

THE PARTICIPATION OF A CULTURAL MINORITY IN
POLITICS: JEWISH VOTING PREFERENCES
IN SEVEN OAKS AND RIVER HEIGHTS,
1969 AND 1973

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

The University of Manitoba

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirement for the Degree
Master of Arts

by

Elliot H. Katz

October 1980

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PREFACE

While this study deals with the political participation and evident party preferences in two provincial elections of some of the Jewish voters in Winnipeg, neither common sense nor the methodology employed permits any categorical characterization of what in other less rigorous contexts, might be termed a "Jewish vote." Jews in Winnipeg did not constitute a "bloc" in any sense of that term and certainly did not think or behave in any collectively uniform fashion.

Being Jewish can be a complex matter of historical ancestry, cultural traditions and religious conviction: and its essentially distinctive qualities, as well as their precise identification are clearly beyond the scope attempted here. The selection and consideration of particular polls, moreover, are handicapped by the lack, in Winnipeg, of areas or neighbourhoods that are exclusively, or almost exclusively, comprised of Jewish residents. Accordingly, it has been necessary to make do with polls having apparent Jewish proportions, as determined by simple name identifications and long personal experience, in the order of approximately 40 to 75 per cent. Observations based on these proportions are of course tentative.

It needs also to be acknowledged, at the outset, that among Winnipeg's Jewish residents, as among members of any cultural group, there is an extensive range and diversity of views, especially perhaps on political matters, which is beyond the capacity of this study to describe or even summarize adequately. With this said, however, it is nonetheless hoped that the material presented here,

although not conclusively instructive nor above disputation, may still be of value to those interested in the evolving patterns of politics in Manitoba.

The writer gratefully acknowledges the great patience, constant encouragement and constructive counsel of my thesis adviser, Professor T. Peterson. I wish to express my thanks to all those persons I interviewed who gave so freely of their valuable time in response to my numerous questions.

Above all, I wish especially to thank my wife for her unlimited patience and understanding which enabled me to complete this thesis.

ABSTRACT

This study examines the factors which led to the wavering and ultimate desertion of large numbers of Jewish supporters of the political left in North Winnipeg in the 1973 provincial election. These Jewish voters were largely found in the higher-income area of Garden City and formerly had been long-standing supporters of the New Democratic Party and its predecessors.

A brief historical survey of Jewish political participation and voting preferences in North Winnipeg prior to the 1969 provincial election, which witnessed the election of the New Democratic Party, indicated large-scale support by many Jewish voters for the party and its numerous Jewish candidates, as well as those of the Communist party.

A more detailed examination of the 1969 and 1973 provincial elections in Seven Oaks and River Heights constituencies, where the majority of Winnipeg's Jews resided during this period, was also undertaken. Continued large-scale Jewish support for the N.D.P. in 1969 was evident in North Winnipeg, while South Winnipeg Jews remained staunch supporters of the other two major parties--the Progressive Conservatives and the Liberals.

The 1973 provincial election results revealed the desertion from the New Democratic Party of many higher-income Jews to the Progressive Conservative party, apparently as a result of various government measures which were perceived by this group as threatening to their business interests and general economic status.

Among South Winnipeg Jews, continued support went to the Liberal and Progressive Conservative parties.

These results indicate that the formerly-held allegiance of North Winnipeg Jews to the New Democratic Party, and its predecessors, had fallen victim to this group's improved economic interests. Further study of succeeding provincial elections in Seven Oaks is necessary in order to establish the persistence of this phenomenon.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Jews first settled in Manitoba nearly a century ago. Since that time, they have played an important role in the development of Winnipeg into a metropolis, and have been active in the social, economic and political life of the city alongside other cultural groups. North Winnipeg in particular was home for many years to a vast majority of Winnipeg's Jewry. Primarily refugees from later Russian pogroms, East European Jews almost from the outset dominated numerically, if not politically and economically, their German and Western European co-religionists. By the turn of the century, Winnipeg's Jews numbered about eleven hundred persons;¹ by 1941 their number had grown to over seventeen thousand.² By 1971, this had increased only slightly to eighteen thousand, three hundred and fifteen persons; the years of the community's major expansion were evidently past.³

The story of Winnipeg's Jews is a story of an immigrant community, first established by a handful of hardy pioneers, that

¹Canada, Fourth Census of Canada, 1901, Table IX, Principal Religions By Census Districts, 1891-1901, p. 146 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1902), p. 146.

²Louis Rosenberg, A Population Study of the Winnipeg Jewish Community (Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1946), p. 10.

³Canada, Department of Industry, Trade & Commerce, 1971 Census of Canada, Census Tract Bulletin, Winnipeg, Table 1, p. 2.

grew and prospered as did the other immigrant groups of the province and the city. It is also the story of Winnipeg's North End. For here, in the first fifty years of this century--certainly its most formative years--the Jewish population was centered in the area between the Canadian Pacific Railway main line and the city's northern boundaries. Not until the 1950's and 1960's did the exodus to the suburbs begin and with this there began a new chapter in the group's history.

The immigrant has always been important to the economic growth of Winnipeg. Immigration accounted for over eighty per cent of the city's population growth from 1900 to 1915; and by the latter year recent immigrants comprised about a quarter of its total population.⁴ The population growth was paralleled by rapid industrial growth. Assisting this was the immigrant work force, including skilled workers from Britain and unskilled workers from Eastern Europe. As most of the latter settled in North Winnipeg, the city increasingly developed a de facto pattern of residential segregation. The North End wards contained most of the city's poorer East European and German immigrants as well as many of its heavy industries; whereas the more prosperous British and Scandinavian neighbourhoods were located in the south and west sections of Winnipeg. By 1920, North Winnipeg contained over eighty per cent of the city's Jews and Slavs, but only twenty per cent of its British population.⁵

Both the Liberals and Conservatives actively courted the

⁴Alan Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), p. 137.

⁵Ibid., p. 161.

immigrant vote and sponsored Jewish political clubs after 1895.⁶ The first Jew was elected a city alderman for the Conservatives in 1904.⁷ Yet among the Jews, radical politics also flourished. Some of the immigrants from Russia, who had participated in clandestine protest against the Czarist regime, came with philosophies of anarchism, socialism, nihilism, and variations of these. In 1906, Jewish social democrats joined other socialists in support of striking Winnipeg Street Railway employees.⁸ Two years later, they helped to campaign for the socialist candidate for the Legislature. In the 1911 civic elections, they nominated their own candidate for school board, but he was defeated.⁹ By January 1915, the Jewish socialist of the city numbered nearly one hundred persons.¹⁰

In early summer of 1919, a General Strike broke out in Winnipeg and not only widened the gulf between the mainly Anglo-Saxon upper and middle classes and the immigrant community but also the

⁶ Arthur A. Chiel, The Jews in Manitoba (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 171.

⁷ Ibid., p. 173.

⁸ Ibid., p. 177.

⁹ Ibid., p. 177.

¹⁰ Ernest Chisick, "The Development of Winnipeg's Socialist Movement, 1900-1915" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972), p. 55.

ethnic divisions within the lower class.¹¹ The increasingly politicized and class conscious British immigrant workers, together with some of the Jewish community, confronted the city's commercial elite, while the bulk of the East European lower class accepted the authority of their employers. Likewise, through the next three decades, the Jewish community, by and large, supported the parties of the left to a greater extent than did other poor immigrants in North Winnipeg.

Ethnic politics may be said to occur whenever "ethnicity is an important consideration in the decisions made by voters and politicians" to the extent that a particular ethnic group's voting behaviour is discernible in a pattern.¹² It can also be seen where there exists "the tendency for some members of an . . . ethnic group to support one party or the other. . . ."¹³ As Professor Dahl notes in his authoritative book, Who Governs?, there are three stages of ethnic group political maturation. The first stage finds an ethnic group occupying a very low socio-economic position, while the two following result from the group's climbing the socio-economic ladder and

¹¹Tom Peterson, "Ethnic and Class Politics in Manitoba" in Martin Robin, (ed.), Canadian Provincial Politics (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1972), p. 72. On the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike, see also D.C. Masters, The Winnipeg General Strike (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950); David Bercuson, Confrontation At Winnipeg (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974); A. Balawyder, (ed.), The Winnipeg General Strike (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1967) and J.E. Rea, (ed.), The Winnipeg General Strike (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1973).

¹²R.E. Wolfinger, "Some Consequences of Ethnic Politics" in L.H. Zeigler and M.K. Jennings, (ed.), The Electoral Process (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966), p. 43.

¹³Ibid., p. 43.

finally reaching the stage of maturity.¹⁴ Dahl asserts that only when the final stage is assumed does there occur a decline in ethnic identification resulting from the increased assimilation of the second or third generations.¹⁵ Given these assumptions, the study of a particular ethnic group's voting behaviour over a number of years should reveal the degree to which its gradual social and economic assimilation results in a lessening of ethnic voting.

Several theories have been put forward to explain the general tendency of Jews to support left-of-center or liberal ideologies and parties. One emphasizes traditional Jewish values including communal responsibility for the welfare of others. A second suggests that the status inferiority of Jews caused them to challenge any dominant or established culture. A third theory notes that parties of the right were historically committed to the preservation of religious and national traditions with which most Jews had little connection. A fourth suggests that Jewish liberalism finds its source in the values of modern, estranged partly assimilated Jews who seek a universalistic ethic to which they can adhere.¹⁶

Whatever the relative validity of these theories, there is nonetheless general agreement that, as compared to other religious groups, Jews have shown a greater tendency to support progressive or

¹⁴Robert Dahl, Who Governs? (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 34.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 34

¹⁶Priscilla Fishman, (ed.), The Jews of the United States, (New York: Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Co., 1975), pp. 170-172.

liberal parties.¹⁷ Jews in the United States, for example, have over the past forty years fairly consistently supported the candidates of the more liberal Democratic Party more often than they have those of the relatively conservative Republican Party.¹⁸ Jews have also played a leading role in the development and organization of trade unions in both Canada and the United States. The needle-trades of both New York and Winnipeg are examples of centers of Jewish, and at the same time, left-wing, unionism. Within this acknowledged perspective, it is the purpose here to consider examples of Jewish voting behaviour in the Manitoba provincial elections of 1969 and 1973. While the historical review will cover both federal and provincial elections prior to 1969, our focus will remain on these two provincial contests, as this relates to the election of the New Democratic Party in Manitoba, and as the New Democrats have yet to attain similar electoral success on the national level.

The examples to be considered consist of polls in the Winnipeg constituencies of Seven Oaks, in the northern part of the city, and River Heights in the southern part. According to the 1971 Canadian census, these two ridings contained over half of Winnipeg's Jewish residents.¹⁹ The particular polls were selected because they were

¹⁷ Wesley and Beverley Allinsmith, "Religious Affiliation and Politico-Economic Attitudes," in Public Opinion Quarterly (Fall, 1948), pp. 377-89 and Liston Pope, "Religion and Class Structure," in The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Sciences (March, 1948), pp. 84-91.

¹⁸ Fishman, op. cit., pp. 167-168.

¹⁹ 1971 Census of Canada, Census Tract Bulletin, Winnipeg, Table 1, pp. 2-3.

substantially or predominantly Jewish, in terms of the eligible voters they contained. To determine the number of Jewish voters in each of the polls, the total number of Jewish names on the voters' list was divided by the total number of names on the list. This procedure could not take into account any advance polls or any additions to the voters' list as a result of judicial revisions, because this information was unavailable.

The use of ethnic surnames is not foolproof; but it is an accepted procedure. One student of ethnic politics has noted that "using ethnic surnames as a basis for determining nationality seems generally valid . . . [and] is not invalidated by the degree of misidentification incurred."²⁰ Several methods are used for measuring group voting. Prior to the establishment of national polling firms like Roper and Gallup (in the United States), data were gathered by taking relatively 'pure' voting wards in various cities around the nation and extrapolating reasonable figures for national averages of a particular group vote in a particular election. In the United States, the National Broadcasting Corporation's election-day method of analysis works much the same way. NBC researchers locate sample voting precincts, where most of the voters are known to be mainly from some particular cultural background. The final NBC tally for each group is therefore derived from careful choice of 'tag' or relatively homogeneous precincts. In 1972, another American television network, the Columbia Broadcasting System, used a research method much like

²⁰R.A. Gabriel, The Ethnic Factor in The Urban Polity (New York: MSS Information Corp., 1973), p. 39.

that used by Gallup and Harris: an intensive survey asked voters as they left the polling place, whom they had voted for, what religion they considered themselves, and other questions. Significantly, for the purpose here, the figure for Jewish voting in 1972 realized by CBS was similar to that obtained by NBC's 'tag' precinct method.²¹ Thus the validity of poll sampling appears, in the absence of other data, and supplemented by material from press reports and personal interviews, to be justified as a possible source of political information about the Jews of Winnipeg, a seldom-studied group.

²¹Stephen D. Isaacs, Jews and American Politics (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1974), pp. 279-80.

CHAPTER II

A BRIEF SURVEY OF JEWISH CANDIDATES AND VOTING PREFERENCES IN NORTH WINNIPEG PRIOR TO 1969

For some sixty years after 1900, North Winnipeg was home to predominantly Eastern European working class families. Their location there was partly by choice and partly encouraged by the city's mainly Anglo-Saxon political and economic elite. It was here that the most early immigrants first settled. Many were refugees from Polish and Russian discrimination and pogroms. Within a few years, the community established secure roots, modest local business enterprises and its first synagogues. By 1911, the Jewish community was sufficiently developed to include a small Jewish economic elite, some of whom moved to South Winnipeg, while poorer Jews remained in the North End.¹

The division between the two Jewish groups in time became not only geographic but also political. At the level of provincial politics, most Jewish voters initially supported Liberal and Conservative candidates. Both of these parties organized Jewish political clubs before the turn of the century. The first Jewish member of city council, Moses Finkelstein, a Conservative, was elected in 1904. S. Hart Green, a Jewish lawyer originally from New Brunswick, was elected as a Liberal to the Manitoba Legislature in 1910, and thus became the first Jewish member of any provincial legislature in Canada.

¹A.A. Chiel, The Jews in Manitoba: A Social History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 135.

In 1912, another Conservative, Altar Skaletar, was also elected to city council. Meanwhile, Jewish socialists became active in local politics as early as 1906, when they joined other socialists supporting striking employees of the city-owned street railway system.² They had also nominated their own candidate for school board in 1911, and in 1916 helped elect A.A. Heaps, a British-born Jew to city council. They were also instrumental in defeating a Jewish businessman, Max Steinkopf, when he sought re-election to the school board in 1919. As Rabbi A.A. Chiel notes,

the choice was a clear one for large numbers in the Jewish community who were themselves workingmen.³

By 1920, North Winnipeg was providing strong support for the labour movement, usually electing pro-labour aldermen; while South Winnipeg usually elected pro-business aldermen.

