J. F. Mitchell	Conservative	1555	
Ed Fulcher	Socialist	<u>892</u>	
		4622	

July 10, 1914 Total number of voters - 9400

Winnipeg North End Divided into A and B Wards (Ward 6 and Ward 5 formerly
- two to be elected)

Seat A - (Ward 6)

Joseph Patrick Foley	Conservative	3135	Elected
James Willoughby	Liberal	2816	
Arthur Beech	Labour	<u>1921</u>	
		7872	

Seat B - Ward 5)

Daniel McLean	Conservative	3268	Elected
Robert Newton Lowery	Liberal	2645	
Herman Saltzman	Labour	<u>2068</u>	
		7981	

August 6, 1915 Total number of voters - 8093

Seat A

Robert Newton Lowery	Conservative	2443	Elected
Joseph P. Foley	Liberal	1490	
Arthur Beech	Labour	<u>2248</u>	
		6181	

Seat B

S. Hart Green	Liberal	2263	
Elias R. Levinson	Conservative	1248	
Richard Arthur Rigg	Labour	<u>2494</u>	Elected
		6005	

1917 By-Election - Seat B Winnipeg North

Robert Jacob	Union	2912	Elected
Elias R. Levinson	Conservative	<u>2361</u>	
		5273	

(Election Records, Provincial Library).

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Dorfman, Sarah (Brownstein)	#188
Freedman, Jacob	#198
Granovsky, Samuel	#225
Plotkin, Bertha (Prasow)	#244
Schwartz, Abe	#273
Zeilig, Esther	#221

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