Too Close to Home
Antisemitism and Nazism in Canada
February 8 - May 18, 2001
NEW RESTITUTION INFORMATION & ANNOUNCEMENTS

Due to a generous new grant for 2001 from the Law Foundation of British Columbia the Vancouver Holocaust Education Centre will be able to continue to assist local survivors in filing restitution claims, research new funds and update the Guide to Restitution.

New Belgian Restitution Fund Announced

The Belgian government has announced a new indemnification fund for Belgium Jews whose possessions were seized during the Holocaust. The fund is being established by the Belgium government, banks and insurance companies. It is the first sign of official recognition by the government that they played a role in the seizure of monies and possessions of Jewish victims during the war. From 1942-1945 over 25,000 Belgium Jews were imprisoned in the Dossin barracks in Malines, where they were to be deported to the death camps in Poland. This fund will be available after July 2001. For information write directly to:

The Commission to Investigate Confiscated Jewish Assets
Rue de Commerce 78
B-1040 Brussels
Belgium

New Fund From France

The French authorities issued a decree on July 12, 2000 (#2000-657) making available reparations to persons whose parents were killed in the Holocaust. This decree states that anyone whose mother or father was deported from France during the German occupation, and who died as a result is entitled to a reparation, if that person was less than 21 years of age at the time of the deportation. Persons who receive a pension from either Germany or Austria by reason of the same facts are excluded from applying to this fund. The beneficiary may choose to receive either a capital amount of 180,000 French francs (about $36,000 Canadian) or a monthly pension of 3,000 French francs (about $600 Canadian).

All claims are to be sent to the Ministry of Defense (the division relating to statutes, pensions and social restitution). This claim may be lodged with the French Embassy in Canada. The claim should be accompanied with copies of all supporting documents, and in particular with acts of civil status (eg. birth certificate) to establish that they are a child of a parent who died or disappeared, and documents to show that the death or disappearance was due to the deportation.

There is also a fund now for looted assets and again Jewish survivors should apply to the French Embassy.

New Fund from the Netherlands

There is a relatively new Dutch fund. Applicants must apply before December, 2001 and can write to the following organization for information:

Centraal Meldpunt - Oorlogs Claims
Maor Desk Netherlands
P.O. Box 19008
25009 Ca The Hague, The Netherlands
attention: Help Desk

Please note: The Slave Labour Fund forms, promised in October have not yet arrived.

VHEC’s New Website

A generous donation made by Norman Gladstone has allowed the VHEC to develop a website. The site will be used as an online resource for teachers, educators, the VHEC membership and anyone interested in obtaining information about the centre. Please visit the website at www.vhec.org and send any feedback to the new email address, info@vhec.org.

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Cover: Selected images from the upcoming exhibit, Too Close to Home.
Too Close to Home
Antisemitism & Nazism in Canada

The exhibit Too Close to Home, which opens on February 8, 2001, draws attention to a shameful and little-known aspect of Canadian history - how antisemitism and Nazism flourished and found expression in Canada in the 1920s and 1930s. Too Close to Home draws parallels between antisemitism in Canada and what was happening at the same time in Nazi Germany, and serves as a reminder that Canada was not immune to the powerful appeal of Nazi ideology and the racial discrimination that it promoted. The exhibit was produced to coincide with the Educators Conference and to provide BC teachers who are using the Teaching Resource on the Holocaust with additional teaching materials.

Antisemitism is a form of racism that asserts the undesirability of Jews based on cultural, racial, religious, social, economic or political stereotyping. Its expression ranges from animosity, personal insults, and public discrimination to physical persecution. Antisemitism is often an early warning system of dangerous currents in the body politic. The emergence of antisemitic sentiments are often the precursor of discrimination and general intolerance toward other groups. Rarely does anti-Semitism stand alone. In its Canadian expression antisemitism was often entangled with nativist movements that were anti-immigrant, anti-refugee and anti-foreigner. Nativist groups opposed to immigrants were interested in protecting things as they "were" and saw Jewish immigrants as emblems of unwelcome change.

In the 1920s and 1930s antisemitism was a constant factor in the lives of Canada's Jews. It existed in all regions of the country in different forms and to varying degrees and was reflected in the attitudes of ordinary Canadians, the anti-immigration policies of the Canadian government and in the increased membership of Fascist and pro-Nazi political parties.