In 1923, A.A. Heaps, notwithstanding the support he received from prominent Jewish socialists such as Joseph Cherniack and Marcus Hyman, unsuccessfully contested a federal by-election in Winnipeg North for the Independent Labour Party. His Liberal opponent, E.J. McMurray, the recently appointed Solicitor-General, fearing Heaps' appeal within the largely working class Jewish community, enrolled the assistance of S.W. Jacobs, K.C., a prominent Jewish Member of

²Ernest Chisick, "The Development of Winnipeg's Socialist Movement, 1900-1915" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972), pp. 54-55 and R. Usiskin, "The Winnipeg Jewish Community: Its Radical Elements, 1905-1918," M.A. Research Paper, Dept. of Sociology, University of Manitoba, 1976, mimeo.

³Chiel, op. cit., p. 179.

Parliament from Montreal.⁴ When Heaps ran again in the 1925 federal election, he was successful and won all but one of the polls in the largely working class area. To help them this time, the Liberals brought in Peter Bercovitch, K.C., a Jewish member of the Quebec provincial legislature, but this ethnic appeal to local Jews evidently failed. When the country again faced a federal election in 1926, Heaps easily won re-election with forty per cent of the vote.⁵

By this time, the Jewish community in Winnipeg had grown to over fourteen thousand persons.⁶ It possessed thirteen synagogues, thirty Hebrew Loan Societies, a Jewish Public Library, several schools representing different religious and secular groups, a Jewish Old Folks Home, as well as a Free Jewish Dispensary, to help meet its needs.⁷ A Hebrew Charities organization, created in 1909, and a Young Men's Hebrew Association, by this time over 25 years old, also served the community.

In the provincial election of 1927, two Jewish candidates ran in Winnipeg then, under the system of proportional representation established in 1920, a multi-member riding represented in the legislature by ten members. Both were from South Winnipeg: Max Steinkopf and W.V. Tobias. Tobias, a Conservative lawyer, captured 60

⁴Manitoba Free Press, October 22, 1923, p. 7.

⁵All election results cited here are taken from the reports of the Chief Electoral Officers of Canada and Manitoba.

⁶Louis Rosenberg, A Population Study of the Winnipeg Jewish Community (Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1946), p. 10.

⁷A.J. Arnold, "Highlights of Western Jewish Community Development Going Back to 1925," in Western Jewish News, August 28, 1975, p. 15.

per cent of his support from North Winnipeg polls, and was elected; while Steinkopf, a Progressive, with slightly fewer votes from these same polls, was unsuccessful. Tobias' victory was assisted by vote transfers from Steinkopf, once the latter was eliminated on the tenth count; and it is probable that these came from Jewish voters who preferred to vote for a Jewish candidate regardless of his party.⁸

With the onset of the depression in 1929, conditions in Winnipeg's North End worsened. A local newspaper reported in 1932 that the city had the second highest urban per capita unemployment rate in Canada.⁹ Voter unrest benefitted Communist candidates who proposed militant and extensive social and economic reform. In the bitter and fierce campaign of the 1930 federal election in North Winnipeg, A.A. Heaps faced his strongest threat from the Communist candidate, Leslie Morris; but as the only Jew in the race, Heaps won this group's ethnic support, and half of the total vote in the riding.¹⁰

In the 1932 provincial election, Jewish support for ethnic politicians again prevailed. The two contestants in this campaign were Marcus Hyman, a lawyer and Independent Labour Party member, (who had first gained public attention by successfully preventing the deportation of four men arrested in Winnipeg's 1919 general strike) and W.V. Tobias, the Conservative incumbent. Hyman's victory revealed the political preference of Jewish voters for the more liberal of the

⁸In this system of voting, as each successive candidate was eliminated, his second and other preference votes were transferred to others.

⁹Winnipeg Free Press, November 12, 1932, p. 12.

¹⁰Leo Heaps, Rebel In The House (London: Niccolo Pub., 1970), p. 121.

two Jewish candidates. As in 1927, when they preferred Tobias to the more conservative Steinkopf, they now chose Hyman, who was clearly to the left of Tobias.

Notwithstanding the support which the left received from Jewish voters in North Winnipeg, however, the Liberals (and provincially, the Liberal-Progressives) also generally did well.¹¹ Historically, Jewish support for the Liberals could be traced to the favourable immigration policies of the federal Liberal government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who was in office from 1896 to 1911. The Conservatives, according to one Jewish historian, were regarded with suspicion by some Jewish voters as having a "predisposition towards ethnic favouritism," which preferred English-Canadians and immigrants from Great Britain.¹² Even with their tactical advantage in presenting themselves as federal protectors of all ethnic minorities, including Jews, however, the Liberals in North Winnipeg faced vigorous competition from the Jewish candidates of the Independent Labour Party.

In the 1935 federal election, by which time the Independent Labour Party, had substantially become the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, or C.C.F., Heaps, was opposed by Tim Buck, then national leader of the Communist Party. With the support of the two major

¹¹The Liberal-Progressives were formed from a coalition of the Liberals and Progressives prior to the 1932 provincial election. See W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2nd. ed., 1967), p. 424.

¹²Chiel, op. cit., p. 174.

Winnipeg dailies, he won considerable support from the Jewish community and was re-elected with a plurality of five thousand votes. In the provincial election of the following year, twenty candidates sought election in Winnipeg and only one of these, I.L.P. member Marcus Hyman, was from the Jewish community. He accordingly benefitted from the support of his co-religionists, receiving 80 per cent of his returns from North Winnipeg electors, and won re-election even though the labour party's vote fell by one-quarter because of a highly successful campaign by a maverick socialist, Lewis St. George Stubbs.

The Jewish community of Winnipeg, now numbering about seventeen thousand persons, was concentrated mainly in Winnipeg's Ward Three; Jews formed the largest ethnic group in four of the federal census tracts in the area, and in two of these, comprised an absolute majority.¹³ As some of its members entered the professions, it increased in social and economic diversity. By 1941, for example, there were over eighty persons in the medical and dental professions, sixty-two lawyers and three architects.¹⁴

With the advent of World War Two, the federal Liberal government of Mackenzie King called an election seeking a mandate to lead the country in time of war. In North Winnipeg, as elsewhere in Canada, the war and its successful prosecution were the paramount issues. This election saw the defeat of A.A. Heaps, perhaps partly

¹³Rosenberg, op. cit., p. 18.

¹⁴Chiel, op. cit., p. 64.

because of his formerly-held pacifist beliefs and his long absences in Ottawa. In any event, the Jewish voters heeded the appeal of the Liberal candidate, Lt. Col. C.S. Booth, that only his party could lead the nation in war. In an editorial five days before the election, The Jewish Post, for example, supported this position:

For the Jewish people . . . there is but one issue--the complete and thorough prosecution of the war to a successful finish. Our vote must go to those candidates who pledge themselves unreservedly to this platform.¹⁵

In a letter to the same newspaper, one reader noted that he and many other Jews had previously voted for Heaps because "on the whole, he was a capable man, but most of all because he was a Jew," and added that in this election, all Jews should support the Liberals solely on the issue of war.¹⁶ Heaps was apparently unable to overcome such sentiment and lost by over 1600 votes.

The following year, the provincial administration of John Bracken chose to go to the polls. Two members from the Jewish community were among the candidates seeking elective office. They were Morris Gray of the C.C.F., and Tobias, who was now running as an independent. Actively involved in Jewish affairs, particularly for the Labour Zionist movement in Western Canada, (in fact, he campaigned almost exclusively among Jews), Gray was universally respected in the Jewish community for his support of local Jewish causes, especially increased Jewish immigration. A travel agent by profession, he, like many other C.C.F. politicians of the period, served a period of

¹⁵The Jewish Post, March 21, 1940, p. 4.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 6.

apprenticeship as either a school trustee or city alderman, prior to entering provincial politics.¹⁷ In the election results which saw the coalition government of Bracken returned with near complete control of the legislature, Gray was one of only three C.C.F. members re-elected, while Tobias went down to defeat. Gray's popularity in North Winnipeg among the Jewish electorate enabled him to obtain over 80 per cent of his returns from these voters. Tobias, even though he was unsuccessful, received nearly two-thirds of his support from the same area.¹⁸

The ethnic allegiance of the Jewish voter in North Winnipeg was again demonstrated in the 1945 federal election, which was unusual in that the labour party's candidate, for the first time in twenty years, was not a Jew; while his Communist opponent, Joseph Zuken, was a Jewish lawyer. The C.C.F. candidate, Alistair Stewart, regained the riding for his party, although the results demonstrated strong support for the Communist candidate among the heavily Jewish polls. Given a Jewish Communist and a non-Jewish C.C.F. candidate to choose from in this election, large numbers in the Jewish community showed an ethnic preference for the Communist, to the detriment of the C.C.F.

The pattern of Jewish support for Jewish candidates was once more present in the provincial election, held a few months later. M.A. Gray of the C.C.F. again contested the seat; while Joseph Zuken

¹⁷Lloyd Stinson, Political Warriors (Winnipeg: Queeston House, 1975), p. 115.

¹⁸See Nelson Wiseman and K.W. Taylor, "Class and Ethnic Voting in Winnipeg: the Case of 1941" (The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, May, 1977), pp. 174-187.

ran as the Communist candidate. In a campaign which saw the C.C.F. capture more seats in Winnipeg than their opponents, Gray was easily re-elected, with 71 per cent of his support coming from the Jewish and working class electorate of North Winnipeg.¹⁹ Gray's candidacy received oblique approval from The Jewish Post, which had urged Jews to consider the personal merits of the candidates, especially those who could be trusted to speak up for minority groups.²⁰ Zuken, although not elected, got 64 per cent of his vote from North Winnipeg's electors, with much of this centered in the heavily Jewish polls. Throughout these years, the Jewish candidates of the left consistently did best in the mainly Jewish polls, while most non-Jewish candidates did poorly among the Jewish voters. Even in this election, when Lewis St. George Stubbs won considerable voter support in other areas of Winnipeg, he got less than 20 per cent of his total vote from North Winnipeg. The pattern of Jewish voters supporting Jewish candidates, who were usually socialist or communist, was now seemingly securely established.

In the 1949 federal campaign, however, Jewish support for Joseph Zuken declined. Running a second time against Alistair Stewart of the C.C.F., Zuken was hurt by the increasing anti-Communist hostility of the Cold War, as well as by the presence of a strong Slavic candidate, Peter Taraska of the Liberals, who succeeded in

¹⁹ See Nelson Wiseman and K.W. Taylor, "Ethnic Vs. Class Voting: The Case of Winnipeg, 1945" (Canadian Journal of Political Science, June, 1974), pp. 314-328.

²⁰ The Jewish Post, October 11, 1945, p. 2.

attracting substantial support from the Eastern European community. The Jewish vote in this election split between the Communist and the C.C.F. candidates, evidently in part because some Jewish voters, perhaps intimidated by the period's anti-communism, were dissuaded from maintaining their usual allegiance to candidates who were of Jewish origin.

In the provincial election some six months later, they again abandoned Joseph Zuken. In this campaign, antipathy to the Communist Party was so strong that Zuken lost his deposit; while Gray of the C.C.F. received his customary support from the Jewish electorate. The only other Jewish candidate was A.L. Simkin, a Liberal, who was so little known among voters that he got few votes.

While all Jewish candidates through this period theoretically appealed to all voters, in one way or another they specifically focused their appeal to the Jewish electorate. They presented their campaigns usually under the auspices of various Jewish committees, and had numerous advertisements in the local Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish newspapers, The Jewish Post and the Western Jewish News. While these advertisements generally avoided seeking votes for a particular candidate simply because he supported a special issue of Jewish concern, such as the establishment and defence of Israel, they often included endorsements and commendations by leading Jews in the community. This occurred against the background at each election of a campaign by the Canadian Jewish Congress, which sought to dissuade the parties from these efforts, on the grounds that they divided Canadian Jewish interests and suggested that Jews were a group with special interests distinct and separate from the general interest of

all Canadians.

By 1950, the time was clearly past when Jews were mainly workers in the factories and businesses of Winnipeg. Many now participated in a wide variety of business and professional enterprises. While their community had not experienced much growth in population, many of its members had secured striking economic success. Reflecting this, large numbers of Jewish families began leaving the old North End, for the new subdivisions in West Kildonan and to a lesser extent, South Winnipeg.

In the 1953 provincial election, Morris Gray remained a leading C.C.F. vote-getter, with over 20 per cent of the total vote in North Winnipeg. A lawyer and former city alderman, Ernest Brotman, running as an Independent Liberal in support of the provincial Liberal-Progressive government, was the only other Jew in this campaign. He gained little support from the Jewish voters in North Winnipeg, and finished sixth among the riding's eleven candidates.²¹ Gray meanwhile had certainly become a venerable Jewish tradition in the provincial politics of the period. His exceptional status among Jewish voters, as one of his typical advertisements claimed, reflected his service to "the interests of the public at large--and of the Jewish community in particular."²² Such appeals underlined the continued link between the Jewish candidates and the

²¹The riding of Winnipeg, which from 1920 to 1945 returned ten members to the provincial legislature under the system of proportional representation, was redesigned in 1949 into three ridings, each of which returned four members.

²²The Jewish Post, May 7, 1953, p. 16.

Jewish community.

In the federal election of 1957, Alistair Stewart faced a Communist Party challenge from William Ross, who was of Jewish origin, and a brother of Joseph Zuken. Ross' background did not help him much among Jewish voters, perhaps because of his party's association with the Soviet Union and its reported resurgent or continuing anti-Semitism.²³ Perhaps for this reason, as well no doubt as for other reasons, Stewart won re-election with 49 per cent of the vote, while the Communist candidate received less than 5 per cent. In the federal election of 1958, however, C.C.F. support generally collapsed under the impact of the charismatic personality of Conservative leader John Diefenbaker; and Stewart was defeated in North Winnipeg by a political unknown, Murray Smith. Jewish support for Stewart declined, but to a lesser extent than did the non-Jewish vote; while Ross did even worse than in 1957, with only 3 per cent of the vote.

Less than three months later, Manitobans found themselves facing yet another election, this one called by the provincial Liberal-Progressive administration of D.L. Campbell. In this contest, which was the first in which single member ridings were used in Winnipeg, the C.C.F. emerged victorious in three new constituencies in North Winnipeg. In Seven Oaks, which did not yet have a large Jewish population, the C.C.F. candidate, W. Art Wright, then Mayor of West Kildonan, the urban municipality which included the riding's area, won 55 per cent of the vote. In the two ridings which had the

²³Douglas Rowland, "Canadian Communism: the post-Stalinist Phase" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1964), p. 25.

largest concentrations of Jewish voters, Inkster and St. John's, the C.C.F. candidates were the only Jews in their respective contests. Morris Gray, running in Inkster, won 50 per cent of the vote; while David Orlikow, a pharmacist, was elected in St. John's with 53 per cent. Support for both Gray and Orlikow was strongest at the heavily Jewish polls.

The same pattern was repeated in the provincial election of 1959, as Gray, Orlikow and Wright were re-elected. This time Orlikow was opposed by a Jewish candidate: D.A. Yanofsky, a lawyer, who was renowned as a chess player of international stature, contested the riding as a Liberal. Orlikow suffered a decline in support, but it can not be traced wholly to Yanofsky's candidacy; it appears evident that the Conservative candidate, D.A. Zaharia, a Ukrainian real estate agent, attracted votes from the Ukrainian community, as well as benefitting from the general provincial and federal trends to the Progressive Conservative parties, which elected the Diefenbaker government federally in 1957, and the Manitoba government headed by Dufferin Roblin in 1958.

