

**THE PRACTICE OF INTOLERANCE BY THE ALBERTA SOCIAL CREDIT
GOVERNMENT AND THE GROWTH OF JEWISH ACTIVISM BETWEEN 1943 AND
1968**

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Abstract

The following thesis paper examines the continued presence of antisemitism in the ruling Alberta Social Credit Party (SCP) between 1943 and 1968, and Canadian Jewish organizational efforts to obtain anti-discrimination legislation. The Alberta Social Credit grassroots movement involved radical monetary policies, religious fundamentalism, conspiracy theories and antisemitic rhetoric. How did such an unorthodox party retain provincial control for thirty-six years despite the organization's persistent antisemitism? The question is significant to the ongoing narrative of Alberta politics amid a sharp rise in antisemitism within Canada today. The principal methodology includes qualitative research of primary sources from the SCP and Canadian Jewish archives and academic literature. Within this study period, the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) transitioned from an organization with little infrastructure to a leading institution with strong ties to other Canadian Jewish bodies, and labour and civil groups, struggling to enshrine protections for Canadian Jews. The results demonstrate that in the 1950s and early 1960s, as many Canadian provincial governments enacted equal rights legislation, Premier Ernest Manning's Social Credit government resisted such laws in Alberta. As a result, Jewish leaders escalated initiatives in Alberta. Throughout his leadership, Manning routinely denied accusations of antisemitism leveled against his party. Eventually, Manning and the Alberta SCP government were forced to establish human rights legislation in 1966, although the provisions were limited in scope. Manning curtailed Social Credit antisemitism when it became a political liability, but he did not comprehensively eliminate it. Through collaborative efforts, the CJC and other Canadian Jewish groups finally achieved legalized protections for the Jewish community in Alberta.

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I want to end my acknowledgements with one of my favourite quotes from the remarkable Nelson Mandela: "It always seems impossible until it's done."

Jason Rohfritsch

Introduction

Background

Antisemitism is a global phenomenon. With a sizable portion of the population descended from European Christian societies, mid-20th century Canada was not exempt from the stain of antisemitism. Canadian Jewish history and activism have been significantly less researched than their European and American counterparts. Within Western Canada, a much smaller Jewish population did not garner the same level of scrutiny as Canadian Jews in Ontario and Quebec, where pronounced Jewish communities had established themselves in Toronto and Montreal. The Jewish Colonization Association, originally founded in 1891, attempted to settle Jews from Russia and other Eastern European countries on the farming lands of Western Canada; however, by 1911, more than half of the Jews in Alberta lived in Calgary and Edmonton as merchants or traders.¹ By 1921, there were only 3,186 Jews living in Alberta, representing less than 1% of the 558,454 provincial population.² According to Statistics Canada, ten years later, Alberta's populace surged to 731,605, surpassing Manitoba to become the fourth most populated Canadian province.³ The report also detailed that between 1911 and 1921, Alberta recorded the highest percentage increase in population of any province.

In the 1920s, the province saw some migration of Jews from Manitoba and Saskatchewan, but by the end of the decade, restrictive federal immigration policies aimed specifically at Jews curbed further growth. Originally, Alberta was a rural province, with wheat as the leading crop until prices plummeted in the early 1920s. The Liberal Party governed

¹ "Alberta, Canada," *Jewish Virtual Library*, <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/alberta>.

² "Alberta, Canada," *Jewish Virtual Library*, <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/alberta> and "Seventh Census of Canada, 1931: Volume II Population by Areas," *Dominion Bureau of Statistics*, 3, https://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2017/statcan/CS98-1931-2.pdf.

³ "Seventh Census of Canada, 1931," 3.

Alberta for the first sixteen years from 1905 to 1921, followed by fourteen years of the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) government.⁴ As the Great Depression devastated the agrarian province, resentful Albertans turned to a recent movement-turned-political-party, Social Credit, which promoted both millennialist Christian beliefs and secular conspiracy theories.

In 1931, four years before the election of the Social Credit Party (SCP), Alberta's minute Jewish population primarily resided in the province's urban areas. Thus, many Albertans did not experience any Jewish presence in their community. However, antisemitism existed in Alberta, as it did throughout the nation during this time. Antisemitic sentiment had been consistently displayed by the federal government's exclusionary immigration policies. In the 1930s, Ontario and Quebec experienced prominent antisemitic incidents. Maurice Duplessis, leader of Quebec's Union Nationale government "accused Jews of being Communists," sparking anti-Jewish sentiment amongst the people of Quebec.⁵ Jews in Alberta suffered most of the same daily restrictions as the rest of the country, including bans on employment, housing and access to private establishments. As Albertans suffered the horrendous effects of the Great Depression, many chose to blame Jews, whether they personally knew any or not, for their ills. Antisemitism in Alberta also arose from religious concerns, particularly from right-wing evangelicals. They regarded Jews as part of a religious identity in opposition to Christian nationalism and perceived Judaism as a hostile ideology that had violently renounced Jesus as their saviour but could be redeemed by abandoning their faith and becoming Christians.⁶ Members of the SCP and many

⁴ Alvin Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 18, 24-25.

⁵ "Brief History of Antisemitism in Canada," *Montreal Holocaust Museum*, 2015, 15, https://museeholocauste.ca/app/uploads/2018/10/brief_history_antisemitism_canada.pdf.

⁶ Blackmore Says Canadian People Face Two Choices," *Ottawa Morning Citizen*, October 16, 1943.

Albertans held secular and religious views that Judaism was a cultural and religious belief that one could leave behind and achieve salvation.

When the Alberta Social Credit members acquired power in 1935, antisemitic rhetoric and fabrications involving Jews were immediately prominent. A few years prior, a renowned Alberta religious radio broadcaster, William “Bible Bill” Aberhart discovered a social credit economic reform theory founded by British engineer, C.H. Douglas. Historian Bob Hesketh asserted that “Douglas offered a conspiracy theory of history to explicate past and predict future national and international events...”⁷ Douglas’ Social Credit movement embraced the New World Order theory, which alleged that shadowy international financiers with Jewish names were attempting to achieve world domination and install a totalitarian government.⁸ Upon obtaining political power, the party was led by Aberhart, with his protégé, Ernest Manning, serving as provincial secretary. On several occasions, Aberhart and Manning detailed the conspiracy theory, but did not directly refer to the financiers as Jewish. For Aberhart and Manning, antisemitism was part of the natural world, an extension of a hierarchy that existed between Christians and non-believers.

The Alberta Social Credit government long-ignored the need to establish legal protections for Jews and other minority groups within the province. When the Social Credit party acquired power, the general population in Alberta, consistent with the majority of the Canadian population in the 1930s, was broadly antisemitic. However, the party did not quickly acquire its first majority government in its first election due to its inherent antisemitic philosophy. Only a small portion of Social Credit supporters, who would remain as the SCP base, were attracted to

⁷ Bob Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 16-17.

⁸ Howard Palmer, “Politics, Religion and Antisemitism in Alberta, 1880-1950,” in *Antisemitism in Canada: History and Interpretation*, Alan Davies, editor (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1992), 178.

the organization because of its antisemitic rhetoric and conspiratorial views. However, the election of the Alberta Social Credit government alarmed the provincial Jewish community and the few Canadian Jewish organizations that existed in 1935 due to its vocalization of Jewish conspiracies. In 1937, a schism appeared in the Alberta government, with some members, labelled the “Douglasites,” maintaining a stronger loyalty to Social Credit founder, Douglas, over Premier Aberhart, and later, over Premier Manning. The SCP remained a concern for Canadian Jews throughout the party’s enduring provincial rule, though no one would have imagined this newfound, unconventional, antisemitic party would rule Alberta for the next 36 years.

The meagre number of Canadian Jewish groups that existed in the 1930s were isolated and encountered intolerance and restrictions. The advent of the Holocaust saw Canadian Jewish efforts devoted to assisting European Jews amid the Canadian government’s restrictive immigration policies. Following the death of Aberhart in 1943, Manning immediately assumed the premiership and led the Alberta Social Credit Party until the end of 1968. During Manning’s extensive rule, Alberta emerged as a prosperous, influential Canadian province following the 1947 Leduc oil strike and the development of its oil sands.⁹ As the newly abundant government coffers erased the province’s debt, allowing for the implementation of extensive social programs, the party’s continued antisemitism was often overlooked.

In the late 1940s, despite the decreasing acceptance of antisemitic rhetoric in Canada, the Douglasites routinely acquired negative press due to ongoing public antisemitism and legislative reports.¹⁰ In late 1947 and early 1948, Manning directed a series of actions within the Social Credit organization, including the expulsion of several Douglasite members, that to many,

⁹ Brian Brennan, *The Good Steward: The Ernest C. Manning Story* (Calgary: Fifth House Ltd., 2008), 87-88.

¹⁰ T.C. Byrne, *Alberta’s Revolutionary Members* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1991), 158-159.

provided the appearance that Manning had eliminated SCPs antisemitic elements. A principal research question is whether these changes, known as the purge, genuinely eliminated the issue of Social Credit antisemitism. If so, why were there ongoing challenges in the 1950s and 1960s for Canadian Jewish groups and their allies in Alberta?

Methodology

The methodology employed in this thesis includes examining primary sources and pertinent monographs containing source material on the Alberta SCP and Canadian Jewish organizations within the period of examination. I have visited the archives in Calgary, Winnipeg, Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto. CJC archival materials are decentralized and exist in the cities or regions of origin. For example, the works of the former Montreal-based CJC Executive Committee remain in the city at the Alex Dworkin Canadian Jewish Archives. On a smaller scale, the Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada, located in Winnipeg, houses a research library, archives, and newspaper records for Western Canadian sources. The one exception I found during my research is that English public relations sources, even by Western provinces, are stored in the Ontario Jewish Archives, Blankenstein Family Heritage Centre.

Primary sources of the SCP and Canadian Jewish groups for my paper are predominately written records. While photographs visually display an event or a historical moment, written archival material, including Manning's hand-written notes and speeches or correspondence of CJC leaders, reveal their perceptions and inner thoughts. There are written interviews and some video interviews, but recording systems were more expensive and not technically advanced. Collections of primary sources from Canadian Jewish organizations were unpublished and marked confidential due to the politically sensitive nature of the documents. However, the Social

Credit's official role required that sources regarding government dealings and deliberations be made public. Newspapers routinely reported on Social Credit members' activities, given the public importance of its actors. Though biased to one side or the other, archival Western Jewish and Western mainstream publications provide insight into political activities throughout Alberta. Other significant research materials are the published reports of the SCP and Jewish groups, especially in the early 1960s, leading up to the passing of legislation. There will be minimal quantitative data informing my historical study, but population censuses, Gallup poll surveys, and election records are vital. The individual narratives of prominent actors within the SCP and of Canadian Jewish leaders are essential in exploring factors of ongoing antisemitism and the rise of initiatives to combat it.

Historiography

There are numerous scholarly sources exploring the Alberta Social Credit Party or Canadian Jewish activism, but far fewer examine the intersection of the two subjects. Janine Stingel produced many works concerning the Alberta SCP and, in her 1997 McGill University dissertation, examined antisemitism in the Alberta SCP and the response of the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC), between the years of 1935 and 1949.¹¹ The study period for this thesis paper is from 1943 to 1968, covering Manning's years as premier and ongoing efforts to alter his party's reputation and implement Social Credit government federally and throughout other provinces. Today, fifty-three years following the end of the Alberta SCP government, there is extensive scholarship regarding Aberhart and the Social Credit's sudden rise to power. While, Manning's 25-year tenure as Alberta premier is the longest in Alberta's history, and the second longest

¹¹ Janine Stingel, "Social Credit and the Jews: Anti-Semitism in the Alberta Social Credit Movement and the Response of the Canadian Jewish Congress, 1935-1949," (Ph.D. Thesis, Montreal: McGill University, February 1997), 21, 32.

premiership in Canada, following George Henry Murray's 26-year span in Nova Scotia, many historians focused more on the charismatic Aberhart's eight year rule than the private, and often referred to as "dull," personality of Manning.¹² The earliest literature regarding the Alberta Social Credit movement arose from the emerging political science tradition following World War II. At the end of the 1940s, the Canadian Social Science Research Council Canadian commissioned a ten-book series titled *Social Credit in Alberta: Its Background and Development*.¹³ Noted Canadian sociologist, S.D. Clark, edited the series which produced consequential studies exploring the political history of Alberta, culminating in the 1935 establishment of the Social Credit Party.

The fourth work issued within the series, *Democracy in Alberta*, was published in 1953 by one of Canada's foremost political theorists, C.B. MacPherson. The influential study explored the progression of the Social Credit philosophy, and its transition into the political arena. MacPherson declared that Alberta had a "quasi-party system," as the SCP party dominated government while maintaining enough democratic substance in a province with little class division.¹⁴ MacPherson outlined that the quasi-party system formed in the province due to "the problem of democratic government in a community mainly of independent producers which forms a subordinate part of a more mature capitalist economy. It appears as a middle way between an alternate-party state... a one-party state which would be unacceptable and for which there is not the requisite class basis."¹⁵ Significantly, MacPherson only briefly mentions antisemitism within Social Credit theory. He declares it was not an inherent element of the

¹² Brennan, 161.

¹³ John A. Irving, *The Social Credit Movement in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), ii.

¹⁴ C.B. MacPherson, *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System*. 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1962), vii, 230-231.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 239.

philosophy but resulted from Douglas' personal antisemitic views. MacPherson asserted "There was some unwillingness within the movement to accept the theory of the Jewish world plot, but Douglas insisted that it was an integral part of social creditism."¹⁶ As this source was written at the half-way mark of Social Credit's rule, many later historians rebuke MacPherson's analysis, though it remains an integral early work regarding the Alberta SCP.

Since its inception, the Alberta SCP won nine consecutive elections, many by large margins, allowing provincial Social Credit programs to pass with little opposition. The final work issued within the ten-book series, was philosopher John A. Irving's *The Social Credit Movement in Alberta*, published in 1959. Irving's study provided a comprehensive background of the formation of the Social Credit movement and conditions in Alberta that enabled the party to obtain all but 7 seats in its first election in 1935. Irving declared that "Social Credit fitted in with the norms of a province where monetary reform as a solution of economic problems had long been advocated."¹⁷ Historian Janine Stingel points out that in his account, Irving did not even once reference the word "Jew" or "anti-semitic," demonstrating how earlier historians largely ignored the significance of antisemitism within the party's ideology.¹⁸ Social Credit benefited significantly from its early electoral success which distracted from its antisemitism in early histories.

While scholarship concerning the Social Credit movement decreased following Clark's ten-book Alberta series, in the late 1980s, historian Alvin Finkel released a prominent work, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta*. Finkel detailed the sudden rise of the SCP, declaring that the organization's effective mobilization of voters within Alberta's large, sparsely populated

¹⁶ MacPherson, 184.

¹⁷ Irving, 344.

¹⁸ Janine Stingel, "In the Presence of Mine Enemies: Anti-Semitism in the Alberta Social Credit Party," (Thesis, Montreal: McGill University, October 1993), 5.

province led to the party's swift and enduring success.¹⁹ Finkel's source, published in 1989, chronicled the Alberta Social Credit government throughout its entire rule. He criticized MacPherson's view that it was predominantly farmers who were responsible for the Social Credit's 1935 victory. Finkel argued that the party's success in Alberta was not inevitable and initially, along with farmers, its supporters also "consisted of a coalition of reformers, including working-class social democrats, the unemployed and small business owners placed in jeopardy by the Depression."²⁰ Finkel declared the other groups were attracted to the idea of participatory democracy within the new movement. In terms of Irving's assessment, Finkel contends that Irving overstated the role that religious zeal held over monetary reasons for supporting the Social Credit party.

Some historians focused on the role of religion in securing and maintaining Social Credit power. In a 1972 Ph.D. dissertation, Harry Hiller explored the impact of Aberhart and Manning's Christian fundamentalism to the Social Credit movement and declared religion was their primary passion. Hiller detailed that "Lay people of other denominational persuasions were willing to put up with some idiosyncratic doctrine in exchange for the stated goal of Christianizing the social order."²¹ Hiller's study revealed that Manning was held in high regard within the province, and many argued that a man of such religious faith would never condone antisemitism or support vile conspiracy theories. In his 2016 source, *God's Province: Evangelical Christianity, Political Thought, and Conservatism in Alberta*, political scientist Clark Banack declared many past scholars focused solely on political and economic factors in explaining the history of Alberta and

¹⁹ Irving, 124-125 and Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta*, 30-31, 38.

²⁰ Finkel, 8-9.

²¹ Harry H. Hiller, "Religion, Populism, and Social Credit in Alberta. A Critical Analysis of the Role of Religion in a Canadian Populist Movement: The Emergence and Dominance of the Social Credit Party in Alberta" (Ph.D. dissertation, Hamilton: McMaster University, 1972), 414.

its rebuke of mainstream political parties. Banack conveyed that with Social Credit's emphasis on individual freedom, "surprisingly little sustained attention has been paid to the role that religious interpretation and discourse have played within the tradition of protest and experimentation."²² He argued that an extreme form of Evangelicalism was much more prominent in Alberta than in other Canadian regions which made Albertan voters more susceptible to both the conspiracy theory side of the SCP and its uplifting, and sometimes millennialist message about the good of Christianity.²³ Often referred to as theological antisemitism, many Evangelicals proclaim that Jews were responsible for Jesus' death. Historiographies exploring Aberhart and Manning's Christian fundamentalism, emphasized it is impossible to separate their religious beliefs from their political decisions.

Many historians argued that Alberta favoured right-wing parties, and that Manning transitioned the Social Credit party to a conservative government. In Irving's 1959 study, he rejected the view that Alberta was naturally conservative, pointing to earlier governments formed by the previous left-of-centre and left-wing populist party-based Liberals and the UFA. Irving argued that while Manning declared he was conservative, his government's expenditures on social services demonstrated "...it was not a radical right-wing regime and did not therefore represent a major shift from the earlier Aberhart regime."²⁴ However, in Banack's 2016 work, he argued that during Manning's leadership, the premier abandoned the social credit economic doctrine for an approach labelled "social conservatism." Manning later stated that this ideology aimed to "harness the energies of a free enterprise-private economic sector to the task of

²² Clark Banack, *God's Province: Evangelical Christianity, Political Thought, and Conservatism in Alberta* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2016), 1, 156-157.

²³ *Ibid.*, 6-8.

²⁴ Irving, 3.

attaining many social goals.”²⁵ Most later scholars asserted that Manning led the Social Credit party to the right with conservative policies and that it represented a departure from Aberhart’s earlier position.

There were various works written by Social Credit members that, while revealing pronounced biases, provide significant inside accounts. John Barr’s 1974 source, *The Dynasty: The Rise and Fall of Social Credit in Alberta*, detailed that when Manning assumed leadership of the party, a fundamental split existed between Social Credit members loyal to Douglas and those dedicated to Manning. Barr revealed that in 1945, L.D. Byrne, consultant to the Alberta Social Credit Board and Deputy Minister of the Department of Economic Affairs, “...submitted several confidential reports to his superiors in which he strongly criticized the new direction of the government..”²⁶ Barr, a former journalist who reported on the Alberta government for years, later became the executive assistant to the Social Credit Minister of Education Bob Clark in 1968, shortly before Manning’s retirement.²⁷ Following the purge, Barr argued that the re-election of Manning became “the real function of the party in the minds of most Albertans and, indeed, of many party members..”²⁸ Barr’s account maintains that Manning solidified his control and that following the purge and the 1948 election, no Social Credit member openly challenged Manning’s decisions.

Another firsthand account that expressed this sentiment was the 1971 biography of Alberta Social Credit MPP Alfred Hooke. Hooke, a member of the 1937 insurgency against

²⁵ Ernest Manning, *Political Realignment; A Challenge to Thoughtful Canadians* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), 76.

²⁶ John J. Barr, *The Dynasty: The Rise and Fall of Social Credit in Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 127-128.

²⁷ Brennan, 92.

²⁸ Barr, 130.

Aberhart, expressed that he had “absolute faith in the knowledge and integrity of Mr. Byrne...”²⁹ Though upset with Bryne’s later dismissal from the party, Hooke remained a member of the Alberta government as he asserted that “my blind devotion to Premier Manning overcame any objection I may have had.”³⁰ Hooke is a notable example that loyalty to Manning by party members was essential. Manning selected him for many ministerial portfolios throughout Hooke’s lengthy political career. While the works of Barr and Hooke provide biased viewpoints, it is significant for the historiography of the Social Credit movement to examine their insights.

In the 1990s, scholarship began earnestly exploring Social Credit antisemitism, coinciding with the globalization of the Israel-Palestine conflict following the end of the first Intifada and the signing of the first Oslo Accords, as well as with the 50th anniversary of the Holocaust. In a 1991 journal article, “Ethnic Relations and the Paranoid Style: Nativism, Nationalism & Populism in Alberta, 1945-1950,” ethnic historian Howard Palmer asserted that Social Credit members effectively tapped into a long history of Albertans motivated by prejudice. Palmer highlighted the social and psychological hostilities in Alberta and asserted that “the Great Depression, the beginnings of mass urbanization and the war left many Albertans with a sense of social insecurity and dislocation...”³¹ Like Palmer, Banack agreed that intolerance existed in the SCP ideology. However, Palmer placed the culpability of the Alberta government’s antisemitism on “One wing of the Social Credit movement in Alberta that followed Major Douglas in these anti-semitic fantasies and was convinced that there was a perennial conspiracy against economic freedom.”³² Within this faction, Palmer included federal

²⁹ Alfred J. Hooke, *30+5: I Know, I Was There* (Edmonton: Institute of Applied Art, 1971), 193.

³⁰ Hooke, 197.

³¹ Howard Palmer, "Ethnic Relations and the Paranoid Style: Nativism, Nationalism & Populism in Alberta, 1945-50," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 23, no. 3 (1991), 25.

³² *Ibid.*, 18.

Social Credit MP Norman Jaques, the news publication, the *Canadian Social Crediter* and the Alberta Social Credit Board. Significantly, Palmer declared that Manning rejected antisemitism arguing that it “opposed Manning’s particular fundamentalist views...”³³ However, two years later, in her 1993 thesis paper, “In the Presence of Mine Enemies: Anti-Semitism in the Alberta Social Credit Party, Janine Stingel declared “Anti-Semitic sentiment was not confined to a few marginal Social Crediters; rather, it was integral to the Movement's ideology.”³⁴ Stingel further outlined that the Alberta SCP was part of a larger pattern in Western and Canadian history of demonizing Jews more extensively than other minority groups. Scholarship concerning the extraordinary ascendancy of the Alberta Social Credit government produced differing interpretations relating to its antisemitic philosophical base.

There are divergent views within historiography concerning the actual motive(s) for Manning’s purge within the Social Credit organization. Earlier scholarship widely asserted that Manning was motivated to act by moral considerations. Finkel reported that “Manning set out to rid the party of people whose views reminded the public of the Nazis rather than their opponents.”³⁵ While Palmer proclaimed Manning was not antisemitic, he acknowledged that the leader had other motivations for carrying out the purge, including consolidating his control. In confronting the Douglasite members, Palmer conveyed that “Some of them had criticized Manning’s government for its failure to implement Social Credit policies and were thus challenging his leadership from within the party.”³⁶ A recent 2022 thesis paper by Brian Istvan Tot, “The King Can Do No Wrong: The Expulsion of the Douglasites, Intra-Party Conflict Resolution, and Dominant Party Ideological Moderation,” also argued that Manning was not

³³ Palmer, “Ethnic Relations and the Paranoid Style,” 23.

³⁴ Stingel, “In the Presence of Mine Enemies,” 101.

³⁵ Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta*, 105.

³⁶ Palmer, “Ethnic Relations and the Paranoid Style,” 24.

antisemitic, but that he and Aberhart were complicit in selecting and collaborating with prejudiced Douglasite members. Tot examined the purge within an intra-party conflict model and concluded that Manning “acted on a moral basis in the belief that government should not discriminate based on creed.”³⁷ While, he conceded that Manning realized public opinion concerning antisemitism was changing after the Holocaust and the end of WWII, Tot insisted that Manning had long desired the removal of the Douglasites due to personal considerations. Tot asserted long before the purge “There was a notable shift in attitude from the Premier’s Office when Aberhart was replaced by Manning.”³⁸ Despite, Tot’s determination, he acknowledged the politically expedient incentives that Stingel outlined for Manning’s purge. In this area of research, Stingel’s work provides the most comprehensive study.

Stingel’s influential works throughout the 1990s concerning Alberta Social Credit antisemitism reveal that Manning’s motivations for the purge were not as clear-cut as earlier historians claimed. In her 1993 thesis, Stingel asserted that a significant objective of the purge was Manning’s desire to reform his party’s antisemitic reputation to acquire wider support for the Social Credit movement across Canada. Stingel declared the purge “marked a deliberate attempt by Manning to dissociate the Social Credit Movement from its traditional ideology” and revealed that historically, Manning had been regarded as the “honest purger.”³⁹ Evidence conveyed in Stingel’s paper emphasized that in the 1950s, utility to the party and loyalty to Manning were the main factors for Social Credit members’ political survival. Following the purge, Manning attempted to block any overtly antisemitic rhetoric or reports from reaching the Canadian public.

³⁷ Brian Istvan Tot, “The King Can Do No Wrong: The Expulsion of the Douglasites, Intra-Party Conflict Resolution, and Dominant Party Ideological Moderation,” (Thesis. University of Calgary, April 18, 2022), 41.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

³⁹ Stingel, “In the Presence of Mine Enemies,” 88.

However, in Stingel's 1999 journal article, "Beyond the Purge: Reviewing the Social Credit Movement's Legacy of Intolerance," many examples of continued SCP antisemitism in the 1950s were revealed. Stingel disclosed statements from Manning, himself, that conveyed continued antisemitic tones. In 1953, on his weekly Sunday "Back to the Bible" radio broadcast, Manning expressed that "the day was coming when Mongols, Slavs and Jews would unite in a supreme clash with the western world in the Battle of Armageddon" and advised his audience to "keep your eye on that strange little country, Israel."⁴⁰ Stingel asserted that following the purge "ideological impulses which reflected and shaped the movement were still very palpable."⁴¹ Historians predominantly agree that during the 1950s and 1960s, Manning directed a campaign shifting Social Credit's practice of embracing the New World Order conspiracy involving Jewish bankers to the much-vocalized hostilities towards socialism. The policy garnered tremendous support for the party amid the Cold War. As Stingel outlined, antisemitic sentiment continued within the Social Credit movement throughout Manning's tenure, though publicly, the Social Credit movement later focused on denouncing socialism as the most significant threat.

Stingel produced the first comprehensive study exploring antisemitism within the Alberta Social Credit philosophy and government integrated with the reaction of the Canadian Jewish Congress. In 1997, Stingel's McGill University PhD thesis, "Social Credit and the Jews: anti-Semitism in the Alberta Social Credit Movement and the Response of the Canadian Jewish Congress, 1935-1949," outlined the background of the movement within Alberta and the many Social Credit outlets that promoted antisemitic sentiment. Stingel identified the "Social Credit movement had an organizational apparatus which promoted anti-Semitic literature," in addition

⁴⁰ *Edmonton Journal*, January 10, 1953.

⁴¹ Janine Stingel, "Beyond the Purge: Reviewing the Social Credit Movement's Legacy of Intolerance." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 31, no. 2 (1999), 78.

to “leading Social Credit members that also spouted anti-Semitic rhetoric.”⁴² While Stingel established that Social Credit antisemitism was ideological and never became an official policy, there is no question from her account that anti-Jewish sentiment was part of the Social Credit philosophy.

Within this portrait of the Alberta Social Credit party, Stingel detailed the ineffectual CJC public relation’s efforts from the party’s inception and throughout Manning’s purge. Stingel concluded that “Congress’s initial public relations philosophy focused on educational, ‘positive’ anti-defamation work in order to combat anti-Semitism.”⁴³ With the increase of antisemitism during WWII, the CJC decided that “it was not enough to convince the non-Jewish community that Jews were indeed ‘good people’”⁴⁴ Following WWII, the CJC focused its efforts to the creation of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine and appeals to the federal government to admit Jewish refugees. Stingel declared any relationship that existed between the CJC and the Alberta SCP from 1935 to 1949 was hostile. Thus, while the CJC recognized Social Credit antisemitism, the Jewish organization did not possess the resources or a public relations strategy to confront the powerful Alberta government. Stingel concluded that Manning carried out the actions of the purge for political reasons, and while it decreased antisemitic rhetoric in the party, “Congress did not beat the Social Credit Goliath; he toppled under his own weight.”⁴⁵ Based on her 1997 PhD thesis, Stingel published the book *Social Discredit: anti-Semitism, Social Credit and the Jewish Response* in 2000. Stingel’s work in researching the CJC’s reaction to Alberta Social Credit antisemitism from 1935 to 1949, provides a thorough account of the limited, and ineffectual, practices by the leading Jewish organization.

⁴² Stingel, “Social Credit and the Jews,” 68.

⁴³ Ibid., 185-186.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 186-187.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 386.

While historiographies concerning Aberhart are more abundant, the first full-length biography of Ernest Manning was published in 2008. Brian Brennan's work *The Good Steward: The Ernest C. Manning Story*, produced 12 years after Manning's death, revealed the author's admiration for the former Alberta premier. Brennan asserted that the Douglasites were a constant source of difficulty for the premier before the purge and that initially Manning tried to placate these members. In 1946, Manning initiated a bill that included a mechanism for distributing allowances through Alberta's chartered banks as "credit deposits" rather than cash payments.⁴⁶ Brennan asserted the legislation's inevitable defeat allowed the premier to then "focus on what the party viewed as another of its Christian responsibilities: serving as the arbitrator and guardian of public morals."⁴⁷ While Brennan acknowledged that Manning was prejudicial towards some minority groups, such as Japanese Canadians, he insisted that Manning did not discriminate against Alberta's Jewish community. The study disclosed that Manning "believed that religious affiliation determined national loyalty, and that because many Japanese-Canadians were Buddhist, they could not possibly be loyal to 'Christian Canada.'"⁴⁸ The author expressed that "While Manning's expulsion of the Douglasites served to rid the party of certain anti-Semitic elements, it was generally obvious that his regime continued to harbour an attitude of intolerance towards other minority groups in Alberta, as it had done for many years."⁴⁹ Thus, Brennan alleged Manning displayed stronger prejudicial sentiment towards other minorities within Alberta and downplayed the extent of continued antisemitism within the organization.

Historians also acknowledged a powerful sentiment among the Social Credit grassroots supporters that the Eastern Canadian raw resource-buying metropolis exploited Alberta. In his

⁴⁶ Brennan, 83-85.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 97-98.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 96-97.