Antisemitism found expression in the restricted access of Jews to employment, educational institutions and other aspects of Canadian life. Teaching positions in the public schools were generally unavailable to Jewish applicants, as were internships at hospitals. Restrictive covenants, a condition written into a property deed preventing its sale to Jews or others who were considered "objectionable," were not uncommon in upscale developments and resorts. It was taken for granted that landlords and resort owners had a right to discriminate by race and religion.

In the 1920s, Jews were denied admission to swimming facilities in Toronto. Jews responded by purchasing a farm outside the city to establish their own resort. In Toronto in the late 1930s, a tearoom blatantly exhibited a sign indicating that the establishment catered to "Gentiles only". In 1926, McGill University responded to an onslaught on Jewish requests for admission by not admitting "Hebrews" from outside of the province of Quebec. This did not stop the flow of Jews seeking admission. In 1929, the Dean of Arts enforced the discriminatory policy of requiring higher high school marks for Jewish candidates.
Canadian Immigration Policy and Anti-Semitism

Jewish immigration to Canada was restricted well before Hitler came to power in 1933. Preference was given to English speaking immigrants from England and the United States. By 1923 'non-preferred' immigrants like 'Orientals,' Blacks and Jews were severely restricted and only farmers and those with immediate family members already in Canada were considered. With the Depression and the rise of European antisemitism in the 1930s - many Jews sought to emigrate. Those within the Canadian government such as MacKenzie King knew that a lenient immigration policy toward Jews would affect them in the polls, especially in heavily populated French Quebec where antisemitism was strong. Thus their policy reflected the sentiment of the country - that in the case of Jewish immigration "none is too many".

During the war, even after the news of the Nazi extermination of Jews became widely known, the Canadian government remained unsympathetic to the plight of European Jewish refugees. Immigration quotas for Eastern Europeans, and Jews in particular, tightened after 1933. In the period when Nazi Germany allowed the emigration of Jews, no country, including Canada was willing to admit a significant number. Despite the efforts of Canadian Jews to lobby for a more liberal policy regarding Jewish refugee applicants, the restrictive immigration policy toward Jews remained intact, and certainly contributed to the death of thousands who would have survived if safe havens could have been found.

Even after the war ended, and the liberation of the concentration camps brought the realization of the atrocities of the Holocaust to the world, the government of Canada remained steadfast in its determination to keep out displaced Jewish refugees. Despite the efforts of Canadian Jews who lobbied for a more liberal policy regarding Jewish refugee applicants, barriers to Jewish immigration remained. Some found entry through special programs such as the admission of needleworkers. Only in late 1947 did Canadian immigration policy change. In 1948 an initial wave of 40,000 Jewish survivors entered Canada.

Nativist, Fascist And Nazi Organizations In Canada

Anti-Jewish sentiment was an obsession for a small number of French Canadians as early as the 1900s. Hardcore antisemitic literature produced by this group depicted Jews as a dangerous, destructive force to be opposed at all costs for the sake of racial purity and religious tradition. Jews were a convenient scapegoat for all the problems of Canadian society. While this extreme antisemitism was still marginal in the early 1900s, it found a wider audience after World War I and the economic downturn of the 1930s. The antisemitic National Social Christians, the Ku Klux Klan and brown-shirted National Socialist Party of Canada, who like their German counterparts, began to organize and give a public expression to their antisemitism based on a new world order free of Jewish citizens.

The Klan first appeared in Alberta in 1923 as a result of organizers from British Columbia. URC Snelgrove, an employee of the CNR. toured Alberta between October 1929 and February 1930 establishing "Klaverns". Several thousand joined this 100% Canadian, anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic organization.

Another key figure in the Canadian Ku Klux Klan was Major Luther Powell who established a Klan headquarters in Seattle. He visited Vancouver in the fall of 1925 and set up an office of the Klan at Glen Brae, a Matthew's Street Shaughnessy mansion owned by the lumber tycoon William Lamon Tait. From then on "Klaverns" were set up in Victoria's Dominion Hotel. Meetings, occasional parades and cross burnings were held by the Klan in Ladysmith, Nanaimo and Duncan. Cross burning and night bonfire meetings at Kitsilano Point are still remembered by local residents.

Reverend Duncan McDougall, pastor of Point Grey's Highland Church publicly denounced alcohol, Catholics, Orientals and Jews. These organizations clearly stood for the supremacy of the white race. The fear of outsiders as expressed through the "yellow perils" became a mainstay of the Klan activity in BC. Eventually Powell, an American was refused entrance back into Canada by the immigration authorities.