The Jewish population of Winnipeg experienced continuing change through this period. Most prominent of these was the continuing migration of large numbers of Jews to West Kildonan, and in lesser numbers to River Heights. By this time, about 28 per cent of Winnipeg's Jews lived in the latter area.²⁴ Likewise, in the newly developing subdivision of Garden City, being built at the

²⁴Rosenberg, op. cit., p. 11.

western edge of West Kildonan, there were increasing numbers of Jews who were advancing up the economic scale, by entering the professions of law, medicine, and dentistry, by owning prospering businesses, and by securing rental properties. As yet, however, this trend had little discernible effect on the Jewish community's political preferences.

In the federal election of 1962, Jewish candidates were nominated in North Winnipeg by the Communist party and the New Democratic Party, or N.D.P., which had succeeded the C.C.F. the year before. The N.D.P. candidate was David Orlikow, the former M.L.A. for St. John's; and William Ross, undiscouraged by his previous defeats, again ran for the Communist party. Orlikow became the first successful Jewish candidate in North Winnipeg since the defeat of A.A. Heaps in 1940, when he won the election with nearly 40 per cent of the vote; while Ross' appeal remained minimal, at less than 5 per cent.

In December of the same year, the Roblin government called a surprise election. Morris Gray, running for re-election in Inkster constituency, was successful with 43 per cent, and in St. John's, Saul Cherniack, a lawyer who succeeded David Orlikow, retained the riding for the N.D.P. with slightly less than 40 per cent. In Seven Oaks, with its by now sizeable Jewish electorate, Art Wright of the N.D.P. was faced by a Jewish lawyer, Jack Chapman of the Conservatives, and his vote dropped by 11 per cent, while Chapman increased the Conservative vote by nine per cent. Chapman clearly got some support from Jewish voters, faced with a choice between a non-Jewish N.D.P. incumbent and a vigorous Jewish Conservative challenger, although

this was assisted by a reputedly disorganized N.D.P. campaign.²⁵ In general, however, large numbers in the Jewish community voted for the New Democratic Party, as they had for the N.D.P.'s predecessors.

The 1963 federal election reaffirmed this commitment by many of the Jewish electorate, as David Orlikow, the only Jewish candidate in North Winnipeg, was returned with almost the same degree of support as in the previous year. In the largely Jewish areas of the constituency, he enjoyed a commanding lead. The federal election of 1965 produced a similar pattern of large-scale Jewish support for the N.D.P.: even in the burgeoning higher-income areas of Garden City, Orlikow led in all but one of the twelve polls, while he remained unchallenged elsewhere in the constituency.

The continued supremacy of the N.D.P. in North Winnipeg was again, almost tediously for its opponents, reaffirmed in the 1966 provincial election: the party's Jewish candidates were all returned to office. In Seven Oaks constituency, the race was between three Jews. The N.D.P. was represented by Saul Miller, who had long been active in local politics, first on the school board and then on the city council. Opposing Miller for the Progressive Conservatives, was lawyer Nathan Nurgitz, a West Kildonan city councillor. The Liberal candidate, also a lawyer, was Mel Fenson, who had earlier been a

²⁵The N.D.P. held its provincial convention in the fall of 1962, confident that there would not be a provincial election until the following year, which would have been four years from the Roblin government's previous victory in 1958. Accordingly, when Roblin called the election, the party and many of its local constituency organizations, including the one in Seven Oaks, were unable to become effectively organized in time for the election.

supporter of the N.D.P.²⁶ Although all three candidates were Jewish, Miller won easily with over half the votes, in great measure on the strength of his personality with large numbers of voters in the Jewish and Gentile communities.²⁷ Similarly, the Jewish N.D.P. candidates, Sidney Green in Inkster and Saul Cherniack in St. John's, both lawyers and former civic politicians, were each re-elected with 50 per cent of the vote in their respective areas.

The seemingly concrete political bond between many in the Jewish community in North Winnipeg and the N.D.P., also withstood, in the 1968 federal, the challenge of the Liberal party, by the reportedly potent charisma of Pierre Elliott Trudeau. Orlikow suffered only a modest decline in Jewish support, but it occurred, portentously, among the higher-income voters of Garden City. The party's appeal to many Jewish voters in the remainder of the constituency generally held firm; but its losses among the wealthier Jewish voters did represent a new phenomenon for a party which had previously counted many in this group amongst its staunchest supporters.

In summary, the period briefly chronicled here was characterized by the gradual development of a political alliance between a sizeable percentage of the Jewish population of North Winnipeg and successive left-wing political parties. This was reinforced by the fact that the latter frequently nominated Jewish candidates, such as A.A. Heaps, Marcus Hyman, Morris Gray in the C.C.F., and David Orlikow

²⁶Interview: Robert Floom, July 26, 1980.

²⁷Interview: Anne Steen, May 8, 1980.

and Saul Miller in the N.D.P. With only two exceptions, in 1940 and 1958, this alliance held firm. Even as the Jewish community matured and became more prosperous, its support for the N.D.P. appeared to be little affected. After 1969, however, this pattern began to change.

CHAPTER III

THE SETTING: SEVEN OAKS AND RIVER HEIGHTS

Both Seven Oaks and River Heights constituencies were established by the Redistribution Act of 1957. The former was the northernmost of the four provincial ridings contained within the boundaries of the federal seat of Winnipeg North.¹ Its history extended back to an early massacre of the first Scottish pioneer settlers in 1817; and for most of the nineteenth century the area, on the northern rural periphery of Winnipeg, was occupied mainly by families of Scottish or English origin. Its population growth was slow until the turn of the century, when immigrants from East Europe began moving there, in some cases seeking cheaper houses and larger lots, for gardens, than were available in the more densely populated North End of Winnipeg.²

The area retained its rural character and way of life until the immediate post-war period of the 1940's, when large new housing developments were begun, and construction was on a scale unparalleled

¹In 1969, the Seven Oaks provincial constituency was bounded by the Red River on the east, by the north limit of Lot 38, Parish of Kildonan on the north, by the boundary line of the former city of West Kildonan west to Inkster Blvd. on the south, and by Keewatin St., and then Brookside Blvd. on the west.

²W.J. Carlyle, "Growth, Ethnic Groups and Socio-Economic Areas of Winnipeg," in Tony J. Kuz, (ed.), Winnipeg 1874-1974 (Winnipeg: Manitoba Department of Industry & Commerce, 1974), p. 29.

since the early 1900's.³ Throughout the 1950's and 1960's, West Kildonan expanded beyond its original confines, as its residents were joined by large numbers of recently arrived European refugees, as well as by long-time residents of the North End, who moved to the area in search of better and newer housing.

By the late 1960's, the constituency of Seven Oaks comprised a mixture of working, middle and upper middle class and farming groups, of both more recent immigrants and long established residents. The riding was predominantly residential in nature, with small businesses and light manufacturing located along the main thoroughfares such as Main and McPhillips streets, while an industrial park was located in the southwestern section. Farming areas were situated at both the northeastern and northwestern fringes of the riding, principally in the rural municipalities of West St. Paul and Old Kildonan. The working class electorate lived mainly in the older parts of West Kildonan, in an area bounded roughly by the Red River on the east, the Canadian Pacific Railway line on the west, and the southern and northern limits of the former city of West Kildonan. The middle and upper middle class population was mainly located in the new Garden City area.

In 1971, Seven Oaks contained a population which, in terms of its cultural origins, was 25 per cent Jewish, 21 per cent Ukrainian,

³Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission, Reports and Recommendations, Vol. 1 (Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, 1959), p. 50.

10 per cent German, and 24 per cent British.⁴ Of these groups, the Jews were concentrated in several particular areas, comprising for example, 43 per cent of the residents in Garden City.⁵ This Jewish population settled in West Kildonan and Garden City mainly after 1961. In 1941, there were only about a hundred Jewish residents in the district; by 1951, this had risen slightly to about 2100; and by 1961, the corresponding figure was approximately 6100.⁶ This group formed the second largest concentration of Jews in Winnipeg, those in North Winnipeg itself being the largest.⁷ During the decade following 1961, however, West Kildonan and especially Garden City became home to by far the largest group of Jews in the city. No other ethnic group in Seven Oaks is concentrated to the same extent.

It is only in Seven Oaks that there appears anywhere in Manitoba such a large population of Jews, living amid other large groups of non Anglo-Saxons. Not even in River Heights can an ideal comparison be undertaken, for the Jews share this area with a large number of families of British origin. As well, South Winnipeg's Jewish population does not have a similar tradition of consistently

⁴Canada, Department of Industry, Trade & Commerce, 1971 Census of Canada, Census Tract Bulletin, Winnipeg, Table 1, p. 13.

⁵Ibid. Of all the ethnic groups in Winnipeg, Jews exhibit the greatest tendency towards residential segregation. For a discussion of this, see Ronald Fromson, "Acculturation or Assimilation, A Geographic Analysis of Residential Segregation of Selected Ethnic Groups" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1965).

⁶Louis Rosenberg, A Study of The Growth and Change in The Distribution of The Jewish Population of Winnipeg, 1961 (Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1961), p. 8.

⁷Ibid., p. 8.

large support for one particular political party, as is the case with numerous North End Jews. Another feature which serves to characterize the Jewish group in Manitoba is its almost complete absence from rural areas, which prevents any urban-rural comparison. Thus Seven Oaks is to a degree a unique combination of various ethnic groups, with a history of left-wing political support.

Eight of its polls in the provincial elections of 1969 and 1973 were selected for examination. Five of these were in Garden City and three in West Kildonan.⁸ The percentage of Jews of voting age in each poll, ranged from a low of 42 per cent to a high of 64 per cent of the total electorate. By analyzing the results at these polls, it is possible to discern voting trends.⁹

The five Garden City polls, both in 1969 and 1973, contained a majority of the constituency's Jewish population. These persons were largely middle and upper middle class in economic status, the median family income of this group being twenty-five per cent greater than that of Seven Oaks as a whole.¹⁰ To a larger degree than was true of the riding's inhabitants generally, they were university educated and employed in managerial, teaching, medical and other

⁸Detailed descriptions and maps of these polls are in Appendix III.

⁹As one political scientist notes, various studies have indicated "the importance of analyzing returns from extremely small electoral units with heavy concentrations of a particular ethnic group." R.E. Wolfinger, "The Development and Persistence of Ethnic Voting," L.H. Fuchs, (ed.), American Ethnic Politics (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), p. 33.

¹⁰The median family income for Seven Oaks in 1971 is \$9312.00 per annum. Census Tract Bulletin, op. cit., Table 3, p. 37.

professional groups.¹¹ The Garden City area also contained a greater number of Canadian-born second generation voters than did most other West Kildonan polls; and it also reported a slightly higher number of residents who arrived in Canada after 1945, which perhaps indicated greater upward mobility among this latter group in Garden City than among those residing in West Kildonan.¹²

The three polls in West Kildonan were home to a similar percentage of Jewish voters, ranging from a high of 60 per cent to a low of 40 per cent. In economic terms, the Jews here were generally in the middle class or lower middle class, the median family income being slightly under nine thousand dollars per annum.¹³ In this group there were fewer business and professional heads of families, and more self-employed persons in the needle trades or other businesses. The residents of these polls were, in general, among the less affluent in the Jewish community. Many had lived in the area for a longer period, having moved to West Kildonan in the years before 1960.

The West Kildonan polls and the polls in Garden City represented two distinct Jewish groups of voters. The different income levels and types of housing indicated two levels of economic attainment within one religious community. Prior to 1969, many in these two groups also shared in the political support they gave to the New Democratic Party, notwithstanding their economic differences.

Unlike West Kildonan, River Heights has long been contained

¹¹Ibid., Table 1, p. 13.

¹²Ibid., Table 1, p. 13.

¹³Census Tract Bulletin, op. cit., Table 3, p. 37.

within the boundaries of the City of Winnipeg. As well, it is almost completely residential in character.¹⁴ Commercial activity is confined to such main avenues as Grant and Corydon, where several, mainly retail businesses operate. The area's historical roots do not go back as far as those of Seven Oaks, though the area's older regions have been in existence since shortly after the turn of the century. During the period from 1900 to 1914, a very rapid development took place in what is now Crescentwood and the northern portions of River Heights, as these areas were populated by prosperous families that were mainly of British descent. Through the inter-war years, residential expansion slowed; but after the end of the Second World War, it resumed; with newer housing being built to the south of Corydon Avenue. In the late 1950's and early 1960's, River Heights continued to expand southward, crossing Grant Avenue.

Ethnically, River Heights is less diverse than Seven Oaks. The population is predominantly Anglo-Saxon, with Jews comprising fewer than twenty per cent. But the Jewish group is concentrated in one particular area in South River Heights, bounded by Corydon Avenue on the north, Taylor Avenue on the south, Waverly on the east, and the Canadian Pacific Railway line on the west.¹⁵ At several polls in this area, the Jewish electorate comprises the largest group and in some of these, it is a majority. Other ethnic groups, such as the

¹⁴The constituency in 1969 is bounded by Cambridge and Waverley streets on the east, the Assiniboine River on the south, the tracks of the Canadian Pacific Railway on the west, and on the south by Wilkes Avenue.

¹⁵Census Tract Bulletin, op. cit., Table 1, pp. 2-3.

Ukrainians and the Germans, total only about 10 per cent of the population in River Heights.¹⁶

The median family income in River Heights in 1971 was approximately thirteen thousand dollars; while that of the heavily Jewish South River Heights area, was about fifteen thousand dollars, which was nearly 20 per cent higher than the comparable figure in Garden City.¹⁷ Apart from its higher Jewish concentration, South River Heights was similar to the rest of River Heights in terms of high educational levels and high proportions of upper middle class professionals and business executives.

Eight polls in South River Heights were examined for the 1969 election, while only six were studied four years later.¹⁸ The actual geographical area encompassed remained almost the same. The voting age Jewish population in this area ranged from a low of 41 per cent to a high of 73 per cent among the electorate in 1969, while in 1973, this was slightly less, with the range extending from 44 to 59 per cent. Over ninety per cent of South Winnipeg's Jewish group resided in this area. Unlike Seven Oaks, there were not two distinct Jewish groups, divided economically; the Jews of South River Heights were a more homogeneous group in terms of family income.

In terms of what they offered for political analysis, the Manitoba provincial ridings of Seven Oaks and River Heights provided

¹⁶Op. cit., pp. 2-3.

¹⁷Census Tract Bulletin, op. cit., Table 3, p. 26.

¹⁸Descriptions and maps of these polls are in Appendix III.

voting data on three somewhat different groups of Jewish voters. In Seven Oaks, an area which like much of North Winnipeg had traditionally supported left-wing labour oriented parties, there were two Jewish groups: one was less affluent and lived in older residential districts of West Kildonan; and the other was more affluent and lived in the newer residential district of Garden City. In River Heights, an area which, far from ever supporting left-wing parties, had provided the bulk of Winnipeg's upper and upper middle class conservative resistance to these parties, there was a third Jewish group, consisting of recent upward-mobile migrants into the riding's southern district, who were by a slight margin even better-off than those Jewish families who had settled in Garden City. In the two Manitoba provincial elections of 1969 and 1973, each of these three groups, although all were Jewish, behaved somewhat differently.