1997, work *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, Western Canadian historian Bob Hesketh claimed that the notion of a scapegoat and conspiracies were a prominent element within the Social Credit philosophy. Hesketh detailed that “Ottawa’s protective tariffs and freight policies, promoted and increased concentration and centralization of an industrial, financial and political elite in the East.⁵⁰ Albertans maintained a fierce sense of provincial nationalism, believing the federal government in Ottawa neglected Alberta and the rest of Western Canada and obstructed Social Credit economic policies. When the federal government and the Supreme Court of Canada continued to strike down Social Credit economic legislation in the late 1930s, Alberta MPP Norman B. James announced, “We have brought the enemy out into the open, revealed in the glaring light of day, as the avowed Enemy of the WILL OF THE PEOPLE... We have brought into the glare of daylight at least one of the ALLIES OF FINANCE.”⁵¹ The Alberta Social Credit movement benefitted from Albertans’ disdain for the traditional parties of the federal government, the Liberals and the Progressive Conservatives. When Albertans removed the provincial Liberal government in 1921, they turned to a former lobby group, the United Farmers Association, which began a decades long regional protest movement in the province against mainstream political parties.

Historiography concerning the CJC’s work in Alberta during this study period is limited. Stingel’s immense research documented the CJC’s continued lack of effort in the province with its Jewish minority. The CJC increased its federal presence significantly in the decade following World War II and the Holocaust; however, research at the Western archives revealed that Calgary and Edmonton did not establish Jewish Councils until 1956.⁵² Throughout the late

⁵⁰ Hesketh, 65.

⁵¹ “Norman James Broadcast Notes,” August 29, 1939, Reprinted in Hesketh, 166.

⁵² Correspondence from Matthew Ram to Heinz Frank, July 16, 1956, Box JHC 261, Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada, Winnipeg.

1940s, and into the 1950s, CJC leaders oversaw activities in Alberta, including the SCP purge, from its Montreal and Ottawa national offices. Any relations with Manning and the Alberta SCP government occurred behind closed doors and were sporadic. Noted Canadian Jewish author and Concordia University professor Ira Robinson published *Canadian Jews: In Time, Space and Spirit* in 2014, a compilation of many scholars' works concerning the history of Jews in Canada, and a contemporary portrait. In one chapter, Jack Lipinsky relayed that the CJC reestablished its Winnipeg office in 1940 and formed a committee based in Edmonton.⁵³ In another chapter, author, Debby Shocter detailed that in the 1960s, Calgary's Jewish population climbed to 3,000 and that "Alberta's booming oil-based economy brought increased Jewish immigration over the next two decades."⁵⁴ While the province saw an increase in Jewish communities by the end of the 1950s, anti-discrimination laws did not exist to provide protections for Jews and other minority groups in Alberta.

Records of Western Canadian papers such as the *Calgary Herald* and the *Edmonton Journal* routinely reported and criticized Alberta SCP antisemitism throughout its administration, providing crucial historical information. In the leadup to the 1955 Alberta provincial election, the *Calgary Herald* declared Social Credit was "thinly disguised fascism."⁵⁵ The Western Canadian Jewish press, including the *Western Jewish News* and the *Jewish Post*, were a vital source of information for the Alberta Jewish community and its archives contain essential knowledge and viewpoints. Critical Jewish primary sources are held at the previously referenced Library and Research Archives in Ottawa and Canadian Jewish archives in Winnipeg, Montreal, and Toronto

⁵³ Jack Lipinsky, "In Search of Unity: Anti-Semitism, Zionism, and the Canadian Jewish Congress to 1945," in *A History of Antisemitism in Canada*, Ira Robinson, editor (Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2015), 89.

⁵⁴ Debby Shocter, "Saskatchewan, Alberta and the North," in *Canada's Jews: In Time, Space and Spirit*, Ira Robinson, editor, 252-255 (Boston, MA: Academic Studies Press, 2013).

⁵⁵ *Calgary Herald*, May 19, 1955.

which include essential correspondence from CJC leaders, such as Louis Rosenberg, Saul Hayes and Ben Kayfetz.

Thesis

The focus of this research paper concerns the nature and extent of ongoing Social Credit antisemitism from 1943 to 1968, and the objectives and effectiveness of the CJC, and its allies, in confronting SCP antisemitism and establishing anti-discrimination laws in Alberta. Ernest Manning acquired control of the world's first social credit government, the Alberta Social Credit Party in 1943, which coincided with the renewal of the Canadian Jewish Congress. For the next two decades, the Congress attained equal rights legislation in many Canadian provinces, except Alberta. In the final decade of Manning's tenure, the Canadian Jewish Congress finally focused its attention on Alberta's overlooked Jewish minority population to combat the Alberta Social Credit government's ongoing antisemitism and resistance to providing much-needed human rights legislation. Between 1943 and 1968, despite the expulsion of several SCP members and continual rebuttals, antisemitism was not eliminated from the Alberta Social Credit Party during Premier Ernest Manning's rule and, it was only when Canadian Jewish organizations joined forces with the more extensive Canadian labour organization that the opposition forced the Social Credit government to enact legal protections for the Alberta Jewish minority community.

CHAPTER ONE- NEW ERA/SAME DILEMMAS (1943-1946)

A brief explanation of the Social Credit movement in Alberta, including its antisemitic influence, begins with the founder, Major Clifford Hugh (C.H.) Douglas. Douglas, a former British armed forces member and engineer, opposed fascism, communism and despised unbridled capitalism. Douglas created the social credit economic reform movement, promoting individual enterprise, first outlined in his 1920 work *Economic Democracy*. Historian Bob Hesketh asserted *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was instrumental in creating Douglas' ideology.⁵⁶ The first record of this fabricated text appeared in 1903 in Russia and has been translated around the world. It claimed to reveal minutes of secret meetings of the "Learned Elders of Zion" plotting world domination.⁵⁷ The heinous document alleged that Jewish elites sought to control Christian governments around the world through finance and the media.⁵⁸ Hesketh asserted that Douglas "created social credit specifically to undo the power of the conspiracy as revealed in the *Protocols*."⁵⁹ The pamphlet is still in circulation and embraced today by many antisemitic groups worldwide. Douglas' 1948 publication, *The Realistic Position of the Church of England*, included many references to the fabricated text and he declared "What has the Church to say of the spread of secret, anonymous balloting as a principle on which to rest civilisation?"⁶⁰ Douglas incorporated antisemitism within the Social Credit philosophy and produced virulent anti-Jewish sentiment through his writings and speeches.

⁵⁶ Hesketh 5-6, 17-18.

⁵⁷ Maya Balakirsky Katz, "Protocols of the Elders of Zion, Antonio Gramsci, and the Myth of Niccolò Machiavelli," *East European Jewish Affairs* volume 5, issue 1 (2021), 19.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 19-20.

⁵⁹ Hesketh., 5-6.

⁶⁰ C.H. Douglas, *The Realistic Position of the Church of England* (Liverpool: K.R.P. Publications, 1948), <https://alor.org/Storage/Library/Douglas%20CH%20-%20Realistic%20Position%20of%20the%20Church%20of%20England.htm>.

In the early 1930s, amid the Great Depression, preacher and Christian theologian William “Bible Bill” Aberhart believed Douglas’ Social Credit philosophy was the answer to issues impacting Alberta and its contracted economy. Aberhart initially promoted Douglas’ theory through his popular radio show, and his listeners quickly embraced its principles. With the urging of Aberhart’s followers and study groups established throughout the province, the Social Credit movement shifted into the Alberta political arena.⁶¹ Aberhart’s protégée Ernest Manning immediately assumed a prominent role. He and Aberhart were the only permanent members of a Special Advisory Committee in which Manning interviewed prospective nominees and hand-selected candidates with Aberhart.⁶² Within months, the newly established Social Credit Party of Alberta won its first provincial election on August 22, 1935, acquiring a majority government with 56 out of 63 seats.⁶³ It was the first of many such SCP victories in the province until 1971. From the start, party members displayed strong antisemitic proclivities. Manning and Aberhart’s handpicked nominees were enthusiastic followers of Douglas’ Social Credit, establishing an antisemitic base that acquired rapid power in a province with a modest Jewish population.

Aberhart’s influence on Manning cannot be overstated. Manning was so deeply influenced by Aberhart that it was difficult to separate his policies and religious beliefs from Aberhart’s. Shortly after enrolling at Aberhart’s Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute, an eighteen-year-old Manning moved in with the Aberhart family and was the program’s first graduate in 1930.⁶⁴ He later described this period of residing in the Aberhart household, detailing “I learned a great deal from him...I always felt extremely fortunate to have the opportunity of that close association with Mr. Aberhart because it gave me a source of advice and counsel on anything

⁶¹ Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta*, 9.

⁶² Barr, 74-75.

⁶³ Irving, 331.

⁶⁴ Brennan, 8, 11-13.

that I wanted.⁶⁵ Following graduation, Manning became Aberhart's assistant and travelled with him throughout the province. Manning preached on Aberhart's weekly religious radio program, a practice that Manning continued throughout his premiership. Manning was often referred to as "The Echo" as his speaking style copied Aberhart's with Manning explaining "I took public speaking under him...Unconsciously, you emulate mannerisms and manners of speaking."⁶⁶ The enduring popularity of these radio sermons cemented Manning's reputation in Alberta as an honest and trustworthy politician. After the SCP victory in 1935, Aberhart appointed the 26-year-old Manning as provincial secretary and minister of trade and industry.⁶⁷ Manning's ministerial position became extremely critical with the onset of World War II as he oversaw provincial supplies and rations. However, his mentor Aberhart's sudden death before the end of the WWII would eventually propel Manning into the provincial government's highest position.

Manning's education in Calgary at Aberhart's Bible Institute, which promoted evangelical Christian teachings, altered the direction of his life. Aberhart and Manning held a Premillennial Dispensational belief that, after a period of severe tribulation on earth, Christ would return and reign on earth in peace for one thousand years.⁶⁸ In 1931, Aberhart and Manning authored a play entitled "The Branding Irons of the Antichrist." The story involved a young woman who is refused salvation for not possessing faith in God and left in a post-apocalyptic earth to fend for herself.⁶⁹ The script included the Antichrist acquiring the Russian

⁶⁵ Ernest C. Manning Oral History Transcripts, University of Alberta Archives, Interview #16, 1980, 45, <https://discoverarchives.library.ualberta.ca/index.php/ernest-c-manning-oral-history-collection-transcript-of-interview-16>.

⁶⁶ Ernest C. Manning Oral History Transcripts, University of Alberta Archives, Interview #16, 46. <https://discoverarchives.library.ualberta.ca/index.php/ernest-c-manning-oral-history-collection-transcript-of-interview-16>.

⁶⁷ Tony Cashman, *Ernest C. Manning: A Biographical Sketch* (Edmonton: Alberta Social Credit League, 1958), 2-3.

⁶⁸ Banack, 114-115.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 116.

throne through the assistance of Jews, who predicted, “We will soon have full control of the trade and commerce in the world.”⁷⁰ It went on to proclaim that the only way for Jews to escape tribulation was to accept Christ. Aberhart and Manning wrote the play four years prior to attaining the two highest positions in Alberta’s government. Their involvement in conspiracy theories included religious propensities. Saving others from damnation was the utmost concern for Manning, and he praised Social Credit's focus on the individual.

In the 1930s when the Social Credit movement formed and acquired power in Alberta, a global outbreak of antisemitism occurred throughout the Middle East, Europe and North America. Canada was not immune to the surge of antisemitism as radical anti-establishment forces, on the left and the right, felt emboldened by the failure of traditional politics during the Depression. The federal government, responsible for immigration, had implemented harsh immigration policies between 1919 and 1923 which still remained in place. The immigration process granted entry to those deemed to have “racial characteristics” similar to the Anglo-Canadian majority rather than “to races that cannot be assimilated without social or economic loss to Canada,” in which Jews were included.⁷¹ The small number of Canadian Jews in the country in the 1930s, suffered exclusionary practices. Increasingly, signs, such as “Gentiles Only” were posted at the entrances of public areas, prohibiting Jewish access.

In the early to mid-1930s new antisemitic organizations appeared across Canada. In Toronto “Swastika Clubs” were formed, in Quebec, Maurice Duplessis and the Union Nationale, came to power in 1935, and radical pro-fascist groups throughout the nation embraced antisemitism. In 1938, following the amalgamation of his Christian National Socialist Party with

⁷⁰ Hesketh, 49.

⁷¹ Irving M. Abella and Harold Martin Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948* (Toronto: Key Porter, 1982), xvii.

branches of the Canadian Nationalist Party in Manitoba and Ontario, Adrian Arcand led the National Unity Party of Canada (NUP). On July 8th, Arcand held a rally at Massey Hall in Toronto and declared he was promoting the “unity of Canada for all Canadians—with some exceptions.”⁷² When a reporter asked if Jews were included, Arcand replied “obviously they would not be allowed to join.”⁷³ The Communist Party of Canada also engaged in significant anti-Jewish propaganda and heralded Joseph Stalin’s 1936 to 1938 show trials directed against “Trotskyists” whose Jewish upbringings were emphasized.⁷⁴ Fascist groups in Canada also built on the 1920s growth of the second Ku Klux Klan, a significant American hate group, which established chapters in Canada in the 1920s and early 1930s, with the most prominent chapter in Saskatchewan. While the newly formed Social Credit movement actively promoted antisemitism while downplaying this practice, many other forces waged campaigns that sought to promote and normalize antisemitism across Canada.

Alberta SCP members’ antisemitic rhetoric and promotion of the New World Order theory in the 1930s and early 1940s continued without any repercussions to the Alberta Social Credit government at the ballot box. The Canadian courts permitted discriminatory practices to occur. When the Social Credit movement was founded, discrimination in Canada was legal and white Christian Canadians of Catholic or Protestant faith enjoyed a privileged position. In 1936, Fred Christie, a black man, sued a private bar for refusing service to him based on the colour of his skin. In the 1939 Christie v York Corporation case, the Federal Supreme Court of Canada ruled that “tavern owners had no legal duties to serve everyone” based on the Freedom of

⁷² “Fascists Dub Themselves National Unity Party,” *Globe & Mail*, July 4, 1938.

⁷³ “Police Play Hide-and-Seek with Fascists in Kingston,” *Toronto Daily Star*, July 4, 1938.

⁷⁴ Bryan D. Palmer, “Maurice Spector, James P. Cannon, and the Origins of Canadian Trotskyism,” *Labour/Le Travail* 56 (Fall 2005), 145.

commerce.⁷⁵ Such a ruling only formalized the broad inequities against minorities in the nation, chief among them were Canadian Jews. No specific law existed that prevented discrimination, and the Canadian Constitution, primarily based on the British North America Act of 1967, did not contain explicit protections for the equality of rights.

When the Social Credit party acquired power in 1935, many of the new farmers in Alberta originated from areas of the United States and had previously attended Evangelical churches. According to Clark Banack, Western North American farmers held a traditional belief of a mysterious link existing between Jews and bankers.⁷⁶ In a 1972 thesis, “Religion, Populism, and Social Credit in Alberta,” Harry Hiller stressed the spiritual conventions of European migrants who relocated to Alberta and held the highest regard for religious leaders.⁷⁷ Therefore, Hiller asserted these immigrants were more susceptible to the Alberta Social Credit movement’s integration of religion and politics, which some labelled as a crusade. The Social Credit’s message stressed humanity and a deep conviction that Christian principles were under threat. Hiller argued that “Regardless of ethnic or denominational background, the Bible was a common symbol of authority that spanned other barriers.”⁷⁸ He also asserted that there was an absence of a developed class structure as “Ethnic pockets of immigrant farmers settled together in particular area and formed one dominant population type.”⁷⁹ Whether in rural or urban areas, groups bypassed denominational lines to achieve social cohesiveness. Many Alberta voters were drawn to the unconventional Social Credit movement through Manning and Aberhart’s respected

⁷⁵ *Christie v. York Corporation*, 1939, CanLII 46 (SCC), SCR 50, <https://www.canlii.org/en/ca/scc/doc/1939/1939canlii46/1939canlii46.html>.

⁷⁶ Banack, 30-31.

⁷⁷ Hiller, 98-100.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 98.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 137-138.

positions as religious leaders and by their inclusion of religious fundamentalism into the political arena.

The province of Alberta was only thirty years old when the SCP attained power in 1935. The social and economic conditions in Alberta were abysmal. In 1931, the rural population of 453,907 significantly outnumbered the 278,508 urban dwellers.⁸⁰ While family farms were central, Irving detailed that Alberta farmers “experienced every possible agricultural ordeal.”⁸¹ Farmers suffered through prolonged droughts, infestations of sawflies and grasshoppers, high tariffs on their produce and lower prices which all combined, caused many to lose their heavily mortgaged farms. Albertans residing in cities experienced unemployment and sought relief as many lacked housing, food and clothing. When the Social Credit government acquired power in 1935, Alberta’s provincial debt had climbed to \$160 million.⁸² After several years into the Great Depression, Albertans continued to suffer devastating effects, and the ruling UFA government had not established any solutions.

C.B. Macpherson argued that American Albertans had a pivotal impact on provincial politics. Social Credit candidates were highly successful in rural southern Alberta where many American transplants resided.⁸³ In 1911, 22% of Alberta’s population immigrated from the US, comprising half of the provinces’ southern farmers and establishing over 20 evangelical sects in the region.⁸⁴ Author, T.C. Byrne relayed that by the 1930s “Albertans generally had come from somewhere else; few were born in the province, or the territories that preceded it.”⁸⁵ According

⁸⁰ “Rural and Urban Populations,” *Statistics Canada*, https://www65.statcan.gc.ca/acyb02/1937/acyb02_19370120017b-eng.htm.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁸² Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon*, 16.

⁸³ Macpherson, xvii.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* xvii.

⁸⁵ Byrne, 20.

to Byrne, Albertans were predominantly white, including significant groups of Scottish, English and northern and eastern European immigrants. As Howard Palmer outlined, the minority populations of French-Canadians, Hutterites and Jews encountered significant prejudice in Alberta.⁸⁶ The newly formed Social Credit party obtained power within a province that was deeply in debt due to tremendous economic hardships suffered by a significantly agricultural population that held bitter resentment towards the powerful Canadian east. In the midst of these appalling conditions, Albertans embraced a radical new political movement.

For decades following the establishment of Alberta, Jews made up a very minute percentage of the province's population. Jewish groups initially settled in the Canadian West in Vancouver prior to Confederation. With the extension of the Canadian Pacific Railway, small Jewish communities developed in various areas of Alberta in the first half of the 1900s, but Edmonton and Calgary held the most economic opportunities. Prior to the formation of the SCP, 3,700 Jews lived in Alberta in 1932, with 92% residing in urban areas.⁸⁷ By 1941, Edmonton's Jewish community only numbered 1,449 of the city's 93,817 population.⁸⁸ A 1942 CJC census revealed many Jews in Calgary were not overly religious, belonging to conservative and reform denominations, with the majority supporting the Zionist cause.⁸⁹ Significantly, the total Jewish population within the Western provinces was less than either Ontario or Quebec. Therefore, as activism within Canadian Jewish organizations began to grow, Alberta Jews were not a significant concern for its leaders while the Social Credit provincial government continued to ignore Jewish rights.

⁸⁶ Palmer, "Ethnic Relations and the Paranoid Style," 8.

⁸⁷ H.M. Sanders, "Jews in Alberta," in *Alberta History*, issue 47 (1999), 23-26.

⁸⁸ Shocter, 254.

⁸⁹ "August 1942 CJC Report," A.I. Shumiatcher Fonds, File 2, Glenbow Library and Archives, Archives and Special Collections, University of Calgary.

It is critical to highlight Alberta's unique political and religious history to understand how such a socially conservative party with enduring antisemitic views governed a province for almost forty years. The SCP can be viewed as continuing an Evangelical political tradition that focused on social and economic justice by way of social reform and labour-based activism. Leaders promoted a theocratic political system based on Christian morality, including a fiscally liberal position and an emphasis on the individual as paramount, stemming from a world view in which every person struggled for their own salvation.⁹⁰ The SCP fervently propagated the conspiracy of the evil Jewish international financier seeking world domination. A common theme within Social Credit antisemitism was a supposed trifecta of Jews, power, and immorality tied to money. The movement's political theocracy emphasized the concept of damnation and the notion that a Christian provincial government would lead to a citizenry increasingly free from sin and condemnation.⁹¹ Manning and Aberhart integrated religious fundamentalism into the SCP political framework, displaying features consistent with populism. Hiller declared that "Populism expressed itself in religion through the rise of Aberhart."⁹² The association between Jewish financiers and sin was deeply rooted in Christian tradition, evident in Jesus casting the money lenders from the temple of God.⁹³ For Albertan voters, the pillars of Social Credit were justified by a combination of forces that blurred the lines between religion and politics throughout the Social Credit's prolonged rule in the province.

Albertans also embraced the distinctive ideological features of the new political party despite candidates having no government experience. Historian Alvin Finkel detailed that radical

⁹⁰ Dennis G. Groh, "The Political Thought of Ernest Manning," (Master's Thesis, University of Calgary, 1970), 15, 37.

⁹¹ Hiller, 267-269.

⁹² Ibid., 178.

⁹³ Brennan, 108-10, 125-127.

farmers, working-class social democrats, the unemployed, and other victims of the recession supported the Social Credit movement.⁹⁴ Finkel asserted that there were many factors for Social Credit acquiring over 50% of the popular vote and a majority government in its first election with Alberta's financially disadvantaged and unemployed embracing Social Credit's radical economic policy, centred on a monthly \$25 dividend. Albertans had been devastated by the Depression with many starving and lacking all essentials. The promise of a guaranteed monthly amount garnered the endorsement of thousands of destitute Albertans.

When Social Credit established itself as a political party, many Albertans on the left were unwilling to support the mainstream political parties of the Liberals and Progressive Conservatives but had grown disgruntled with the 15-year rule of the UFA. Finkel asserted that initially "Social Credit's appeal did not lie in its defence of capitalism, reformed only by currency reform, as an alternative to socialism, but ...its staunch support for a variety of social reforms."⁹⁵ Many voters were drawn to the charismatic Aberhart and the purported honest character of Manning. Aberhart had built an established audience through his successful "Back to the Bible" weekly radio program and since 1932, he and Manning had enthusiastically detailed social credit theory on the broadcast, declaring "Social Credit ideas...offered a fulfillment of fundamentalist and prophetic Christianity."⁹⁶ The majority of Alberta voters did not endorse the Social Credit party because of its antisemitic rhetoric. Only a small section of the provincial population wholly embraced the party's antisemitic practices and propagation of the New World Order theory. This group remained as the party's base throughout its lengthy rule. Although Albertans did not voice objections to Social Credit antisemitism when the party

⁹⁴ Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta*, xi, 3.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

⁹⁶ Irving, 50-51.

acquired power in 1935, most groups within the province had other distinct motives for electing the unconventional party.

From its rapid inauguration, the Social Credit government's antisemitic roots were evident and persistent. Members supported Douglas' practice of blaming Alberta's hardships—and the world's hardships, more generally—on international Jewish bankers secretly pursuing global control. Months after acquiring power, the SCP's new publication *Today and Tomorrow* regularly promoted the international financier conspiracy theory, at times explicitly referencing Jews. One article published in the party's news organ reported that the state of the world since WWI was the fault of "International Finance - a gang of arch-criminals whose treachery, slimy intrigue, brutality and lust for power has all but reduced civilization to a shambles."⁹⁷ The publication, initially called the *Social Credit Chronicle*, enabled candidates to reach more Albertans and deliver the Social Credit movement's message. Many people living in Western Canada believed they were being exploited by the appropriation of their primary resources, including foodstuff and mined material. In turn, the Western provinces were forced to buy back expensive secondary goods, creating large trade deficits, which amounted to the federal government suppressing the Western region's development.⁹⁸ Social Credit members promoted this argument which had a strong pull with Albertans, who primarily resided in agricultural areas. It was not until 1930, that Alberta gained control of its crown lands and natural resources. Devastated by the interminable Great Depression, Albertans continued to embrace the concept of unfair treatment of Western provinces by the federal government and the powerful Eastern provinces of Ontario and Quebec.

⁹⁷ *Today and Tomorrow*, April 27, 1944.

⁹⁸ David Laycock, *Populism and Democratic Thought in the Canadian Prairies, 1910 to 1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 207-210 and Gerard F. Rutan, "Western Canada: The Winds of Alienation," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 12, No. 1 (1982), 77.

Throughout the 1930s, Jewish organizations formed, or were revitalized, to assist Jews persecuted in Canada and throughout the world. The central bodies of Canadian Jewish activism were the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC), the Zionist Organization of Canada (ZOC), and B'nai Brith Canada. Jewish groups initially focused efforts in Toronto and Montreal, the two Canadian cities with the largest Jewish communities. In 1921, ZOC was the only operational Canadian Jewish organization. The ZOC was a prominent Jewish association until the 1940s, when it was destabilized by the deaths of its president, A.J. Freiman, and his wife, Lillian, leader of the Canadian Hadassah.⁹⁹ The Canadian Jewish Congress, initially founded Montreal in 1919, remained stagnant until 1934 amid an alarming rise of antisemitism in mainstream Canada.¹⁰⁰ In 1939, Samuel Bronfman assumed the presidency of the CJC, a position he held until 1962. The organization became the most powerful entity for the Canadian Jewish community for several decades. Significantly, in 1938, the CJC persuaded the B'nai Brith Canada to establish the collective Joint Public Relations Committee (JPRC).¹⁰¹ It was a productive venture as prominent Jewish activists joined forces and centralized many activities to combat discrimination. In 1936, the Jewish Labour Committee (JLC) was formed, and sought to represent trade unions with extensive Jewish participation.¹⁰² The JLC became instrumental in aligning with other organizations and communities to combat many forms of inequalities. However, activists faced a daunting task as Jews relentlessly faced discrimination within Canadian institutions and daily life.

⁹⁹ Lewis Levendel, *A Century of the Canadian Jewish Press: 1880s-1980s* (Ottawa, ON: Borealis Press Limited, 1989), 285 and "Canadian Zionists Honour Mr. and Mrs. Freiman," *Jewish Daily Bulletin* from the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, November 18, 1928.

¹⁰⁰ Lipinsky, 84-87.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 87.

¹⁰² Dominique Clément, Will Silver, and Daniel Trottier, "The Evolution of Human Rights in Canada." (Ottawa: Canadian Human Rights Commission, 2013), 9.

Immediately upon the Social Credit's movement into politics, Western newspapers were critical of the party and its members. The *Edmonton Bulletin*, the *Edmonton Journal*, the *Lethbridge Herald* and most other publications in Alberta routinely disparaged the party while Aberhart, Manning and Social Credit members vociferously condemned the papers. However, the Social Credit's foremost target was the *Calgary Herald* as the prominent paper produced scathing attacks throughout Alberta SCPs rule. Irving outlined that "Day after day, the *Calgary Herald* accused Aberhart of using religious fanaticism as a cloak for his inability to produce a genuine Social Credit plan for Alberta."¹⁰³ During the 1935 election campaign, in what became a common practice for Social Credit members, Aberhart advised Albertans not to read the prominent paper. He declared "I am cancelling my subscription tomorrow. What about yours?"¹⁰⁴ Social Credit members refused to listen to opposing beliefs and acted out by vilifying anyone who disagreed with them. Two days before the 1935 provincial election, the *Herald's* editor recorded that "The Aberhart party has adopted exactly the same policy as Mussolini and Hitler, and it is a policy that breeds fanaticism, intolerance and prejudice."¹⁰⁵ Western newspapers, especially the *Calgary Herald*, routinely criticized the party throughout its rule in Alberta while Social Credit members expressed vitriol for the press and later unsuccessfully attempted censorship measures.

Profound economic concerns were a strong factor that led many Albertans to support the monetary theories of the SCP. Social Credit members presented contradictory views of Jews as both communists and predatory capitalist lenders. In a *Today and Tomorrow* article, the difference between capitalists and financiers was detailed as "The great opponent of Capitalism

¹⁰³ Irving, 170.

¹⁰⁴ *Calgary Herald*, April 29, 1935.

¹⁰⁵ *Calgary Herald*, August 20, 1935.

is, of course, communism ...and the financier who employs capital for the purposes of controlling industry...Let us abolish the 'Financier.'" For many in the Social Credit organization, antisemitism was primarily a religious concern unrelated to any issues concerning ethnic hierarchies or British traditions. British traditions of freedom of speech and association were excuses to permit discrimination. However, discrimination by Jews against Christians, or people of colour against whites would never have been permitted. Many members of Social Credit viewed Jews not by ethnicity or race but of a religious cohort brought together by common beliefs.

Amid the Great Depression, the SCP 1935 campaign focused on the promise to distribute a \$25 monthly dividend to each Albertan to increase people's purchasing power. Social Credit candidates pledged that this system would supply citizens with desperately needed income and was a way to combat the power of the international financier. During the campaign, the ruling Alberta UFA government conducted hearings concerning the legitimacy of the prospective Social Credit monthly dividend. A report was produced titled "The Deans and Professors of the University of Alberta" which negated the legal and economic viability of the program.¹⁰⁶ Two weeks later, Aberhart refuted the report, declaring "From legal advice I have received, I am informed that the Province can do anything it wishes to do, providing it was done circumspectly."¹⁰⁷ Not only did Aberhart continue to promote a monthly dividend, he announced it would be implemented within the first 18 months of forming government. This guarantee proved unattainable as the federal Supreme Court and the national government struck down any attempts as *ultra vires*, not within a province's legal jurisdiction.¹⁰⁸ In August 1936, Aberhart

¹⁰⁶ *Alberta Social Credit Chronicle*, April 12, 1935.

¹⁰⁷ *Alberta Social Credit Chronicle*, April 26, 1935.

¹⁰⁸ Barr, 97-99.

initiated a scrip program which quickly failed as only the federal government had the authority to create a national medium of exchange.¹⁰⁹ With no government experience within Canada's first Social Credit provincial government, the economic reforms developed by Douglas were not permitted within the nation's political framework. The only solution to explain the failure to deliver its economic campaign commitments was for Social Credit members to frame it as part of the continued oppression by the eastern elites.

Due to these legislative failures, an SCP "backbenchers" revolt began in March 1937. The members that rebelled were labelled the "insurgents," or as *Calgary Herald* reporter Fred Kennedy termed them, the "Douglas Social Crediters."¹¹⁰ These twenty-two SCP representatives displayed more loyalty to the founder, C.H. Douglas, than to their provincial leader, Aberhart. One of the leaders of the revolt was Earl Ansley, representing the district of Leduc.¹¹¹ Manning, always an influential ally for Aberhart, was not present during the insurgency, as he was bedridden with tuberculous for five months.¹¹² To appease the Douglas Social Crediters, Aberhart announced the *Alberta Social Credit Act* in April, which divided legislative responsibilities within the Alberta government.¹¹³ It successfully quelled the revolt by introducing a controversial Social Credit Board (SCB) that was granted the authority to guide the Alberta SCP's economic legislation. The Board consisted of five SCP legislative members and two advisors from England, L.D. Byrne and G.F. Powell, selected by Douglas, who arrived in Alberta in June 1937.¹¹⁴ The new Social Credit Board was granted so much authority that Social

¹⁰⁹ Byrne, 118.