Some Canadians of German and Italian decent sympathized with Hitler's new Germany and Mussolini's Fascist Italy. In the 1930s both the Italian and German Consulates promoted Mussolini within the Italian-Canadian community. The Nazi party in Canada was actually formed with consular assistance from Germany.

Economic conditions produced extremist
movements on both the right and left. Historically, Quebec opposed immigration and, during the Depression, the province became increasingly xenophobic. French Canadian nationalism encouraged by the Catholic establishment and intensified by unfavorable economic conditions made Jews convenient scapegoats. The most public and disturbing manifestation of this extremism was the partnership between Adrien Arcand and Joseph Menard. In 1930, they began publishing three weekly papers - Le Goglu, Le Miroir and Le Chameau - that purportedly expressed the views of the patriotic, anti-capitalist Quebecois. For Arcand, these journals were to be steppingstones to a Nazi movement in French-Canada based on racial nationalism. He and Menard formed the Ordre Patriotique des Goglus, a society aimed at purifying society and politics and supporting an ‘achat chez nous’ movement.

It was not long before Le Goglu changed from a “journal humoristique” into an organ of hate propaganda resembling the Nazi’s Der Stürmer. Le Goglu featured loathsome caricatures of Jews and Arcand openly promoted hatred of Jews during the mass meetings of the Order of Goglus. By 1932, Arcand was in touch with and receiving money from fascist groups around the world and his antisemitism became increasingly fanatical. Arcand professed his admiration for Adolf Hitler and the antisemitic ideology articulated in Mein Kampf. Even before Hitler became jubilation and urged French Canadians to do their part in helping to “roll back the Jewish invasion.”

Determined to create a Nazi-style movement in Quebec, Arcand began to publish a new weekly, Le Patriote. The first issue attributed the chief enemies of humankind - communism, socialism, Bolshevism, and liberalism - to Jews. Arcand and Menard sponsored public meetings on the “Jewish question” and encouraged the involvement of students in the new movement. After lamenting the need for a strong leader and a centralized party, Le Patriote announced the formation of the National Social Christian Party under the direction of Arcand in 1934. A combination of German and Italian fascism, the party espoused the values of law and order, corporatism, and a country free of Jews.

For a brief period between 1936 and 1938, Arcand’s politics received a stamp of legitimacy. Supported by Maurice Duplessis’ new provincial party, the Union Nationale, Arcand’s antics received extensive coverage in both the Canadian and American press, including a picture story in Life magazine. However, Hitler’s invasion of Austria in 1938 cast a more ominous light on Arcand’s party. Public opinion and the press reflected growing hostility towards home-grown Nazis. Although antisemitism did not decline, the tolerance of Canadians toward fascist politics wore thin. The outbreak of war prompted Ottawa to intern all “enemy aliens” and Nazi sympathizers. In Montreal, RCMP and local police raided Arcand’s headquarters and the homes of suspected fascists. In addition to confiscating truckloads of antisemitic propaganda, the police arrested National Christian Party members. The fascists were interned at Fredericton, New Brunswick for the duration of the war.

"The people of Canada were too indifferent to the agony of the helpless victims of the Nazis and in closing their hearts, they allowed thousands to perish outside their doors."

Editor of the Jewish Post

Fortunately these fascist groups had little impact on mainstream politics. Nazi organizations in the 1920s and 1930s with agendas that clearly paralleled what was happening in Nazi Germany took hold on Canadian soil and for a time found followers here. Nazism spilled over into any sympathetic vessel, and areas within Canada proved to have a climate where Hitler could find sympathizers.
Preoccupied with the chronic unemployment and economic hardships of the Great Depression, most Canadians had little time to ponder Adolf Hitler’s rise to power in Germany. The Jews of Canada, numbering less than 160,000, were virtually alone in their concern about the emergence of Nazism.

The initial response of the Canadian Jewish community was to engage in street politics in the hope of warning Canadians about the sinister possibilities of Hitler’s regime. The Jews of Winnipeg were the first to voice their concerns, organizing a large protest march through the city’s downtown in the spring of 1933. Vancouver Jews followed suit and 1,500 members of the community rallied to protest developments in Germany. Jews in Toronto organized a strike that prompted Jewish factory owners and shopkeepers to join their employees in a march to the legislature. In Montreal, thousands of Jews attended an anti-Nazi rally, which in turn sparked an anti-Jewish protest by French-Canadian nationalists the following week.