CHAPTER IV

THE 1969 ELECTION: VOTING PATTERNS CONFIRMED

The 1969 provincial election in Manitoba was in part a contest between the contrasting personalities of two men: Walter Weir, a right-wing Progressive Conservative, who had succeeded Duff Roblin in 1967, and Edward Schreyer, the newly elected leader of the New Democratic Party, who represented a progressivism similar to that of the Roblin era. This difference set the tone for the political campaign that was waged in the days and weeks preceding the 25th of June, 1969. The leader of the provincial Liberal party, school superintendent Robert (Bobby) Bend, a former Conservative, was viewed by many voters as a small 'c' conservative like the Premier, and faced a continual problem developing an identifiable Liberal presence in the campaign. In fact, the only image many voters had of Bend stemmed from his lukewarm support of the federal Liberal government's Official Languages Bill, and this stance cost him considerable support from a major bastion of party strength, the Franco-Manitoban community.¹

All portents seemed to bode well for the Conservatives prior to the election. At the February federal-provincial conference in Ottawa, Weir had achieved national publicity by his dogged defence of

¹Paul Beaulieu, "The Transfer of Electoral Allegiance in Ethnic Politics: A Study of The Voting Behaviour of Franco-Manitobans, 1969-1974" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1976).

provincial powers, and his apparent lack of sympathy for the cultural and linguistic rights of French Canadians in Quebec and in Manitoba, arguing that fiscal matters should take priority over constitutional ones. This response appeared to reflect the thoughts of certain elements in the province; for example, the Winnipeg Free Press reported that "Weir went to Ottawa a relatively unknown prairie politician and returned to Winnipeg a national political figure."² One week later, the government's apparent popularity was demonstrated, as the Conservatives captured three of four provincial by-elections. The image of fiscal integrity was further enhanced when the budget was presented to the legislature in April, and it promised a surplus of six hundred thousand dollars, after estimated expenditures of \$380 million.³

The Conservatives' own political assessment indicated that if an election were called, the government would easily be returned to office. Seeming to confirm this were the results of an opinion poll conducted by a Toronto-based opinion research firm: it predicted a Conservative victory in the event of an election call.⁴ Another consideration favouring such a move was the apparent disarray of both opposition parties: the Liberals had selected Bend as party leader only one month earlier and the party organization in many urban and rural constituencies was in a state of shambles from neglect, and the

²Winnipeg Free Press, February 13, 1969, p. 1.

³Provincial Finances, 1969 (Toronto: Canadian Tax Foundation, 1969), p. 19.

⁴Interview: Laurie Mainster, July 30, 1980.

New Democrats were themselves preparing for a leadership convention, scheduled for the end of June, to pick a new leader to succeed Russell Paulley.

On May 22, in the midst of legislative debate on the flooding of South Indian Lake as part of a hydro development, and the subsequent fate of a band of six hundred Indians and Metis of the area, Premier Weir heeding the advice of his campaign strategists, unexpectedly dissolved the legislature, and called the election for June 25. The New Democrats made hasty plans to move up their leadership convention to the beginning of June. The Liberal party was likewise caught unprepared and hurriedly began to plan for the upcoming campaign, though its weak organizational structure prevented it from quickly becoming effective.

The ensuing Conservative campaign emphasized Premier Weir's personal image of fiscal conservatism.⁵ This was reinforced by advertisements, such as the one which appeared in The Jewish Post late in the campaign; it reminded the voters to "Keep Manitoba Going Ahead: With a Tight Fist About Taxes."⁶ The party's campaign was in large measure waged through media advertising. The Conservatives' platform did not present a long or detailed list of programs and proposals, but rather relied on the party's past record, a statement of broad future goals, and above all, the promise of fiscal responsibility. The Premier displayed a low-key 'business as usual'

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ The Jewish Post, June 19, 1969, p. 14.

approach to the campaign. He initially campaigned only sporadically, and at first mainly in the rural areas, where he rarely ventured beyond asserting the need for governmental restraint. Towards the close of the campaign, Weir did increase his public appearances, but this still left one newspaper noting that his personal effort was noticeably absent through much of the preceding period.⁷

The Liberal campaign was marked by a similar approach, proposing mainly to restrain taxation and governmental spending. In an effort to generate enthusiasm and support for the party, Bend toured the province by bus, appropriately christened the "Bend Wagon," and was accompanied by a bevy of mini-skirted high-schoolers, mainly from Winnipeg. Wherever he went, this created a carnival-like atmosphere which may have undermined his sober conservative image with the electorate. A series of party white papers spelled out the Liberal position on a wide range of issues such as taxation, urban renewal, and economic development; but Bend's conservative approach to many of these issues was more apparent than this material and probably overrode it in voters' perceptions.

Unlike his two opponents, the new N.D.P. leader, Ed Schreyer, effectively articulated a series of policies, among them a reduction in medicare premiums, consideration of a public automobile insurance program and increased government initiatives in public housing. If one aspect of the 1969 provincial election campaign stands out, it was the willingness of the New Democrats to engage in a public discussion of policy alternatives, in sharp contrast to their

⁷Winnipeg Free Press, June 21, 1969, p. 59.

Liberal and Conservative opponents. The party also gained from the publicity that accompanied the leadership race between Schreyer and Sidney Green, a North Winnipeg member of the Legislature, which saw them attract large crowds as they travelled throughout the province debating N.D.P. policies. Schreyer's campaign style, which was generally forthright and frank, and presented a certain country charm, was in sharp contrast to the plodding styles of both Weir and Bend.

In Seven Oaks, the incumbent M.L.A., Saul Miller, was for the first time seeking re-election, since succeeding former West Kildonan Mayor Art Wright in 1966, when he captured over half the total votes cast. Miller's campaign was presided over by a superior party organization, which had been in place in the constituency since before its inception in 1958, and which thoroughly canvassed the riding on more than one occasion prior to election day. In fact, Miller was so confident of being re-elected that he chose not even to canvass door-to-door, feeling his time could be better spent in other aspects of the campaign.⁸ After his many years of political service, he was still Mayor of West Kildonan in 1969, and his appeal to many in the Jewish and non-Jewish communities remained considerable.⁹ These supporters were easily recruited each election, and had helped to re-elect David Orlikow in the federal election a year earlier. Miller's campaign style remained low-key, with the candidate generally limiting himself to appearances before selected groups of voters. He

⁸Interview: Hon. Saul Miller, M.L.A., May 15, 1980.

⁹Interview: Maurice Jeroff, July 31, 1980.

did not make any specific appeals to the Jewish community in search of support--he never did--apart from urging the voters to re-elect him. As he did with other ethnic groups, he appeared at several exclusively Jewish gatherings at various North Winnipeg synagogues and visited a Jewish senior citizens home. Nevertheless, his high standing among his fellow Jews was noted by The Jewish Post. Although it did not endorse him or any Jewish candidate, a traditional practise by now abandoned, it did state that Miller had been active in all phases of Jewish community affairs, the Canadian Jewish Congress, and the Peretz-Folk School, of which he was a graduate. The article went on to say that

His integrity and ability in the Legislature has [sic] won him the respect of all members regardless of political affiliation. His knowledge of urban affairs and education has proven him to be a valuable public representative.¹⁰

The Progressive Conservative candidate in Seven Oaks in 1969, was D.A. Yanofsky, a Jewish lawyer, who as noted earlier, had been the unsuccessful Liberal candidate in 1959 in St. John's, and was now Deputy Mayor of West Kildonan. Like Miller, he had been active in local municipal politics in West Kildonan for a number of years. When the election was first called, Yanofsky was approached by several Liberals to contest Seven Oaks, and they believed initially that he would.¹¹ However, a chance meeting with Premier Weir, on a flight from Ottawa a few weeks prior to the election, led to Yanofsky's being offered a cabinet position if he were successful in capturing

¹⁰The Jewish Post, June 12, 1969, p. 6.

¹¹Interview: Robert Floom, July 26, 1980.

Seven Oaks for the Conservatives.¹² While he optimistically expected to attract fifty per cent of the Jewish vote, (being the third Jewish Conservative candidate in as many elections), and felt that he had a good chance of victory, Yanofsky faced the same problems that had handicapped Conservative efforts in the Seven Oaks in the past.¹³ There was no party organization to speak of in the constituency, and one Conservative member during those years characterized the local association as woefully weak with never more than a half dozen committed activists.¹⁴ Even as late as 1969, many in the Jewish community felt the Conservatives to be a "WASP" party, and this limited its appeal to Jewish voters, who by this time might otherwise have been inclined to vote for the party for a variety of economic or other reasons.¹⁵ These two factors, together with what Yanofsky later viewed as an "anti-Weir sentiment" in the constituency, particularly among West Kildonan voters, limited his prospects.

Running for the Liberals was Evelyn Rosborough, a former social worker, who was the wife of a Tuxedo real estate developer.¹⁶ She had been hurriedly chosen by the Seven Oaks party executive only three days prior to the nomination deadline, when Yanofsky declined

¹² Interview: D.A. Yanofsky, March 18, 1977.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Interview: Anne Steen, May 8, 1980.

¹⁵ Interview: Laurie Mainster, July 30, 1980.

¹⁶ Winnipeg Free Press, June 7, 1969, p. 8.

to run.¹⁷ Rosborough's campaign, like that of the Conservatives, was seriously impaired by a weak local party organization.¹⁸ While one year earlier North Winnipeg federal Liberals had been able to attract large numbers of volunteers in the federal campaign, in part due to the appeal of Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Rosborough suffered from a lack of workers. Because she was not a resident of the riding, she suffered also from the stigma of being regarded as a "parachute" candidate from Tuxedo, who had little familiarity with the local community. The Liberal campaign presented her as a typical housewife concerned about the quality of education and spiralling health costs, among others, but her Tuxedo background undermined this aspect of the campaign. Rosborough was not a member of either the Jewish or East European ethnic communities, and this also served to limit her appeal largely to the Anglo-Saxon electorate, predominantly found in West Kildonan.¹⁹ Her appeal to the Jewish community also was uncertain, especially as she was a non-Jew competing against two Jewish candidates.

While province-wide the election result was startling, as the Progressive Conservatives were defeated, and the New Democrats elected to form the government, in Seven Oaks, Saul Miller's re-election merely confirmed the traditional strength of the N.D.P. and his personal popularity. He obtained 64 per cent of the votes cast, an increase of 11 per cent from the previous election; Yanofsky was second with

¹⁷ Interview: Robert Floom, July 26, 1980.

¹⁸ Interview: Henry Froese, July 29, 1980.

¹⁹ Interview: Robert Floom, July 26, 1980.

22 per cent, while Rosborough was able to attract only about half this amount. Miller predictably led in almost every poll, while Yanofsky came second in most polls, and Rosborough came second in only four.

Miller's popularity in 1969 was unchallenged in both the West Kildonan and Garden City areas of the constituency. At the polls in the former area, he got nearly two-thirds of the votes, compared to 22 per cent for Yanofsky, and slightly over 14 per cent for the Liberal, Evelyn Rosborough. N.D.P. support here rose 8 per cent from 1966, while Conservative support declined 3 per cent and the Liberal vote dropped sharply by 25 per cent. In Garden City, the N.D.P. did not fare quite as well among the higher-income voters: Miller obtained fifty-eight per cent of the vote, while Yanofsky did better here than in West Kildonan, with 29 per cent, and Rosborough obtained only 13 per cent.

The Jewish N.D.P. incumbent led at all the polls in the heavily Jewish areas of Garden City, attracting nearly 60 per cent of the votes cast, which was equal to his general level in Garden City, while Yanofsky was second with half this amount, and Rosborough received less than a third of Miller's results.

At the three predominantly Jewish polls in the economically less well-off West Kildonan area of the riding, Miller scored even more impressive victories than he did in Garden City. At only one poll in the latter area did he obtain greater support than he did among these voters. Both the Conservatives and Liberals did poorly here. N.D.P. support was an average of 64 per cent, approximating Miller's constituency-wide results, and about 6 per cent greater than he received from Garden City voters. The increased strength of the

N.D.P. candidate in this part of the constituency reflected the particular ethnic appeal of a Jewish candidate like Miller to many of the older middle and lower middle class voters, who comprised a larger group within the Jewish community in West Kildonan than was the case in Garden City, and whose habitual allegiance was still pronounced.²⁰

Miller's support from many Jewish voters in Seven Oaks was again apparent in 1969 for several reasons. Traditionally, support for the left in North Winnipeg had continued almost uninterrupted for over fifty years. The Jewish candidates of the left were often well-known local politicians prior to entering provincial or federal politics and were also men of stature in the Jewish community. Their success was further assisted because they sought election in largely working class areas. Also, the N.D.P. party organization in Seven Oaks was much stronger and better run than either the Liberal and Conservative organizations. Finally, Miller's personal popularity likely attracted votes to the N.D.P., although the degree to which this occurred can not be precisely determined. For all these reasons, in any case, the position of the N.D.P. in Seven Oaks appeared secure. However, the political pattern in South Winnipeg was markedly different.

In both federal and provincial elections, the voters of River Heights generally supported either Liberal or Progressive Conservative candidates. Support for the N.D.P. and its predecessors

²⁰ Interview: Maurice Jeroff, July 31, 1980.

was consistently slight. Large-scale Jewish support for the Conservatives assisted the successful candidacy of Maitland Steinkopf in 1962. When he was subsequently appointed Provincial Secretary and Minister of Public Works, Steinkopf became the first Jewish cabinet minister in Manitoba history.

When Steinkopf was succeeded by Sidney Spivak in 1966, the relationship between many River Heights Jews and the Progressive Conservatives continued unaltered. Spivak was a member of a leading South Winnipeg Jewish family; his father had achieved financial success in several diverse business ventures including ownership of a hotel, apartment buildings and a soft drink bottling company, as well as being in his own right a prominent lawyer. The elder Spivak had always been a leading campaigner on behalf of many Jewish charities, and as The Jewish Post commented, his family had been "part of the major welfare, educational, cultural, social and recreational developments of the general and Jewish communities of Winnipeg."²¹ Sidney Spivak had been active in Conservative politics since the 1949 federal election, when he campaigned in South Winnipeg on behalf of Conservative G.S. Thorvaldson, a family friend.²² He had been Steinkopf's campaign manager in 1962, and had held the same role in former premier Duff Roblin's ill-fated attempt at gaining the national Conservative leadership in 1967. When he was first elected in River Heights in 1966, Spivak gained slightly more than half the votes. After his victory, he was appointed to the

²¹The Jewish Post, June 5, 1969, p. 3.

²²Interview: Sidney Spivak, March 24, 1977.

Cabinet as Minister of Industry and Commerce.