¹¹⁰ Fred Kennedy, *Alberta Was My Beat: Memoirs of a Western Newspaperman* (Calgary: The Albertan, 1975), 254-255.

¹¹¹ Byrne, 120.

¹¹² Brennan, 46.

¹¹³ Hesketh, 146-147.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 150-151.

Credit MLAs were forced to sign an agreement of association, affirming the control of SCB.¹¹⁵ Aberhart, through political necessity, supported the Social Credit Board's economic proposals.

Once Social Credit Board members acquired power, they acted very quickly to enact controversial legislation that would provide the Social Credit government with complete authority over credit organizations. The first bills, produced by the end of July 1937, included the *Credit of Alberta Regulation Act*, licensing all Alberta banks, the *Bank Employees Civil Rights Act*, court restrictions for any unlicensed bank employees, and the *Judicature Amending Act*, prohibiting challenges to any implemented legislation without the consent of the lieutenant-governor.¹¹⁶ The regulations centred on obtaining control of the banking institutions, which SCB members asserted were under the power of Jewish elites seeking world domination. Aberhart established a special session to submit the three bills, which like the premier's previous legislative attempts were denied on the basis that such laws were not within Alberta's provincial jurisdiction. The SCB remained undeterred and continued an assault at condemning federal institutions. Inciting anger towards the federal government was not difficult in Alberta and it became an integral part of the SCBs strategy.

Byrne and the other members of the board widely publicized their legislative attempts. To deflect from the failure to implement Social Credit campaign promises, they blamed the system of eastern elites. The party had received a large mandate from the people of Alberta and needed to at least demonstrate they were acting on campaign pledges, regardless of its illegitimacy. Three new bills were created in September: The *Bank Taxation Act*, which increased taxes on all Alberta banks, another *Credit of Alberta Regulation Act*, and the *Accurate News and Information Act*, which sought to control provincial reporting while claiming not to restrict freedom of the

¹¹⁵ Byrne, 123.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 123-124.

press.¹¹⁷ As usual, the legislation was struck down, this time by Canada's governor-general. As SCB proposals continued to be rejected, the board's prominent status diminished. One of Douglas' advisors, Powell, produced an inflammatory document and was deported back to England.¹¹⁸ However, the unabashedly antisemitic Byrne remained within the administration for another decade and was later appointed Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs. At the end of the 1930s, after failing to establish legislation, board members shifted their efforts to propaganda.¹¹⁹ They focused on producing antisemitic literature to a much greater extent than promoting Social Credit policies. The board also began producing annual legislative reports which MacPherson described as containing "elaborate restatements of the world plot thesis."¹²⁰ Despite the decline of the SCBs authority and the yearly publicized antisemitic reports, the board continued to operate as a branch of the Alberta Social Credit government throughout most of the 1940s.

As they failed to deliver on campaign promises, SCP members, including Aberhart and Manning, escalated allegations that shadowy forces and international bankers were responsible for their government's legislative setbacks. However, as party members continued this practice of scapegoating, Aberhart advised the *Calgary Herald* that the party "maintained a stance of intolerance towards antisemitism."¹²¹ This practice of publicly denying antisemitism continued throughout the Alberta Social Credit's entire rule. Yet, in 1942, a *Calgary Herald* article once again linked Social Credit's antisemitic philosophy to Nazi and fascist leaders and asserted its paper *Today and Tomorrow* "rarely loses an opportunity to throw an oblique punch at the Jews."¹²² While most scholars concluded that Aberhart and Manning were not antisemitic, both

¹¹⁷ Byrne, 125-125.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 126.

¹¹⁹ MacPherson, 210-211.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 210.

¹²¹ Stingel, "In the Presence of Mine Enemies," 76.

¹²² *Calgary Herald*, February 2, 1942.

leaders reiterated the international financier conspiracy on several occasions, albeit without explicitly naming Jews as the figures of corruption. Manning declared the SCP must combat the bankers “who control and manipulate our financial system” and that “social justice will sweep away the evils of our present finance dominated economic system.”¹²³ Associating with members who displayed and promoted anti-Jewish sentiment did not necessarily signify that Manning was antisemitic. As often occurs in politics, there are alliances of convenience. However, the strongest evidence of Manning’s own antisemitism can be viewed by his religious intolerance, conspiratorial statements, and the continued absence of legal protections for the Alberta Jewish community.

Following the rapid success of the Alberta SCP in the August 1935 election, members of the Social Credit movement quickly sought to acquire power in the nation’s capital. Fred Anderson, a member of the Alberta provincial legislature, directed the formation of the national SCP.¹²⁴ Incredibly, two months following the Alberta Social Credit’s decisive victory, the newly selected National Social Credit candidates ran in the October 14, 1935, federal election. The federal SCP arm won 17 seats, all by candidates from Western Canada, including 15 from Alberta.¹²⁵ The party captured all but two of the federal seats available in Alberta and received 46.8% of the province’s popular vote.¹²⁶ John Blackmore from the Lethbridge riding was selected as the parliamentary leader, although, in practice, Aberhart was in control. The choice of Blackmore, a notorious antisemite and conspiracy promoter, as the leader demonstrated there was no concern regarding antisemitism within the Social Credit movement. In the next Canadian

¹²³ *Today and Tomorrow*, December 9, 1943

¹²⁴ Hugh Alan Halliday, “Social Credit as a National Party in Canada,” (Thesis. Ottawa: Carlton University, 1966), 4.

¹²⁵ Escott Reid, “The Canadian Election of 1935—and After,” *The American Political Science Review* 30, no. 1 (1936), 111-112.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 113.

election on March 26, 1940, SCP federal candidates all hailed from Western Canada again. This time the Social Credit candidates ran on a joint slate under the New Democracy party umbrella.¹²⁷ William Herridge founded the ideologically aligned but independent New Democracy Party in 1939. However, Herridge failed to win his riding in Saskatchewan. Thus, the controversial Blackmore served as the leader of the joint Federal New Democracy Party.

After less than eight years as premier of Alberta and leader of the SCP, Aberhart died at the age of sixty-four on May 23, 1943. Manning assumed the leadership of the Alberta Social Credit government which he held for the next twenty-five years. No leadership convention was required as Manning, Aberhart's "shadow," was swiftly chosen during a caucus session.¹²⁸ On May 31, 1943, Ernest Charles Manning became the eighth premier of Alberta, a few months shy of his thirty-fifth birthday and eight days following Aberhart's death.¹²⁹ Further illustrating Manning and Aberhart's close bond, Hooke detailed "The new Premier assured the people of the Province that it was his intention to carry on in the footsteps of his predecessor..."¹³⁰ Manning came to dominate and define the Social Credit movement in Canada. For Alberta's Jewish community, there was a mix of relief and concern. While Aberhart had not implemented an official policy denying Jews the same rights enjoyed by Christian Canadians, there was no consideration for non-discrimination rights. Jewish groups were cognizant of Manning's loyalty to his former mentor. In 1944, CJC leaders were dismayed when Manning, upon acquiring a majority government in his first election as leader, appointed the antisemitic member and former leader of the Douglasite insurgency, Earl Ansley, to the Executive Council as Minister of

¹²⁷ Halliday, 42-43, 45-46.

¹²⁸ Byrne, 142.

¹²⁹ Cashman, 22-23.

¹³⁰ Hooke, 169.

Education.¹³¹ Manning was in a strong position after obtaining 51 out of 57 provincial seats. He could have chosen from numerous other Social Credit MPPs, yet he re-appointed seven of Aberhart's cabinet ministers and selected several members of the 1937 insurgency.

Events throughout World War II and the Holocaust further heightened the demand for Jewish Canadian organizations. Affiliate groups continued to evolve, including the interfaith group, the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews (CCCJ), established in 1947. The CCCJ conducted many activities in Toronto and Montreal and later assisted with efforts in Western Canada.¹³² As Jewish activism began to increase in the mid 1940s, Social Credit rhetoric continued, with anti-Jewish sentiment still evident in the Canadian populace and federal immigration policies. Despite the formation and growth of Canadian Jewish groups, when Manning assumed leadership of the Alberta Social Credit government, he did not reach out to any Jewish leaders, and he did not address the party's public antisemitic rhetoric until it threatened to destabilize the Social Credit's ongoing rule.

Throughout 1944, Social Credit members were clearly unconcerned about any repercussions from Premier Manning as they continued to engage in the same antisemitic rhetoric and propagate Jewish myths. A year into his tenure, Manning continued to promote the international financier conspiracy with his customary practice of not including any reference to Jews. In September 1944, the Social Credit news publication *Today and Tomorrow* quoted Manning as saying, "...social justice will sweep away the evils of our present finance-dominated economic system. Powerful forces consistently have barred the way to that goal—anti-democratic and anti-Christian forces that seek to establish a ruthless and pagan dictatorship over

¹³¹ Brennan, 81.

¹³² The Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, 1947, Alberta Region Fonds, F10011, Glenbow Library and Archives, Archives and Special Collections, University of Calgary.

the lives of men.”¹³³ In 1945, the *Toronto Star* revealed that federal SCP leader Solon Low named Jews as the vile international financiers employing adversarial terms such as “socialists” and “bankers” in his diatribe.¹³⁴ Globally, the “International Jewish Conspiracy” was one of the most widespread theories of the 20th century, and Canadian Jewish leaders and the Alberta Jewish community understood the association of “socialists” and “bankers” represented antisemitic dog whistles.

Canadian Jewish communities desired to assist European Jews as reports of Nazi genocide heightened. Despite the public events of Kristallnacht in November 1938, it was not until a few years later that news of the terror and mass murders of European Jews in the Holocaust grew within the free world. Canada’s harsh, unsympathetic immigration policies, supported by most citizens, resulted in less than 5,000 Jews entering the country during Hitler’s rule from 1933 to 1945.¹³⁵ Further evidence of Canadian prejudice towards Jews during this period is the shameful incident of the Canadian government denying safe harbour in Halifax to the 907 European Jewish refugees travelling on the M.S. St. Louis ship in June 1939. Historians Irving Abella and Harold Trooper documented that no one in the federal government was concerned and that “Jews were a marginal issue.”¹³⁶ Abella and Trooper declared that “Canadian Jewry sought to tap the wellspring of human kindness, only to find it dry.”¹³⁷ At this time, Canadian Jews encountered discrimination by the federal government and Canadian citizens; thus, the SCP government was one of many Canadian entities engaging in antisemitic practices.

¹³³ *Today and Tomorrow*, Sept 14, 1944.

¹³⁴ “Replies to Mr. Garten,” April 8, 1945, *Toronto Daily Star*, MG28, V75, File 14, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, and Chester Bloom, “Solon Low Charges UNO diverts Canadian Loyalty,” March 20, 1946, *Winnipeg Free Press*, MG28, V75, File 14, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

¹³⁵ Abella and Trooper, 38-39.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 92-93.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 353.

Although Canadian Jewish leaders had significant concerns regarding the ongoing antisemitic rhetoric and practices of the Alberta Social Credit government and its affiliate paper, re-named the *Canadian Social Crediter*, they focused on critical international issues throughout the 1940s. Global concerns included the future of a homeland in British-mandate Palestine and the urgent struggle to assist millions of Jewish refugees following the end of the Holocaust in Europe. Ontario and Quebec were home to much larger Canadian Jewish communities; therefore, any national efforts focused on the two provinces, much to the disappointment of Western Canadian Jews. While Social Credit members engaged in antisemitic conspiracies and impeded progress for Jewish rights in the province, Canadian Jewish organizations did not possess the resources, staffing or allies to combat the Alberta government until well into the late 1950s.

Canadian Jewish leaders held no aspirations throughout WWII that conditions for the Alberta Jewish minority population in Alberta would improve any time soon. Two months following Manning's ascension, Louis Rosenberg, stationed in the CJC's Winnipeg office, wrote "There can be no possible doubt that the whole Social Credit ideology and propaganda is honey-combed with anti-semitism..."¹³⁸ A year later, Rosenberg reported that there had been little change in the government's conduct towards the CJC and the Jewish community.¹³⁹ Rosenberg, an influential Jewish leader, published his pioneering work, *Canada's Jews* in 1939 and served as the executive director of the Western region of the CJC from 1940 to 1945.¹⁴⁰ He was the most prominent demographer of the Jewish population in Canada. Rosenberg, and many other Jewish activists, signalled that in some areas, conditions for Jews had even worsened during WWII.

¹³⁸ Correspondence from Louis Rosenberg to Harry Olyan, July 13, 1943, Canadian Jewish Congress Fonds, Louis Rosenberg, Box 7, File 100, Alex Dworkin Canadian Jewish Archives (ADCJA), Montreal.

¹³⁹ Correspondence from Louis Rosenberg to Saul Hayes, May 15, 1944, ADCJA.

¹⁴⁰ Stingel, *Social Discredit*, 35-38.

One member who believed antisemitism was on the rise was the CJC's National Executive Director, Saul Hayes. Hayes, a Montreal lawyer, had been recruited in 1940 by Bronfman.¹⁴¹ He served as the director until 1959, after which he was appointed the National Executive Vice-President until 1974.¹⁴² Late in November 1943, Hayes issued a memorandum to CJC members detailing "By all reports based on an examination of the Canadian press and even according to special reports prepared for government departments, anti-Semitism in Canada is rising among all sections and classes of the population. This is no less true among English-language groups than it is among the people of French Canada."¹⁴³ Antisemitic reports occurred throughout 1943 and 1944 across Canada. On August 19, 1943, a community paper in Winnipeg, the *Victoria Beach Herald*, published an article reminding its readers that "you have an obligation to see to it that those unwanted people are not allowed to buy or rent here."¹⁴⁴ Incidents of antisemitic violence continued, including on May 20, 1944, following months of protests in Quebec, a newly established synagogue was set on fire.¹⁴⁵ Hayes contention that antisemitism was on the rise during WWII was supported by evidence of antisemitic events throughout Canada.

Historian Howard Palmer expressed that an increase in antisemitism in Alberta during WWII was perplexing given the tremendous support for the war effort in opposing Germany. He argued the upsurge was due to war-time nationalism and from the Social Credit perspective, through its ties with Douglas.¹⁴⁶ While the CJC and JPRC had increased its efforts in public education campaigns at the end of 1939, results from a 1944 Gallup poll revealed that support of

¹⁴¹ Lipinsky, 89.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 89.

¹⁴³ Saul Hayes Memorandum, *Canadian Jewish Congress Papers*, Nov 25, 1943.

¹⁴⁴ "Unwanted People," *Victoria Beach Herald*, August 14, 1943.

¹⁴⁵ Isidore Goldstick, "Where Jews Can't Pray," *Contemporary Jewish Record* 6, no. 6 (1943), 591-593.

¹⁴⁶ Palmer, "Ethnic Relations, and the Paranoid Style," 17-18. ,

a closed-door immigration policy had grown by 50% in the English-speaking majority.¹⁴⁷ Due to the prevalence of antisemitism during WWII, Premier George Drew's PC government enacted the *Ontario Racial Discrimination Act* on March 14, 1944. The first anti-discrimination legislation prohibited the display or publishing of "any notice, sign, symbol, emblem or other representation indicating discrimination or an intention to discriminate against any person or any class of persons for any purpose because of the race or creed of such person or class of persons."¹⁴⁸ It did not address racial or religious discrimination in any other areas, such as employment or housing, and Drew was forced to include an amendment that the statute did not affect freedom of expression of opinions in writing or in speech and that enemy aliens, such as Japanese Canadians, were exempt from the bill's protections. Even though the bill focused narrowly on the banning of discriminatory signs, there was significant rebuke. However, the *Toronto Daily Star* asserted that racial discrimination had grown worse and those criticizing the legislation were "scoffing at a fundamental principle of democracy."¹⁴⁹ As antisemitism persisted in Canada throughout WWII, Ontario took the first measured step of producing a narrow anti-discrimination law.

As members of the Social Credit party continued to relay antisemitic myths, Rosenberg was not alone in quietly expressing his dissatisfaction with Manning's government. In Montreal, H.M. Caiserman, General-Secretary of the CJC since its founding, declared there was still little concern from many CJC leaders towards Western Canada, reflecting an undertone of Western Jewish alienation.¹⁵⁰ There were many concerns that Manning's management of the SCP

¹⁴⁷ "Gallup Poll," *Winnipeg Tribune*, CNCR, Vol. 6, January 27, 1944.

¹⁴⁸ *An Act to prevent the Publication of Discriminatory Matter Referring to Race or Creed*, Chapter 51, March 14, 1944, History of Rights, https://historyofrights.ca/wp-content/uploads/statutes/ON_Racial.pdf.

¹⁴⁹ *Toronto Daily Star*, March 14, 1944.

¹⁵⁰ Correspondence from H.M. Caiserman to Louis Rosenberg, May 15, 1944, ADCJA.

remained consistent with Aberhart's policies. Rosenberg declared that the Social Credit's conspiratorial philosophy was embraced by all its members, including Manning, though to "varying degrees."¹⁵¹ Caiserman argued that in terms of counteracting antisemitism in the Social Credit "I am of the sincere and honest opinion that neither Congress, nor B'nai Brith, nor any group of individuals who are responsible, can do a real job on the matter."¹⁵² Caiserman, clearly frustrated at the ongoing antisemitic rhetoric in the Social Credit movement, even entertained the idea of taking legal action against the party's publication, *Today and Tomorrow*. Despite CJC leaders, Rosenberg, Hayes and Caiserman remaining informed of ongoing Social Credit antisemitism, they did not focus their efforts or resources at this time on a province with such a small Jewish population.

One of Manning's primary objectives was to expand Social Credit power beyond the province of Alberta. The Canadian Liberal government, who ruled from 1935 to 1957, and the Federal Supreme Court of Canada had routinely quashed Social Credit economic legislation. The Alberta Social Credit leaders believed that if the Social Credit movement acquired power at the federal level, the Alberta provincial government would be able to enact its campaign promise of a monthly dividend plan and other unconventional economic policies. As the Social Credit's leading figure at the end of May 1943, Manning advocated for the establishment of the National Social Credit Association of Canada. The coalition with the New Democracy party was deemed a failure and Manning ordered that the former partnership be dissolved.¹⁵³ Strategically, the 1944 Social Credit National Convention was held in Toronto to demonstrate the goal of broadening the Social Credit movement beyond the west. However, Edmonton was selected as the national

¹⁵¹ Letter from Louis Rosenberg to H.M. Caiserman, Feb 11, 1944, ADCJA.

¹⁵² Letter from H.M. Caiserman to L.D. Morosnick, Feb 23, 1944, ADCJA.

¹⁵³ *Toronto Telegram*, April 4, 1944.

headquarters location, as most current federal ministers hailed from Alberta and worked closely with Manning.¹⁵⁴ On April 6, 1944, Manning's Minister of Education, Solon Low, became the party's first official national leader, although Manning effectively controlled the federal Social Credit arm, excluding later Quebec Social Credit MPs. The federal Social Credit Association produced another layer of conflict between Canadian Jewish groups and Social Credit members. Despite the establishment of a Social Credit party nationally, Alberta remained the political and cultural centre of the Social Credit movement, with Manning at the helm.

As the 1945 federal election approached, tensions increased within the Social Credit Party due to scandals involving party members. A year prior, in the August 8, 1944, provincial election, Manning guided the Alberta SCP campaign for the first time as party leader. Social Credit obtained 15 additional seats and a majority government, capturing over 50% of the popular vote.¹⁵⁵ Albertans firmly embraced Manning's leadership. Despite being an extremely private figure, he was viewed as an honest leader. Unfortunately, as Manning enjoyed immense popularity and support in his province, he was inundated with questions concerning federal SCP candidates from Alberta. The Canadian media tied continuous antisemitic reports to the party's extreme policies. The *Ottawa Morning Citizen* was particularly critical of the national SCP members and published derogatory articles between 1943 and the 1945 federal election.

Once again, Blackmore campaigned for his federal seat in Lethbridge and was the subject of many negative reports. On March 3, 1943, the paper reported Blackmore's ongoing belief in the New World Order theory, following his public claim that a small group of Jewish financiers

¹⁵⁴ Barr., 67.

¹⁵⁵ 1944 Alberta Election, *Elections Alberta*, <https://www.elections.ab.ca/elections/election-results/historical-results/>.

ran a supernational government.¹⁵⁶ The report's publication coincided with increasing awareness of the atrocities of the Holocaust in Canadian public consciousness. The article also revealed that Blackmore promoted the belief that a small group of gangsters were attempting to establish "this United Nations for the destruction of the British Empire and the general enslavement of mankind."¹⁵⁷ Later in the year, the paper published an exposition titled "Blackmore Says Canadian People Face Two Choices," which documented Blackmore's position that socialism entailed social ownership of the means of production with significantly higher taxation, involving the centralization of power in Ottawa and in a supernational world state.¹⁵⁸ Ottawa newspapers frequently included reports of antisemitic rhetoric and actions from Blackmore's political career in the National Social Credit Association of Canada.

Unfortunately for Manning, another federal SCP member with even closer ties to the Alberta Social Credit government, Solon Low, was also featured in many articles in the *Ottawa Morning Citizen* for his pronounced antisemitic views. Low served as the Alberta Treasurer from February 2, 1937, to September 12, 1944, with Manning adding Minister of Education to Low's portfolio on June 1, 1943.¹⁵⁹ With complete awareness of Low's antisemitism, Manning promoted and supported Low in his bid for the federal Social Credit leadership. At a July 6, 1944, press conference at the Chateau Laurier in Ottawa, two months after his successful leadership election, Low announced there was a "grave threat posed by international financiers" and suggested they should be charged with treason.¹⁶⁰ Amid the ensuing backlash, Low was

¹⁵⁶ "An UnCanadian Outlook," *Ottawa Morning Citizen*, March 3, 1943, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ "Blackmore Says Canadian People Face Two Choices," *Ottawa Morning Citizen*, October 16, 1943.

¹⁵⁹ Hooke, 169.

¹⁶⁰ "Low Answers Coldwell on Jew Baiting," *Ottawa Morning Citizen*, July 6, 1944, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

forced to claim he had been referring to Germans and members of the Nazi Party, not Jews. As the most prominent member of the Social Credit movement, and the premier of the only Social Credit government in power, Manning endured a barrage of negative press as he sought to maintain power in Alberta and expand the party nationally.

As documented, the Western Canadian press was long averse to the Alberta SCP and Western papers also engaged in attacking national Social Credit MPs. An editorial in the *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix*, reported federal MP Jaques “openly avows anti-semitism” and that “Social Credit’s conspiratorial, anti-Semitic philosophy is a sinister threat to Canadian democracy.”¹⁶¹ Tommy Douglas and the Saskatchewan Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) secured power in Saskatchewan in 1944. During Saskatchewan provincial elections, the *Saskatoon* newspaper routinely reported on the radical antisemitic policies of opposing Social Credit candidates. The paper denounced the SCP as “unfit to govern,” citing Social Credit members’ continued practice of endorsing images of Jews as “corrupted money lenders.”¹⁶² While such an attack could be expected from Eastern Canadian publications, articles by the *Star Phoenix* held more influence as a neighbouring, rural region where local voices registered deeper than elitist central Canadian papers. In the usual Social Credit practice, J.N. Haldeman, president of the SC organization in Saskatchewan, denied the paper’s report, declaring “Social Credit is absolutely opposed to anti-semitism.”¹⁶³ However, in the same statement, Haldeman also referred to the Social Credit organization as “pro-Christian” which expressly excluded Jews. The Social Credit movement never took hold in Saskatchewan and Douglas’ CCF government went on to embrace anti-discrimination regulations.

¹⁶¹ *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix*, Dec 6, 1946.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ *People’s Weekly*, December 28, 1946.

Manning and other SCP members' efforts in formalizing the National Social Credit Association produced 94 federal SCP candidates campaigning in seven provinces during the 1945 Canadian vote. To capitalize on the Alberta SCP's majority government, and demonstrating Manning's close ties with the federal movement, Manning endorsed the slogan "Good Government in Alberta - Why Not at Ottawa?"¹⁶⁴ Despite Manning's efforts in promoting the newly solidified National Social Credit Association, the party obtained only 13 federal seats, all within Alberta, in the 1945 national election.¹⁶⁵ The steady stream of unfavourable newspaper reports concerning prominent Western federal members hindered Manning's objective of Social Credit obtaining power at the federal level. By 1946, following a decade of antisemitic reports, the party had a well-established, widespread reputation of a prejudicial, conspiratorial, radical organization. As an astute political leader, Manning knew that extremism and antisemitic rhetoric were negatively impacting any prospective growth of the party beyond Western Canada, but three years into his leadership he had done nothing to combat it.

Following the end of WWII, amid heightened reports of the Holocaust, prominent figures within the Alberta and national Social Credit organization, and affiliates such as the short-lived New Democracy party, were highly skeptical of reports of the mass murder of European Jews. Some even actively participated in Holocaust denial. Albertan Norman Jaques, the most radical figure of the Social Credit movement, published an article in the *CSC* and cited the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, in which he stated "were an exact blueprint of the plans for a new world order which have been, and now are preparing behind closed doors."¹⁶⁶ He further declared that "We are not pouring out blood and treasure to save the world from slavery by Hitler and Hirohito in

¹⁶⁴ Halliday, 73-75.

¹⁶⁵ "1945 Federal Election," *Canadian Elections Database*, <https://canadianelectionsdatabase.ca/PHASE5/?p=0&type=election&ID=307>.

¹⁶⁶ *Canadian Social Crediter*, October 19, 1944.

order to hand it over to Shylock and Marx.”¹⁶⁷ Jaques denounced the term “genocide,” claiming that the true events involved the killing of a few Jewish elites initially aligned with the pre-war Nazi party who had fallen out with the German regime.¹⁶⁸ While other members routinely blamed shadowy Jewish elites through the New World Order theory, only Jaques vehemently blamed Jews for their murder at the hands of the Nazis.

More commonly, SCP members claimed the number of Jewish deaths was highly exaggerated. For his part, Low did not deny the Holocaust but declared the numbers were overstated. He deflected by calling attention to the Morgenthau Plan. Henry Morgenthau Jr., whose father was born in Germany to a Jewish family, drafted a post-war program promoting the partitioning and demilitarization of Germany and the destruction of German industries.¹⁶⁹ Morgenthau Jr. was US President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Secretary of the Treasury from 1934 to 1945 and was instrumental in obtaining asylum for European Jews.¹⁷⁰ However, when he drafted his post-war plan, it was not at the president’s request. While Roosevelt initially considered some of the plan’s aspects, the US War Department rebuked it, asserting the plan was excessively harsh and would lead to thousands of Germans starving.¹⁷¹ Joseph Goebbels used Morgenthau Jr.’s proposal as German propaganda and referred to it as a “Jewish murder plan.”¹⁷² Low and others insinuated it would be the first step towards the possible eradication of Germans in seeking revenge for the Holocaust. The Morgenthau plan, created by a Jew, could be likened to the Nazi’s Generalplan Ost campaign that sought the extermination of Eastern European Jews,

¹⁶⁷ *Canadian Social Crediter*, October 19, 1944.

¹⁶⁸ *Canadian Social Crediter*, April 3, 1947.

¹⁶⁹ Logan W. Ray, “The Agrarian Road to Peace: Henry Morgenthau's Post-War Planning for Germany,” *Armstrong Undergraduate Journal of History*, Vol. 12, Issue 1, Article 6, 2022, 97-99.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 107.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 101-104.

¹⁷² Peter Moreira, *The Jew Who Defeated Hitler: Henry Morgenthau Jr., FDR, and How We Won the War*, (Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 2014), 265.

Slavs, and other groups deemed as inferior. Morgenthau's plan provided an excuse for Low to depict Jews as blood thirsty creatures.¹⁷³ Due to long-held antisemitic beliefs within the SCP, most members downplayed the scale of the genocide or placed some of the blame on European Jews.

While Manning never denied the existence of the Holocaust, he displayed a marked indifference to Jewish suffering. In his May 8, 1945, VE Day address, Manning did not directly reference the terms "Holocaust" or "Jews" and merely expressed, "We remember those who have suffered the atrocities of the concentration camps in Germany..."¹⁷⁴ The bulk of Manning's speech focused on the combatants and the need to preserve peace to prevent another world war. The mass murders of Jews and thousands of displaced Jewish refugees were noticeably not a central concern for Manning, despite the immense grief within the Jewish community and that many murdered Jews were from Western Front regions. Manning's words and actions illustrate that he considered the Holocaust a secondary concern, separate from the Allied victory in WWII. While acknowledging that Nazi ideology had launched the war, Manning did not mention the centrality of race and antisemitism and characterized the war as German expansionism.¹⁷⁵ Such a misconception of the role of antisemitism from Manning and many SCP members endured. To many in the Canadian Jewish community, it was unsurprising that Manning and his government were one of the last provinces to enact equal rights legislation for Jewish and other minority communities.

¹⁷³ Stingel, "Social Credit and the Jews," 137-140.

¹⁷⁴ Address by Premier Ernest C. Manning at the V-E Day Public and Drumhead Service, May 8, 1945, Ernest C. Manning Fonds, F0087, Glenbow Library and Archives, Archives and Special Collections, University of Calgary.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

The Alberta Jewish community was certainly not the only group that Manning and the Social Credit government did not support. Manning became well-known for his hostility towards the labour movement. A year into Manning's premiership, union organization escalated during WWII. On February 17, 1944, Prime Minister Mackenzie King enacted bill PC 1003 which set guidelines for collective bargaining for unions and employers.¹⁷⁶ However, the regulations only applied to industries under the federal government's constitutional jurisdiction. Manning elected not to opt into the act's provincial components, preferring to establish independent Social Credit regulations. With the end of WWII and the decline in wartime production, Alberta union organizers began voicing stronger demands amid fears of recession. In 1946, the Alberta Farmer's Union (AFU) conducted a work stoppage of grain delivery hoping to force the SCP government to increase prices.¹⁷⁷ Manning immediately denounced the strike, and claimed leftists were behind the work stoppage. Manning consistently suppressed union activity, seeking to present Alberta as a stable labour environment to American oil companies.¹⁷⁸ Like Canadian Jewish groups in the late 1940s, the Canadian Congress of Labour (CCL) did not produce effective strategies to counter the Social Credit position. Members of the CCL drafted letters to Manning, while the Alberta Federation of Labour (AFL) did not take any action, deciding the most beneficial approach was to maintain close, non-confrontational relations with the Social Credit government. The AFL was routinely criticized as being too passive and sympathetic to Manning's government.