It soon became clear that organized political action was necessary to change Canada’s policy toward Nazi Germany and Jewish immigration. After much pressure and negotiations among the Jewish communities of eastern and western Canada, the Canadian Jewish Congress convened in 1934 after a 15-year hiatus. Although plagued by political divisions, representatives of Congress managed to agree on a plan to press the Canadian government to increase Jewish immigration, wage campaigns against Nazism abroad and antisemitism at home, and support the various cultural, religious, and educational endeavors of Canadian Jews.

This agenda remained relatively constant over the course of the Second World War, yet was largely ineffectual. By 1945, six million European Jews had perished. North American democracies, with their abundant resources and expanses of empty land, proved reluctant to provide asylum for Jewish refugees. During the 12 years of Nazi terror, Canada accepted less than 5,000 Jews. Between 1945 and 1948, Canada admitted only 8,000 additional refugees.

Much has been written about the West’s response to the Holocaust and the failure of Jewish communities to orchestrate aggressive rescue and relief efforts. Could Canada’s Jewish community and its leaders have done more to help European Jews? In evaluating the community’s response to the Holocaust, it is important to remember that Canadian Jews were physically and psychologically removed from the event. In addition to being isolated from their European kin, Canadian Jews were removed from the decision-making bodies in their own land. Fragmented and weak, the Jewish community lay beyond the political, social, and economic power structures of Canada. Pervasive antisemitism made action all the more difficult, as Jews confronted antisemitism on a daily basis in the form of restrictive covenants, institutional discrimination, proto-fascist movements, and entrenched public policies and popular attitudes.

In light of these considerations, what could the Canadian Jewish community have done? One factor limiting possibilities for action among the Jewish community was the Canadian government’s staunch refusal to rescue European Jews. The government neither applied diplomatic pressure against Nazi Germany nor altered Canada’s stringent immigration policies. While the CJC attempted to coordinate a nation-wide boycott of German products, Prime Minister Mackenzie King was writing Nazi leader Herman Goering to encourage “improved commercial relations” and increased trade” between the two nations. As Irving Abella and Harold Troper have pointed out, “none is too many” curtly summarized Canada’s official stance toward incoming Jews.

Perhaps the foremost obstacle facing the Jews of Canada was their difficulty conceptualizing the enormity of the Holocaust. As Frank Bialystok points out in his examination of the Canadian Jewry’s response to the extermination of European Jews, the Holocaust was unprecedented in Jewish and human history. Canadian Jews in the “warm safety of North America” could only begin to comprehend the tragic fate of Europe’s Jews. The response of Jews and non-Jews alike to the Holocaust was one of “incomprehension tinged with a small dose of guilt.”

After weighing the obstacles limiting the actions of Canadian Jews, Bialystok nonetheless faults the timidity of the Jewish community’s leadership and its reluctance to aggressively lobby the Canadian government or organize large-scale relief efforts. Even after the liberation of concentration camps in 1945, efforts to organize material and monetary relief and relax immigration restrictions were largely ineffective. Entry restrictions remained unchanged until 1948 and funds raised in the post-war years amounted to only $20 per Canadian Jew.

Despite these shortcomings, Canadian Jews experienced some successes during this tumultuous period. Whereas the CJC had little effect as a national body, local social, cultural, and religious organizations flourished. Even when immigration was at a standstill, the Jewish community supported the small number of refugees who had managed to gain entry. When the Canadian government made the long-overdue decision to open immigration to Jews in the late 1940s and 1950s, the Jewish community welcomed and provided for some forty thousand Holocaust survivors. Survivors, working with the Jewish community and its organizations, have taken action to fight antisemitism, ban hate propaganda, and encourage the prosecution of war criminals. Canadian Jewry’s interaction with the Holocaust lives on in the community’s collective memory and in efforts to commemorate and educate Canadians about the Holocaust.
Although less widespread than their Quebec counterparts, Ontario's nativist and fascist groups were nonetheless a feature of the province's social and political climate during the 1930s. Whereas French Canadian antisemitism was articulated by fascist political parties and publications, Ontario's Jewish population confronted antisemitism on a daily basis. Many employers discriminated against Jews. Signs reading "Gentiles Only" and "No Jews Wanted" hung in public parks and private establishments as reminders of the secondary status of Canadian Jews. Despite these insidious displays of racism, Toronto was nonetheless known among civic workers as "Toronto the Good" and the peaceful home of thousands of immigrants of various ethnic origin. This placid surface was shattered during the summer of 1933 with the eruption of a series of antisemitic incidents. These outbursts reveal both the prevalence of antisemitism in Canada and the complex and ambiguous nature of anti-Jewish sentiment.