The campaign in River Heights in 1969 was the second for Spivak and his candidacy was in no way threatened. By now he had been the area's elected representative for three years, and possessed the traditional advantages of an incumbent: a well-established political organization and a well-developed identity among the voters. As well, he possessed added stature as a senior minister of the government. Within the Jewish community of South Winnipeg, Spivak, like Miller, retained considerable prominence and appeal, even though he was on this occasion opposed by two Jewish candidates. The Spivak family name retained considerable respect among many Jews, and for this reason, the Conservative candidate ran on his name and record, more than on his party affiliation.²³

His Liberal opponent was Mark Danzker, a well-to-do Jewish businessman, who had formerly sat on city council, serving as finance committee chairman for four years.²⁴ He left municipal politics at the end of 1968, and was making his entry into provincial politics. While Danzker had a creditable record on city council, he nevertheless faced an uphill battle for votes: in 1966, his party's candidate had obtained forty per cent of the votes, and since then, Spivak had become better known and well established as a personable and accessible representative.

²³Ibid.

²⁴The Jewish Post, June 19, 1969, p. 13. This article noted Danzker's business prowess by stating that he owned two drugstores by the time he was nineteen.

The New Democratic Party's candidate in River Heights in 1969 was Jack Silverberg, whose previous political experience was limited to a one-year chairmanship of the Seven Oaks School Board in 1960-61.²⁵ First as a teacher in the public schools, then as a teacher and administrator in the Jewish parochial school system, Silverberg had gained wide respect in the Jewish community. As a former North Winnipeg resident, he had for many years been a supporter of the N.D.P., but in South Winnipeg his party was so weak that it often failed even to run candidates. The N.D.P. contested River Heights, for example, in only two of the preceding five contests, and on both occasions, attracted less than 10 per cent of the vote.

The election results once more confirmed River Heights' continued support for the Progressive Conservative party and Sidney Spivak, as he was returned with 64 per cent of the vote, an increase of 13 per cent from 1966. The Liberals were second, Danzker attracting less than a quarter of the vote, a decline from the nearly 40 per cent who voted Liberal three years before. The N.D.P. returns from the constituency nearly doubled to 15 per cent of the vote, and represented the party's best performance thus far in the riding. Spivak led at the polls in all areas of River Heights, while Danzker secured second place in eighty per cent of these, losing slightly to Silverberg in the predominantly Jewish polls in South River Heights.

The polling results in South River Heights were generally similar to those received by the candidates throughout the constituency. At these polls, where the Jewish electorate accounted

²⁵The Jewish Post, June 12, 1969, p. 6.

for between 41 per cent and 73 per cent of the total, Spivak obtained nearly two-thirds of the vote, an increase of 6 per cent over 1966. Danzker received slightly fewer votes here than he did elsewhere in River Heights; voter support for the Liberals from these heavily Jewish polls dropped nearly fifty per cent from 1966, when the party's candidate was not Jewish. Silverberg increased N.D.P. support here by a figure equal to the loss of Liberal support, evidently on the strength of his personal standing in the Jewish community, which was noteworthy, since the party's candidate in 1966, had also been of Jewish origin: Lionel Orlikow, the brother of North Winnipeg N.D.P. Member of Parliament, David Orlikow.

The political victory of Sidney Spivak in 1969 attested to his personal popularity among the voters in the constituency, combined with the entrenched strength of the provincial Progressive Conservative party. Many Jewish voters evidently supported Spivak for these same reasons. Spivak this time received the second highest number of Conservative returns since the riding's creation in 1958. In his three years as cabinet minister, he had maintained a high profile in the Jewish community, continuing his charitable and other activities, which did not hurt his political support in 1969. Mark Danzker's showing marked the lowest point for the provincial Liberals in eleven years. Notwithstanding the marginally increased support Silverberg received, the N.D.P. remained weak in River Heights.

The Jews of River Heights in 1969 remained, but for Tuxedo's Jews, the most affluent segment of Winnipeg Jewry. The group was numerically smaller than the North Winnipeg Jewish community, and never developed the latter's tradition of political support for left-

wing parties. The early Jewish residents of River Heights constituted an economic elite within the Jewish community and generally gave their support to those Jewish candidates who ran for the Liberals or Conservatives. The N.D.P. and its predecessors had little appeal to these families. Even when A. Montague Israels, a Jewish lawyer who resided in River Heights, ran in the 1949 provincial election in South Winnipeg for the C.C.F., he could do no better than placing seventh among nine candidates.²⁶ As more and more Jews moved from North Winnipeg to River Heights, these largely second or third generation members did not bring with them additional support for the N.D.P. In 1969, it appeared that Jewish political support of the left remained a phenomenon limited to North Winnipeg.

²⁶Lloyd Stinson, Political Warriors (Winnipeg: Queenston House, 1975), p. 120.

CHAPTER V

THE 1973 ELECTION: THE BOND IS BROKEN

The years from 1969 to 1973 were politically tumultuous, because the N.D.P. government was evidently prepared to intervene in a number of economic areas. The business community was generally suspicious and criticized these interventions, while many who sought benefit from the new programs were less outspoken but hopefully supportive. For both of these rival groups, the 1973 provincial election provided an opportunity to appraise the government's first term.

Demonstrating its willingness to expand its role in many areas, the government's first measures after 1969 included lowering the voting age, cutting bus fares for pensioners, and establishing a provincial Ombudsman. The government's first budget, effective January 1, 1970, raised the personal income tax rate to 39 per cent of the federal rate, imposing on Manitobans the highest personal income tax rate in Canada. At the same time, the government raised the corporate income tax rate by 2 per cent.¹ The increased revenue from these tax measures was largely designed to finance an 88 per cent reduction in Medicare premiums. The effect, as a Winnipeg Free Press editorial noted, was "that people who make more money will be

¹Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, Debates and Proceedings, September 18, 1969, p. 854.

will be subsidizing those who make less."²

In 1970, another contentious issue disrupted the Legislature. When the government presented the report of its commission studying the establishment of a government-run automobile insurance program, it aroused a storm of protest from the opposition as well as the established insurance industry. After a troubled sequence of events, which saw Liberal-Democrat Larry Desjardins first support, waiver, and then return to support the government, the measure was passed by a two-vote margin.³ Other measures which disquieted many in the business community were the increase in the minimum wage, effective October 1 to \$1.50, and the proclamation of the new Landlord and Tenant Act, which generally favoured tenants in various ways, such as requiring landlords to give ninety days' notice of rent increases. Within the related policy area of public housing, it also became clear that the new government intended to expand considerably the activities of the Manitoba Housing and Urban Renewal Corporation. This agency, first established by the Roblin government but largely inactive during the Weir period, constituted formidable competition for those landlords who had traditionally provided cheap (and in the view of some critics, inadequate) accommodation for low-income families. Thus, within a year of its assuming office, notwithstanding

²Winnipeg Free Press, September 19, 1969, p. 1.

³Desjardins called himself a Liberal-Democrat, to indicate that he was a Liberal in support of the N.D.P. government. For a more detailed account of the events that led to the adoption of government-run automobile insurance in Manitoba, see Joy M. Cooper, "The Politics of Automobile Insurance: A Case Study" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978).

any protestations to the contrary, the Schreyer administration was already moving into areas which threatened both business and rental property income. To those adversely affected, such N.D.P. intrusions were unwelcome and ominous.

In 1970, in a clear challenge to this government tendency, the Liberals chose as their provincial leader, a Winnipeg tax lawyer, I.H. Asper. Asper thus became the first major party leader in Manitoba history who was of Jewish origin. Although his earlier political activity was slight, he gained national publicity with his publication of a sharply critical attack on the federal government's White Paper on taxation.⁴ Asper had been born and raised in rural Manitoba, and had graduated from the University of Manitoba with a Master's degree in law. He had achieved a reputation as one of Canada's foremost tax experts and was also a nationally syndicated tax columnist, whose writings appeared in many papers across the country.⁵ Within the Jewish community, Asper's election as Liberal leader was approved by both the Anglo-Jewish and Yiddish newspapers, as another sign of Jewish success within the general community.⁶

Perhaps the main legislative event in the government's 1971 session was the creation of a single municipal government for Winnipeg. Unicity, as it was labelled by both supporters and critics,

⁴I.H. Asper, The Benson Iceberg: A Critical Analysis of The White Paper on Tax Reform in Canada (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1970).

⁵Manitoba Business Journal, March, 1971, p. 28.

⁶The Western Jewish News, November 5, 1970, p. 2. The article noted the Asper's selection as Liberal leader was an honour not only for the Asper family, "but for every Jew in Manitoba."

was opposed by some suburban residents, who feared increases in taxation to benefit the poorer area of the old inner city. In the riding of Seven Oaks, for example, such fears, especially in the newer suburb of Garden City, were not allayed by the fact that the former municipality's mayor, and now an N.D.P. cabinet minister, Saul Miller, actively supported the legislation.

At a convention held in late February, 1971, the Progressive Conservatives elected a new party leader, Sidney Spivak, the M.L.A. for River Heights. His election was widely applauded in the Jewish community. The Jewish Post commented that "Spivak comes by his leadership ability naturally" and that it was not inconceivable that he would become "the first Jewish premier of Manitoba."⁷ The Western Jewish News added that,

No matter what results he may achieve, Mr. Spivak's election can only be good for politics in Manitoba.⁸

Spivak's selection as party leader gained him added stature among his fellow Jews and could accordingly be expected to improve the Progressive Conservative electoral appeal to at least some Jewish voters.

Among the major laws passed in 1972 was a new labour code, which made it easier for unions to organize and removed previous restrictions on picketing and striking. The government's budget again increased spending on social services and also provided tax reductions and rebates for homeowners and renters. These were

⁷The Jewish Post, March 4, 1971, p. 2.

⁸The Western Jewish News, March 4, 1971, p. 1.

graduated so as to afford disproportionate benefits for individuals and families on lower incomes.

In the same spirit, the final session before the 1973 election abolished medicare premiums for all Manitobans, increased property tax rebates and raised welfare rates. Despite these increased expenditures, the budget, assisted by larger federal equalization payments and a buoyant economy, provided for a small surplus.⁹ Clearly anticipating another victory because of his government's record, Premier Schreyer announced an election for June 28th.

Politically, conditions seemed to favour the government. Business and farm income were both increasing; and the personal popularity of the premier was reported to be unsurpassed among party leaders.¹⁰ The N.D.P. campaign emphasized this asset, with party campaign literature urging Manitobans to re-elect "Ed Schreyer's New Democrats."¹¹ Sidney Spivak, while not quarrelling with the thrust of many N.D.P. programs, nevertheless sought to arouse public indignation regarding the government's methods of implementation. He also attempted to focus attention on the near doubling of provincial spending since 1969. The Liberal campaign sought to portray a bleak economic future if the N.D.P. were returned to power; and Asper attacked the government for its lack of fiscal restraint citing the

⁹ Provincial and Municipal Finances, 1973 (Toronto: Canadian Tax Foundation, 1973), p. 21.

¹⁰ Interview: Laurie Mainster, July 30, 1980.

¹¹ The Jewish Post, June 14, 1973, p. 7.

recent rise in provincial welfare rates as an example.¹²

In Seven Oaks, the local campaign reflected provincial issues to a large extent. Since 1969, growing subdivisions in Garden City and the Maples (the name given to a new development west of McPhillips Street), together with the lowering of the voting age, had combined to increase the number of voters by 41 per cent from 1969. Geographically, the riding's boundary changed slightly in the southeast, resulting in the West Kildonan polls being redesigned and renumbered, while those of Garden City were unchanged.

Saul Miller remained the only candidate from the previous election to contest the seat in 1973. He had first been appointed to the cabinet as Minister of Youth and Education on July 15, 1969, and had necessarily become less accessible to his constituents. Throughout his campaign, he sought to redress this situation.¹³ The N.D.P. local association once again provided Miller with a well-organized campaign. His literature also relied on the premier's personality as voters were urged to re-elect "Saul Miller--The Man From Seven Oaks in Premier Schreyer's N.D.P. Government."¹⁴

Carl Zawatsky, a Polish-Canadian insurance salesman, was the Progressive Conservative candidate in Seven Oaks in 1973. Although inexperienced and making his first attempt as a candidate, he hoped to attract voters from the area's sizeable East European group. The

¹²Donald Swainson, "Manitoba's Election: Patterns Confirmed," The Canadian Forum, September, 1973, p. 5.

¹³Interview: Hon. Saul Miller, M.L.A., May 15, 1980.

¹⁴The Jewish Post, June 14, 1973, p. 12.

Liberal candidate, high-school teacher Henry Froese, represented the weakest of the three political parties. In each of the two preceding provincial elections, the Liberal candidate in Seven Oaks had received less than 25 per cent of the vote; and Liberal organization in the riding was almost non-existent.¹⁵

As in 1969, Saul Miller again avoided door-to-door canvassing.¹⁶ He relied mainly on goodwill and personal friendships established during his municipal service in West Kildonan.¹⁷ Also his campaign organization was by far the most extensive and best staffed with volunteers. His platform, so far as it could be called that, simply rested on the claim that the government's record justified its re-election. Within the Jewish community, Miller's efforts primarily consisted of a combination of advertisements in the Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish press, as well as campaigning among groups of Jews at synagogues and other centers of Jewish activity such as the General Monash branch of the Royal Canadian Legion.¹⁸ In fact, whenever Miller's name appeared on an advertisement in one of the two major newspapers, it was in conjunction with an all-party advertisement. Other than these efforts, no specific appeal was directed to Jewish

¹⁵ Interview: Robert Floom, July 26, 1980.

¹⁶ Interview: Hon. Saul Miller, M.L.A., May 15, 1980.

¹⁷ Interview: Morley I. Globerman, July 23, 1980.

¹⁸ Miller's advertisements took several forms such as an initial call for volunteers, informational notices listing the campaign address, as well as the more general type which urged his re-election. See for example, the advertisements which appeared in The Western Jewish News, June 21, 1973, p. 2 and The Jewish Post, June 21, 1973, p. 2.

voters.

Zawatsky conducted a much more extensive campaign than the party's candidate had in 1969. By his estimate, he personally canvassed more than 7000 voters.¹⁹ He also tried to exploit local issues. One of these concerned the proposed Seven Oaks hospital, which had been promised by numerous provincial governments, to provide the northwest part of the city with presumably better medical facilities. A second involved replacement of the Arlington Street Bridge, one of the main traffic arteries into North Winnipeg, because its ancient girders were apparently becoming unsafe. Zawatsky campaigned hard on both of these issues, but in retrospect, later reported that he encountered voter apathy on both questions and emphasized them less as the campaign progressed. Zawatsky did not direct any specific appeal to Jewish voters, but felt he was helped in winning some of these by the fact that Conservative leader, Sidney Spivak was Jewish.²⁰

The Liberal campaign was limited to personal canvassing by Froese, and the mailing of several party pamphlets. Asper campaigned in Seven Oaks with Froese on several occasions, and accompanied Froese to a Jewish senior citizens' home.²¹ As in Zawatsky's case, the Liberal appeal to Jewish voters could well have been aided by the party leader's being Jewish, but there is no direct evidence to support this. While energetic, Asper's efforts scarcely arrested the

¹⁹ Interview: Carl Zawatsky, January 4, 1980.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Interview: Henry Froese, July 29, 1980.

obviously widespread Liberal decline, which, as has been suggested, may have been conditioned by long-term factors beyond the influence of individual leadership.²² At the local level, Asper's being Jewish could conceivably have attracted some Jewish voters to the Liberal party, but if this did occur in Seven Oaks in the 1973 campaign, the small number involved went unnoticed even by the Liberals, and now defy estimation. Certainly, given the general condition of his party, Henry Froese had no grounds for optimism in his diffident approach to voters in Seven Oaks, whether Jewish or otherwise.