Following increased knowledge of the Nazi genocide there was no change or repudiation by Social Credit members regarding their previous statements concerning the Holocaust. Articles

¹⁷⁶ James Muir, "Alberta Labour and Working-Class Life, 1940 to 1959," in *Working People in Alberta*, Alvin Finkel, editor (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2012), 114-115.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 131.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 131, 136.

in the *Canadian Social Crediter* continued to vilify Jews. In 1946, the paper printed Jaques' reiteration of the allegations of Morgenthau Jr.'s plan to "punish Germany for its treatment of Jews."¹⁷⁹ Like his National Social Credit leader Low, Jaques declared that such policies were vengefully intended to punish Hitler for his betrayal of Jews. In Blackmore's opinion, it was an attempt to punish Germany for its massacre of innocent co-religious.¹⁸⁰ In continuing to emphasize the idea of Jewish revenge, many Social Credit politicians promoted the idea that Jews desired to commit crimes as widespread as Hitler's to quash sympathy that Canadians were gradually acquiring for the Jewish population. Manning believed Social Credit was leading a battle against anti-Christian behaviour, whether it be against members of the political left or right, irreligious, racialists, religious minorities, or corrupt businesses. Just as Social Credit members viewed WWII as a war against bad Germans, they saw the campaign against international financiers as a battle against bad Jews.

¹⁷⁹ *Canadian Social Crediter*, August 1946, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

¹⁸⁰ "Blackmore Revisits Plan," *Lethbridge Herald*, November 5, 1945, John Blackmore Fonds, File No. 4, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

CHAPTER TWO - WARMING TIDES/REVOLUTION UNFINISHED (1947-1951)

With increased awareness of the Holocaust following the end of WWII, there was growing support for Canadian Jewish communities. Therefore, in 1947, Premier Manning sought measures to improve Social Credit's reputation across Canada. The contentious Social Credit Board, established in 1937 to quell the backbencher's revolt, was routinely a source of aggravation for Manning.¹⁸¹ The board's antisemitic propaganda and its annual reports continued to develop a more extreme tone. A previous SCB submission asserted that any Social Credit conflicts were due to disinformation campaigns by Jewish financiers, depicted as "enemies of Christians."¹⁸² The board members even went so far to include a list of the purported bankers, of which the majority were Jewish names. As the SCB's reports were part of the annual legislative records, many Albertans, altering their perspectives concerning antisemitism, became concerned.

Manning's leadership was at a critical crossroads as news of Holocaust offences gripped Canadians and the world while antisemitic rhetoric persisted within the party. Further, pressure had been mounting by the Douglasite members for Manning to pursue new legislative efforts for Douglas' economic policies. Manning relented and created a 'charter of freedom' for Albertans. The bill consisted of two parts with part one focused on basic freedoms such as educational and medical benefits for Albertans under nineteen and pension and medical benefits for those over sixty.¹⁸³ Part Two contained the Douglas Social Credit monetary solutions. Manning outlined the creation of a board of credit commissioners to oversee "that the credit expansion is sufficient to assure that the people of the Province will at times have one dollar of purchasing power for every

¹⁸¹ Byrne, 154.

¹⁸² Ibid., 153-155.

¹⁸³ *An Act Respecting the Rights of Alberta Citizens*, Statutes of the Province of Alberta, 1946, Chapter 11, assented to March 27, 1946, <https://www.canlii.org/en/ab/laws/astat/sa-1946-c-11/latest/sa-1946-c-11.html>.

one dollar's worth of goods they produce.”¹⁸⁴ The Supreme Court of Alberta struck down the legislation with the customary response that it exceeded provincial constitutional powers. Manning had attempted to appease the Douglasite members who he was at odds with. In February 1947, the Leduc oil strike occurred, leading to Alberta's post-war oil boom and transforming the province economically. The pronounced change in Alberta's economic fortune placed its premier in a powerful position. Manning announced he would not attempt to implement any further legislation based on Douglas' monetary theories, angering the Douglasite faction as tensions increased. This dichotomy could not be politically sustained.

The strained relationship with Manning and the SCB came to a head over the next few months. The SCB 1946 draft, officially submitted into the March 1947 parliamentary session, contained outrageous anti-democratic recommendations, including abolishing political parties and establishing a “League of Electors.”¹⁸⁵ The report outlined “A full scale offensive should be launched, with speakers informed on the facts, to arouse people to the peril of the situation, to identify and expose the enemy, and to initiate effective counter-action against the policy of the Monopoly.”¹⁸⁶ Intentionally, A.V. Bourcier, chairman of the SCB, did not provide an advance copy of the report to Manning, defying convention. Instead, the Social Credit Board simultaneously publicized the document and presented it to Manning and the other SCP members at the assembly.¹⁸⁷ Manning promptly announced that he had not previously viewed the report and drafted a resolution that his government remained loyal to the tenets of Social Credit

¹⁸⁴ An Explanation of the Alberta Bill of Rights,” Radio Address by Ernest Manning and Lucien Maynard, April 17 and 25, 1946, Alberta Social Credit League Papers, Box 2, Glenbow Library and Archives, Archives and Special Collections, University of Calgary.

¹⁸⁵ Hooke, 196-197.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 196-197.

¹⁸⁷ Barr, 129.

but repudiated the board's report. However, the damage had been done as backlash from many groups throughout Alberta to the SCB's controversial report was immediate and severe.

By circumventing Manning's approval before submission, board members had purposely challenged Manning's authority. If Manning were to retain control within his government and the respect he enjoyed from the provincial population, the radical Social Credit Board could not remain with the organization. The situation required urgent damage control, and in November, Manning announced the dissolution of the SCB, to be effective March 1948.¹⁸⁸ The termination of the SCB was an essential factor to improve the Alberta government's image. However, Manning's fight to alter his party's reputation remained extremely challenging. Public antisemitism pervaded many other areas of the Social Credit movement, including the party's notorious news organ, *The Canadian Social Crediter* and the reckless antisemitic rhetoric of many provincial and federal SCP members.

Manning had to implement additional measures to address the extensive damage to the Alberta Social Credit government's reputation. The organization had been in power just over a decade and though most Albertans had not protested the antisemitic ideology within the Social Credit party, in 1947 that sentiment was beginning to change. Also, with Alberta's newfound economic prosperity, Manning acquired a significant pro-business ideology which was another motivating factor for Manning to suppress Social Credit antisemitism. Therefore, Manning directed a series of actions from the fall of 1947 and into 1948 that John Irving coined the "purge."¹⁸⁹ However, Manning did not approve of Irving's term and downplayed the notion that his decisions represented a series of consequential actions to reform the party's antisemitic image.

¹⁸⁸ Barr, 129.

¹⁸⁹ Brennan, 96.

Manning's next measure was directed at *The Canadian Social Crediter*. The party's news organ, which enjoyed support from major institutions, routinely included antisemitic reports by its editor, J.P. Gillese, and many Social Credit politicians. In a September 12, 1946, article, Jaques, a regular contributor, accused Jewish leftist groups of a campaign to denigrate Eastern European refugees who had fought communism.¹⁹⁰ Jewish leaders appropriately rebutted Jaques' false assertion, dismissing it as another smear tactic from an SCP member. Thus, a significant step in reforming the SCP image was to eliminate anti-Jewish articles within the party's publication. Manning sent a list of directives to Gillese that included discontinuing the term "Zionism" in negative connotations and refraining from any criticism of Canadian Judaism in the paper.¹⁹¹ Manning also vehemently ordered the termination of negative reports concerning his Alberta government. Thus, Manning demonstrated that in addition to combatting his party's perpetual antisemitism, he sought to cement his control of the party's press.

While suppressing the paper's content, he reminded Gillese of the *CSC*'s economic reliance on the Alberta Social Credit party, of which Manning was the leader. In correspondence, Manning recorded "In the public mind, the Social Credit government of Alberta is bound to be associated with the viewpoints expressed in an organ which purports to be the official mouthpiece of the National Social Credit Movement."¹⁹² For his part, Gillese enjoyed challenging Manning's leadership and informed Low that "the *CSC* should follow the directions of the National Social Credit Party" to which, Gillese argued, the paper rightly belonged.¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ "The Big Smear," *Canadian Social Crediter*, September 12, 1946, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

¹⁹¹ Halliday, 86-87.

¹⁹² Correspondence from Ernest Manning to H.N. Handelman, May 21, 1947, Alberta Social Credit League, Box M705, File 1472, Glenbow Library and Archives, Archives and Special Collections, University of Calgary.

¹⁹³ Correspondence from J.P. Gillese to Solon Low, May 13, 1947, Solon Low Fonds, Box M695, File 173, Glenbow Library and Archives, Archives and Special Collections, University of Calgary.

Gillese failed to recognize Manning's authority of the Social Credit movement, including the federal arm.

For his part, Manning was fully aware of the power of the press and understood the political necessity to regulate the *CSC*'s content and terminate Gillese's defiance towards Manning's status within the Social Credit organization. Manning's demand that Gillese stop publicizing antisemitic material revealed the leader's acknowledgement of the Social Credit practice. Gillese was notably displeased and resigned in November 1947, as Manning quickly announced Social Credit MLA, Gordon Taylor, as the paper's new editor.¹⁹⁴ To counteract the historically offensive reports of the *CSC*, Manning declared that the paper "contains little but negative and destructive criticism flavoured with Jew-baiting."¹⁹⁵ Manning's statement and directives illustrate that he was long aware of the paper's practice of engaging in Jewish conspiracies and antisemitic sentiment, despite repeated declarations to the opposite. The difference at this time was the political necessity to rid the *CSC* of its antisemitic reports amid shifting Canadian perspectives following the Holocaust.

As stated, Manning never attempted to justify Social Credit antisemitism and while, on occasion, he promoted details of the international financial conspiracy, Manning did not directly refer to the bankers as Jewish. That said, while issuing public denials, he allowed many outlets of the organization to expound anti-Jewish sentiment. The Norman Jaques' fonds at the Glenbow Western Research Centre reveal extensive evidence of continued antisemitism. Jaques represented the electoral district of Wetaskiwin since the National SCPs first campaign in the 1935. Throughout his political career, Jaques, like Douglas, promoted *The Protocols of the*

¹⁹⁴ "Minutes of the 1947 National Council Meeting of the Social Credit Association of Canada," November 29-30, 1947, Solon Low Fonds, Box 695, File 469, Glenbow Library and Archives, Archives and Special Collections, University of Calgary.

¹⁹⁵ Brennan, 96.

Elders of Zion. In 1943, Jaques read passages of the text in the House of Commons which became part of the record of the 1943 Hansard.¹⁹⁶ A copy of the 1948 Hansard remains within the fonds of Frank L. Thorn, a one-time secretary/treasurer of the Alberta Social Credit League. Jaques detailed an incident during the June 23, 1948, parliamentary session as he had addressed parliament to dispute a damaging report about himself by the *Vancouver Sun*.¹⁹⁷ Under the article's headline in Thorn's file, Jaques had written that the reporter, O'Leary "is a communist married to a Jewess."¹⁹⁸ In another section of the transcript, Jaques announced that the creation of the State of Israel was a communist conspiracy. Despite Manning's authority of the federal SCP, Jaques continued to broadcast and record antisemitic vitriol following Manning's actions against the CSC and former Alberta Douglasite members

While Canadian Jewish organizations and allies expanded by the late 1940s amid increased campaigns in Ontario and Quebec, Jewish leaders followed the notable Alberta SCP events in late 1947 and 1948. At the forefront was Louis Rosenberg who, as previously detailed, lived and worked for many years in Western Canada. Two years into Manning's premiership, Rosenberg moved to Montreal in 1945 to become the CJC's National Research Director for the Bureau of Social and Economic Research. However, Rosenberg's many Western contacts kept him informed of Manning's activities. He, like Jewish leaders within the Alberta community, was appalled by the offensive recommendations in the SCB's 1946 report, which also included the allegation that Jews had conducted a global initiative to derail the Alberta SCP's election

¹⁹⁶ "House of Commons Debates," *Canadian Parliamentary Historical Resources*. *Library of Parliament*, March 24, 1943, 1530-1534 and July 12, 1943, 4660-4663 <https://parl.canadiana.ca/browse> and Halliday, 81.

¹⁹⁷ "Hansard (Parliamentary Debates)," June 21, 1948, Frank Thorn Fonds, 1944-1950, Box 535, Glenbow Library and Archives, Archives and Special Collections, University of Calgary.

¹⁹⁸ James O'Leary, "MacInnis Called Jaques a Liar," *Vancouver Sun*, June 21, 1948, in Frank Thorn Fonds, 1944-1950, Box 535, Glenbow Library and Archives, Archives and Special Collections, University of Calgary.

campaign.¹⁹⁹ Rosenberg notified his CJC associates of an article in the “Coming Shortly” section of the *Canadian Social Crediter*, which announced the dissolution of the Social Credit Board. While he and fellow CJC members welcomed this decision. In a November 21, 1947, correspondence, Rosenberg argued that all accounts that recent SCP actions represented an official repudiation of antisemitism should be taken with “little more than a grain of salt.”²⁰⁰ Rosenberg acknowledged that Manning desired to separate himself from the SCB’s antisemitic and anti-democratic report but was not optimistic that it represented a significant policy change towards Alberta’s Jewish community.

As Manning prepared to enact measures toward the party’s many antisemitic elements, next door, Premier Tommy Douglas and the Saskatchewan CCF government implemented legislation seeking to protect Jewish and other minority rights. On May 1, 1947, a statutory *Saskatchewan Bill of Rights* took effect. The legislation was produced by Douglas, Attorney General J.W. Corman and senior legal government counsellor, Morris Shumiatcher. The statute was not the result of grassroots campaigning and the CJC had not assumed an active role, but Shumiatcher did consult with Jewish leaders prior to its completion. Implemented a year before the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, it contained 19 sections, including section 4 that “Every person and every class of persons shall, under the law, enjoy the right to freedom of expression through all means of communication, including speech, the press, radio and the arts.”²⁰¹ It also applied to property, education, employment and other significant areas. However, historian Carmela Patrias asserted the statute was ineffective because it was “state-initiated, not

¹⁹⁹ Palmer, “Ethnic Relations and the Paranoid Style,” 18.

²⁰⁰ Correspondence from Louis Rosenberg to Saul Hayes, November 21, 1947, ADCJA.

²⁰¹ *An Act to Protect Certain Civil Rights*, Chapter 35, Can LII Saskatchewan Annual Statutes, May 1, 1947, <https://www.canlii.org/en/sk/laws/astat/ss-1947-c-35/latest/ss-1947-c-35.html>.

the result of broad social initiatives,” and it was not tested in the courts.²⁰² The legislation was a significant step as a precursor for Canadian modern human rights legislation. While Premier Douglas and Premier Manning both enjoyed lengthy tenures in their respective provinces, Saskatchewan’s CCF government continued its commitment to human rights and civil liberties while the Alberta Social Credit government continued to ignore the need.

Rosenberg communicated and worked closely with Saul Hayes, who would later be recognized as the leading voice in the CJC. On January 6, 1948, Rosenberg reported to Hayes that the new editor of the *CSC*, Gordon Taylor, refused to publish an article by Jaques following Manning’s order against publishing hatred towards ethnic minorities.²⁰³ While Rosenberg was modestly encouraged by this development, he still maintained that Manning’s SCP government and the subsequent Douglasite splinter organization “differed only in presentation, not in policy or principles.”²⁰⁴ While commending Manning’s recent efforts, he acknowledged the premier’s actions had been politically motivated by the contemptuous SCB report. Rosenberg understood that Manning’s recent actions did not remove the many obstacles for Alberta’s Jewish minority.

Since the start of his premiership, Manning had enjoyed the absence of widespread, large-scale union strikes. At the same time as Manning dealt with the fall out of the SCB report, his government passed legislation, known as the *Alberta Labour Act* in March 1947. The comprehensive legislation outlined many areas, including hours of work and minimum wages and established an administrative body, the Board of Industrial Relations.²⁰⁵ The act detailed the significant powers of the Board, including “in respect to the inquiry have the like powers as may

²⁰² Carmela Patrias, “Socialists, Jews and the 1947 Saskatchewan Bill of Rights,” *The Canadian Historical Review* 87, no. 2 (2006), 266.

²⁰³ Correspondence from Louis Rosenberg to Saul Hayes, January 12, 1948, ADCJA.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵ *An Act Respecting the Conditions of Labour and the Welfare of Employees in the Province*, Chapter 8, March 31, 1947, <https://www.canlii.org/en/ab/laws/astat/sa-1947-c-8/latest/sa-1947-c-8.html>.

by law be conferred upon commissioners appointed under *The Public Inquiries Act*.²⁰⁶ The formidable board contained Social Credit political appointees who stymied organized labour efforts.²⁰⁷ However, five months after the bill's implementation, the meat packers of the United Packinghouse Workers of America launched a widespread strike in Alberta and a coal miners strike occurred in Alberta and British Columbia in 1948. Manning's Social Credit government issued swift responses in both situations, which ranged from labelling the strikers "Reds," "communists," and "anti-Christian," or encouraging striking workers who were Social Credit members to cross the picket line.²⁰⁸ Exactly one year later, an irate Manning enacted sweeping revisions the *Alberta Labour Act*, including greater authority to prohibit union organization in workplaces and harsher fines for violations.

In the 1948 amendments to the *Alberta Labour Act*, Manning demonstrated authoritarian practices. It provided judges expansive authority to disband unions in various circumstances, including Wildcat strikes, and granted employers the power to interfere with union organizing in the workplace. Subsection 4 prohibited "a trade union, employees' organization or representative thereof from going to an employer's place of employment during working hours without the consent of the employer for the purpose of persuading the employees to become a member of the trade union or employees' organization."²⁰⁹ There was immediate outrage from the Canadian labour movement, and the usually silent Alberta Federation of Labour voiced some disapproval.²¹⁰ However, even following the appalling 1948 legislation, the main strategy

²⁰⁶ *An Act Respecting the Conditions of Labour and the Welfare of Employees in the Province*.

²⁰⁷ Muir, 140-142.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 132-134.

²⁰⁹ *A Bill to Amend the Alberta Labour Act*, Bill No. 91, March 31, 1948, https://docs.assembly.ab.ca/LADDAR_files/docs/bills/bill/legislature_10/session_5/19480219_bill-091.pdf.

²¹⁰ Alvin Finkel, "The Cold War, Alberta Labour, and the Social Credit Regime," *Labour / Le Travail* 21 (1988), 135.

adopted by CCL members was to simply contact Alberta legislators. Manning employed harsh measures to suppress the Alberta labour movement while he clamped down on public antisemitism in his party and ignored the growth in Canada for support of Jewish communities.

The Alberta Social Credit government dealt with many significant events in 1948. Manning began the year with what many scholars contend was a continuance of the purge. In February Manning requested, and received, the resignation of former SCB advisor L.D. Byrne. Education Minister Earl Ansley confronted Manning over the ousting of the notoriously antisemitic Byrne to such an extent that Manning demanded Ansley's resignation.²¹¹ As documented, Ansley had been one of the leaders of the 1937 insurgency and he had continued to promote Douglas' theories and was a staunch ally of the Douglasite members while part of Manning's cabinet. Manning later explained that "You can't have a minister remaining a minister and publicly saying that he disagrees with the policy of the government. So, he was asked to resign."²¹² A year later, while commemorating Jaques' death, Ansley proclaimed that Jaques had an "unimpeachable character" and declared that "No one in our movement was so subjected to smear tactics engineered by the enemies of Christian democracy..."²¹³ Despite being expelled from the Social Credit caucus, Ansley retained his seat in the Leduc riding until he was finally defeated in 1963. Throughout the 1950s, Ansley carried out several measures seeking to hinder Manning's policies.

Another significant factor for the purge was the impending provincial election on August 17, 1948. With the immense fallout from the SCB report, Manning needed to demonstrate that he was in control of the government before Albertans headed back to the polls. The SCB submitted

²¹¹ Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta*, 105-106 and Brennan, 96.

²¹² Ernest C. Manning Oral History transcripts, University of Alberta Archives, Interview #18, 1980, 24.

²¹³ R.E. Ansley Speech, March 1, 1949, Box 3, File 28, ADCJA.

one final report to the Alberta legislature in March 1948. The document outlined that Manning's political initiatives and economic reforms were futile, and the party should be focused on defeating the "merciless enemy."²¹⁴ Upset with Manning's conduct within the provincial Social Credit government, Jaques and MP Patrick Ashby of Edmonton East, separated themselves from the National SCP and sat as independent Social Credit members.²¹⁵ With the exit of Byrne and Ansley, a few other members, including Bourcier, followed suit. They formed the Douglas Social Credit Council (DSCC), along with Gillese and several other former CSC staff members.²¹⁶ Alberta DSCC candidates ran in the August 17, 1948, provincial election. The Alberta SCP retained its 51 seats and increased its share of the popular vote to 56%.²¹⁷ Not a single candidate from the DSCC acquired a seat, demonstrating that Manning's political maneuvers carried out within the last ten months were effective.

On May 14, 1948, the establishment of the State of Israel occurred, and Canadian Jewish organizations aspired to assist the State of Israel, which was increasingly becoming embroiled in war. In June 1948, Jaques addressed parliament and condemned the State of Israel as part of a global conspiracy to achieve world Zionist domination.²¹⁸ In correspondence to Hayes on May 17th, Rosenberg disclosed that Manning declared his government was indifferent to the Palestinian question, unlike Jaques' position.²¹⁹ Therefore, oddly, Canadian Jews found themselves inadvertently aligning with Manning and his cabinet supporters regarding this issue. By the end of the 1940s, the Canadian Jewish community and its leaders felt a slight sense of

²¹⁴ Hesketh, 235-236.

²¹⁵ Stingel, *Social Discredit*, 157.

²¹⁶ Brennan, 97.

²¹⁷ Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta*, 127.

²¹⁸ "Hansard (Parliamentary Debates)," Frank Thorn Fonds, Glenbow Library and Archives Glenbow Library and Archives, Archives and Special Collections, University of Calgary.

²¹⁹ Correspondence from Louis Rosenberg to Saul Hayes, May 17, 1948, ADCJA.

relief as, politically, Manning desired a more moderate-looking SCP, demonstrated by a focus on domestic issues and exhibiting no interest in criticizing Jewish actions in Israel.

The December 1948 convention, held in Winnipeg, served as the first significant test of SCP claims that it had erased all antisemitic elements. Multiple national newspapers reported the removal of the words “Judaism” and “Zionism” from the Social Credit Manifesto distributed at the summit. However, an article in the *Winnipeg Free Press* disclosed that while the revised manifesto had omitted the word “Jewish,” it still included common SCP attacks concerning international bankers.²²⁰ Rosenberg revealed that Manning had requested its removal, believing it might harm the National Social Credit Association in the upcoming 1949 national election.²²¹ Many earlier historians, including MacPherson, insisted that Manning had eliminated antisemitism within the Social Credit movement. However, in her 1993 thesis, Stingel asserted the measures Manning enacted at the end of 1947 and beginning of 1948 were motivated by economic and political expediency than by moral factors concerning religion or race.²²² A few years later, Bob Hesketh similarly argued that antisemitism “ran too deep within the Social Credit base to be completely expunged by Manning’s purge.”²²³ While there was no consensus from Canadian Jewish leaders regarding Manning’s true intent, the removal of the words “Judaism” and “Zionism” in the 1948 SCP Manifesto was welcomed by the Alberta Jewish community and regarded as a sign that Manning sought to reform the SCP’s antisemitic image.

The modest relief felt by some in the Canadian Jewish community was also met with uncertainty concerning the long-term impact of the Douglasite members’ expulsion. In contrast

²²⁰ “A New Social Credit Manifesto,” May 20, 1948, *Winnipeg Free Press*, Box M415, File 3, Glenbow Library and Archives, Archives and Special Collections, University of Calgary.

²²¹ Correspondence from Louis Rosenberg to Saul Hayes, January 20, 1949, ADCJA.

²²² Stingel, “In the Presence of Mine Enemies,” 89.

²²³ Hesketh, 234.

to Rosenberg, Hayes believed there was a distinct separation between the DSSC and the Alberta Social Credit government. As Manning desired, Social Credit members lessened their traditional attacks of Jews as corrupt international financiers. While the *Ottawa Journal* published reports of Jacques' continuing antisemitism, Hayes optimistically stated, "I think that we can all be pleased that this dangerous man stands exposed by his own words."²²⁴ The differing assessments of the two CJC leaders illustrate their diverse backgrounds. Hayes was born and raised in Montreal, attended McGill University and practiced law in Quebec before joining the CJC Montreal office.²²⁵ Rosenberg was born in Poland, educated in England and upon arriving in Canada, lived and worked in Saskatchewan for thirty years.²²⁶ Therefore, Rosenberg possessed direct knowledge and experience of Western Canada that his CJC colleague did not. Through Rosenberg's existing contacts and insight, he remained skeptical of the impact of SCP's recent actions. Caiserman expressed he was encouraged by the SCP purge and recommended that contacts be pursued with local Alberta organizations, inside and outside of the Jewish community.²²⁷ However, CJC leaders did not initiate these measures in Alberta for another decade.

By the end of 1949, optimism from many in the Alberta Jewish community that Manning's purge would lead to legal reform began to dissipate, as a sense of ambivalence emerged from the SCP. Manning rejected the idea that his activities in late 1947 and 1948 towards the CSC, the SCB, and Douglasite members represented a crisis in the party.²²⁸ He

²²⁴ Letter from Saul Hayes to Louis Rosenberg, May 19, 1947, Box 1, File 7B, ADCJA.

²²⁵ "Saul Hayes," *The Canadian Jewish Heritage Network*, <https://www.cjhn.ca/link/cjhn189>.

²²⁶ "Louis Rosenberg," *The Canadian Jewish Heritage Network*, <https://www.cjhn.ca/link/cjhn236>.

²²⁷ H.M. Caiserman, "National Plan of the Public Relations Work to be Carried on in Canada by the Joint Public Relations Committee of the Canadian Jewish Congress and B'nai B'rith of Canada," March 16, 1948, P600A, ADCJA.

²²⁸ Brennan, 96-97.

argued there was no elaborate plan and did not approve of the term “purge” in describing his actions. At the beginning of 1949, Rosenberg declared that Manning’s actions had effectively split the remaining Social Credit umbrella into two factions: a “kosher” side supporting the establishment of the State of Israel and claiming to oppose antisemitism, which consisted of the Social Credit League, Manning, and a now-moderated Low, and the “non-kosher” side, represented by the Douglas Social Credit Council.²²⁹ It is pertinent to highlight Rosenberg’s separation of Low from the Douglasites as it represented a considerable shift in the Canadian Jewish leader’s view.

Throughout Low’s provincial and federal career, there were consistent publicized accounts of Low’s antisemitic rhetoric. At a meeting in Winnipeg in March 1947, Low fiercely condemned the Zionist Movement, calling it “the number 2 enemy of the British Empire, the number 1 enemy being Communism.”²³⁰ At the end of Manning’s purge, Rosenberg lamented that “no official steps have been taken to expel Solon Low ...Norman Jaques...from the National Social Credit Party, although they have repeatedly made statements concerning international Jewish financiers.”²³¹ Thus, Rosenberg’s comments separating Low from the Douglasites demonstrated Manning’s powerful influence over the federal SCP leader. Following the purge, Low significantly curbed his public antisemitic rhetoric. While the Canadian Jewish community welcomed the federal leader’s shift, Jewish leaders acknowledged it was unlikely the Social Credit government would become a significant Jewish ally as the party’s actions were politically, rather than morally, motivated. Rosenberg understood that an antisemitic ideology was deeply ingrained within the Social Credit philosophy. Entering the 1950s, there was a divide between

²²⁹ Correspondence from Rosenberg to Hayes, January 20, 1949, ADCJA.

²³⁰ Letter from A. Zimmerman to Saul Hayes, March 5, 1947, Box 2, file 7E, ADCJA.

²³¹ Letter from Louis Rosenberg to Saul Hayes, November 30, 1948, ADCJA.

many within Canadian Jewish groups, but Rosenberg remained firm that the party was merely prioritizing optics over beliefs.

The purge solidified and centralized Manning's power within the Social Credit movement. Other consequences of the purge concerned previously tolerated factions of the National Social Credit Association. Unlike the Douglas Social Crediters, the roots of the Union of Electors in Quebec arose from a National Social Credit expansion at the start of World War II. The Quebec Union of Electors, founded by Louis Even, ran candidates under the National Social Credit Banner in 1940 and 1945.²³² While its members attended the first National Social Credit Association of Canada convention, they were disgruntled with the selection of Low, a Westerner, as the federal SCP leader. Even, a Christian lay leader, established and edited the fiercely antisemitic magazine *Vers Demain*, and Union members routinely circulated copies of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.²³³ The Quebec Union of Electors promised to adhere to federal Social Credit practices and elect candidates within its provincial Social Credit organization. However, Even held direct elections of independent candidates outside of partisan Social Credit politics.²³⁴ The approach gave Even and the Union of Electors the ability to leave the Social Credit Association without Low explicitly dismissing the Quebec members.

In respect to Even's disconcerting actions, Manning created an amendment that cleverly regulated the election of delegates to the organization's 1947 Social Credit National Convention. The motion carried that "only delegates duly elected at a Provincial convention would be recognized at any National Convention."²³⁵ The plan was effective—Even chose not to attend

²³² Halliday, 52-53, 70-71.

²³³ Stingel, *Social Discredit*, 99.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 153.

²³⁵ "Minutes of the National Council Meeting of the Social Credit Association of Canada," November 29-30, 1947.

and a public schism ensued. In January 1948, Even denounced Western Social Credit MPs and declared that “two-thirds of Social Credit MPs in the Ottawa Parliament are Freemasons' and that Freemasonry is controlled by the Jews who are the cause of global economic incoherence.”²³⁶ Even and the Union members would not be controlled by Manning and Low and found the two leaders antagonistic towards their organization. On the surface, the split appeared damaging to the Social Credit's national organization, which lost its second-largest faction and, consequently, significant influence as a federal party. For Manning, it was a victory in eliminating an entire section of radical members which Manning believed hindered the National Social Credit's prospects and whose removal did not affect his continued rule in Alberta. While the Quebec Union of Electors receded by 1949, it would not be the only time that antisemitic Quebec candidates joined forces with the National Social Credit Association due to the inherent biases within the political movement.

In 1946, following the lead of the Quebec organization, Ron Gostick established a Union of Electors in Ontario. Gostick grew up in Alberta and the Social Credit movement was a prominent influence. In 1933, a fifteen-year-old Gostick first encountered Aberhart as his high school principal in Calgary.²³⁷ Upon its inception, the Gostick family joined the Social Credit League and embraced Christian fundamentalism. Gostick's mother, Edith, won a seat in the 1935 Alberta legislature, routinely voicing antisemitic rhetoric.²³⁸ Following a move to Ontario, Ron Gostick served as the National Social Credit Association secretary in 1945 and ran unsuccessfully as a federal SCP candidate. In exploring Gostick's far-right radicalism, historian Asa McKercher emphasized that Gostick's ideological roots were cultivated by the Alberta

²³⁶ *The Canadian Press*, January 12, 1948.

²³⁷ Asa McKercher, “Ronald Gostick, *the Canadian Intelligence Service*, and the 'Paranoid Style' in Postwar Canada,” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 54, volume 1 (2024), 97.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 97.