The first imitation of Hitler's tactics occurred in August 1933 at Toronto's Balmoral Beach area and the adjoining Kew Gardens. The area's predominantly Anglo-Saxon residents deeply resented the Jews who frequented their beaches and the language, food, and customs that they brought with them. In response to these "undesirables," bands of disgruntled youths formed "Swastika Clubs" that sold nickel-plated badges imprinted with red swastikas. The clubhouse of the Balmy Beach Canoe Club was adorned with the Nazi emblem and inscribed with "Hail Hitler." Defiant youths sported swastikas on armbands, sweaters, bathing suits, and bare chests, and clashed with Jewish bathers.

Newspapers immediately responded to the incident with condemnatory front page coverage. Journalistic accounts of the story were nonetheless revealing of popular attitudes toward Canadian antisemitism. Although the Toronto Star reproached the "Swastikas," the newspaper reported that there was "not an anti-semitic movement here." Interestingly, this assessment echoed an assertion made by the club members themselves. On the one hand, the Swastika Club staged a march during which they sang "Oh, give me a home, where the Gentiles may roam/ Where the Jews are not rampant all day/ Where seldom is heard, a loud Yiddish word/ And the Gentiles are free all day." On the other hand, they denied any Nazi affiliations or sympathies.

Anxious about incidents of beach front violence, law enforcement authorities and municipal leaders insisted that Swastika Club members stop displaying their emblem. During a meeting called by Toronto Mayor William J. Stewart, one of the leaders informed the mayor that "prominent residents" of the beaches sanctioned the work begun by the Swastika Club. The mayor proposed that the name and symbol of the group be dropped and that the new organization be open to all residents of the area. The aim of the group, however, remained disturbingly reactionary. Members were to "assist civic authorities to exclude elements that tend to destroy the natural beauty and property values of their residential district." Despite this compromise, tensions remained high. The leadership of the original Swastika Club split and Mayor Stewart observed that "it would not take a very great spark to start a conflagration in the city."

That spark came less than one week later. On August 14, a baseball series began between St. Peters and Harbord Playground, a predominately Jewish team, at Willowvale Park, also known as Christie Pits. After Harbord Playground won in overtime, a group of young and unemployed males known as the "Pit Gang" lifted a swastika-emblazoned sweater into the air. That night, gang members broke into the clubhouse, scaled the roof, and painted a large swastika and "Hail Hitler" for all in the city to see. By the second game of the series, the city was rife with tension. Members of the crowd shouted "Hail Hitler" throughout the game and numerous fights broke out. After St. Peter's won the game, members of the Pit Gang appeared in the distance carrying a blanket painted with a huge swastika. Approximately 200 Jewish boys surged forward and pursued the Pit Gang. What followed was six hours of warfare near Christie Pits. Both sides called in reinforcements and fought each other with baseball bats, stones, brooms, picket fences, and lead pipes. Scores of participants were injured and a handful of arrests were made, although only one member of the Pit Gang was eventually charged for carrying a weapon.

Reports of the incident in the Toronto Star proclaimed that "in violence and intensity of racial feeling [it was] one of the worst free-for-alls ever seen in this city." The combined effect of economic depression, traditional hostility toward Jews and foreigners, and overseas Nazi propaganda led to a sharp deterioration in relations between Jews and the rest of the population. Today, the Christie Pits riot still stands as the worst race riot in Toronto's history. Yet, in hindsight, we know that the events of 1933 were not preludes to large-scale fascist organizations or legally-sanctioned antisemitism.