As for Saul Miller, while his support from the Jewish electorate had long been unquestioned, this situation had changed by 1973. The N.D.P. policies which were now being implemented for the first time made him suspect to at least one segment of Seven Oaks' Jewish community. The support of those who were relatively affluent could no longer be taken for granted. Among the reasons for this incipient change was the provincial tax policy since 1969, by which the N.D.P. government had reportedly shifted nearly \$111 million in taxes from lower to higher income groups.²³ Another understandably contentious issue among the relatively better-off was the imposition of succession duties. When the federal government chose to vacate this tax field at the end of 1971, the N.D.P. government in Manitoba decided to levy such taxation itself.²⁴ As one Jewish businessman,

²² John Wilson, "The Decline of the Liberal Party in Manitoba Politics," Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol. X, No. 1, February, 1975, pp. 24-41.

²³ Winnipeg Free Press, April 7, 1972, p. 8.

²⁴ Provincial and Municipal Finances, 1973 (Toronto: Canadian Tax Foundation, 1973), p. 85.

Arnold Freiman, later noted, this was especially disliked in the Jewish community as it threatened the ability of many businessmen to turn over businesses to their children.²⁵ Confirming this apparent change among many affluent Jews, Max Reich, another businessman claimed that the N.D.P. "lost many supporters" solely on account of the government's policy in this area.²⁶

Many Jews in the business community were also concerned about the perceived "anti-business" bias of the N.D.P.²⁷ These persons, who viewed themselves as "supporters of the free enterprise system," were opposed to the government's initiatives into new fields of business activity.²⁸ Various government measures, such as the reputedly anti-business labour code, and successive increases in the minimum wage, evidently antagonized Jewish employers fearful of unions and reduced profit margins. The implementation of the new Landlord and Tenant Act had given cause for fear by many small landlords in the Jewish community that they would be disadvantaged by this legislation when dealing with tenants.²⁹ While many Jews welcomed the establishment of Autopac, the compulsory automobile insurance program, others, especially agents, objected to its method of implementation, which had only under pressure provided for compensation

²⁵ Interview: Arnold Freiman, January 24, 1980.

²⁶ Interview: Max Reich, January 17, 1980.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Interview: Tom Springman, July 23, 1980.

²⁹ Interview: Max Reich, January 17, 1980.

to insurance agents.³⁰ One Jewish businessman later summarized what he felt to be the prevalent attitude among his contemporaries during this period, when he said he "felt threatened" by the N.D.P. government.³¹

A non-economic issue which further alienated some Jews from the provincial government was that of aid to parochial and private schools.³² While Premier Schreyer favoured such a move, a determined opposition led by Jewish N.D.P. M.L.A. Sidney Green, in a free vote in the legislature, defeated the premier's proposal. The revival of this ancient political issue, dating back at least to 1890 in provincial history, likely did little good for the government in the wider community or among Jewish voters. Some who wanted aid for private Jewish schools blamed the N.D.P. for the defeat; while others who strongly opposed aid, for various reasons, blamed the N.D.P. for raising the question in the first place.

The election results of June 28th did not fully confirm the N.D.P.'s fears of loss of voter support in Seven Oaks. While provincially, the party increased its strength, both in terms of the percentage of the vote and members elected, in Seven Oaks the party suffered a decline in voter support. In his poorest showing since first seeking the seat in 1966, Saul Miller was returned with 51 per cent of the vote. The Conservative candidate, Carl Zawatsky, secured

³⁰ Interview: Morris Feuer, June 13, 1980.

³¹ Interview: Gene Schacter, June 4, 1980.

³² Interview: Morris Feuer, June 13, 1980.

second place with 38 per cent; while Henry Froese, the Liberal candidate, received only 11 per cent. Miller's share of the vote declined by more than 10 per cent, while Zawatsky increased his party's share by 15 per cent. Liberal support fell by one per cent. In 1969, Miller had led in all but two of the polls, while in 1973, he managed to capture only 36 of the 47 polls, losing the others to the Conservatives.

Miller's main support in 1973 remained centered in the poorer areas of West Kildonan, where he led in all but one poll; and he received 58 per cent of this area's vote. It was among the less affluent voters here that the Conservatives were weakest, their candidate attracting only a third of the West Kildonan votes, while the Liberal share amounted to less than 10 per cent. The N.D.P. returns in West Kildonan declined nine per cent from 1969, while the Conservatives increased their support by one-third, and Liberal returns remained unchanged. Among the voters in Garden City, in contrast, the Conservative candidate led with 48 per cent of the ballots cast, an increase in party strength of 22 per cent from the previous election. The N.D.P. vote declined by a fifth to 38 per cent. This decline was less than N.D.P. organizers had feared; but in the light of North End traditions, it was unprecedented. Liberal support, while somewhat greater among these affluent voters than in the poorer area of West Kildonan, remained relatively stable at a low level.

In the predominantly Jewish area of Garden City, Miller's share of the total vote fell to 36 per cent with losses at particular polls ranging from 11 to 31 per cent. Voter support for the Progressive Conservatives at these polls nearly doubled to an average

of 52 per cent. The Liberals achieved mixed results, increasing their vote slightly in three of the areas, while losing support in two others. Among the voters in the mainly Jewish, but poorer areas of West Kildonan, the N.D.P.'s loss of votes was not as drastic, declines averaging only 6 per cent, which were less than Miller suffered anywhere else in the constituency. The Conservatives, on the other hand, managed to increase their vote among these electors by an average 8 per cent, though this was less than half the gain experienced in Garden City. Liberal support meanwhile continued static.

From this analysis, it appears evident that while Jewish voters in Garden City rejected the policies of the New Democratic party in greater numbers than ever before, their less wealthy co-religionists in West Kildonan largely remained firm in the support they gave to the party. Four years earlier, Saul Miller had received substantial support from Garden City Jews. After four years of N.D.P. government, however, these same voters forsook their long-standing allegiance. The reasons for this switch were no doubt complex, but they included dissatisfaction with N.D.P. policies concerning urban amalgamation, estate and succession duties, government auto insurance, and the premier's ill-fated proposal to aid parochial schools.

The belief among many professionals and businessmen that the N.D.P. was anti-business was also likely a factor in the wavering and ultimate desertion of large number of Jewish voters in Garden City. Through the 1960's and 1970's, many of this group achieved notable economic success. For a time, they continued to support the N.D.P.,

perhaps for historic, cultural, or simply nostalgic reasons. But when the N.D.P. government began to introduce legislation which threatened their new economic security, some Jewish voters evidently decided that they could no longer afford to support the party as they had done in the past. As one Jewish community leader who resided in Garden City explained, "the N.D.P. had served its purpose for the Jewish people," as this group rose up the economic ladder, but could not fulfill the same role once the group achieved economic security.³³ If so, their decision as Saul Miller later described it, was a "pocketbook" rejection of the N.D.P.³⁴ It had no doubt been easier to support, perhaps out of sentiment, a labour-oriented party, so long as it was weak and in opposition.

Prior to 1973, Conservative strength in Garden City was relatively low; but significant numbers of Jewish voters evidently now came to regard the Conservatives as a less painful alternative. The fact that the Conservatives had a Jewish leader no doubt facilitated this conversion. The support they gave to Carl Zawatsky represented for many Jews their first decisive break in the longtime bond between their families in North Winnipeg and the political left. Within cautious limits in applying the term, it could be said that they no longer felt that the N.D.P. represented their class interests. In so doing, these voters cast aside formerly held ethnic allegiances in favour of their economic interests.

Miller's appeal to Jewish voters outside of Garden City was

³³Interview: Morley I. Globerman, July 23, 1980.

³⁴Interview: Hon. Saul Miller, M.L.A., May 15, 1980.

largely based on the continuing strength of his personal popularity, which together with political support he received from these same persons aided him in retaining his seat. To the largely older lower middle and middle class Jewish voters of West Kildonan, Miller was seen as a candidate who deserved support as a socialist whose policies avowedly helped them. But within the more affluent Jewish community in Garden City, support for Zawatsky apparently represented the beginnings of a class vote, in protest against N.D.P. government policies, which overrode the community's left-wing political traditions.³⁵

Unlike Seven Oaks, River Heights constituency changed little in terms of new development during the period from 1969 to 1973; and the only real alteration in poll boundaries eliminated two polls within the same geographical area.³⁶ However, the lowering of the voting age increased the number of eligible voters by 10 per cent to eleven thousand persons. The electorate remained generally well-off, with the average annual family income in the predominantly Jewish area of South River Heights exceeding eighteen thousand dollars.³⁷

Sidney Spivak, as provincial leader of the Progressive Conservative party, remained a popular political figure. His personal

³⁵ Interview: Morley I. Globerman, July 23, 1980. While noting this, Globerman claimed he still supported Miller on the strength of his personal standing and good friendship with him.

³⁶ For a more detailed discussion of these poll boundary changes, refer to Appendix III.

³⁷ Canada, Department of Industry, Trade & Commerce, 1971 Census of Canada, Census Tract Bulletin, Table 3, pp. 26-7.

standing among Jewish voters remained undiminished since the previous election, as he continued to be active in a number of Jewish organizations, such as the Sharon Home, a senior citizens' home, of which his father was building fund chairman.

Spivak's main challenger was the Liberal candidate, Charles Huband. A lawyer like Spivak, Huband was prominent in his profession and served on the faculty of the University of Manitoba Law School. He was also active in local cultural affairs, serving on the boards of directors of a chamber orchestra and a theatre group. His previous political experience consisted of two terms as a member of Winnipeg's Metro Council, from 1964 to 1968, and although he had earlier been a Conservative supporter, he was now considered one of the Liberal party's leading candidates.

Muriel Smith, the N.D.P. candidate, was earnest and articulate, but was handicapped by the government's egalitarian policies, which won little enthusiasm in the riding's prosperous neighbourhoods. Smith made numerous appearances among the voters throughout the weeks preceding the election, but was unable to attract much support.

Spivak's personal appearances in River Heights were limited, as he was generally occupied visiting other ridings in Winnipeg and rural Manitoba. He did campaign at specific gatherings, including a barbacue picnic he hosted, and visited local shopping centres; but the new demands on his time, as leader, obliged him to a degree to take his riding's support for granted. As regards the Jewish electorate, like Miller, he placed advertising in the English-language Jewish and the Yiddish newspapers. Yet these never explicitly

solicited Jewish support on the basis of Spivak's ethnicity, nor were such important Jewish issues as Israel even obliquely raised. The advertisements rarely, if ever, went beyond identifying the candidates and briefly affirming some party policies.³⁸ It was enough for some Jews that Spivak was a member of a long prominent Jewish family, still very active in community affairs; and he now also had the advantage, at least as regards those Jewish voters to whom this mattered, of being the only Jewish candidate in the riding. Given the historical strength of the Progressive Conservative party in River Heights, Spivak understandably felt little worry about the outcome in his constituency.³⁹

The Liberal campaign was much more aggressive than in 1969, and Huband actively canvassed virtually all parts of the constituency. While better organized and prepared than Mark Danzker had been in 1969, he was nevertheless confronted by Spivak's seemingly invincible position, which was particularly secure among Jewish voters. Apparently Huband's appeal to the latter was only slightly aided by Asper's leadership, perhaps partly because, as some Liberals later suggested, Asper's role and standing in Winnipeg's Jewish community were much less prominent than Spivak's.⁴⁰

In the 1973 election in River Heights, as in 1969, Sidney

³⁸Spivak's campaign relied to a lesser extent on such advertisements in the ethnic Jewish press, these generally appearing just prior to the election. See The Western Jewish News, June 21, 1973, p. 4.

³⁹Interview: Sidney Spivak, March 24, 1977.

⁴⁰Interview: Robert Floom, July 26, 1980 and Henry Froese, July 29, 1980.

Spivak led at the polls in virtually all areas of River Heights, even though his popular vote declined by 10 per cent to 54 per cent. Huband came second, with almost a third of the vote, while Smith managed only to retain the 15 per cent which the N.D.P. had obtained in 1969.

In the predominantly or substantially Jewish polls of South River Heights, Spivak led by a wide margin, and his loss was less than half of what he incurred in the riding generally. The Liberal share of the vote rose some 7 per cent from 1969, when the party's candidate had been Jewish. The N.D.P. vote was reduced by a third from 1969, when their candidate had been able to attract heavier than normal Jewish support for the party, as a result of his appeal to some Jewish voters. Spivak's obvious personal appeal to these voters was never in question. It was in this part of River Heights that he resided, and it was here that he received his largest pluralities, Conservative returns never falling below 40 per cent of the total vote at any poll. At only two polls outside of South River Heights did Spivak attain more than 60 per cent of the vote, while among the voters here, he achieved this figure at three of the six polls. Thus, Spivak's re-election in 1973 confirmed the pattern of support by many Jews in South Winnipeg for the Jewish candidates of the Progressive Conservative party.

While Sidney Spivak in River Heights was able to retain the allegiance of many Jewish voters in 1973, Saul Miller of the N.D.P. lost support from the increasingly affluent Jewish voters in Garden City. Miller was aware of this trend, but as a member of a party which considered itself to be a supporter of the working class, could

not reverse it. The switch of these Jewish voters from the N.D.P. to the Progressive Conservative party was likely aided by the latter's having a Jewish party leader, even though the Liberal party also had a Jewish leader. By 1973, in Garden City, the upper middle class voting pattern which had existed in River Heights for many years, was becoming evident; while in West Kildonan, the lower middle class vote largely remained with the N.D.P., as had been the case for more than half a century. In essence, what happened in the Manitoba provincial election of 1973 in Seven Oaks and River Heights demonstrated the substantial influence of economic policies on electoral choice. Even well-established left-wing political preferences, among Jewish voters in Garden City in particular, were undermined or discarded altogether when they evidently became incompatible with, or injurious to, the voters' perceived economic interests. In this respect, it appeared that Jewish voters in Winnipeg, notwithstanding their distinctive cultural heritage, were reaching a stage of development where they differed little from voters of other cultural backgrounds. The Jewish community's tradition of "North End" radicalism had become a casualty of the upward mobility and increasing affluence of many of its second and third generation members.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The Jews of Winnipeg have been active in politics since the first Jewish immigrants arrived in the 1870's. Their political involvement has included all shades of political activity from communist to conservative. With the passing of time, there have developed two distinct divisions--the economically affluent Jews of South Winnipeg and Garden City, and the less affluent Jewish population of West Kildonan. These divisions are becoming not only geographic but also political.

The first Jewish immigrants sought to establish themselves as merchants. Later Jewish immigrants, mainly from Eastern Europe, fled their homelands imbued with revolutionary ideals and hoped to develop these in Canada. By this time, the original merchant class was largely settled in South Winnipeg, and appreciably advanced in the process of economic assimilation. The second wave of Jewish settlers, largely unskilled, became part of the city's immigrant labour force. Together with other immigrants, they settled in the North End of Winnipeg.