Social Credit movement.²³⁹ When Gostick founded the Ontario Union of Electors, there was already an official Ontario Social Credit League. The Social Credit Party of Ontario had first mobilized candidates, unsuccessfully, in the 1945 federal and provincial elections. The two groups attempted to co-exist under the Social Credit umbrella; however, Gostick's organization sided with Even, against Manning's control of the Social Credit movement. Gostick established a party publication, *Voice of the Electors*, which was filled with antisemitic reports.²⁴⁰ In October 1947, the Ontario Social Credit League disavowed Gostick and the Union of Electors and in 1950, the National Social Credit Association banned Gostick's publication.²⁴¹ A handful of Ontario Union of Electors' candidates ran in the 1948 provincial election, although no member acquired a seat.

The Social Credit ideology never acquired a strong following in Ontario. No Ontario Social Credit candidate ever obtained a federal or provincial seat. Rifts occurred within the Social Credit movement as it attempted to establish viable candidates within the two Canadian provinces containing the largest Jewish populations. As it had in Alberta, the Social Credit political movement attracted radical, antisemitic members. As Manning endeavoured to alter his provincial government's antisemitic reputation, expansion into Quebec and Ontario further compounded Canadians' perceptions of Social Credit antisemitism in the period following the Holocaust and World War II. The creation of the Douglas Social Credit Council in Alberta and the activities of the Quebec and Ontario Unions of Electors were hostile forces frustrating Manning's efforts to improve Social Credit's image throughout Canada. Though Canadian Jewish groups did not concentrate their efforts in Alberta for many years, they acknowledged

²³⁹ McKercher, 98.

²⁴⁰ Stingel, *Social Discredit*, 154.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 154-155.

Manning's supremacy within Social Credit politics. Manning's desired expansion of the Social Credit movement attracted antisemitic candidates in Quebec and Ontario at a time when Manning sought to moderate and conceal Social Credit antisemitism as it had become too much of a political impediment.

Manning's Social Credit strategy following the purge until his eventual retirement, centred on campaigning against, and condemning, socialism and communism. It was a position that resonated with the public due to the onset of the Cold War. When antisemitic incidents occurred, as they continued to do (albeit to a less public degree), Manning offered his habitual line that no members of the Social Credit Party were antisemitic. Significantly, it had also been the practice of Jaques, Blackmore, and Low throughout their Social Credit political careers. Jaques once expressed to an *Edmonton Journal* reporter that he and his fellow Douglasites were not antisemitic, nor hostile to all Jews but merely towards "a cutthroat gang thus known as International and Political Zionists."²⁴² In 1945, the *CSC* printed one of Low's many disavowals. Low stated that he was not antisemitic and that "it just happened that Jews were prominent in international finance."²⁴³ Public party attacks towards socialism were embraced by Manning and the Social Credit members although repudiations of antisemitism continued to be necessary.

On numerous occasions, Manning's rebuttals went beyond denial. It is critical to highlight that Manning's pronouncements refuting SCP antisemitism, before the purge and after the purge, were identical. In 1944, Manning asserted that any charges of Social Credit antisemitism were simply a ploy of "the enemies of Christian democracy...that are extremely active in this country."²⁴⁴ In typical Social Credit conspiratorial fashion, he remarked, "In

²⁴² *Edmonton Journal*, April 22, 1948.

²⁴³ *Canadian Social Crediter*, January 11, 1945.

²⁴⁴ *Today and Tomorrow*, April 27, 1944.

exposing and opposing the conspiracy of individuals and corporations seeking to impose a state of financial and economic dictatorship upon all nations, the advocates of Social Credit consider it most important that the facts of the case be placed before the people irrespective of the colour, race or creed of the conspirators.”²⁴⁵ Manning delivered these statements as the Social Credit Board produced its offensive annual reports and as the CSC continued to publish antisemitic articles. If the purported honest premier was to be taken at his word in 1944, why then was there a need to abolish the SCB and to revise the party’s news organ? Manning’s repudiation of Social Credit antisemitism in the 1950s and 1960s was no different from his earlier denials leading up to the events of the purge. The politics of denial continues to be a common defence tool for politicians and is very effective in rousing voters. Manning and many Social Credit members frequently employed this tactic throughout the entirety of Social Credit’s rule.

In the last half of the 1940s, another influential Canadian Jewish leader, Ben Kayfetz, joined the CJC and guided crucial initiatives for legal rights during the next few decades. In 1947, Kayfetz began as the Director of Public Relations, and nine years later became the Director of the JPRC.²⁴⁶ Kayfetz was born in Toronto within its large Jewish community and had been a journalist and broadcaster.²⁴⁷ He focused on securing anti-discrimination legislation and, though he held a prominent position within the CJC Central Region, he later assumed a significant role in the Alberta campaign. Kayfetz, along with Hayes, represented Congress in official meetings with the federal government. He also travelled to other provinces to conduct CJC field investigations utilizing his journalistic skills. A disguised Kayfetz once attended an Ontario Social Credit League convention and reported to CJC members that “The Ontario

²⁴⁵ *Today and Tomorrow*, April 27, 1944.

²⁴⁶ “Ben Kayfetz,” *Jewish Virtual Library*, <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/kayfetz-ben>.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid*.

League considered the Union of Electors and Union des Electeurs to be infringing on its provincial autonomy.”²⁴⁸ Kayfetz acknowledged the overwhelming hurdles that the Congress and the Canadian Jewish community faced. When he joined the CJC, committee chairman, Rabbi Abraham Feinberg advised Kayfetz that “The committee's first priority is to obtain the passage of a fair employment practices law, a piece of legislation that would outlaw racial and religious discrimination in employment, and that all efforts should be bent towards that goal.”²⁴⁹ Thus, Kayfetz dedicated himself to the struggle for fair practices legislation in Ontario, but later held an integral role in federal initiatives and in the 1960s, immersed himself in the campaign for fair practices regulations in Alberta.

Actions in the years following the purge convinced many Jewish leaders that Manning’s agenda was short-term and that the only goal was to improve the party’s reputation. Indeed, the SCP displayed minimal efforts to cooperate with Jewish activists and improve the lives of Albertan Jews in the 1950s. As the State of Israel remained at the forefront of global politics, Manning maintained that with the removal of the Douglasites, the SCP was free of antisemitism. Despite the Douglas Social Credit Council’s failure to acquire any legislative seats in 1948 and the death of Jaques on January 31, 1949, the Alberta SCP failed to draft any meaningful regulations promoting Jewish rights. With increased public knowledge of the Nazi genocide of millions of European Jews and fears of Jewish refugees entering the nation subsiding, many Canadians grew concerned about the level of antisemitism in the nation. Therefore, in 1949, Manning issued his most public criticism of antisemitism, taking the unusual step of condemning the prejudice but not denouncing “all religious hatred.”²⁵⁰ As the Alberta SCP now governed

²⁴⁸ Letter from Ben Kayfetz to David Kirshenblatt, October 3, 1947, Box 1, File 7C, ADCJA.

²⁴⁹ Ben Kayfetz, “On Community Relations in Ontario in the 1940s,” *Canadian Jewish Studies* 2 (1994), 57.

²⁵⁰ *Canadian Social Crediter*, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, March 25, 1949.

Canada's top-oil producing province, Social Credit voters were no longer concerned about the party's past inability to enact the controversial dividend program.²⁵¹ With the provincial debt cleared, Manning and his ministers established social programs that enormously benefitted the Alberta population. In turn, the SCP government received favourable public opinion, which, combined with the recent appearance of eliminating antisemitism, solidified support for Manning's leadership in Alberta and provided newfound optimism for the advancement of the National Social Credit Association.

Manning's denunciation was enough to elicit optimism from Caiserman, though the Jewish leader was no longer as influential in the CJC which he had helped to establish. In addition to his earlier recommendations concerning Alberta, Caiserman suggested reaching out to Manning to initiate some form of contact.²⁵² Kayfetz shared Caiserman's more optimistic view of SCP's recent actions and encouraged the JPRC committee to follow up. Kayfetz and Caiserman stressed the importance of inducing the Social Credit government to become an ally for Jewish rights in Alberta. In correspondence from March 22, 1950, Kayfetz favourably discussed a recent denunciation of antisemitism by federal SCP leader Low. Kayfetz asserted that it represented the elimination of any remaining schisms within the Canadian Social Credit movement and that Low was complying with Manning's instructions to curb his public antisemitic rhetoric.²⁵³ Sadly, Caiserman died in December 1950 and did not live to witness the enactment of provincial fair practices legislation or the much longer wait for Jewish protections in Alberta. Despite his encouraging view of Manning's purge, Kayfetz located in Toronto, was

²⁵¹ Brennan, 110-111.

²⁵² Correspondence from H.M. Caiserman to Uri Rosenzweig, May 12, 1950, ADCJA.

²⁵³ Correspondence from Ben Kayfetz to Dr. S. Levine, March 22, 1950, Canadian Jewish Congress Fonds, Box 2, ADCJA.

immersed in advocating for fair practices laws in Ontario and directing the CJC's public relations campaigns.

Some Jewish activists reasoned that despite the province's flourishing economy, Albertans would soon grow weary of a political party that had been in power for fifteen years. However, Kayfetz and Rosenberg did not agree with this view and argued that the CJC and the JPRC could not rest on the assumption that the Alberta Social Credit would lose power. While more hopeful concerning the revisions of the *CSC* and termination of the *SCB*, Kayfetz regarded Manning and the party as resilient. In correspondence from May 17, 1948, Rosenberg argued there had been "no authentic change within the party," as well as no outreach to the Jewish community.²⁵⁴ He declared there was no possibility of the Alberta SCP government enacting legal protections any time soon. Jaques, planning to run again in the June 1949 federal election, died of a heart attack at the end of January 1949.²⁵⁵ Jaques' death benefitted Manning politically, as it eliminated the most pronounced antisemitic Social Credit member, though Blackmore remained in parliament for many years. However, divisions between Canadian Jewish leaders concerning Manning and the SCP continued, further stalling any prospect of a robust campaign in Alberta for Jewish rights as other provinces. Without consensus, CJC leaders were unable to form a cohesive strategy for some time concerning the unconventional Alberta government.

In spite of accessing some CJC funds to analyze recent trends within the Social Credit organization, the leaders of the Congress and the JPRC had no personal contact with Manning. Historical records of any CJC's activities in Alberta during the late 1940s are extremely sparse. In part, because not every document in this period was preserved but primarily because the CJC was not active in Alberta. There were no local Jewish councils or any other CJC affiliated body

²⁵⁴ Correspondence from Louis Rosenberg to Saul Hayes, May 17, 1948, ADCJA.

²⁵⁵ Palmer, "Politics, Religion and Anti-Semitism in Alberta," 181.

set up. It is likely that if any correspondence was sent to Manning's office, there was little in the way of a reply. Aside from efforts of Rosenberg and Hayes to monitor changes in the Social Credit party, there was very little interaction with Alberta members, nor could they expect any different from the federal Social Credit members. Rosenberg and Hayes were well aware that most of the Social Credit MPs hailed from Alberta and followed Manning's directives.

Following the end of WWII, much of the CJC's limited economic resources had been allocated to global concerns and the organization had little to show in the way of achievements for the Canadian Jewish community. Discrimination continued to be legal in Canada. In his book, *On Community Relations in the 1940s*, Kayfetz detailed that in 1947 and 1948, "The very concept of a law requiring employers not to exercise racial or religious bias was novel, even radical."²⁵⁶ CJC leaders recognized they lacked allies outside of the Jewish community and until the establishment of the JPRC, and the alliance of the CJC and B'nai Brith Canada, Canadian Jewish organizations had functioned as completely separate entities. Further, many Canadian Jews began to voice disapproval of the modest measures enacted by the CJC. This would increasingly become an issue for the leading Jewish organization.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the federal government began slowly allowing Jewish refugees into Canada. Some Jewish leaders turned their attention to the objective of anti-discrimination laws. CJC leaders decided to reach out to the Jewish Labour Committee concerning its efforts in Ontario. In February 1948, Hayes contacted the JLC, and a joint venture was established between the two organizations regarding fair employment practices legislation in the province.²⁵⁷ Efforts would be led by the JLC as the organization focused on workplace and

²⁵⁶ Kayfetz, "On Community Relations in Ontario in the 1940s," 58.

²⁵⁷ Letter from Kalmen Kaplansky to the JLC Office, February 12, 1948, Box 4, MG28, V75, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

economic discrimination. The JLC held an explicitly economic agenda and as such, did not focus on issues such as the criminalization of hate speech. In March, a CJC executive council memo outlined the new endeavour to CJC members.²⁵⁸ With the public relations work by the JPRC, and the resources of the JLC, efforts for anti-discriminatory employment protections gathered strength. With the start of the 1950s, there was a strong consensus amongst many Jewish groups of the need to pursue legislation at the provincial level. However, as previously documented, the province of Alberta was not a priority due to its small Jewish population and unorthodox government.

The 1950s in Canada was often referred to as the decade of conformity, which can be observed in Alberta's Jewish minority population. Although Manning reduced the power of the Douglasites in the SCP and modified the party's news publication, the *CSC*, relations between the provincial Jewish community and the Social Credit government changed extraordinarily little. However, in Ontario, one of the few Canadian Jewish victories at the beginning of the decade stemmed from the 1951 Supreme Court decision, *Noble and Wolf v Alley*. In 1948, Annie Noble, a property owner in Ontario desired to sell her lot to Bernard Wolf, a Jewish person. However, the original deed dictated that "the lands therein described should never be sold to any person of the Jewish, Hebrew, Semitic, Negro or coloured race or blood and that the restriction should remain in force until August 1, 1962."²⁵⁹ Noble and Wolf applied to the court to have the restrictive covenant negated but members of the community opposed, arguing the contractual clause prohibited the sale to Mr. Wolf.

²⁵⁸ CJC Executive Council Memo, March 12, 1948, Box 4, MG28, V75, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

²⁵⁹ *Noble et al. v. Alley*, (1951) S.C.R. 64, Supreme Court of Canada, <https://www.canlii.org/en/ca/scc/doc/1950/1950canlii13/1950canlii13.html>.

Given the implications to the Canadian Jewish community, the CJC assisted in financially backing the suit. In a six to one decision, the Federal Supreme Court ruled that the restrictive covenant was unenforceable due “uncertainty” concerning the “restriction on alienation.”²⁶⁰ The Honourable Ivan Rand recorded that it was “impossible to set such limits to the lines of race or blood as would enable a court to say in all cases whether a proposed purchaser is or is not within the ban.”²⁶¹ While the ruling was welcomed by Jewish leaders, they lamented that it narrowly applied to property. The court ruled the restrictive covenant, rather than the discrimination, was a violation of the law. Property owners could still refuse to sell to someone because they were Asian, Jewish or black, and the buyer would have no recourse to sue. It outlawed the contract, which was a victory, but the decision was limited as it spoke to a formality, the clear and present discrimination on paper, rather than intent. It still served as a crucial legal victory as the decision weakened and even outlawed discriminatory covenants in other provinces and helped lead to anti-discrimination legislation in Ontario.

Due to the *Noble and Wolf v Alley* ruling, it was the first time in Alberta that some restrictions were placed on discrimination. However, it was legislated by the Federal Supreme Court and Manning’s provincial Social Credit government’s policies remained unchanged. In contrast to Manning, Ontario premier Leslie Frost quickly sought protections for minorities residing in the province. Frost had become the leader of the Progressive Conservative party and the Ontario premier in 1949, following George Drew’s shift to federal politics.²⁶² Frost closely followed the *Noble and Wolf v Alley* case and prior to the Supreme Court’s final ruling, he implemented the *Conveyancing and Law of Property Amendment Act*, on March 24, 1950,

²⁶⁰ *Noble et al. v. Alley*, (1951) S.C.R. 64, Supreme Court of Canada.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*

²⁶² Charles W. Smith, “The Politics of the Ontario Labour Relations Act: Business, Labour, and Government in the Consolidation of Post-War Industrial Relations, 1949-1961.” *Labour (Halifax)* 62, no. 62 (2008): 119-120.

proclaiming such restrictive covenants to be “void and of no effect.”²⁶³ However, it only applied to covenants created on, or after, the date of the Ontario legislation. Frost had only just begun tackling anti-discrimination in Ontario as his government continued to enact legislation.

In the 1950s, legislation seeking protections from discrimination became known as the Fair Practices Acts and included many areas, such as employment, housing and public services. The term was used to differentiate from other forms of non-discrimination laws, such as the criminalization of hate speech. Most of the acts established a system for submitting a complaint of discrimination which was investigated by an appointed committee that would render a judgment. The first Fair Employment Practices Act was established in Ontario on April 5, 1951, by Frost’s government. The preamble recorded “Whereas it is contrary to public policy in Ontario to discriminate against men and women in respect of their employment because of race, creed, colour, nationality, ancestry or place of origin;”²⁶⁴ Frost’s PC government earnestly supported and advanced Jewish and other minority’s rights while Manning’s Social Credit government persisted in ignoring the pronounced need for fair practices laws.

The coordinated efforts of Jewish organizations, led by the JLC, played a significant role in obtaining the first such legislation in Ontario. The CJC executive council had routinely sent correspondence to the Ontario PC government. One brief, sent a year earlier on January 24, 1950, to Premier Frost asserted that “More comprehensive legislation than what is in the current Racial Discrimination Act is required to deal with some worse forms of racial and religious discrimination experienced in this province... Specifically to combat racial discrimination in

²⁶³ *Conveyancing and Law of Property Amendment Act*, R.S.O. 1990, Chapter C.34
<https://www.ontario.ca/laws/statute/90c34>.

²⁶⁴ *An Act to promote Fair Employment Practices in Ontario*, Chapter 24, April 5, 1951,
https://historyofrights.ca/wp-content/uploads/statutes/ON_Fair_Em.pdf.

employment, housing, and public spaces...”²⁶⁵ The *Noble and Wolf v Alley* decision and the Ontario *Fair Employment Practices Act* bolstered Canadian Jewish communities and Jewish leaders hopes. While Ontario led the way, the implementation of similar protections soon began to follow in many other provinces. However, there was one significant Canadian province that did not enact any Fair Practices Acts during the 1950s as Jewish leaders later faced an enormous task in confronting Manning and the Alberta Social Credit government.

²⁶⁵ “A Brief to Premier Frost,” Joint Community Relations Committee Collection, Ontario Jewish Archives Blankenstein Family Heritage Centre, Toronto.

CHAPTER THREE – OPTIMISM AND RE-EVALUATION (1952-1957)

Although several years had passed since Manning's measures to revamp the SCP's antisemitic image and solidify his authority, the ruling Social Credit government still appeared unlikely to initiate any laws protecting Jewish rights. While the Alberta Social Credit party presented a more moderate stance following the purge and Manning did not oppose Israeli governance in the Israeli-Palestine conflict, the provincial government did not take any steps to establish Jewish rights at home, including protections from violence and discrimination or the right to control and acquire land and property. On May 22, 1952, an article in the *Jewish Western Bulletin* declared that, while all parties had their "crackpots," the Social Credit movement contained an excess, with antisemitic currents still running throughout the party.²⁶⁶ However, the report went on to acknowledge that Premier Manning had disavowed antisemitism and eliminated some of the SCP's more radical members.²⁶⁷ Western Jewish papers, long opposed to the Social Credit movement, continued to commend Manning for his party reforms in late 1947 and 1948.

Western Canadian papers also acknowledged Manning's revisions to the party's news publication the *Canadian Social Crediter*. A June 26, 1952, *Jewish Western Bulletin* article quoted Manning's claim that antisemitic members were no longer tolerated in the SCP.²⁶⁸ Manning was cited as proclaiming "I wish to state that Social Credit is not opposed to any religion or race as such. It is only when the adherence to any religion or the people of any race take collective action as a group to attack the principle of Christianity or democracy which are

²⁶⁶ "Manning Prevents SCP Slide into Bigotry," May 22, 1952, *Jewish Western Bulletin*, Glenbow Library and Archives, Archives and Special Collections, University of Calgary.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ "Manning Declares No Room for Prejudice," June 26, 1952, *Jewish Western Bulletin*, Glenbow Library and Archives, Archives and Special Collections, University of Calgary.

fundamental to Social Credit that conflict arises.”²⁶⁹ While the article criticized other active SCP members, including federal leader Low, the report extolled the Alberta premier’s recent actions and remarks. The account concluded with Manning insisting “there is no place for anti-Christian, anti-Catholicism, or anti-anything else. We are all Canadians, let us be French, Jewish, or any other racial heritage.”²⁷⁰ Manning also employed the term “stock” to reflect Social Credit values of Jewishness as a background rather than biology. While many Canadian Jewish leaders and newspapers questioned his motivation, Manning earned recognition for his public rejection of antisemitism following the events of the purge. However, time would tell whether Manning’s declarations would be validated by supportive legislation.

Manning preached on his weekly radio program “Canada’s National Back to the Bible Hour” throughout his premiership, and Albertans continued to listen. In 1952, the prominent religious leader and politician travelled to Ontario and Quebec for a series of preaching engagements. On November 5th, Manning delivered a sermon in Toronto that displayed a religiously motivated antisemitic tone. A *Toronto Daily Star* article reported that Manning depicted Jesus’ trial before Judge Pontius Pilate.²⁷¹ Manning recounted that the crowd at the trial chanted for Jesus’ death and chose to spare the life of a murderer and thief, Barabbas, instead. Pilate acquiesced and ordered Jesus’ crucifixion. According to Manning, the crowd displayed a lack of values, and the witnesses at the trial were to blame for Jesus’ death.²⁷² Manning’s narrative was politically troublesome, as the Gospel of Mark describes that the witnesses who chanted, “His blood be upon us, and upon our children” were Jewish.²⁷³ Therefore, in his

²⁶⁹ “Manning Declares No Room for Prejudice.”

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ Drew in in the West from Social Credit Alliance,” November 6, 1952, *Toronto Daily Star*, Glenbow Library and Archives, Archives and Special Collections, University of Calgary.

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ “Gospel of Mark 27:25,” English Standard Version Bible, <https://www.esv.org/Matthew+27/>.

sermon, Manning effectively declared Jews responsible for Jesus' death. The newspaper article did not go unnoticed by Canadian Jewish leaders.

Despite the events of the purge, Manning's sermon revealed that he regarded Jews as hostile towards Christians through certain times in history. Though Manning publicly rebuked antisemitism, the significance of his sermon placed the onus on Jews to resolve any lingering tensions. The following year it was revealed that Premier Manning had been asked to serve as the honorary chairman of the Alberta Brotherhood Week, sponsored by the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, but had declined.²⁷⁴ One report alleged that Manning had "rejected the invitation on the grounds that there could be no Brotherhood between Christians believing in the deity of Christ and the Jews who deny Christ's deity."²⁷⁵ Manning remained deeply committed to a Christian view that Jews had rejected the Messiah promised to them and therefore wallowed in sin. A month later, Manning received backlash from a March 15, 1953, radio sermon concerning the Soviet Union and Israel. Manning alleged that Josef Stalin, embodying the antichrist, would attempt to form a league in Israel, where he desired to be installed as a supreme ruler and restore Soviet religious freedoms.²⁷⁶ Manning then said, "Poor, blind Israel is going to do it."²⁷⁷ Following the immense backlash, Manning eliminated any further antisemitic remarks during his radio program and focused any disparaging remarks towards communism.

The decade of the 1950s witnessed the achievement of legal protections for Jewish populations in many Canadian provinces. The influential 1948 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, which forbid discrimination based on race, religion and ethnicity, influenced

²⁷⁴ Stingel, "Beyond the Purge," 82.

²⁷⁵ *Calgary Albertan*, February 28, 1953.

²⁷⁶ "Ernest Manning Sunday Afternoon Broadcast," March 15, 1953, Ernest Manning Fonds, FL0037, Glenbow Library and Archives, Archives and Special Collections, University of Calgary.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

governments around the world. The federal Liberal majority government under Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent enacted the 1953 Canadian *Fair Employment Practices Act* for civil services. Included in the legislation were fines issued for proven discrimination and an agency established to receive complaints.²⁷⁸ It contained a list of organizations to contact regarding discriminatory issues, which included the JLC and the CJC. Three years following the establishment of Ontario legalized employment protections, Frost's PC government installed the *Fair Accommodations Practices Act*.²⁷⁹ The preamble detailed "Whereas it is public policy in Ontario that places to which the public is customarily admitted be open to all without regard to race, creed, colour, nationality, ancestry or place of origin;"²⁸⁰ In 1958, the PC government implemented the *Ontario Anti-Discrimination Commission Act*, which created a commission to administer the 1951 and 1954 acts. Ontario continued to lead the way and in 1962, Frost legislated the *Ontario Human Rights Code*. The statute recorded that "it is public policy in Ontario that every person is free and equal in dignity and rights without regard to race, creed, colour, nationality, ancestry or place of origin."²⁸¹ It outlined that the Code took precedence over other Ontario statutes.²⁸² Jewish leaders applauded Frost's government for implementing several pieces of legislation for anti-discrimination protections in Ontario between 1951 to 1962 while Frost's counterpart in Alberta had not enacted any.

Following the province's narrowly construed 1947 *Bill of Rights*, Saskatchewan Premier Tommy Douglas and his CCF government swiftly established several statutes in the 1950s

²⁷⁸ "Fair Employment Practices- A Good Beginning," *Human Rights in Canada*, https://historyofrights.ca/wp-content/uploads/JLC/jlc_flyer.pdf.

²⁷⁹ "Appendix 2: Human Rights: the historical context," *Ontario Human Rights Commission*, <https://www.ohrc.on.ca/en/teaching-human-rights-ontario-guide-ontario-schools/appendix-2-%E2%80%93-human-rights-historical-context>.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁸¹ *An Act to establish the Ontario Code of Human Rights and to provide for its Administration*, Chapter 93, March 30, 1962, https://historyofrights.ca/wp-content/uploads/statutes/ON_HRC.pdf.

²⁸² *Ibid.*

concerning anti-discrimination protections. The 1952 *Saskatchewan Equal Pay Act* focused on gender discrimination and detailed “No employer and no person acting on his behalf shall discriminate between his male and female employees by paying a female employee at a rate of pay less than the rate of pay paid to a male employee employed by him for work of comparable character done in the same establishment.”²⁸³ In 1956, the Saskatchewan CCF administration implemented The *Fair Employment Practices Act* and *Fair Accommodations Act*. The employment statute replicated the 1951 Ontario legislation as it prohibited discrimination regarding employment and trade union memberships concerning race, religion, colour or ethnic origin.²⁸⁴ Among the Saskatchewan accommodations regulations, section 3 documented “Every person and every class of persons shall enjoy the right to obtain the accommodation or facilities of any standard or other hotel, victualling house, theatre or other place to which the public is customarily admitted, regardless of the race, religion, religious creed, colour or ethnic or national origin of such person or class of persons.”²⁸⁵ Jewish organizations, other minority groups and the labour movement received strong legislative support throughout the 1950s from the Saskatchewan CCF government.

Another Western province, Manitoba, with a Liberal-Progressive government was the next to initiate anti-discrimination legislation. On April 18, 1953, Premier Douglas Lloyd Campbell established a *Fair Employment Practices Act* and three years later implemented the *Female Employees Equal Pay Act*.²⁸⁶ Both laws emulated the terminology and intent of Ontario

²⁸³ *An Act to ensure Fair Remuneration to Female Employees*, Chapter 265, *Can LII*, <https://www.canlii.org/en/sk/laws/hstat/rss-1953-c-265/latest/rss-1953-c-265.html#document>.

²⁸⁴ *An Act to amend The Fair Employment Practices Act, 1956*, Chapter 28, *Can LII*, <https://www.canlii.org/en/sk/laws/astat/ss-1959-c-28/latest/ss-1959-c-28.html>.

²⁸⁵ *An Act respecting Fair Accommodations Practices*, Chapter 68, *Can LII*, <https://www.canlii.org/en/sk/laws/astat/ss-1956-c-68/latest/ss-1956-c-68.html>.

²⁸⁶ Historic Statutes and Declarations, *Canada's Human Rights History*, <https://historyofrights.ca/archives/statutes-declarations/>.

legislation. In 1955, the Liberal government of Nova Scotia installed its *Fair Employment Practices Act*, likewise adopting the same terminology, barring discrimination concerning employment and membership within trade unions.²⁸⁷ A year later, Nova Scotia Premier Henry Hicks enacted an equal pay statute in the eastern province. By the middle of the 1950s, it was clear that the movement to legally prohibit discrimination by Canadian provincial governments was widespread. The CJC and JCL participated to varying degrees in these provincial efforts. The CJC efforts were especially strong in Ontario and Manitoba which were home to its main offices and larger Jewish populations, with the exception of Quebec. The Canadian labour movement relished the success of the enactment of fair employment practices acts in many provinces.

In 1953, the JPRC sent a delegation, led by Hayes and Kayfetz, to Ottawa to lobby members of the Liberal government. The Jewish leaders requested two narrow changes to the Canadian *Criminal Code*. The amendments sought to criminalize the incitement of violence against ethnic groups and clarify the term “public interest” in section 166 of the code.²⁸⁸ However, neither recommendation appeared in the updated 1955 *Criminal Code*. Kenneth Grad outlined that at this time there was a pronounced ideological divide concerning legislation between the CJC’s leaders and Holocaust survivors who now resided in Canada.²⁸⁹ Hayes took the rejection of the delegation's proposals in stride as he continued to believe the best strategy was to ignore anti-Jewish hate speech. Rabbi W. Gunther Plaut referred to this ongoing Jewish

²⁸⁷ “Milestones in Human Rights in Nova Scotia,” *Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission*, <https://humanrights.novascotia.ca/about/milestones-human-rights-nova-scotia>.

²⁸⁸ Kenneth Grad, “A Gesture of Criminal Law: Jews and the Criminalization of Hate Speech in Canada,” *Osgoode Hall Law Journal* 59, no. 2 (2022), 85.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 379.

leadership tactic as the “quarantining” approach.²⁹⁰ However, the expanding survivor community in Canada was becoming weary of the cautious, protracted strategy adopted by Hayes. In the 1950s, the Canadian Jewish population increased by 35%, of which half were Holocaust survivors.²⁹¹ Canada finally began opening its doors to European Jews in the late 1940s, with the largest survivor communities established in Toronto and Montreal. Their voices would continue to increase throughout the decade as the survivor community exerted pressure on the CJC and JPRC for more assertive actions.

In early 1955, Rosenberg revealed that he and several members of the CJC attended the World Jewish Congress (WJC) in New York, where they met with the Director of the WJC’s Institute of Jewish Affairs, Dr. Nehemiah Robinson. Later in the year, in correspondence to Robinson, Rosenberg demonstrated that his view that Manning had found it “politically inexpedient” for SCP members to continue engaging in antisemitic attacks, had not altered.²⁹² Rosenberg confirmed that while the Social Credit’s official organ, the *CSC*, had predominantly discontinued publishing overtly antisemitic articles, there was still the occasional anti-Jewish sentiment. He also revealed that federal SCP leader Low had visited Israel in 1954 and praised Israel and Zionist achievements in a public address.²⁹³ Rosenberg acknowledged this was evidence of the SCP’s public shift on antisemitism, directed by Manning. While outlining other recent accounts of SCP affairs, Rosenberg stated that Manning’s continued desire to suppress Social Credit antisemitism involved the premier’s increased pro-business ideology. Though Rosenberg maintained Manning’s actions were politically driven, he now believed there might

²⁹⁰ W. Gunther Plaut, *Unfinished Business: An Autobiography* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1981), 243.