Very soon, Jews became active both as organizers and candidates in all parties, achieving success at all levels of government. The first Jewish member of any provincial legislature in Canada, S. Hart Green, a Liberal, was elected in 1910. The first Jewish Member of Parliament from Manitoba, A.A. Heaps, an Independent

Labour Party member, was elected in 1925 to represent Winnipeg North. Green was followed provincially by W.V. Tobias, a Conservative who was elected to the legislature in 1927, and by Marcus Hyman, for the I.L.P. in 1932.

The political involvement of Winnipeg Jewry continued during the 1940's and 1950's. The voting division between North and South Winnipeg Jews continued, with the latter group generally supporting the Liberals and Conservatives, and the former generally supporting the left. By the late 1960's, the Jewish population of some parts of North Winnipeg, such as Garden City, were approaching the economic status of their South Winnipeg co-religionists. The result was that in North Winnipeg, there began to appear increasingly two distinct economic groups, one composed of the generally more affluent Garden City Jews, similar in economic status to River Heights Jews, and the less affluent Jewish residents of West Kildonan.

Politically, the division within the North Winnipeg Jewish community did not affect the group's support for N.D.P. M.L.A. Saul Miller in 1969. The ethnic and historical bonds remained secure. It was only after the N.D.P. took office and began implementing policies and programs which threatened their recently acquired economic well-being that many of these higher income Jews, principally resident in Garden City, began to reappraise their long-standing party allegiance.

By 1973, many affluent Jewish voters in Garden City began to switch their political allegiance away from the N.D.P., especially towards the Conservatives, and to a much lesser extent, to the Liberals, as political parties more likely to represent their improved

economic interests. The increase in Conservative strength in Garden City in 1973 was representative of this new political reality. The continued support of the N.D.P. by large numbers of West Kildonan Jews was also a reflection of class voting, albeit combined to some degree with a continuing tradition of ethnic voting.

With the passing of time, as the North Winnipeg Jewish community continues to flourish and as new generations discard old radical traditions, it can be expected that support for the New Democratic party will gradually diminish. The more prosperous will likely transfer their support to the Progressive Conservative party. When this happens, the over half a century relationship between the Jewish voters of North Winnipeg and the parties of the left will likely have been irrevocably broken.

APPENDIX I
INTERVIEWS AND BIOGRAPHIC SUMMARIES

APPENDIX I

Interviews and Biographic Summaries

While the individuals interviewed do not constitute a representative cross-section of either the North Winnipeg or the South Winnipeg Jewish communities, or the non-Jewish populations of these areas, they were chosen because their experience in local and provincial politics and in the Jewish community gave authority to their observations. Their inclusion here in no way, of course, implies their necessary endorsement of any or all of the views presented in the text of this thesis.

The interviews were conducted in two parts. The initial questioning concerned the individual's family background, i.e., country of origin, occupation of father, and family's political activities. The subsequent series of questions focused more particularly on the interviewee's own background, i.e., level of educational attainment, occupation and political activity, if any. Certain individuals were interviewed about the early political behaviour of North Winnipeg Jews, while other interviews related exclusively to either or both the 1969 and 1973 provincial elections in River Heights and Seven Oaks. Interviews were generally one to two hours in duration. Material used in the text was in most cases confirmed in several interviews.

1. Abraham J. Arnold - May 15, 1976 - Abraham J. Arnold is a writer and chronicler of Jewish life in Canada. He was the former editor and publisher of The Jewish Western Bulletin and past Executive Secretary of the Jewish Historical Society of Western Canada. He is the co-author, with William Kurelek, of Jewish Life in Canada, published in 1976.

2. Bertha Arnold - March 9, 1977 - Mrs. Arnold is the wife of A.J. Arnold. She has been active in the New Democratic Party, both in Manitoba and elsewhere, and served as Executive Assistant to Saul Miller, during his tenure as an N.D.P. cabinet minister from 1969 to 1977.
3. Stephen Bilinsky - April 13, 1976 - Mr. Bilinsky, now retired, was formerly a teacher and later a civil servant in the provincial government. For a number of years, he was an active member of the Liberal party in North Winnipeg, and served the party in a variety of executive capacities.
4. Hon. Saul Cherniack - April 19, 1976 - Hon. Saul Cherniack, a lawyer, and the son of Joseph Cherniack, also a lawyer and leading Jewish member of the Independent Labour Party, forerunner of the C.C.F. and New Democratic party, first became active at an early age folding party pamphlets. He was a graduate of the Peretz-Folk School, the educational establishment of the Jewish left. Cherniack was first elected to the Winnipeg School Board from 1950 to 1954. He also served on Winnipeg Council from 1959-60, and Metro Council, from 1960-62. He was elected to the provincial legislature in 1962, from the North Winnipeg constituency of St. John's, and was re-elected, 1966, 1969, 1973 and 1977. He was appointed Minister of Finance on July 15, 1969.
5. Joe Elfenbaum - May 14, 1980 - Saskatchewan born, Mr. Elfenbaum moved to the Garden City area of West Kildonan in 1964, and subsequently to the more affluent Parkway Square area of Garden City in 1970. Active in N.D.P. politics in Saskatchewan, he joined the party when he moved to Winnipeg. He was Seven Oaks constituency president in 1966 and continued to be active for a number of years thereafter.
6. Morris Feuer - June 13, 1980 - Mr. Feuer, also Saskatchewan born, moved with his family to North Winnipeg as a child. A lawyer, he moved to Garden City in the mid 1960's. He was appointed by the N.D.P. government to the Municipal Board on December 15, 1973, and served as the Board's acting chairman until March 31, 1978. He remained a supporter of the N.D.P. until the 1977 provincial election.
7. Robert Floom - July 26, 1980 - The owner of a small delivery and transfer service, Floom was an early Jewish resident of West Kildonan in 1948. He supported the N.D.P. until the early 1960's, when he transferred allegiance to the Liberals. He was active in Liberal campaigns of this period. He served as president of the federal Liberal organization in 1967 and also as president of the Seven Oaks constituency association in 1973. He was campaign manager of Evelyn Rosborough in the 1969 provincial election.
8. Arnold Freiman - January 24, 1980 - President of Advance Television and Stereo, Mr. Freiman emigrated to Canada after the

Second World War. Through the 1960's he was a supporter of the N.D.P. and was appointed to the Board Directors of the Communities Economic Development Fund in April, 1974. He served a term of one year, resigning because of alleged political interference. He supported the Progressive Conservatives in the 1977 provincial election.

9. Henry Froese - July 29, 1980 - Froese was the Liberal candidate in Seven Oaks in 1973. A high school teacher, he first became active in the party in 1968 and later served on the executive of both the provincial and federal constituency associations.
10. Morley I. Globerman - July 23, 1980 - Prominent in the Winnipeg Jewish Community, Globerman has served as a President of the Winnipeg Jewish Community Council and as a national officer of the Canadian Jewish Congress. A longtime resident of Garden City - 23 years - he is part-owner of a family furniture and sofa manufacturing business. While not a member of the N.D.P., Mr. Globerman has consistently supported Saul Miller on the basis of friendship alone.
11. Morris Jeroff - July 31, 1980 - Morris Jeroff has been a resident of West Kildonan and Garden City since 1951. He served as Engineer for the City of West Kildonan from 1950 to 1966, and was a member of West Kildonan Council from 1966-68. He comes from a family which strongly supported the non-left parties through the early years of the Jewish community, and his sister-in-law was the Liberal candidate in Seven Oaks in 1977.
12. Guy Kroft - March 10, 1977 - A member of a prominent South Winnipeg Jewish family, Kroft was for many years active in the Liberal party in South Winnipeg and provincially. He was elected President of the Liberal party of Manitoba in 1977. He retired from active politics when he was appointed a Judge of the Court of Queens Bench in 1978.
13. Laurie Mainster - July 30, 1980 - A resident of Garden City, Mainster has been active in the provincial and federal campaigns of the Progressive Conservative party for over twenty years. As Vice President and General Manager of Foster Advertising Ltd., he has helped to plan the provincial campaigns of the party since 1962.
14. Henry Mandelbaum - March 30, 1977 - Active as a staff organizer for the N.D.P., Mandelbaum has previously worked on the campaigns of several N.D.P. candidates at the municipal and provincial levels.
15. Hon. Saul Miller - May 15, 1980 - An active member of the C.C.F. and N.D.P., Miller grew up in a family long committed to socialist politics. The owner of a sheet metal business, he served on the West Kildonan School Board from 1953 to 1958, and as a West Kildonan alderman from the latter year to 1966, when

he was elected to the legislature as M.L.A. for Seven Oaks. While still a member of the legislature, he was Mayor of West Kildonan from 1967 to 1969. He was appointed Minister of Youth and Education on July 15, 1969.

16. Senator Nathan Nurgitz - March 20, 1977 - An active Conservative since the 1957 federal election, Nurgitz was a member of West Kildonan City Council in 1966, when he ran unsuccessfully against Miller in that year's provincial election. He also served as national president of the Progressive Conservative Party, and was appointed to the Senate in 1979.
17. Slaw Rebchuk - April 13, 1976 - An early Liberal worker, he organized among the Ukrainian community from the 1930's onward. He was first elected to City Council in 1949. In 1969, he switched allegiance to the Conservatives, but was decisively defeated when he ran as a candidate in the election.
18. Max Reich - January 17, 1980 - Born and raised in North Winnipeg, Reich was a supporter of the C.C.F. and the N.D.P. during the 1950's and 1960's, as he rose in economic status and acquired rental properties. He supported Miller in 1969, but was soon thereafter alienated from the party by the passage of the Landlord and Tenant Act.
19. Gene Schacter - June 4, 1980 - Schacter, a resident of Garden City for 16 years, is the proprietor of two furniture businesses in Winnipeg. While not active in any political party, he was pleased about the N.D.P. victory in 1969, because of the social programs the party had promised to carry out. But by 1973, as a result of the implementation of various N.D.P. programs which he perceived as threatening to his livelihood, he had become thoroughly disillusioned with the party.
20. A.A. Shanas - April 21, 1976 - An early immigrant to Canada before the First World War, Shanas was active as a supporter of labour in the Jewish community for over fifty years.
21. Hon. Sidney Spivak - March 24, 1977 - The son of a leading Jewish member of the Conservative party, Spivak was an active campaigner for the party in South Winnipeg from the late 1940's. He was the campaign manager for Maitland Steinkopf in 1962, and succeeded him as M.L.A. for River Heights in 1966. In that year, he was appointed Minister of Industry and Commerce. He also served as provincial president of the Progressive Conservative party in 1969-70, and was elected party leader in 1971.
22. Tom Springman - July 23, 1980 - A teacher, who first resided in West Kildonan, and then moved to Garden City in 1970, he was a former supporter of the N.D.P., who became active in the local Conservative association in the late 1960's as a result of friendship with the party's candidate in the 1969 election.

23. Anne Steen - May 8, 1980 - An active Conservative since the mid 1950's, (and sister of Nathan Nurgitz), she ran federally for the party in 1972 and 1974. She was also president of the Seven Oaks constituency association from 1969 to 1971.
24. D.A. (Abe) Yanofsky - March 18, 1977 - Active in community affairs in West Kildonan since the early 1960's, Yanofsky was a well-known figure in the Jewish community of West Kildonan. He had run for the Liberals in the 1958 provincial election against Saul Cherniack in St. John's, but had been unsuccessful. He remained in local politics and was Deputy Mayor of West Kildonan, when he contested Seven Oaks for the Conservatives in 1969.
25. Carly Zawatsky - January 4, 1980 - Prior to 1969, Zawatsky, an insurance executive at that time, had been a lukewarm supporter of the Liberal party. However due to his friendship with Anne Steen, he joined the Conservative party in late 1969. He was active in Steen's unsuccessful 1972 federal campaign in Winnipeg North, and was selected as the party's candidate for the 1973 provincial election in Seven Oaks, his first try at electoral politics.

APPENDIX II
VOTING TABLES

APPENDIX II: TABLE I

Election Results in the Riding of Seven Oaks in the Manitoba Provincial Elections of 1969 and 1973: Including Comparisons With Selected Poll Areas in West Kildonan and Garden City¹

	RV		VC		PC		LIB		NDP	
				%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1969										
Seven Oaks	11,262	6,521	57.9	23.1	1,505	813	12.5	4,203	64.5	
West Kildonan	920	526	57.2	21.5	113	76	14.4	337	64.1	
Garden City	1,742	1,011	58.0	28.9	292	131	13.0	588	58.2	
1973										
Seven Oaks	15,846	12,944	81.7	38.0	4,921	1,386	10.7	6,579	50.8	
West Kildonan	1,070	809	75.6	31.3	253	91	11.2	458	56.6	
Garden City	1,950	1,615	82.8	52.0	840	192	11.9	579	35.9	

¹Election data from unpublished reports, Chief Electoral Officer, Province of Manitoba.

APPENDIX II: TABLE II

Election Results in the Riding of River Heights
in the Manitoba Provincial Elections of 1969
and 1973: Including Comparisons With
Selected Poll Areas in South River
Heights¹

	RV		VC		PC		LIB		NDP		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
1969											
River Heights	9,954		7,221	72.5	4,623	64.0	1,573	21.8	1,051	14.6	
S. River Heights	2,564		1,771	66.7	1,161	65.6	343	19.4	267	15.1	
1973											
River Heights	11,012		9,510	86.4	5,167	54.3	2,906	30.6	1,413	14.9	
S. River Heights	2,751		2,277	82.8	1,411	62.0	622	27.3	234	10.3	

¹Election data from unpublished reports, Chief Electoral Officer, Province of Manitoba.

APPENDIX II: TABLE III

Election Results in the Riding of Seven Oaks in the Manitoba Provincial Elections of 1958, 1959, 1962, and 1966: Including Comparisons With Selected Poll Areas in West Kildonan and Garden City¹

	RV		VC		PC		LIB		NDP	
		%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1958										
Seven Oaks	12,402	53.4	6,631	23.2	1,541	21.8	1,449	21.8	3,641	54.9
West Kildonan ²	9,064	46.0	4,178	23.5	982	21.7	907	21.7	2,289	54.7
Garden City	1,062	51.0	542	20.1	109	25.4	138	25.4	295	54.4
1959										
Seven Oaks	13,037	55.9	7,293	27.0	1,973	18.4	1,343	18.4	3,889	53.3
West Kildonan	9,237	54.9	5,079	27.5	1,397	18.1	921	18.1	2,761	54.3
Garden City	1,224	51.7	633	24.0	152	19.1	121	19.1	360	56.9
1962										
Seven Oaks	14,564	50.6	7,371	35.7	2,635	21.7	1,600	21.7	3,095	42.0
West Kildonan	8,497	50.8	4,314	33.6	1,450	20.1	867	20.1	1,997	46.3
Garden City	2,926	46.6	1,363	40.4	550	26.6	363	26.6	450	33.0
1966										
Seven Oaks	15,424	64.7	9,974	26.0	2,596	20.2	2,010	20.2	5,295	53.1
West Kildonan	9,209	62.2	5,728	24.3	1,393	19.1	1,095	19.1	3,240	56.6
Garden City	3,551	72.2	2,563	27.7	710	26.4	676	26.4	1,177	45.9

¹Election data from unpublished reports of the Chief Electoral Officer, Province of Manitoba.