²⁹¹ Frank Bialystok, *Delayed Impact the Holocaust and the Canadian Jewish Community* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000), 93.

²⁹² Correspondence from Louis Rosenberg to Dr. Nehemiah Robinson, December 7, 1955, ADCJA.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*

be some hope for equal rights legislation in Alberta. He referenced the present national mood and recorded, “My personal opinion, for whatever it is worth, is that antisemitic movements and sentiments in Canada are improving.”²⁹⁴ Unfortunately, Rosenberg’s statement at the end of 1955 did not translate into legislation in Alberta anytime soon.

Although the Alberta SCP remained unyielding in establishing any legal action, next door, the ruling British Columbia SCP emerged as an unlikely supporter of human rights. Under the interim leadership of Ernest Hansell, the party obtained a surprising 1952 minority government, winning by one vote. Hansell, a federal Alberta MP and president of the National Social Credit Association known for engaging in antisemitic rhetoric and promoting radical Social Credit policies, directed the campaign in the typical evangelical style of the Alberta Social Credit.²⁹⁵ Historian Martin Robin revealed that Manning installed Hansell as the nominal leader of the BC organization, displaying Manning’s authority in the Social Credit movement.²⁹⁶ Following the Social Credit victory, Hansell chose to remain in Ottawa, and the elected BC Social Credit members chose William (W.A.C.) Bennett as their new leader and BC premier. Bennett, a former Conservative MLA, only acquired a Social Credit League membership six months prior to the election. At the end of 1953, the BC Social Credit government received widespread criticism after some of its members circulated a pamphlet titled *The Synagogue of Satan*. The publication proclaimed the existence of a vast Jewish conspiracy attempting to erode support for the Social Credit movement across Canada.²⁹⁷ As a newly elected minority party, and

²⁹⁴ Correspondence from Louis Rosenberg to Dr. Nehemiah Robinson.

²⁹⁵ Martin Robin, “The Social Basis of Party Politics in British Columbia,” *Queens Quarterly* 72 (1966), 685.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 685.

²⁹⁷ “Antisemitic Writing Causes BC Furor,” January 30, 1953, *Montreal Star*, M26L, Vol. 341, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

the first Social Credit government in BC, Bennett recognized the detrimental effect on his administration, and he was fully aware of the Alberta SCP's antisemitic reputation.

Only four years into its rule, Bennett and the BC Social Credit Party implemented the 1956 *Fair Employment Practices Act*. While the BC law applied only to employment, it provided broad protections for discrimination at specified workplaces. Section 3 stipulated that “No employer shall refuse to employ or refuse to continue to employ any person or discriminate against any person in regard to employment or any term or condition of employment because of his race, religion, colour, nationality, ancestry, or place of origin.”²⁹⁸ The act also applied the same prohibitions to union membership and advertising employment positions. However, the legislation was not without limitations, including that its enforcement was to be overseen by one “Director” of the BC Social Credit Department of Labour. Section 6 further established that the director could select an officer to “... inquire into the complaint and endeavour to effect a settlement of the matter complained of and shall report the results of his inquiry and endeavours to the Director.”²⁹⁹ Therefore, judgments were left in the hands of one person who was part of the government. Significantly, Manning and national leader Low appear to have muted their responses to BCs legislation. There is no record of a response by either leader. Manning and Low remained quiet on the issue as they most likely did not want to be seen as criticizing the only other SCP provincial government. The strategy of providing no comment became a common practice for Manning concerning the lack of fair practices legislation in Alberta.

Manning and the Alberta party expended significant resources in the BC election, seeking to establish an affiliate Social Credit government. While Manning's election efforts were

²⁹⁸ *Fair Employment Practices Act*, BC Laws, Chapter 137, March 2, 1956, <https://www.bclaws.gov.bc.ca/civix/document/id/hstats/hstats/1529370833#:~:text=No%20person%20shall%20use%20or,limitation%2C%20specification%2C%20or%20preference%20as.>

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

successful, with Hansell returning to his federal position, the BC government did not fall in line with Manning's policies and directives, unlike the National Social Credit Association. Upon the Social Credit's victory in BC, an article in the *Toronto Star* concluded that Manning's "widespread disaffection with traditional parties" was enough to outweigh any intolerance he felt for the former PC minister, Bennett leading the BC organization.³⁰⁰ Manning could only lose political capital by criticizing the only other Social Credit provincial government in which he supported in its election. Yet, any affiliation with the BC government did not significantly benefit Manning's administration. As a former PC party member, Bennett did not subscribe to the Social Credit philosophy. The Alberta population differed from BCs, which included more people of colour, greater diversity of non-Christian religions and less BC voters on the right of the political spectrum. Activism for fair practices legislation had been well underway in BC and was more entrenched and broadly supported in the province. It is likely Bennett realized that if he was to remain in power, his government must implement fair practices legislation. Bennett's SCP government won seven consecutive elections and while the organization campaigned for BC Social Credit federal candidates, it did not implement Social Credit policies that Manning desired by its provincial neighbour.

While Manning and Low did not denounce or address the BC Social Credit legislation, former Douglasite Social Credit Council members and Alberta Social Credit League members fervently disapproved. In Ontario, Gostick quickly drafted a report attacking the newly implemented BC legislation. He claimed that such laws were "a product of communism," first used by the "Semitics" to enforce their rule over the Christian majority.³⁰¹ He declared it was

³⁰⁰ "Behind Social Credit Showing," *Toronto Daily Star*, July 10, 1952.

³⁰¹ Ron Gostick, "Social Credit Tricked by Reds?" *Canadian Intelligence Service* Issue 6, No. 3, March 1956.

always a well-organized minority holding disproportionate power that passed such acts.³⁰² Gostick published his condemnation in his periodical, *The Canadian Intelligence Service*. He had established the paper in 1951 following the Ontario Social Credit League barring Gostick from publishing under the name “Social Credit” and the federal SCP banning Gostick’s publication, *Voice of the Electors*. Previously in 1951, Gostick alleged that Ontario’s Fair Employment Practices proposal, was the work of “highly organized Zionist minority machine.”³⁰³ While Manning attempted to eliminate public party antisemitism, Gostick declared that Jews had established communism within a broader scheme “bent on undermining and destroying national sovereignty, destroying Christendom and seizing world power.”³⁰⁴ This was not the publicity Manning desired as the press emphasized Gostick’s former SCP membership and roots.

Manning and the Alberta Social Credit party was not the only provincial government ignoring the need for anti-discrimination laws in the 1950s. Quebec’s right-wing populist party, the Union Nationale, also neglected to protect Jewish and other minorities’ rights. Quebec was much larger than Alberta in terms of both its general, and Jewish population. Quebec’s population in 1951 numbered 4,055,681, while Alberta’s population was under a million, at 939,051.³⁰⁵ In the same year, the total Canadian Jewish population stood at 188,900, representing 1.46% of the national population. Of this number, 80,800 Jews lived in Montreal with only 2,100 residing in Calgary and 1,800 Jews in Edmonton.³⁰⁶ However, there were some commonalities between Alberta’s SCP government, and Quebec’s Union Nationale’s administration during the

³⁰² Gostick, “Social Credit Tricked by the Reds?”

³⁰³ Ron Gostick “Communist-Zionist Elements Promote ‘FEP’ Move in Ontario,” *Canadian Intelligence Service*, Issue 1, no. 3, March 1951.

³⁰⁴ Gostick, “Social Credit Tricked by Reds?”

³⁰⁵ “The Size and Geographic Distribution of Canada’s Jewish Population,” *Berman Jewish Databank*, The Jewish Federations of North America, 8, https://www.jewishdatabank.org/content/upload/bjdb/The_Size_and_Geographic_Distribution_of_Canada's_Jewish_Population_1.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

1950s. Both actively opposed trade unions, attacked socialism and included antisemitic elements. Duplessis had regained power in 1944 through a successful election campaign that falsely publicized the current Quebec Liberal government “secretly planned to settle 100,000 Jewish refugees in Quebec.”³⁰⁷ Like, the Alberta SCP, the Union Nationale did not legislate any fair practices acts in the 1950s. In September 1959, Duplessis died in office and a year later, Jean Lesage led the Liberals to victory, ushering in what many refer to as the period of the “Quiet Revolution.”

A year after Nova Scotia’s employment protections statute, New Brunswick followed suit. Premier Hugh John Fleming’s Progressive Conservatives legislated its *Fair Employment Practices Act* on March 16, 1956, containing the same restrictions and terminology as Nova Scotia’s bill.³⁰⁸ However, at the same time Rosenberg relayed that Manning had repeated routine contention that fair practices acts were contrary to individual freedoms and British legal conventions.³⁰⁹ Alberta’s lack of human rights legislation attracted increasing scrutiny as other provincial governments continued the legal push. Alberta had become a prominent Canadian province due to its resources, booming economy, and population growth. With the knowledge of the Alberta government’s auspicious position and legislative achievements acquired in other provinces, the CJC was becoming increasingly cognizant that comprehensive efforts would be required Alberta.

Despite its widespread prominence as the leading Canadian Jewish organization, most CJC decisions were controlled by a few leading administrators, namely Hayes, Kayfetz, and

³⁰⁷ Abella and Troper, 162-163.

³⁰⁸ *1956 Fair Employment Practices Act*, History of Rights in New Brunswick, https://historyofrights.ca/wp-content/uploads/statutes/NB_Fair_Em.pdf.

³⁰⁹ Correspondence from Louis Rosenberg to Saul Hayes, March 12, 1956, Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada, Winnipeg.

Rosenberg. In March 1956, a plan formed for Hayes to conduct a two-week trip to Calgary and Edmonton. Hayes made effective strides in increasing communication between the CJC National Executive Committee and its local Alberta branches.³¹⁰ While in Edmonton, Hayes deliberated with Matthew Ram, the CJC's Western Regional Executive Director of Community Organization. Ram was also employed as a social worker for the Edmonton Jewish Welfare Society founded in January 1955. In the months following Hayes' visit, Ram drafted a report commending CJC attempts to organize and strengthen local community councils in Calgary and Edmonton.³¹¹ However, Ram argued that such efforts needed to expand before a formal province-wide campaign could be launched. The report by Ram, from his position within the Alberta CJC local initiative, was extremely compelling. It displayed that CJC leaders were interacting and listening to crucial insight from local Alberta Jewish figures. The CJC accepted Ram's recommendation that further infrastructure must be established and therefore delayed the start of an intensive Alberta campaign.

Similarly, other Canadian Jewish activists confirmed that more preparation was required to evaluate and solidify the ability to secure a legal victory in Alberta. Therefore in 1957, only minor initiatives were launched, such as measures to combat Gostick and his antisemitic publication *The Canadian Intelligence Service*.³¹² Consequently, Bronfman directed Kayfetz to conduct an exploratory tour of Alberta a year after Hayes' trip. The dispatch of the CJC's most prominent leaders to Alberta in the late 1950s demonstrated the tremendous shift within the

³¹⁰ Correspondence from David Slater to Saul Hayes, April 17, 1956, JHC 221, File F14, Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada, Winnipeg, and Correspondence from Heinz Frank to Saul Hayes, April 18, 1956, JHC 221, File 14, Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada, Winnipeg.

³¹¹ Matthew Ram, "Official Report of the Activities of the CJC Edmonton Regional Office," July 1956, JHC 261, File F03. Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada, Winnipeg.

³¹² Correspondence from Ben Kayfetz to Matthew Ram, February 8, 1957, JHC 261, File 03, Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada, Winnipeg.

organization towards the province. In June 1957, Kayfetz visited and explored local Jewish organizations in Calgary and Edmonton. At a Calgary synagogue, the congregation expressed grave concerns regarding the lack of non-discrimination laws in their province. Kayfetz recorded that “they were somewhat concerned as to Alberta being behind the curve.”³¹³ He met with local Jewish business leaders, including Harry Cohen and Alberta’s only Jewish MPP, John Dower, a member of the Liberal Party.

Kayfetz’s dealings with Dower were particularly significant. Dower detailed recent developments in the Alberta provincial parliament, including his appointment to one of Manning’s commissions, despite not being a member of SCP.³¹⁴ He also informed Kayfetz that leaders of the BC Manufacturer’s Association privately expressed their opinion to him that “communists were driving fair employment practices regulations.”³¹⁵ Dower admitted that he was initially skeptical of such legislation because he believed the Jewish community was becoming more economically integrated in Alberta in recent years. Further, with his selection to Manning’s Royal Commission, Dower recognized there were benefits from aligning with the powerful SCP government, despite Liberal members in other provinces supporting non-discrimination laws.³¹⁶ However, Cohen, a well-known Jewish philanthropist in Calgary informed Dower and Kayfetz of significant ongoing issues in the province. Cohen revealed that “some young Jewish men felt compelled to conceal their identity to obtain employment...”³¹⁷ At the end of the meeting, Dower assured Kayfetz that he would discuss the subject of equal rights legislation with his Liberal colleagues. Kayfetz’s firsthand report provided crucial information

³¹³ JPRC Confidential Report: Ben Kayfetz Western Tour, June 1957, Canadian Jewish Congress Fonds, Ben Kayfetz 62, File 8, Series 4, Ontario Jewish Archives Blankenstein Family Heritage Centre, Toronto.

³¹⁴ JPRC Confidential Report: Ben Kayfetz Western Tour, June 1957.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

for the CJC and JPRC concerning the conditions in Alberta and the appropriate time to press for legislation in Alberta.

Kayfetz's 1957 report also revealed there was a significant division within the Alberta Jewish community regarding the optimal strategy to pursue anti-discrimination protections. Some Alberta Jewish community members still feared the repercussions of confronting the dominant Social Credit government. Many on the right of the political spectrum believed there was no benefit in angering a government that, like them, was pro-business, opposed unions and communism, and conflated secularism with atheism. Kayfetz asserted that many Jews he met with in Calgary and Edmonton regarded fair employment practices as advantageous but were either uncertain of how to act or unmotivated to do so.³¹⁸ Various members of the Jewish community argued there were some improvements to Alberta Jews' daily lives and saw little use in causing a disruption.

By the end of the decade, it was apparent that comprehensive advocacy campaigns were essential in Alberta to compel Manning and the SCP government to act. Kayfetz declared that many within the Calgary and Edmonton non-Jewish population viewed Alberta as "one of the last holdouts."³¹⁹ Kayfetz's study emphasized the need for further cohesion within the Alberta Jewish community to push for fair rights legislation. Due to Kayfetz's report, the CJC and the JPRC delayed the launch of an intensive initiative in Alberta until 1959 to secure a more robust campaign. Kayfetz's trip, a year following the passage of legislation by BC's Social Credit government, revealed that the lack of appetite for non-discrimination laws in Alberta was unique. Navigating the distinct landscape of the Alberta political system and galvanizing the province's

³¹⁸ JPRC Confidential Report: Ben Kayfetz Western Tour, June 1957.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

modest Jewish community was a significant challenge for the eastern-led CJC and its allies. CJC leaders recognized it was a task that they could not achieve on their own.

CHAPTER FOUR – THE PUSH FOR FAIR PRACTICES LEGISLATION IN ALBERTA (1958-1962)

In 1958, CJC leaders continued to reach out to local Alberta groups as the National Social Credit Association suffered tremendous losses. In the June 10, 1957, federal election the Liberals were shocked when the Progressive Conservative Party, under the new leadership of John Diefenbaker, won a minority government.³²⁰ The national Liberal party had been in power for 22 years, dating back to 1935. Low and the federal SCPs acquired 19 seats, the party's strongest results in a federal election.³²¹ Manning was elated with the results, mistakenly believing that the national SCP arm had become a considerable force within the federal legislature. However, subscriptions to the CSC plummeted as the federal Social Credit Party relied heavily on the Alberta Social Credit League to remain solvent.³²² Manning failed to recognize the advances that the Conservatives achieved with Alberta voters in the 1957 federal election.

Nine months later, to the detriment of the National Social Credit Association, Diefenbaker dissolved parliament and called a snap election for March 31, 1958. A "Summary of Critical Analysis" held within Low's papers at the Glenbow Western Research Centre, was commissioned by the federal leader and issued prior to the 1958 election. One of the report's recommendations suggested that candidates "should more clearly emphasize the fundamentals of monetary reform" during the campaign.³²³ While the PCs captured the largest Canadian majority government based on percentage of seats, the SCP was decimated, losing all 19 seats.³²⁴ The national SCP popular vote declined by 250,000 and the PCs astonishingly won all 17 seats in

³²⁰ Brennan, 137-138.

³²¹ Michael E. Swanberg, "Alberta Federal Politics in an Era of Socioeconomic Realignment 1953-1958," (Thesis. Calgary: University of Calgary, April 2011), 126-127.

³²² *Ibid.*, 143-144.

³²³ "Summary of Critical Analysis," January 12, 1958, Solon Low fonds, file 479, Glenbow Library and Archives, Archives and Special Collections, University of Calgary.

³²⁴ Swanberg, 128-129.

Alberta, with 59.9% of the Alberta popular vote. Significantly, Blackmore, who had represented Lethbridge since 1935, was ousted, ending both his tenure in federal parliament and a political career rife with antisemitic rhetoric and conspiracies.

Blackmore's unseating was the result of his radicalism wearing thin on Alberta voters, as well as of ongoing negative articles by the mainstream press. The *Lethbridge Herald* published reports that Blackmore was failing his riding of Lethbridge because he was unable to obtain federal monies for much-needed projects and routinely engaged in off-the-subject "tangents" in parliament.³²⁵ The paper also revealed that, prior to the 1957 federal election, Blackmore faced a significant challenge by a younger member for the Social Credit nomination in Lethbridge. Blackmore and several other SCP members who had enjoyed power for over two decades were perceived as disconnected and past their prime. Jewish leaders reacted with slight enthusiasm over the political downfall of one of Social Credit's longest serving antisemitic members but recognized that hostility towards Canadian Jews would continue within the Social Credit base. Despite the national SCP's crushing results, Low, Blackmore, and Hansell remained prominent federal Social Credit members for the next couple of years as they searched for a new strategy to revitalize a federal association with no sitting parliamentary members.

Just over a year later, Manning and the SCP were headed back to the polls. Following the shock of the 1958 federal election results, Manning announced what he termed an "anti-recession program" that included the creation of residences for senior citizens, community improvements, and a new medical centre.³²⁶ Manning's strategy was successful in increasing the Social Credit government's provincial support. Following a disappointing minority government in the 1955

³²⁵ "Blackmore Lashes Out," *Lethbridge Herald*, September 25, 1956, 1.

³²⁶ "1948 Five-Year plan," Ernest Manning fonds, Glenbow Library and Archives, Archives and Special Collections, University of Calgary.

provincial election, the Alberta SCP bounced back, earning an additional 24 seats in the June 1959 election.³²⁷ Social Credit regained a majority government, winning 61 out of 65 seats and the ability to implement policies with little impediment. Manning was jubilant as he believed “obstructionist” opposition parties hindered his desired programs and policies.³²⁸ Though Manning acquired a conservative reputation, there was still evidence that he embraced radical policies. One initiative Manning supported at this time was the detonation of a nuclear bomb in the Athabasca oil sands as an alternative method to traditional oil drilling.³²⁹ The Social Credit’s anti-recession program was an immensely popular enterprise, made possible by Alberta’s prosperity from its vast reserves of oil and natural gas.

Manning’s impressive provincial showing amid the federal party’s decimation led SCP elites to devise a plan to enlist Manning to assume the federal party leadership. This idea had previously been floated, but Manning had rejected the notion due to the national party’s marginal status and his stronghold over Alberta politics.³³⁰ However, Hooke reported that Manning had once revealed to him a desire to retire from the provincial party and enter the national field. Manning’s cabinet members implored him to remain in Alberta as they “could not conceive of an Alberta Social Credit government without Mr. Manning’s leadership and urged him to reconsider what appeared to be almost a decision.”³³¹ Manning refused the new federal leadership proposal, known as Operation Andrew. Though Manning had always focused on expanding the National Social Credit Association it was difficult to leave a position where he enjoyed strong popularity, a majority government and where he could comfortably enact policies with a robust treasury.

³²⁷ “1959 Alberta Election,” *Canadian Elections Database*, <https://canadianelectionsdatabase.ca/PHASE5/?p=0&type=election&ID=311>.

³²⁸ Brennan, 138.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, 138-139.

³³⁰ Swanberg, 164.

³³¹ Hooke, 256.

Some Jewish leaders worried that had Manning left his position, another senior Social Credit member, more prone to antisemitism like Ansley, may have been installed.

In the late 1950s, other minority groups within Alberta also lacked Social Credit government support. The SCP had enacted prejudicial legislation against various minority groups which was another significant reason why earlier CJC campaigns did not want to openly confront the Alberta government. In 1947 and 1959, Manning created government committees and held public hearings to examine what many referred to as Alberta's "Hutterite problem."³³² By 1960, 6,500 Hutterites were living communally in Alberta, motivated by their rejection of personal ownership. Manning had implemented the 1947 *Communal Properties Act*, which restricted the amount of land the Anabaptist Christian sect could own.³³³ Such discriminatory SCP legislation remained in place until the late 1960s when challenges emerged at the Supreme Court level. Manning also did not support French Canadians within the Alberta community and rejected all claims affording the minority population a distinct cultural status.³³⁴ He opposed all federal legislative attempts to strengthen the French language within personal and public areas in Canada. The overdue need for human rights protections in Alberta was urgently desired by its Jewish community and many other minority groups that endured Social Credit's resistance to support equal rights. In a significant appeal to Manning and Social Credit's philosophy, Jewish advocates asserted that fair employment practices legislation could be effective without violating individual freedoms.

A Joint Western Pacific Conference was held in Vancouver in May 1958, to coordinate further development of local Jewish institutions and establish policies west of Ontario. With the

³³² Palmer, "Ethnic Relations and the Paranoid Style," 14-15.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 14-16.

³³⁴ Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta*, 152-153.

establishment of the Fair Employment Practices Acts in BC, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan, members addressed the absence of similar legislation in Alberta. Canadian Jewish delegates included many prominent advocates, including Bronfman, Rosenberg, and Kayfetz. Manitoban Heinz Frank, instrumental in the resettlement of Jewish refugees in Winnipeg from 1949 to 1950, also attended.³³⁵ Frank was a member of the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews and was later appointed the executive director of the Western CJC until his retirement in 1966. Deliberations were confidential, with no minutes from any meetings retained in the Western CJC archives. However, at the conference's conclusion, S.M. (Saul) Cherniak issued a brief report on behalf of the Jewish leaders present at the conference, declaring there was enough infrastructure within the local Alberta Jewish groups and non-Jewish allies, particularly labour organizations, to launch a campaign seeking equal rights legislation.³³⁶ The report also stressed the need to conduct a robust letter-writing campaign and to initiate meetings with the unrelenting SCP government, emphasizing that the Alberta Jewish population did not receive the same rights as their counterparts had in other Western provinces. Conference delegates declared these rights could no longer be considered a privilege or luxury in Canada.

By the end of the 1950s, CJC leaders had little to show for their efforts to pass fair practices legislation in Alberta. Unmistakably, the ongoing political domination of Manning and the Social Credit government was the most significant hurdle. Despite the change in the social and political climate, Manning remained firm. The province maintained a Libertarian and Christian-dominated political climate that identified unrestricted capitalism and individual freedoms as central. Rare public statements by Manning continued with his usual defence that

³³⁵ S.M. Cherniak "Joint Western Pacific Conference Report," May 1958, JHC 304, 1-2, Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada, Winnipeg,

³³⁶ Ibid.

“The government prefers to rely upon those individual rights and privileges as established by the Common Law of England and the British Commonwealth.”³³⁷ However, this can be seen as a pretence as the party also excluded Catholics and Francophones and persecuted Alberta’s Hutterite and Indigenous population. In assessing Manning’s actions, it is clear he had a fundamental view that a hierarchical order existed. Within this hierarchy, Anglo Protestants were at the top with Jews, Catholics and Francophones below and finally, groups seen as foreign, such as Muslims and Japanese Canadians at the bottom. As outlined, part of Manning’s view derived from the Protestant view of Salvation, in which people could only be considered full if they followed God’s true faith. The Alberta SCP government upheld its reputation of ignoring Jewish rights while continuing to assert that the party was not antisemitic. This striking contradiction, amid the prevalent growth of provincial anti-discrimination laws, drew increased attention from Canadian Jewish groups and non-Jewish Canadians alike.

Much of the Alberta SCPs longevity can be attributed to the strength of Manning’s leadership. His party, unlike Bennett’s BC Social Credit government in 1956 when it enacted fair employment practices legislation, was strongly entrenched in the province’s political system. The Alberta SCP enjoyed tremendous support, winning many elections by large majorities. Following Alberta’s post war economic boom, its strong fiscal position led even critics of Manning’s, such as the *Toronto Daily Star* to declare “Despite the occasional display of intolerance towards minority groups, it is generally recognized the Social Credit Party has provided Alberta with sound administration.”³³⁸ Throughout the 1950s, as the SCP government’s immense public support persisted, Manning ignored the increased practice of establishing legal

³³⁷ Correspondence from Ernest Manning to Michel Gouault from the United Council for Human Rights, June 8, 1964, Jewish Labour Committee fonds, MG28 V75, Volume 36, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

³³⁸ “Behind SC Showing,” *Toronto Daily Star*, July 10, 1952.

rights for Jewish and other minority populations. The issue of human rights within Alberta during most of the 1950s was still not powerful enough to vociferously confront Manning's Social Credit government with its thriving economic record and admired premier.

Near the end of the 1950s, through careful studies and deliberations, the CJC and JPRC resolved it was time to launch additional measures in Alberta. Canadian Jewish leaders acknowledged the magnitude of the task, given the obstinate Social Credit government. While Manning had vigorously demanded Social Credit members abandon public antisemitic rhetoric and correspondence, incidents continued to occur throughout the 1950s, though to a lesser degree. In 1958, to further cement Manning's legacy and commemorate Manning's 50th birthday, the Social Credit League commissioned Tony Cashman, a pro-Manning Edmonton radio journalist, to produce a bibliographical account of the leader. Cashman held interviews with Manning and composed an extremely biased record, beginning with the title "*Ernest C. Manning: The Father of Modern Alberta.*"³³⁹ Albertans embraced Cashman's glorified account of Premier Manning.

In the ten years following the purge, antisemitic incidents continued to be exposed, involving various Social Credit politicians and members. While Orvis Kennedy only served two years through a by-election from 1938 to 1940 as a Social Credit member of parliament, he was an integral part of the Social Credit organization. He served in many positions within the Social Credit League, including president of the Alberta SCL, and National Organizer and vice-president of the National Social Credit Association.³⁴⁰ Kennedy had been a member of the Alberta Social Credit movement since its inception and was one of only a few close confidantes to Manning. The Social Credit League, though decreased in numbers since the 1930s and early

³³⁹ Cashman, 1.

³⁴⁰ Barr, 157-159.

1940s, staunchly supported Manning throughout his tenure, and Kennedy worked diligently behind the scenes to promote Manning's initiatives. Kennedy, a Christian layman, also served as the business manager for Manning's weekly radio bible broadcast.³⁴¹ In 1956, Kennedy delivered a speech at a Social Credit event in which he declared, "I think if they had left Hitler alone, he'd have been alright."³⁴² In his address, Kennedy followed the revised Social Credit playbook in denouncing communism, but he also outlined the role of international bankers and the global finance conspiracy that had long fallen out of favour with Canadian audiences and that Manning sought to suppress.

That such a prominent figure in the Social Credit organization once again openly espoused the New World Order theory demonstrated that antisemitism had not been eliminated eight years earlier during the purge. As part of Manning's small inner circle, Kennedy brazenly revealed that anti-Jewish sentiment persisted within the organization despite Manning's denials and concealment efforts. Yet, Manning did not remove Kennedy from his position, nor did the situation affect Manning and Kennedy's relationship—their steadfast bond endured until the end of Manning's premiership. Years later, upon Kennedy's death, Manning's son, Preston, referred to Kennedy as his father's "right-hand political organizer."³⁴³ Kennedy's 1956 speech produced significant backlash from Western newspapers that once again brought Social Credit antisemitism to the forefront. The *Calgary Herald* condemned Kennedy's address, claiming "No wonder Mr. Kennedy sees no harm in Hitler. Social Credit and Hitlerism are 'spiritual' soul-

³⁴¹ "Orvis A. Kennedy," Edmonton West Social Credit Association, *Aberhart Foundation*, 1962, <https://www.aberhartfoundation.ca/PDF%20Documents/Premier%20PDF%27s/Alta%20SC%20Officials%20and%20Spouses/Orvis%20Kennedy/Orvis%20Kennedy%20Campaign%20Literature/Orvis%20Kennedy%201962%20Fed%20Brochure.pdf>.

³⁴² *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix*, June 6, 1956.

³⁴³ Ashley Geddes, "Social Credit Political Organizer Orvis Kennedy dead at age 89," *Edmonton Journal*, April 17, 1997, 3.

mates.”³⁴⁴ The report reflected on Manning’s efforts to reform the SCPs antisemitic reputation, and it advised viewers not to be fooled. Reports persisted throughout the remainder of Manning’s premiership, echoing the *Calgary Herald’s* message. Despite efforts to quell Social Credit antisemitic rhetoric, incidents continued to emerge, demonstrating that anti-Jewish sentiment was deeply embedded within the Social Credit ideology.

A striking aspect of Manning’s leadership was his enduring relationships and advancement of numerous Social Credit politicians and members who patently embraced the antisemitic Douglas and his theories while Manning denied that neither he nor members of the party possessed any anti-Jewish sentiment. Kennedy, likely Manning’s closest confidante, was far from the only Social Credit figure displaying ongoing antisemitism whom Manning continued to support. Reverend Ernest Hansell was another antisemitic and staunch Douglasite with whom Manning maintained a steady working relationship. As recorded, Manning selected Hansell as the interim leader in the 1952 BC provincial election campaign. It was a strange decision, as Hansell was an Albertan who served as a Social Credit MP from 1935 to 1958 and had no ties in British Columbia. Hansell had always been an outspoken party member in Canadian parliament, promoting Douglas’ monetary theories.

Hansell continued to display antisemitic sentiment following the purge. In 1950, he authored a pamphlet in called “Intrigue in High Places” that detailed radical information with antisemitic undertones.³⁴⁵ The allegations included condemning influential US Jews, such as Henry Morgenthau Jr., and asserting that Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal consultants, who were primarily Jewish, were “engaged in a Soviet-led international communist conspiracy.”

³⁴⁴ *Calgary Herald*, June 19, 1956.

³⁴⁵ *Canadian Social Crediter*, December 27, 1950, and Memo from Louis Rosenberg to Saul Hayes, January 11, 1951, ADCJA.

Significantly, Hansell's pamphlet was published in the revised *Canadian Social Crediter* paper. Two years later, Manning handpicked Hansell to lead the BC Social Credit campaign. Instead of expelling Hansell for producing the antisemitic pamphlet, Manning selected him to direct a Social Credit election. During the BC election, Hansell advised voters that politics should be "Christianized and purified."³⁴⁶ After Hansell lost his federal riding in 1958, Manning endorsed Hansell for a provincial seat in Manning's government, which he won.³⁴⁷ As previously recorded, these actions alone do not signify that Manning was antisemitic but Manning clearly had no issues with maintaining ties and promoting antisemitic Social Credit members, despite his pronouncements and actions during the purge and his continued denials.

In 1971, Alfred Hooke published a book *30 + 5 I Know I Was There*, detailing his roots and SCP political career. While Hooke revealed he was part of the 1937 uprising, he downplayed the group's intent and asserted that no member "associated with the insurgent group wanted to upset the government in any way. It was action we wanted."³⁴⁸ The day after Manning became Alberta's 8th premier, he removed Hooke from the Social Credit Board and promoted him to Provincial Secretary, a position Manning had held since 1935.³⁴⁹ During a Throne debate in 1944, in reference to Canadian troops fighting in WWII, Hooke remarked, "...why send them to Europe to fight against it? Why don't we tell them that international finance, their worst enemy, is backing the philosophy of socialism?"³⁵⁰ While Hooke continued to empathize with Douglasite members, he recognized Manning's control of the party, and he remained loyal to the premier for the remainder of his political career. This loyalty was greatly rewarded. Throughout

³⁴⁶ Robin, 685.

³⁴⁷ Reverend Ernest George Hansell, *Parliament of Canada*, https://lop.parl.ca/sites/ParlInfo/default/en_CA/People/Profile?personId=3003.

³⁴⁸ Hooke, 124-125.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 169.

³⁵⁰ Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta*, 87-88.

the Alberta SCPs enduring rule, Hooke held many cabinet portfolios, including Minister of Economic Affairs, Minister of Public Works and Minister of Municipal Affairs.³⁵¹ Hooke was an integral part of Manning's government until the Alberta premier's retirement in 1968. While many scholars, including John Irving and C.B. MacPherson asserted that Manning's activities during the purge eliminated the anti-Jewish elements within the Alberta Social Credit party, the continued prominence of Hooke demonstrates that not all antisemitic members were removed.

By the late 1950s, the Alberta labour movement continued to grapple with the Social Credit government's repressive policies. Following the Red Scare and the Korean War, more militant labour unions joined with moderate counterparts to present a united front against anti-union legislation across North America. As the Red Scare lessened, there was an increase in labour activism, and a divided labour movement recognized they must work together to achieve widespread influence. The more radical Canadian union factions aligned with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and local Canadian labour groups, such as the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation's (CCF) allied unions. Canadian union leaders followed the events of the CIO and American Federation of Labor, as they merged operations in 1955 during the aftermath of McCarthyism and became involved in civil rights advocacy. Articles in the *Canadian Social Crediter* greeted the AFL-CIO unification with hostility, due to the CIO's traditionally left-wing, secular militantism and its support for the rights of non-Christian and non-white employers, which Alberta Social Credit politicians associated with Marxist-Leninist atheism.³⁵² In 1956, the Trades and Labour Congress and the Canadian Congress of Labour amalgamated to establish the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), which became aligned with a

³⁵¹ Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta*, 87-88.

³⁵² *Canadian Social Crediter*, October 12, 1955, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

revised Alberta Federation of Labour.³⁵³ This crucial step heightened the strength of labour movement's campaigns for legal workplace protections.

Manning, who viewed unions as a socialist gateway to communism, recognized that the merging of union authorities would increase threats of labour demands. In the late 1950s, the Alberta Federation of Labour finally acknowledged that the organization's noncontentious policy was not effective.³⁵⁴ Alvin Finkel argued that the Federation had overlooked the impact of Social Credit's paranoia in linking labour upheaval to the party's communist conspiracies, which now and then still included international finance.³⁵⁵ Finkel further asserted that the Cold War rhetoric of Alberta Social Credit politicians intimidated labour leaders.³⁵⁶ Like the party's refusal to legislate Jewish rights, Manning's aggressive anti-union stance did nothing to diminish Social Credit's electability. Until the late 1950s, most campaigns implemented separately by Canadian Jewish organizations and labour associations were based on passive approaches, including correspondence initiatives, with both groups avoiding public demonstrations.

In 1959, David Orlikow, a prominent Jewish figure in Winnipeg and former National Director of the JLC, met with the Calgary & District Labour Council (CDLC) and other local Western groups to address the persistent challenges in Alberta. Earlier in the 1950s, Orlikow, then a council member in Winnipeg, was active in the Jewish Labour Society as the organization successfully advocated for Manitoba's *Fair Employment Practices Act*.³⁵⁷ In his meetings with Calgary Jewish leaders, Orlikow asserted that the "combined efforts of the labour movement

³⁵³ Muir, 133-134.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 140.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 140.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 152.

³⁵⁷ Jennifer Kelly and Daniel Chu, "Racialization and Work," *Working People in Alberta: A History*, Alvin Finkel, editor (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2012), 286-287.

with various civic organizations would be required to produce the desired effects.”³⁵⁸ CJC leaders resolved that a strategy would be considered a success or failure based on whether legislation was initiated. Prior to this, changes in political rhetoric or other secondary measures were considered an effective outcome. Therefore, it was no longer enough for Manning and Social Credit members to claim that they were not antisemitic while disregarding anti-discriminatory protections. With no anti-discrimination regulations implemented at the end of the decade, the Alberta 1959 campaign was deemed a failure. Despite Manning’s inaction on human rights legislation, the SCP captured all but four of the 61 seats in the 1959 election, as previously documented. Consequently, Jewish advocates were facing at least another four years of an unsympathetic, obstinate Alberta Social Credit government.

The CJC and JPRC recognized they would not meet their desired goals in Alberta in the immediate future without critical changes. With overdue efforts now focused on Alberta and campaign efforts proving unsuccessful, CJC leaders, Hayes and Kayfetz determined that securing allies was essential to achieve their legislative goals in Alberta. As detailed, it had proven a successful strategy in the early 1950s in Ontario with the Frost government and Orlikow had outlined its success in Manitoba. Sid Blum of the JLC believed the Canadian Labour movement was the ideal organization for a collaborative agenda to confront Manning’s defiant administration. At the end of the 1950s and beginning of the 1960s, with the Alberta SCP government’s restrictive trade union regulations, Canadian labour earnestly sought legal protections for the rights of all workers in Alberta, regardless of ethnicity or religious affiliation which corresponded well with Jewish organizations’ goals. Separately, neither the Jewish nor labour organizations had achieved any legislative goals in Alberta.

³⁵⁸ “Minutes of Joint Advisory Committee on Labour Relations,” March 22, 1959, MG28 V75, Volume 20, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

Sid Blum of the JLC asserted there was an urgent need to implement cooperative initiatives given the province's unique political situation. Blum drafted a detailed report outlining the legal achievements attained in other Canadian provinces and emphasized Alberta's position as the largest province without laws protecting Jewish and labour rights.³⁵⁹ Blum presented his report on January 8, 1960, to members of the CJC and JPRC. The Jewish leaders all agreed that a combined campaign of lobbying the Alberta government would be the most effective approach, as it avoided the appearance of criticizing the people of Alberta and Manning, while attempting to persuade Social Credit members of the urgent necessity for legislation.³⁶⁰ In another tactic, Jewish leaders expressed empathy with many Albertans who felt alienated by the federal government and Ontario and Quebec's powerful industrial centres, despite Alberta's enormous wealth from the oil and gas industry. However, some Jewish activists opposed this strategy, labelling it an appeasement measure, arguing that while it might secure new alliances, it did not truly confront the systemic antisemitism in Alberta.

As plans were established, Jewish and labour leaders recognized the need to strengthen their network of support endorsing fair employment practices regulations. Blum and members of the JLC took the lead in securing additional support of actors in Alberta not traditionally associated with Jewish or labour organizations.³⁶¹ The JLC had widespread connections in Alberta, thus the CJC and JPRC obtained access to a much more extensive network. These associations included business and women's groups, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), and educational reform committees. Throughout the remainder of 1960, the JLC, with

³⁵⁹ Sid Blum, "Report of the Jewish Labour Committee," Presented January 8, 1960, MG28 V75, Volume 13, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

³⁶⁰ Correspondence from Ben Kayfetz to Sid Blum, March 18, 1959, MG 2814, File 5, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

³⁶¹ Sid Blum, "Report of the Jewish Labour Committee," July 26, 1961, MG28 V75, Volume 14, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

the CJC's assistance, garnered further support from non-Jewish and non-labour organization operating in Alberta. By taking part of such a collaborative strategy, leaders of the CJC and JPRC displayed their increased commitment in Alberta.

The CJC, the JLC and CLC continued to work closely and amend tactics based on ongoing results. In March 1961, Blum conducted a tour of the Western provinces. While he met with the Ministers of Labour and other cabinet ministers from Saskatchewan and Manitoba, Deputy Labour Minister Ken Pugh was the only representative Manning sent from the Alberta SCP government.³⁶² Blum described their meeting as awkward and unproductive. He produced a brief for the CLC's National Committee on Human Rights dated July 26, 1961. Blum documented the impact of recent initiatives, which produced significant growth of allied support and the rise of human rights committees in Edmonton and Calgary in the last year.³⁶³ With these encouraging results, Blum advised it was an opportune time to press Manning for the formalization of anti-discrimination laws. On November 7, 1961, correspondence from the CLC to the Calgary CJC office revealed that a large delegation of Jewish and labour affiliates submitted a proposal concerning fair employment practices legislation to Manning and his cabinet officials on September 27, 1961.³⁶⁴ The Calgary and District Labour Council routinely issued resolutions imploring the AFL to "urge the Alberta Government to implement fair employment practices, similar to those of other provincial governments."³⁶⁵ An essential factor for the CJC, the JPRC, and other Jewish groups in eventually acquiring anti-discrimination

³⁶² Correspondence from Sid Blum, March 30, 1961, MG28 V75, Volume 20, Box 6, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

³⁶³ "1961 JLC Report for the National Committee on Human Rights," July 26, 1961, MG27 V75, Volume 13, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

³⁶⁴ "CLC Correspondence to the Calgary CJC," November 7, 1961, MG 27 V75, Volume 20, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

³⁶⁵ Kelly and Chu, 285-287.

protections from the Social Credit government was the collaboration with the better-funded, and better connected, Canadian labour organization.

The Canadian Labour movement was a crucial ally to the CJC and JPRC in exerting pressure on the Social Credit government. The need for legal non-discrimination laws in Alberta for the CLC, AFL and the JLC increased at the start of the 1960s as Manning launched additional amendments to the *Alberta Labour Act*. The new amendments extended pro-employer policies, such as a ban on picketing outside of a proprietor's site to coordinate union activities.³⁶⁶ Labour leaders were puzzled over ongoing Social Credit regulations against unions as Alberta experienced minimal labour strikes. In 1962, *Canadian Labour*, the CLC's official journal, dedicated an entire issue to the need for fair employment practices legislation in Alberta. Petitions delivered to the premier's office were jointly signed by Jewish and labour groups, other minority organizations and the Calgary Human Rights Council.³⁶⁷ The *Canadian Labour* journal revealed the establishment of human rights committees under the JLC's authority and provided information for anyone interested in participating. One article detailed that in September 1961, Manning received a petition from a delegation representing small Alberta community groups for legal protections.³⁶⁸ Traditionally, groups at local levels did not collaborate on such a large scale. In the early 1960s, local community organizations produced grassroots initiatives and began to collaborate with the revised Alberta Federation of Labour, JLC, CLC, CJC, and the JPRC. Almost twenty years into Manning's premiership, forces were finally coalescing to force the long-running Alberta SCP government to establish anti-discrimination laws for the Jewish community and organized labour in the province.

³⁶⁶ Finkel, "The Cold War, Alberta Labour," 142.

³⁶⁷ *Canadian Labour*, January 1962, Vol. 7, no. 1, 5-7.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

While the alliance between Jewish and labour organizations proved strategically beneficial, records from the CJC and the JPRC were limited during this period. As a private organization, unlike the well-regulated union groups, the CJC and JPRC did not have a legal obligation to maintain public transparency or disclosure protocols, making sources much scarcer. Opposed to unions that were well-funded from collecting mandatory contributions through membership dues, the CJC relied on private donations and what little government funding they received. Regarding the Alberta alliance, Sid Blum's JLC report is the earliest record located, displaying that Canadian Jewish groups required an alliance with the stronger Canadian labour movement. A coalition between Jewish and labour groups was ideal as both organizations struggled to acquire legislative protections from the uncompromising Alberta Social Credit government. It was an effective partnership. While labour groups provided more financial resources and rank and file members, Jewish leaders, Hayes and Kayfetz, contributed significantly to policy planning. By the end of 1960, the alliance was well-organized and fully operational.

The Jewish community in Alberta had few allies in the Christian community. However, in a prominent move, the Western regional branch of the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews (CCCJ), established in 1947, shifted its main office to Calgary in 1960.³⁶⁹ The religiously motivated organization consisted of different ethnic groups which sought to eliminate antisemitism and religious-based hate. The Calgary based CCCJ members conducted lectures, held community events for Jews and non-Jewish residents and worked with labour and business

³⁶⁹ Canadian Council of Christians and Jews (CCCJ), Fonds 17, S. 5-5, file 46, Ontario Jewish Archives, Blankenstein Family Heritage Centre, Toronto, Ontario.

organizations in providing educational materials and conducting anti-discrimination programs.³⁷⁰ Previously, Alberta Jewish leaders had felt isolated with few signatories endorsing earlier petitions for non-discrimination laws, but this was no longer the case in the 1960s. In a display of the increased prominence of human rights, the CLC titled its yearly summary the “Annual Human Rights Report.”³⁷¹ The United Church of Canada, several Orthodox churches and non-Latin right churches were the earliest Christian groups supporting Jewish efforts in Alberta.³⁷² The United Church had a history of aligning with the political left. The strategic decision to relocate the CCCJs Western regional office to Calgary proved beneficial as the organization worked diligently to reach out to various religious groups and institutions to secure backing in opposing antisemitism.

As alliances among various organizations escalated in the early 1960s, the SCP government continued to avoid legal action while not engaging with advocacy groups. As previously noted, the Quebec Liberal party obtained power in 1960. With this change in government, the CJC developed friendlier relations with Premier Lesage’s government.³⁷³ CJC leaders did not achieve similar success in Alberta with the defiant Christian nationalist party still firmly in place. In July 1962, Orlikow, became a federal NDP representative for Winnipeg North, one of only four Jewish MPs serving in Canadian parliament.³⁷⁴ In his new role, Orlikow proved a vital advocate at the federal level by introducing anti-discrimination bills. Orlikow endorsed a substantial restructuring of the JPRC, seeking to prioritize and build its Western

³⁷⁰ Canadian Council of Christians and Jews (CCCJ) Fonds 17.

³⁷¹ 1959 Annual Human Rights Report,” *Canadian Labour Congress*, January 8, 1960.

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ Finkel, “The Cold War, Alberta Labour,” 146.

³⁷⁴ Grad, 395-396.

presence.³⁷⁵ He encouraged heightened efforts as the Social Credit government retained power in Alberta in yet another new decade. Manning would not deviate from the traditional party stance of Anglophone Protestant dominance despite the transformations occurring socially and politically in Canada.

A sign of Social Credit's continued opposition occurred in January 1962, at the SCP National Convention in Calgary. Despite pressure through Alberta's heightened Jewish and labour campaign, all but three SCP members at the convention voted against fair employment practices legislation.³⁷⁶ Internal CJC correspondence sent by Rosenberg revealed that SCP delegates, including Manning, declared the legislation unChristian, and a violation of an individual's fundamental rights. However, Rosenberg disclosed that before the convention, several faith-based organizations publicly expressed support for non-discrimination protections, including some United and Ukrainian Orthodox churches.³⁷⁷ SCP delegates were not swayed by these endorsements, or the prospect of the inevitable denunciatory reaction of the CJC, JPRC and labour groups. The SCP relied on its long-standing base more than ever. Social Credit members ignored increased appeals for equal rights legislation instituted in all other Western provinces. While public SCP rhetoric shifted to attacking socialism and communism amid the Cold War, results of the 1962 convention solidified the deep chasm between Manning and the Social Credit government, who disregarded the need for fair practices legislation, and Jewish and labour groups, collaborating to establish the much-needed legalized protections for Albertans.

³⁷⁵ Correspondence from Michael Rubenstein to Bernard Shane, June 29 to July 13, 1962, MC27 V75, Volume 21, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

³⁷⁶ "Correspondence from Louis Rosenberg," January 9, 1962, MG28 V75, Volume 21, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

CHAPTER FIVE – BEGRUDGING COMPROMISE (1963-1968)

In 1963, Manning conducted a strategic political expedition to Israel, a significant place of Christian and Jewish pilgrimage. Such a journey may not have been considered an interfaith expedition; however, Manning met with Israeli officials and proclaimed Christianity and Judaism to have the same Abrahamic roots.³⁷⁸ Prominent Jewish reporters in eastern Canada paid little attention to Manning's trip, as they considered Western Jewish Canadians a peripheral concern. However, Western Canadian Jewish papers enthusiastically publicized Manning's trip. The reports led the CJC, B'nai Brith Canada, and local Western Jewish groups to view the expedition as a sign of outreach on Manning's part. Upon his return, several leaders within Alberta's Jewish communities contacted the premier, hoping to develop some form of a relationship with Manning and his government. At the start of 1964, Manning accepted an invitation to attend the Negev Testimonial dinner organized by the Jewish National Fund of Canada. The annual Negev dinners were held in various Canadian regions since 1948 to honour the contributions of significant Jewish community members and raise funds for Israelis.

CJC leaders were stunned that Manning agreed to attend the renowned Alberta Jewish event. The *Calgary Jewish News*, one of the many Alberta papers that routinely derided the Social Credit government, reported favourably on Manning's participation, noting that he was the highest Alberta official to attend.³⁷⁹ However, Manning maintained his deep hostility of the press throughout his premiership. A year earlier, Manning refused an interview request from a *Calgary Herald* reporter for an article marking Manning's 20th year as Alberta's premier.³⁸⁰ Manning later explained he found the paper "very antagonistic to the government" and

³⁷⁸ "Manning to Spek at Negev Dinner," *Calgary Jewish News*, January 19, 1964.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁰ *Calgary Herald*, May 30, 1963.

throughout Manning's rule he routinely banned *Calgary Herald* reporters from his press conferences.³⁸¹

In 1963, the relationship between CJC and the Canadian Holocaust survivor community grew further strained. Following sporadic incidents in 1960, neo-Nazism re-surfaced in many areas of Canada. Along with swastikas painted on buildings and vandalized synagogues, one incident in Toronto saw bundles of pamphlets dispersed, proclaiming "Hitler was right" and "Communism is Jewish."³⁸² In August 1963, a man in Manitoba drove around with a loudspeaker and announced "This is Adolf Eichmann! All Jews must report for the gas chambers."³⁸³ CJC and JPRC leaders argued these incidents were the work of small radical groups and they continued with their usual practices. However, these horrific events alarmed many Holocaust survivors now residing in Canada. Jewish survivors openly challenged CJC and JPRC leaders and demanded more forceful action. At a June 1963 meeting of predominantly Holocaust survivors, the current environment in Canada was likened "to that which prevailed in pre-war Germany when the Nazis began their activities."³⁸⁴ Thus, as neo-Nazi incidents continued throughout 1964, the Association of Holocaust Survivors held meetings and passed resolutions to compel the CJC to push for the legalization of anti-hate speech.

The deep doctrinal divide between the CJC leaders and Holocaust survivors came to a head in the mid-1960s. The survivors sought a group libel bill, but the CJC would only agree to "incitement of violence."³⁸⁵ CJC leaders still declared it was better to ignore hate speech as

³⁸¹ Ernest C. Manning Oral History Transcripts, University of Alberta Archives, Interview #28, 1980, 34, <https://discoverarchives.library.ualberta.ca/ernest-c-manning-oral-history-collection-transcript-of-interview-28>.

³⁸² "Swastikas in Canada," *The Globe and Mail*, January 9, 1960, 6 and Don Watson, "Hate from The Sky," *Canadian Jewish News*, November 15, 1963, 1.

³⁸³ "What happened in the West?" *Canadian Jewish News*, August 2, 1963, 4.

³⁸⁴ Ray Gould, "Jewish Leaders Meet Continuously on Swastika Wave," *Canadian Jewish News*, June 7, 1963, 1.

³⁸⁵ Grad, 382.

confrontations provided the perpetrators with publicity they desired and inspired copycat attacks. The split between the two groups did not affect the CJC and the labour movement's ongoing campaign in Alberta as provincial efforts focused on fair practices acts. Holocaust survivors in Canada desired the criminalization of hate speech, which is a federal responsibility. Legal expert Kenneth Grad highlighted that CJC officials consisted of a small group of men, born or raised in Canada and that immigrants, women and Orthodox Jews did not have a significant role in the organization.³⁸⁶ After many years of appealing to the CJC, The Association of Holocaust Survivors reached its breaking point and sought assistance outside of the Jewish organization. The survivors group lobbied MP Milton Klein who drafted a bill in February 1964 titled "An Act respecting Genocide." Within the bill was a group libel provision towards published statements inciting hate with penalties including a possible prison sentence.³⁸⁷ While the *Canadian Jewish News* supported the prospective legislation, Hayes declared that many in the CJC felt the bill infringed on civil liberties and that "the legislation had no chance of passing and that Congress did not think it prudent to expend its goodwill on a bill that was doomed to fail," which the bill did.³⁸⁸ CJC leaders refusal to support the bill, further damaged relations with the Holocaust survivors' group.

The following year, at the May 1965 CJC conference, several members of the Holocaust Survivor association attended as delegates. At the convention, CJC members finally voted to support group libel legislation.³⁸⁹ Hayes and new CJC president, Michael Garber successfully appealed to the federal government to establish a "small, informal committee of experts" to study

³⁸⁶ Grad, 384.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 395-396.

³⁸⁸ "Why Congress Did Not Support Klein Bill," *Canadian Jewish Chronicle*, August 28, 1964.

³⁸⁹ "Montreal Delegates Ask for Klein, Orlikow on Program," *Canadian Jewish Chronicle*, May 7, 1965.

possible measures against hate literature.³⁹⁰ Hayes was a member of the committee, which was chaired by Maxwell Cohen, a McGill University law professor and the first Canadian Jewish law school dean. Pierre-Elliott Trudeau from the Université de Montréal law department was also appointed to the panel. The “Cohen Committee’s” findings were released in April 1966, and it described “hate propaganda” as material containing “generally irrational and malicious abuse of certain identifiable minority groups.”³⁹¹ The committee’s report concluded that “the menace of hate literature in Canada is sufficiently severe to require legislation” and proposed a draft amendment to the *Criminal Code*.³⁹² Several months later, the federal government introduced a bill at the beginning of November.

The Association of Holocaust Survivors and the CJC presented a unified front in supporting the committee’s recommendations. Months later, the federal government’s proposed bill outlawed “the advocacy or promotion of genocide...incitement of violence or hatred against an identifiable group through public communication...and a group libel provision, proscribing the wilful promotion of hatred or contempt against an identifiable group.”³⁹³ However, the draft legislation received opposition and was weakened in several areas; the most significant was a provision requiring the provincial attorney general’s consent to prosecute for wilful promotion of hatred or advancing genocide.³⁹⁴ Four years later, the amendments to the *Criminal Code* finally received Royal Assent on June 11, 1970. In 1971, Cohen published a report detailing the protracted and divisive process in establishing the anti-hate provisions. While acknowledging the

³⁹⁰ “Favreau To Appoint Committee To Study ‘Hate’ Legislation,” *Canadian Jewish Chronicle*, November 13, 1964.

³⁹¹ “The Report to the Minister of Justice of the Special Committee on Hate Propaganda.” Ottawa: The Queen's Printer. 1966. <https://heinonline-org.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/HOL/Page?handle=hein.beal/rmjschp0001&id=15&collection=beal&index=>.

³⁹² *Ibid.*

³⁹³ “Bill S-49, An Act to amend the Criminal Code,” 1st Session, 27th Parliament, November 7, 1966.

³⁹⁴ Grad 415.

consequential work, Cohen lamented that “the legislation is so seriously concerned to protect freedom from any serious limitations that it may prove very difficult to obtain prosecutions or convictions.”³⁹⁵ Holocaust survivors had long-desired criminalization of hate speech but worried the weakened legislation would only serve as a symbolic achievement. Grad asserted that following the arrival of Holocaust survivors in Canada, CJC leaders ignored their opinions and did not seek to establish an effective working relationship. It was only when the Jewish organization’s authority was challenged, did CJC leaders embrace the survivors’ concerns.

Quebec remained one of the few provinces, along with Alberta, without fair practices legislation in the 1950s. While Premier Lesage swiftly implemented many socio-cultural changes, he had not established anti-discrimination laws. In 1963, members of the McGill Liberal club sent a telegram to Lesage asserting an “apparent hesitancy in implementing anti-discrimination regulations with respect to fair accommodation and fair employment opportunities.”³⁹⁶ At the same time, the CJC drafted a letter to Lesage declaring although “on several occasions the premier emphasized that he was firmly against discrimination, he appeared hesitant on the advisability of legislation to deal with the problem.”³⁹⁷ The following year, the Quebec Liberal government enacted the *Act Respecting Discrimination in Employment*. While the title did not contain the words “fair practices,” the statute was similar to laws established in other provinces throughout the 1950s. The act defined discrimination as “any distinction, exclusion or preference made on the basis of race, colour, sex, religion, national extraction or social origin, which has the effect of nullifying or impairing equality of opportunity or treatment

³⁹⁵ Maxwell Cohen, “The Hate Propaganda Amendments: Reflections on a Controversy,” *Alberta Law Review* 9, no. 1 (1971), 112.

³⁹⁶ “Quebec Premier Criticized for ‘Hesitancy’ on Anti-Bias Law,” *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, Feb 12, 1963.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

in employment or occupation;”³⁹⁸ While based in the Montreal CJC office, Hayes and Rosenberg petitioned the government, but it was the Montreal JLC and the Quebec Federation of Labour that were instrumental. With the Liberal government establishing its 1964 employment act, Quebec joined the list of provincial governments with legalized protections before Manning and the SCP.

Through five years of steadfast campaigning in Alberta from Jewish, labour, and civil rights activists, Manning and his Social Credit government finally relented to the demands for legalized equal rights protections. Manning recognized that politically, the SCP could no longer delay legislation if the party was to remain in power. It was over a decade since many other provincial fair practices acts had been implemented. Manning now faced a formidable new political opponent with the election of Peter Lougheed in March 1965 as the Progressive Conservative Party provincial leader. Lougheed began travelling throughout the province declaring that the SCP “was losing touch with the reality of the changing Alberta.”³⁹⁹ One significant change in Alberta during Social Credit’s thirty-six-year rule, was its rural domination had been supplanted by urban growth. Dr. Sandeep Agrawal reported that Alberta experienced the effects of rapid urbanization more than any other Canadian province.⁴⁰⁰ The lack of anti-discrimination laws was one of many areas that the aging Social Credit administration lagged behind other Canadian provincial governments.

Manning and his government ruled a very different Alberta in the 1960s. Relations between Christian and Jewish communities across Canada had improved and altered Protestant

³⁹⁸ *An Act Respecting Discrimination in Employment*, Chapter 46, Assented to July 31, 1964, https://historyofrights.ca/wp-content/uploads/statutes/QC_Disc.pdf.

³⁹⁹ Brennan, 144-146.

⁴⁰⁰ Sandeep Agrawal, “Human Rights and Alberta Municipalities.” *University of Alberta*, Research Report. March 4, 2018. https://cms.eas.ualberta.ca/UrbanEnvOb/wp-content/uploads/sites/21/2018/05/Report-to-AHRC_Agrawal-1.pdf, 7.

and Catholic voters whom Manning believed were essential for the SCP to remain in power in an increasingly socially liberal climate. Therefore, an outreach to Catholic and French Canadians, two groups traditionally alienated by the staunch Anglophone Protestant base of the SCP, developed.⁴⁰¹ However, with the strength of Réal Caouette and the Quebec Social Credit MPs, this initiative was much stronger at the federal level. Social Credit government interaction with the Alberta Jewish community and other minority populations not traditionally favoured by the SCP was long overdue and needed to promote at least the appearance of tolerance and efforts to support human rights in the 1960s..

In January 1965, the leaders of the CLC, JLC, AFL, CJC, and the JPRC presented a brief to Manning and his cabinet, as had become their annual practice. Since the start of the yearly submissions, the number of organizations endorsing the petition had grown significantly. The 1965 draft included the most expansive support of civil society and religious organizations to date, including more churches of varying denominations, women's clubs and Alberta institutions representing ethnic minorities. Further, it presented the most comprehensive argument for fair practices legislation, along with evidence that discrimination against ethnic and religious minorities remained prominent in Alberta.⁴⁰² The initial pages declared that the ongoing issue of discrimination in Alberta "existed systemically" and "was not a minor issue."⁴⁰³ Thus, Jewish and labour groups signalled that the SCP government was still viewed as a hostile government, regardless of Social Credit's continual refutations of antisemitism.

The brief contained an overview of the Ontario, Manitoba, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Saskatchewan, and BC governments fair employment practices acts. It emphasized that no

⁴⁰¹ Barr, 158-160, 169-170.

⁴⁰² "The Alberta Federation of Labour: Human Rights Section of the Annual Legislative Submission," January 15, 1965, MG 28 V75, Volume 13, File 6, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

significant backlash had occurred and insisted that the legislation did not obstruct individual freedoms.⁴⁰⁴ The report also revealed the absence of any Alberta provincial government agency for “victims of discrimination” to register a complaint.⁴⁰⁵ Therefore, individuals in Alberta required assistance from advocacy groups and sought civil measures. Following criticism of the SCP’s long-standing complacency, the brief outlined recommendations for legalizing anti-discrimination protections. Jewish and labour groups outlined that the priority in Alberta was the “establishment of legal protections in the area of employment.”⁴⁰⁶ Finally, the strongly worded conclusion warned that political pressure would continue until the implementation of such a law. Once again, Jewish and labour leaders waited for Manning’s response. In early February, Orlikow confirmed firsthand to Frank Bodie, a prominent trade unionist with the CLC, that Manning was examining the content of the brief with his cabinet ministers.⁴⁰⁷ Significantly, the 1965 petition was the last of its kind, as Manning and the Social Credit government finally undertook legislative action amid a deluge of pressure from allied groups.