²Election data for West Kildonan excludes those polls in all elections contained within the boundaries of the former City of Winnipeg.

APPENDIX II: TABLE IV

Election Results in the Riding of River Heights
in the Manitoba Provincial Elections of 1958,
1959, 1962, and 1966: Including Comparisons
With Selected Poll Areas in South River
Heights¹

	RV	VC		PC		LIB		NDP		IND.	
			%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1958											
River Heights	11,782	7,632	64.8	3,945	51.7	2,884	37.8			803	10.5
S. River Heights	1,560	968	62.1	491	50.7	359	37.1			118	12.2
1959											
River Heights	12,351	8,502	68.8	4,936	58.1	3,060	36.0	478	5.6		
S. River Heights	1,749	1,073	61.3	508	47.3	490	45.7	75	7.0		
1962											
River Heights	13,133	9,041	68.8	5,044	55.8	3,941	43.6				
S. River Heights	2,298	1,599	69.6	707	44.2	892	55.8				
1966											
River Heights	13,234	10,374	78.4	5,324	51.3	4,083	39.4	934	9.0		
S. River Heights	2,477	1,937	78.2	1,156	59.7	641	33.1	140	7.2		

¹Election data from unpublished reports of the Chief Electoral Officer, Province of Manitoba.

APPENDIX III

MAPS

APPENDIX III

Poll Descriptions and Maps

Seven Oaks Constituency

Eight polls were examined in the provincial election of 1969, while an equal number were surveyed in 1973.¹ However, it should be noted that two poll areas from the former election were studied as part of two new polls containing a substantial proportion of these voters in 1973. Unless otherwise noted, all polls remained unchanged for the 1973 provincial election. The approximate, estimated percentages of Jewish voters are indicated in parentheses.

Garden City

Poll #22 - Comprising the area bounded on the South by the centre of Hartford Ave.; West by the centre of Sinclair St.; North by the centre of Kingsbury Ave.; East by the West Selkirk Branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Renumbered in 1973 as Poll #21. (47% Jewish)

Poll #23 - Comprising the area bounded on the South by the centre of Jefferson Ave.; West by the centre of Sinclair St.; North by the centre of Hartford Ave.; East by the West Selkirk Branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Renumbered in 1973 as Poll #22A. (57% Jewish)

Poll #25A - Comprising the area bounded on the South by the centre of Carruthers Ave.; West by the centre of Airlies St.; North by the centre of Jefferson Ave.; East by the centre of Sinclair St.

Renumbered in 1973 as Poll #24A. (53% Jewish)

Poll #26 - Comprising the area bounded on the South by the centre of Jefferson Ave.; West by the centre of Airlies St.;

¹All data and poll descriptions were obtained from the Report of the Chief Electoral Officer, Twenty-Ninth General Election, 1969 and Thirtieth General Election, 1973.

North by the centre of Kingsbury Ave.; East by the centre of Sinclair St.

Renumbered in 1973 as Poll #25. (55% Jewish)

Poll #28A - Comprising the area bounded on the South by the centre of Jefferson Ave.; West by the center of McPhillips St.; North by the centre of Arrowood Dr.; East by the centre of Airlies St.

Renumbered in 1973 as Poll #28. (42% Jewish)

West Kildonan

Poll #11B - Comprising the area bounded on the South by the centre of Carruthers Ave.; West by the West Selkirk Branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway; North by the centre of Enniskellen Ave.; East by the centre of McGregor St.

This poll was contained primarily within the boundaries of Poll #12 in 1973. (40% Jewish)

Poll #14A - Comprising the area bounded on the South by the centre of Kilbride Ave.; West by the centre of McGregor St.; North by the centre of Kingsbury Ave.; East by the centre of Powers St.

This poll was contained primarily within the boundaries of Poll #14 in 1973. (40% Jewish)

Poll #17A - Comprising the area bounded on the South by the centre of Kingsbury Ave.; West by the West Selkirk Branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway; North by the centre of Leila Ave.; East by the centre of Powers St.

This poll was located predominantly within the boundaries of one poll in 1973 - #19. (40% Jewish)

River Height Constituency

Eight polls were studied in the provincial election of 1969, while only six were examined four years later. However, the polls in the latter election encompass the same general geographical area as those in 1969. Unless otherwise noted, all polls remained unchanged for the 1973 provincial election. The approximate, estimated percentages of Jewish voters is indicated in parentheses.

Poll #17 - Comprising the area bounded on the South by the centre of Fleet Ave.; West by the centre of Queenston St.; North by the centre of Corydon Ave.; East by the centre of Ash St.

This poll in 1973 was entirely encompassed by Poll #18. (44% Jewish)

Poll #19 - Comprising the area bounded on the South by the centre of Grant Ave.; West by the centre of Queenston St.; North by the centre of Fleet St.; East by the centre of Ash St.

This poll in 1973 was redesigned, and was divided to form parts of polls #22 and 23. (47% Jewish population in both polls.)

Poll #20 - Comprising the area bounded on the South by the centre of Grant Ave.; West by the centre of Ash St.; North by the centre of Fleet St.; East by the centre of Waverley St.

This poll was altered in 1973, and with part of poll 19 from 1969, formed the new poll #23. (48% Jewish)

Poll #21 - Comprising the area bounded on the South by the centre of Mathers Ave.; West by the Canadian Pacific Railway; North by the centre of Grant Ave.; East by the centre of Queenston St.

Renumbered in 1973 as Poll #25. (41% Jewish)

Poll #22 - Comprising the area bounded on the South by the centre of Taylor Ave.; West by the centre of Queenston St.; North by the centre of Grant Ave.; East by the centre of Ash St.

This poll was divided in 1973 to form Poll #26, and part of Poll #31. (62% average Jewish population in both polls.)

Poll #23 - Comprising the area bounded on the South by the centre of Mathers Ave.; West by the centre of Ash St.; North by the centre of Grant Ave.; East by the centre of Waverley St.

Renumbered in 1973 as Poll #27. (59% Jewish)

Poll #25 - Comprising the area bounded on the South by the centre of Taylor Ave.; West by the Canadian Pacific Railway; North by the centre of Mathers Ave.; East by the centre of Brock St.

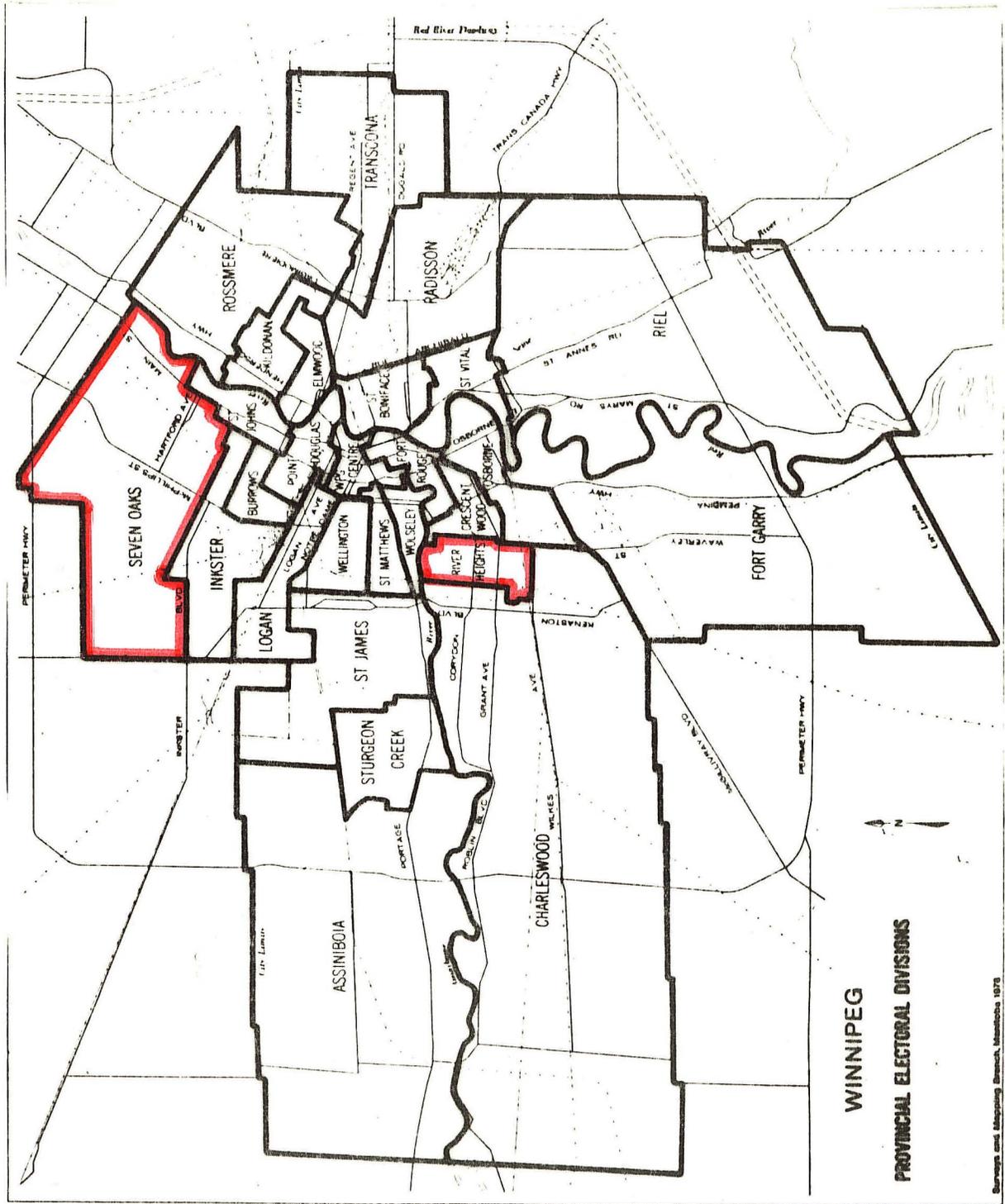
This poll was deleted from examination in 1973 due to smallness of the Jewish group in the new poll it formed part of. The remaining portion of the former poll, was reconstituted as part of Poll #32. (50% Jewish)

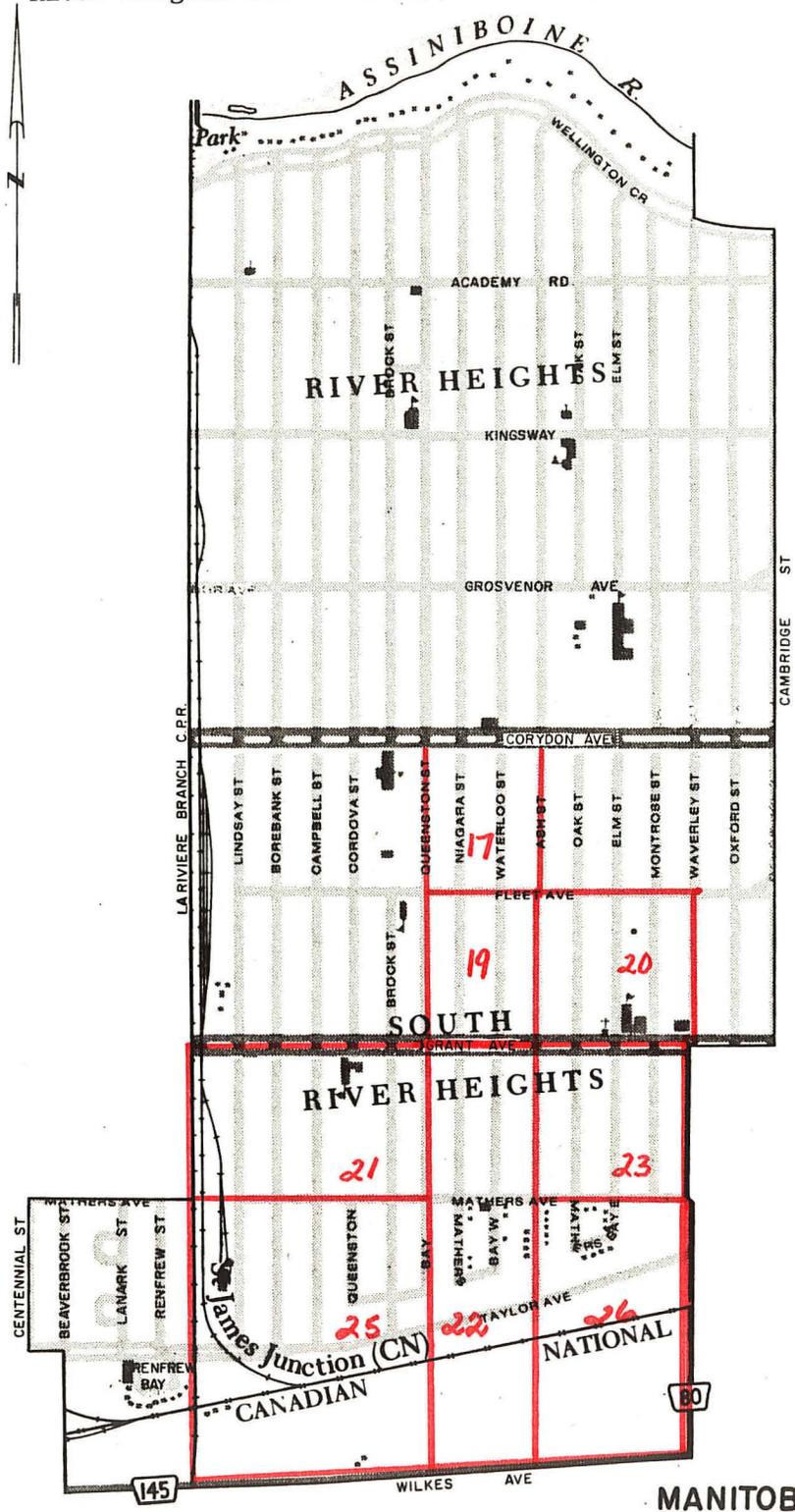
Poll #26 - Comprising the area bounded on the South by the centre of Taylor Ave.; West by the centre of Ash St.; North by the centre of Mathers Ave.; East by the centre of Waverley St.

This poll was incorporated into Poll #31 in 1973.
(50% Jewish)

APPENDIX III

Map I: The Location in Winnipeg of
Seven Oaks and River Heights Constituencies
1969 and 1973





MANITOBA
 PROVINCIAL ELECTORAL DIVISION
 OF
RIVER HEIGHTS

SCALE: 1 INCH = 1000 FEET

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Robert Floom, July 26, 1980.
Arnold Freiman, January 24, 1980.
Henry Froese, July 29, 1980.
Morley I. Globerman, July 23, 1980.
Morris Jeroff, July 31, 1980.
Guy Kroft, March 10, 1977.
Laurie Mainster, July 30, 1980.
Henry Mandelbaum, March 30, 1977.
Hon. Saul Miller, May 15, 1980.
Senator Nathan Nurgitz, March 20, 1977.
Slaw Rebchuk, April 13, 1976.
Max Reich, January 17, 1980.
Gene Schacter, June 4, 1980.
A.A. Shanas, April 23, 1976.
Sidney Spivak, March 24, 1977.
Tom Springman, July 23, 1980.
Anne Steen, May 8, 1980.
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