Following years of petitions and comprehensive campaigns, the Social Credit government ceded to the immense demand to correct the glaring absence of Alberta anti-discrimination legislation. Orlikow argued that the shift in the CJC’s Alberta campaign from “traditional anti-defamation endeavours to working with the CLC for fair employment practices legislation efforts had been instrumental” in overcoming Manning’s Social Credit government’s inaction.⁴⁰⁸ Two days later, Bodie responded and relayed that Manning had created a committee

⁴⁰⁴ The Alberta Federation of Labour: Human Rights Section of the Annual Legislative Submission,” January 15, 1965.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ “Correspondence from David Orlikow to Frank Bodie,” February 4, 1965, MG28 V75, Volume 13, File 6, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

to study the establishment of equal rights protections in Alberta.⁴⁰⁹ Bodie, a Calgary Transit Union member, assumed a prominent role in the labour side during the campaign. He was the president of the AFL for one year in 1960 and secretary-treasurer from 1961 to 1968.⁴¹⁰ While Bodie did not specify whether a timeline had been established by the SCP government, by early 1966, Manning had introduced the act. Throughout 1965, the SCP conducted surveys that revealed public opinion in Alberta exceedingly supported human rights legislation.

By the start of 1966, it was abundantly clear that Manning must concede and implement legislation. Another critical factor that weighed on the SCP government was the prospect of a provincial election the following year amid the growing popularity of Lougheed and the Alberta PCs.⁴¹¹ However, the Social Credit base still opposed fair practices legislation and continued to voice their opposition. Professor Charles S. Brant, head of the anthropology department at the University of Alberta, drafted an op-ed, published in the *Edmonton Journal*, declaring that “legislation would limit the freedom of property ownership and place an undue burden of compliance on individuals.”⁴¹² Thus, Manning sought a solution that would appease labour and Jewish groups while retaining the support of the SCP’s aging political base.

Finally, twenty-three years into his premiership, Manning directed the Social Credit’s most consequential action towards the Alberta Jewish minority population, and other groups who suffered discrimination for years under the Social Credit government. Manning announced the creation of an *Act respecting Human Rights*, which later received Royal Assent on April 15th.⁴¹³

⁴⁰⁹ “Correspondence from Frank Bodie to David Orlikow,” February 6, 1965, MG 28 V75, Volume 13, File 6, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁴¹⁰ Alvin Finkel, “The Boomers Become the Workers: Alberta, 1960-1980,” *Working People in Alberta: A History*, Alvin Finkel, editor (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2012), 168.

⁴¹¹ Brennan, 138-139.

⁴¹² “Charles S. Brant Op-Ed,” *Edmonton Journal*, January 28, 1965.

⁴¹³ *An Act respecting Human Rights*, SA 1966, c. 39, Can LII, April 15, 1966, <https://www.canlii.org/en/ab/laws/astat/sa-1966-c-39/latest/sa-1966-c-39.html>.

Jewish leaders were informed of the prospective legislation before Manning's public address. Canadian Jewish groups were elated, having finally obtaining some of the same legal protections in Alberta that had been established years earlier in many other Canadian provinces.

Manning's handwritten speech notes, preserved at the Glenbow Library and Archives, outlined the structure of the proposed legislation, commonly referred to as "The Human Rights Act." The legislation contained three sections: a preamble, part one, containing the just rights of citizenship, and part two, detailing the administrative measures.⁴¹⁴ While Manning's speech did not mention "Jewish" protections specifically, Manning stated the law applied to the interests and welfare of "all respective races and occupations, including freedom of worship, expression and association."⁴¹⁵ In the speech's introduction, Manning summarized the purpose of the act, numerically listing "1. To establish in law the just and proper rights of Citizenship. 2. Promote a way in which these abstract rights can and will be improved in actual mobility."⁴¹⁶ His notes specified there were three different divisions, consisting of "1. The preamble, sets important but willful human facts. 2. The just rights of Citizenship. 3. Provides the machinery necessary to put the bill into actual operation."⁴¹⁷ Manning's announcement of the impending statute marked an unprecedented step by the Alberta Social Credit government. It was the first time on record that Manning pledged to pass equal rights legislation, making the prospect of any future retraction politically unfeasible.

The wording of the 1966 Alberta bill was immediately different from other provincial legislation. The Alberta Social Credit party had always combined religion with politics, with an

⁴¹⁴ "Alberta Bill of Rights Notes for Announcement," February 8, 1966, Ernest C. Manning Fonds, F0087, Glenbow Library and Archives, Archives and Special Collections, University of Calgary.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*

emphasis on individual freedoms. Thus, the Social Credit statute began “Whereas the Legislative Assembly of Alberta affirms that our Nation is founded upon principles that acknowledge the supremacy of God, the dignity and worth of the person, and the position of family as the foundations of freedom and justice in a democratic society;”⁴¹⁸ As Manning later stated “It isn’t a matter of should politics and religion be mixed. You can’t separate them.”⁴¹⁹ Other provincial laws were secular in nature and did not reference religious expression. However, Prime Minister John Diefenbaker’s 1960 *Canadian Bill of Rights* contained the same preamble as Alberta’s statute.⁴²⁰ Also, the 1982 *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* begins “Whereas Canada is founded upon principles that recognize the supremacy of God and the rule of law.”⁴²¹ Religion and the supremacy of the individual had always assumed a prominent role in Manning’s political career which was displayed at the beginning of the preamble of the Social Credit’s long-awaited legislation.

The Alberta *Act Respecting Human Rights* was the culmination of a landmark effort by Jewish and labour groups and civic allies. The statute detailed that “...in Alberta as a fundamental principle that all persons are equal in dignity and human rights without regard to race, religious beliefs, colour, ancestry or place of origin;”⁴²² Therefore, the bill’s regulations encompassed the diverse Jewish communities. The protections included all other ethnic minorities and religious organizations within the province. The outlawed discrimination included

⁴¹⁸ “Chapter 39: *An Act Respecting Human Rights*,” April 15, 1966, MG28 V75, File 6, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, and “Alberta Bill of Rights Introduced,” *Edmonton Journal*, February 25, 1966.

⁴¹⁹ Ernest C. Manning Oral History Transcripts, University of Alberta Archives, Interview #19, August 20, 1980, <https://discoverarchives.library.ualberta.ca/ernest-c-manning-oral-history-collection-audio-recording-of-interview-19>.

⁴²⁰ *Canadian Bill of Rights*, S.C. 1960, chapter 44, Assented to August 10, 1960. <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/c-12.3/page-1.html>.

⁴²¹ *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, Part I of the *Constitution Act, 1982*, RSC 1985, app. II, no.44, <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/services/download-order-charter-bill.html>.

⁴²² *An Act respecting Human Rights*, 1966.

the areas of employment, trade unions and public accommodations and services. It directed that “no person ... shall deny to any person or class of persons the accommodation, services or facilities available in any place to which the public is customarily admitted.”⁴²³ While acquiring human rights legislation in Alberta was a significant accomplishment for Jewish and labour activists, Manning and the Social Credit government ensured it had many limitations.

One prominent issue was the act relied on government enforcement. Under Part 2 of the act, concerning “Complaints of Discrimination,” stipulated that anyone wishing to make a complaint must do so in writing to the “Administrator.”⁴²⁴ Needless to say, the “Administrator” was a Social Credit government-appointed official who had the sole power to resolve the complaint. This official could recommend setting up a board of inquiry if needed, but Jewish and labour leaders were highly skeptical. Even if the official or a board of inquiry deemed a complaint was valid, it still could not proceed without the approval of a minister of the Social Credit Executive Council, in charge of the legislation. Section 19 in Part 3, titled “Prosecutions,” specified that “No prosecution for an offence under this Act shall be commenced except with the consent in writing of the minister.”⁴²⁵ This was another loophole embedded in the long-overdue Social Credit statute. Manning could have established an outside commission to manage claims of discrimination. However, this would not occur until Lougheed, and the PCs obtained power in Alberta. Another concern was a section dealing with the bill’s effect on other legislation, which stipulated that “Nothing in this Act shall be construed as enlarging or restricting or otherwise altering the force and effect of any provision in any other Act.”⁴²⁶ Thus, Manning ensured the

⁴²³ *An Act respecting Human Rights, 1966.*

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*

new law did not have a retrospective effect on any prior SCP legislation. It did not address contradictory regulations that existed in other Alberta statutes.

Another striking limitation of the bill was the overwhelming focus on public economic discrimination, rather than on social or political disparities. Unlike laws established in other provinces, the Social Credit bill did not include provisions for housing and property rights. As previously outlined, following the 1952 *Noble and Wolf v Alley* decision, Ontario revised its property laws to forbid any element of discrimination in the sale or rental of a property.⁴²⁷ Families or individuals could sue for discrimination without government backing.⁴²⁸ With its focus on public forms of economic discrimination, the Alberta's act did not include actions of the private sector or individuals. Therefore, the statute did not provide any protections for Jews or other minorities concerning entry to private establishments or the denial of memberships, such as personal business associations, golf clubs, or other recreational facilities. Manning and the SCP government, politically induced to enact the 1966 *An Act respecting Human Rights*, ensured it contained only the basic measures.

Despite the act's many limitations, it outlawed discrimination in the hiring and servicing practices in the public sector. Jewish workers and patrons obtained legal rights to solicit services and employment in the predominantly white Christian public sector. As a result, discrimination became more implicit. This blatant discriminatory custom was largely extinct by the mid-50s, but the 1966 Alberta Bill of Rights now provided necessary legal protections. However, the Social Credit legislation did not completely satisfy Canadian Jewish groups as efforts continued for comprehensive non-discrimination rights in the Alberta private sector. The Jewish

⁴²⁷ "Human Rights Code Broadened," *Human Relations* 1, No. 2 (March 1961), Box 10, File 62, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*

community asserted they interacted more frequently with private individuals, corporations, and associations including private clubs, than with government agencies. Thus, when Manning retired in 1968, the Alberta Jewish community had not acquired fully comprehensive Jewish rights.⁴²⁹ Manning's legislation placated some radicals and moderates in the SCP who still rebuffed the establishment of anti-discrimination regulations. Manning's government was far too late in establishing non-discrimination legislation in Alberta. The antisemitic foundation, inherent in the Social Credit philosophy, produced a limited bill by Canadian Jewish and labour leaders' standards.

While there was tremendous recognition for the hard work and exhaustive campaign efforts of the many organizations that joined forces in pressuring the SCP government, frustrations continued throughout the province concerning the bill's flaws. The establishment of the Alberta "Human Rights Act" did not repair the growing sentiment that Manning and his cabinet were out of touch with present times. It was a government that came to power in the middle of the 1930s, amid the Great Depression, with Manning assuming a significant role since the party's inception. In the May 23, 1967, election, the Alberta SCP acquired its ninth consecutive victory, obtaining 55 out of the 65 provincial seats.⁴³⁰ However, the party received less than 45% of the popular vote. It was the first time since 1955 that the Alberta SCP obtained less than half the popular vote. Alvin Finkel characterized Manning and the Social Credit government as "progressively becoming out of touch with Alberta voters' desires."⁴³¹ Lougheed and the PCs won six seats and became the Official Opposition.

⁴²⁹ Jeremy Maron, "The Stain of Antisemitism in Canada," *Canadian Museum for Human Rights*, 4, <https://humanrights.ca/story/stain-antisemitism-canada>.

⁴³⁰ Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta*, 171-172.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, 173.

Federally, a drastic shift occurred within the party which took root during a contentious struggle for the National SCP leadership in 1961. Manning endorsed Westerner Robert Thompson to succeed Low, against Quebec's R  al Caouette. The result again demonstrated Manning's power within the federal party, as he was instrumental in Thompson's victory. A bitter Caouette declared that Manning had threatened Quebec delegates that Western Canadian SCP members would not accept a French Catholic as the federal party leader.⁴³² In the June 1962 national election, 26 of the SCP's 30 seats were captured by Quebec MPs, with only 4 Western candidates elected.⁴³³ Thompson was forced to appoint Caouette, as the federal SCP Deputy Leader. Caouette publicly spouted antisemitic rhetoric and supported Douglas' monetary theories.⁴³⁴ Earlier in his career, Caouette had been part of the antisemitic party, the Union of Electors and unsuccessfully ran as a federal candidate in 1949. In 1958, Caouette founded the Ralliement des cr  ditistes party, as a Quebec wing of the National Social Credit Association. In August 1962, Caouette was asked by a *Macleans* magazine reporter "who are your political heroes of history?" to which Caouette replied "Mussolini and Hitler."⁴³⁵ As he had done throughout his political career, Manning defended the activities within the federal association as he insisted that Caouette's views were not representative of the party. However, Manning could not contain the fall out from Caouette's interview.

The press continued to publicize Caouette's offensive reply. The *Jewish Telegraphic Agency* reported Caouette declared his comments had been taken out of context. Caouette

⁴³² Bernard Dufresne, "Quebec's Secreds vote to Disown Thompson," *Globe and Mail*, September 2, 1963.

⁴³³ "Alberta General Elections Results: 1905-2023," *Elections Alberta*, <https://www.elections.ab.ca/elections/election-results/historical-results/>.

⁴³⁴ N. Caiden, "The Canadian General Election of 1962," *The Australian Quarterly*, 34, No. 3 (Sept 1962), 74, 79-81.

⁴³⁵ "Canadian Leader Lauds Hitler; Says He Opposes Anti-semitism," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, August 29, 1962.

asserted “he only admired what the two dictators had done in the 1930’s to increase employment and bring their countries out of depression.”⁴³⁶ The *Montreal Star* reported that Caouette insisted “Their dictatorial struggles and their racial struggles, they have never been an example for me ... The extermination of the Jews, for example, was anti-Christian.”⁴³⁷ However, antisemitic reports continued as Orlikow learned that Caouette had corresponded with Dr. Hjalmar Schacht who had served in Hitler’s government as the President of the Central Bank. Through a translated report, Schacht had written “I am very pleased to read in our press about your courageous statements and laudable opinion about the ideas of Adolf Hitler. I was happy to have served under his leadership in one of the key positions in our economy before the war and owing to that I had an opportunity to become acquainted with his greatness.”⁴³⁸ When questioned by a newspaper reporter if Schacht was really Jewish due to Schacht’s working relationship with Hitler, Caouette replied that Hitler “exterminated only useless Jews.”⁴³⁹ Throughout this period, like other federal members before, Caouette declared he opposed antisemitism.

Since most of the Social Credit MPs were from Quebec, Caouette believed he should be the national leader. However, Thompson remained in the position. Therefore, an angered Caouette left the party in 1963 and established the Ralliement des créditistes as a separate political party from the National Social Credit Association.⁴⁴⁰ Over half of the Quebec SCP MPs joined Caouette, thus quashing the federal SCP’s influence in the 1962 minority parliament. Thompson won his riding again in the November 8, 1965, federal election, but the national SCP

⁴³⁶ “Canadian Leader Lauds Hitler; Says He Opposes Anti-semitism.”

⁴³⁷ *Montreal Star*, August 23, 1962.

⁴³⁸ Letter from David Orlikow to Saul Hayes, October 30, 1962, Box 7, File 11P, ADCJA.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁰ Dufresne, “Québec Socreds.”

only obtained 5 seats.⁴⁴¹ As he had in prior federal races, Manning campaigned vigorously for the federal arm and participated in national media interviews. In the lead-up to the federal race, Manning focused on opposing the prospect of a national Medicare program. When asked why a provincial premier was so involved in federal activities, Manning declared he had a duty to speak out as “socialism was being foisted on an unsuspecting public” and that the program was a “direct challenge to individual liberty and responsibility.”⁴⁴² It was not enough for Manning to advise and direct the policies of federal candidates, but the Alberta premier took an active role with the Canadian press. In 1967, with Manning’s approval, Thompson crossed the floor to join the federal PCs.⁴⁴³ Manning’s long-standing desire for a national Social Credit government never came to fruition, despite his significant efforts.

While antisemitism in Canada in the 1960s had significantly declined, bolstered by legal protections and judicial rulings, it was never completely extinguished. Similarly, although Manning’s actions during the purge served to mask the antisemitic sentiment of SCP members, it still existed within the Social Credit ideology. At the start of the 1960s, Manning’s inaction towards equal rights legislation was extremely conspicuous and continued to preserve the antisemitic reputation of the Social Credit movement. Manning became disillusioned with the failure of the National Social Credit Association following his twenty-plus years of efforts to establish the organization as a mainstream Canadian political party. Manning stunned many Social Crediters when he promoted the idea of a federal merger between the Progressive Conservatives and the National Social Credit Association which he outlined in his 1967 work

⁴⁴¹ “1965 Canadian Election,” *Canadian Elections Database*, <http://canadianelectionsdatabase.ca/PHASE5/?p=0&type=election&ID=583>.

⁴⁴² Ernest C. Manning, “National Medicare—Let’s Look Before We Leap,” speech to Canadian Medical Association (Alberta Division), September 8, 1965, Ernest C. Manning fonds F0087, Glenbow Library and Archives, Archives and Special Collections, University of Calgary.

⁴⁴³ Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta*, 163.

Political Realignment: A Challenge to Thoughtful Canadians. Manning stipulated that “Social Credit supporters, however, must insist that reorganization occur on a basis which will enable them, without sacrificing their convictions, to join with, and support such a reconstructed national political movement.”⁴⁴⁴ The following year, in the June 25, 1968, federal election, the Social Credit Party of Canada, with acting leader Alexander Bell (A.B.) Patterson did not capture any seats.⁴⁴⁵ Less than six months later, on December 11th, Ernest Manning retired as the 8th premier of Alberta, having served in the position for 25 years.

Following Manning’s retirement in 1968, the Alberta SCP lost its 36-year control of the provincial government. In the August 1971 provincial election, Lougheed’s Progressive Conservatives won a majority government with 49 out of 75 seats.⁴⁴⁶ Harry Strom, who reluctantly replaced Manning as Alberta premier, and the SCP candidates acquired 25 seats. While Manning established and maintained complete authority over the party, he did not mentor any Alberta Social Credit MPPs as an effective replacement once he retired. Throughout his tenure, Manning had focused on strategies to preserve his leadership and not on mentoring a future Social Credit premier. Manning was an extremely private man and maintained a very small group of confidantes. Throughout the 1960s, as an aging Social Credit government ignored the demand for anti-discrimination legislation, established by many other provincial governments, it became apparent that the party was disconnected from the current political and social environment. Manning, undefeated in every election in his political career, recognized it

⁴⁴⁴ Manning, 74-76.

⁴⁴⁵ “1968 Federal Election,” *Canadian Elections Database*, <http://canadianelectionsdatabase.ca/PHASE5/?p=0&type=election&ID=584>.

⁴⁴⁶ “Alberta General Elections Results: 1905-2023,” *Elections Alberta*, <https://www.elections.ab.ca/elections/election-results/historical-results/>.

was time to step away as the dynamic Lougheed enjoyed increasing popularity as the PC party displayed it was more in line with Albertan's current needs and views.

CONCLUSION/AFTERWORD

By the mid 1980s, following decades of growth, Alberta's Jewish population had grown considerably and held more prominent roles throughout the province's communities. However, in 1984, Social Credit antisemitism appeared once again at the forefront of the news. James Keegstra, a life-long Alberta SCP member who attended Aberhart's Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute in the 1950s, was put on trial and charged under 281.2(2) of the *Criminal Code* for "unlawfully promoting hatred against an identifiable group" in his high school classroom.⁴⁴⁷ The trial, and the appeals that followed, tested the limits of federal hate speech and demonstrated the enduring influence of antisemitism within Social Credit ideology. Keegstra instructed his students that Jews sought to destroy Christianity and referred to Jews as "money-loving, inherently evil child killers."⁴⁴⁸ Like many Social Credit members previously discussed in this paper, Keegstra resented being labelled antisemitic and asserted that antisemitism was another Jewish fraud, "created to distract from the real issues."⁴⁴⁹ Keegstra held many prominent positions in the town of Eckville, Alberta, including the position of mayor for 9 years and a deacon and Sunday school teacher. In 1983, SCP leader Martin Hattersley cancelled Keegstra's Social Credit membership, but in an executive meeting, members quickly voted to reinstate him.⁴⁵⁰ Keegstra was even reinstated as the Alberta vice-president for the National Social Credit Party displaying the party's continued endorsement of antisemitic members.

Social Credit leader, Hattersley, resigned from the party due to Keegstra's reinstatement. A *Jewish Telegraph Agency* bulletin quoted Hattersley as saying, "We cannot be the successor to

⁴⁴⁷ Alan Davies, "The Keegstra Affair," *Antisemitism in Canada: History and Interpretation*. Alan T. Davies, editor (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1992), 227.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 237-239, 242-244.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 243.

⁴⁵⁰ Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon*, 200.

the Nazi party of Germany, and we are heading in that direction.”⁴⁵¹ Keegstra’s case reached the Supreme Court of Canada, and in a 1990 groundbreaking decision, the court upheld Keegstra’s conviction and ruled Canada’s hate laws imposed a “reasonable limit” on a person’s freedom of expression.⁴⁵² The ruling cited the 1970 *Criminal Code* amendments to control “Hate Propaganda” that had been initiated by Holocaust survivors and CJC leaders. The entrenched antisemitism within the Social Credit ideology captured national attention thirty-five years after Manning’s purge and his declaration that antisemitism had been eliminated from the party. Twenty-two years after his retirement as the Social Credit leader and Alberta premier, Manning reiterated his customary denial to the press that there was no place for antisemitism in the SCP. Issuing denials of antisemitism two decades after leaving office was not a customary practice of other Canadian provincial premiers.

For his part, following 25 years as premier of Alberta, Manning completely left provincial politics and did not assume any further roles within the Social Credit movement. Manning’s previously untarnished reputation quickly garnered disapproval due to his post-retirement activities. In 1970, after decades of condemning the Canadian Senate, Manning accepted an appointment where he served for thirteen years.⁴⁵³ In notes he recorded during the SCPs rule, Alfred Hooke revealed that Manning had stated the Senate was “an expensive and useless appendage, and a glorified old age pension society” and that “Senators themselves were a group of animated tomb stones.”⁴⁵⁴ More puzzling events continued, with Manning serving on the boards of numerous corporations, including Fluor Canada Ltd. and Stelco Inc. Manning’s

⁴⁵¹ “Canadian Quits Party After 3 Ousted Anti-Semites Reinstated,” *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, June 22, 1983.

⁴⁵² “Supreme Court Judgements,” Supreme Court of Canada, December 13, 1990, <https://decisions.scc-csc.ca/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/695/index.do>.

⁴⁵³ Brennan, 167-168.

⁴⁵⁴ Hooke, 260.

most shocking post-political move was assuming a position on the board of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce.⁴⁵⁵ Hooke remarked, “I was only one of thousands who could not believe what I read.”⁴⁵⁶ Manning’s actions stunned Albertans and former SCP members and political opponents. Once removed from politics, Manning displayed numerous hypocritical actions. To many observers, it demonstrated that the statements and positions Manning had expressed during his 36 years in Alberta government had been disingenuous and delivered only for political purposes. It was comparable to the sentiments of many historians who concluded that Manning’s actions during the purge were not legitimately motivated by a desire to curb Social Credit antisemitism and support the Alberta Jewish community, but by the need to consolidate his control within the party and revamp the party’s image.

Without Manning, the central figure of the Social Credit movement and highly revered by many Albertans, Social Credit lost its first election since the party’s formation in Alberta. Manning’s replacement, Harry Strom, an Alberta Social Credit MPP since 1955, failed to capture similar admiration from Albertans. However, while Manning’s popularity had endured, the party’s ideology and actions were increasingly seen as outdated. *Edmonton Journal* reporter Allan Mayer contended that “By the late 1960s the party seemed tired and out-of-touch with the changing character of Alberta.”⁴⁵⁷ Manning had been dismayed at the results of the 1967 provincial election as Social Credit obtained less than half the popular vote. The party’s 1966 *Alberta Human Rights Act* did not end the actions of Jewish and labour activists within the province. They continued to press for additional protections that were not included in the Social Credit’s limited bill.

⁴⁵⁵ Brennan., 168.

⁴⁵⁶ Hooke, 259.

⁴⁵⁷ Chris Zdeb, “March 31, 1982: Socreds Call it Quits,” *Edmonton Journal*, March 31, 2015.

In 1971, with the election of the PC government, one of Premier Lougheed's first acts of was to expand Manning's narrow Alberta 1966 human rights legislation. Lougheed established the 1972 Individual's Rights Protection Act (IPRA), which, unlike the Social Credit's 1966 legislation, assigned special "primacy" status, meaning that all other Alberta laws must follow the human rights regulations of the IPRA.⁴⁵⁸ The IPRA sanctioned the establishment of the 1973 Alberta Human Rights and Citizenship Commission, whose duties included public education and the administration of human rights complaints.⁴⁵⁹ In 1993, Civil Liberties Associations were established in Calgary and Lethbridge. The passage of the 1972 Alberta IPRA, in addition to the later 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, significantly cemented Alberta Jewish protections. Some scholars refer to the period following the installation of Lougheed's PC government as "Alberta's Quiet Revolution," due to the rights revolution that occurred.⁴⁶⁰ Two years into Lougheed's premiership, his government launched 243 bills to rectify the lack of necessary protections in the legislation passed by the SCP.⁴⁶¹ Much like the rapid change that occurred in Quebec following the end of the Union Nationale government, the unseating of Alberta's long-standing Social Credit administration gave way to a PC government committed to human rights, equality for workers and inclusion for its minority communities.

Demonstrating Albertans' ultimate rebuke of the Social Credit movement, the SCP won a meagre 4 seats in both the 1975 and 1979 provincial elections and failed to obtain any seats in

⁴⁵⁸ "Alberta's Human Rights History," *Alberta Human Rights Commission*, <https://albertahumanrights.ab.ca/what-are-human-rights/about-human-rights/alberta-s-human-rights-history/alberta-s-human-rights-history-text/#:~:text=Government%20of%20Alberta%20passed%20An,ancestry%20or%20place%20of%20origin.>

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁰ James H. Marsh, "Alberta's Quiet Revolution: 1973 and the Early Lougheed Years," in *Alberta Formed Alberta Transformed, Volume II*, edited by Michael Payne, Donald Wetherell, and Catherine Cavanaugh (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2006), 652-653.

⁴⁶¹ Dominique Clément, "Alberta's Rights Revolution," *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 26, no. 1 (2013), 66.

the 1982 race.⁴⁶² Much like the 1947 Leduc oil strike significantly bolstered the Social Credit government, the PCs had only governed for two years when the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) imposed an oil embargo on the US and other countries that supported Israel which triggered Alberta oil prices to skyrocket. The PCs formed their own provincial dynasty, controlling Alberta government for 44 years until 2015. Though Lougheed retired in 1985, the Alberta PCs ruled for seven years longer than the Alberta Social Credit dynasty and the PCs still hold the record as the long-serving provincial government in Canada.

By the late 1970s, the dominance of the CJC within the Canadian Jewish community had significantly lessened. In 1967, the Jewish Federations of Canada–United Israel Appeal (JFC-UIA) began managing fund transfers to Israel and by the 1990s, the organization expanded to support Canadian Jews in their daily life. In 2004, The Canadian Council for Israel and Jewish Advocacy (CCIJA), a Jewish and Zionist advocacy group, was established to serve as an agency for the Canadian Jewish Federations.⁴⁶³ The CJC's budgets decreased in the 1990s, though it continued to campaign against antisemitism and other domestic issues for the next two decades. In 2011, significant restructuring measures occurred within the CCIJA, and it was renamed the Centre for Israel and Jewish Affairs (CIJA). During this process, the once-formidable CJC was dissolved, and its remaining responsibilities were assumed by the reformed CIJA. Along with the CJC, the Quebec-Israel Committee, the Canada-Israel Committee, the National Jewish Campus Life, and the University Outreach Committee were all amalgamated as part of the CIJA.⁴⁶⁴ The CJC led Canadian Jewish advocacy for over four decades and former CJC president Keith Landy

⁴⁶² Alberta General Election Results 1905-2023, *Elections Alberta*.

⁴⁶³ Kenneth Kidd, "The Canadian Jewish Congress has been replaced by the Centre for Israel and Jewish Affairs," *Toronto Star*, August 30, 2011.

⁴⁶⁴ Ron Csillag, "Canada's restructured Jewish advocacy agency gets name," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, August 23, 2011.

expressed that the CJC had been “revered” and viewed as the standard for other ethnic groups within Canada desiring to establish similar outreach in their communities.⁴⁶⁵ Through the CJC’s alliances, the promotion of Jewish rights were linked under a wide umbrella with Canadian labour and civic organizations seeking protections for minorities in all areas of daily life.

Antisemitism continued to exist within the Social Credit movement throughout Alberta Premier Ernest Manning’s leadership from 1943 to 1968. Although Manning attempted to suppress public forms of Social Credit antisemitism, oral and written, he was not able to contain ongoing anti-Jewish sentiment as it was entrenched within the Social Credit philosophy. Following WWII, initial Jewish campaigns focused on Ontario and Quebec, home to the most significant Jewish communities. With the successful implementation of fair practices legislation in Ontario, BC, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia throughout the 1950s, Canadian Jewish leaders turned their attention to the long-standing and unique Alberta Social Credit government. The turning point in Alberta occurred at the end of the 1950s when the CJC aligned with the more powerful Canadian labour movement to press for legislation. After a few years of collaborative pressure, with additional support from the CCCJ and local civic groups, Manning and the SCP government finally yielded and implemented human rights legislation in 1966. Jewish leaders were elated but acknowledged the bill’s limitations, recognizing there was more work to be done in Alberta to acquire comprehensive Jewish rights. It was hardly a surprise that the 1966 Alberta “Bill of Rights,” enacted by a Social Credit government that included antisemitism ingrained within its ideology, contained only the basic human rights measures.

⁴⁶⁵ Kidd, “The Canadian Jewish Congress has been replaced.”

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An Act to Protect Certain Civil Rights, Chapter 35, Can LII Saskatchewan Annual Statutes, May

1, 1947, <https://www.canlii.org/en/sk/laws/astat/ss-1947-c-35/latest/ss-1947-c-35.html>.

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Ben Kayfetz Papers
 Canadian Jewish Congress Collection
 H.M. Caiserman Papers
 Louis Rosenberg Papers
 R.E. Ansley Papers
 Saul Hayes Papers
 The Canadian Council of Christians and Jews Collection

Glenbow Library and Archives, Special Collections, University of Calgary, Alberta

A.I. Shumiatcher Fonds
 Ernest C. Manning Fonds
 Frank Thorn Fonds
 John Blackmore Fonds
 Norman Jaques Fonds

Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada, Winnipeg, Manitoba

Ben Kayfetz Fonds
 Heinz Frank Fonds
 Louis Rosenberg Fonds
 Matthew Ram Fonds
 Saul (S.M.) Cherniak Fonds
 Saul Hayes Fonds

Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario

Canadian Jewish Congress Collection
 Canadian Labour Congress Collection
 David Orlikow Fonds
 Jewish Labour Committee Collection
 John Blackmore Fonds
 Michael Rubenstein Fonds
 Saul Hayes Fonds
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