Perhaps the commitment of the youths involved in the Balmy Beach incident and the Christie Pits riot to Nazi ideology was not as great as their yearning to belong, their frustration with chronic unemployment and their attraction to street violence. Or perhaps increasing evidence of Hitler's expansionist and racial policies made Canadians less tolerant of overt displays of fascism within their own land. By 1943, Ontario introduced a Racial Discrimination Act and the posting of signs excluding a particular social or religious group was outlawed. Although antisemitism persisted, often expressed as anxiety about Eastern European immigration, the act represented an important step toward fostering the cultural pluralism that Canadians value today.
Janine Stingel was a grade 12 student in a small central Alberta town in 1983-84. During that year the superintendent of the Lacombe County Board of Education visited her social studies classroom to ensure that no controversial historical opinions were being taught. It was the year that James Keegstra was dismissed from his teaching position in nearby Eckville for his controversial anti-Semitic views. Stingel writes in her preface to her new book, "The Keegstra affair was the beginning of my interest in the Social Credit movement. Keegstra was at the time, a VP of the national Social Credit party. He was removed from his teaching position for espousing ideas which were once the official views, now discredited, of the Social Credit government of Alberta."

The Social Credit party gained power in Alberta in 1935 under William Aberhart and held power for 36 uninterrupted years. Until 1948 the party exploited views which suggested that there was an international Jewish financial conspiracy headed by Jewish bankers who were responsible for the Great Depression and World War II. Stingel traces the early years of the Social Credit party from the vantage of the Montreal based Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC), the official voice of the Canadian Jewish community. And more specifically from the memorandum of Louis Rosenberg, executive director Western Division of CJC in Winnipeg.

William Aberhart was a high school principal, founder of the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute, radio evangelist and political crusader. The party’s platform was based on the radical monetary theories of a Scottish electrical engineer, Major C.H. Douglas who made international Jewish finance an object of vilification. Social Credit was born in the depth of the Depression. Alberta was especially vulnerable with an agriculture based economy. Its farmers could not sell their produce nor buy the goods available in the stores. They were looking for someone to blame. Fascist ideas were on the rise across the country.

In the election of 1935 in Alberta, Social Credit obtained 54% of the 301,000 votes cast and took 56 of the 63 seats. The small 3,400 Jewish population of Alberta looked eastward to the CJC for support. In the 1941 census, 77% of the Jewish population in Canada lived in Toronto and Montreal. The Jewish community represented 1.5% of the Canadian and Albertan population. Aberhart promoted a policy which would provide each voter with a $25 per month social dividend (Albertans called it "funny money") and independence from the "money changers of the East". It was a religious economic crusade. Throughout the thirties the dividend did not materialize. The Alberta government defaulted on interest payments on its bonds, attempted to issue "script" and carried out legislation which was declared "ultra vires" by the federal government. Despite the failure to better conditions, Social Credit continued with the propaganda which CJC felt was damaging to Jewish interests. During this period, CJC officials in Alberta attempted to draw the attention of CJC in Montreal where Sam Bronfman was president and Saul Hayes was executive director. Head Office was distracted by their local issues and grim developments in Europe. The Alberta problem appeared to be too geographically distant.

CJC’s response to Social Credit was to promote educational public relations through pamphlets aimed at non-Jews. They sought to unite with various religious denominations and trade unions. Much of this effort was undermined by Nazi propaganda coming from Europe and United States. Individuals such as Rosenberg in Winnipeg, Louis Fradkin in Calgary and Max Moscovich in Lethbridge wanted a more confrontational approach. CJC demurred suggesting that quiet diplomacy would work better. It was left to local Jewish businessmen to confront prominent Social Credit members. Janine Stingel’s research traces these meetings with Aberhart, Solon Low, leader of the federal wing and others. Aberhart comes across in these meetings as charismatic, conciliatory, and fully denying any anti-Semitic intent. In fact, as a leader of a Christian church, he felt a close kinship with the "religious Jewish people". Time and again Aberhart promised to tone down the slanderous rhetoric. He failed to do so. Given a pulpit and a microphone he and his ideologists could not resist denouncing "the world conspiracy of communism, socialism and international Zionist financial totalitarianism". CJC’s response was to "monitor the situation". When western officials suggested a writing campaign to local newspaper editors, CJC headquarters response was to give cautious approval but not to identify CJC as the source and perhaps sign the letters with a non Jewish pseudonym.

In May 1943, Aberhart died and Ernest Manning assumed the party leadership. In 1945, the Social Credit party was elected to 13 seats in the Federal Parliament, all from Alberta and headed by Solon Low, a bishop in the Mormon church. Despite the end of Hitlerism in Europe and the legacy of Nazism, the Social Credit party, provincial and federal, continued to campaign against Jewish immigration, international Zionist finance and the evolving United Nations. To the disgust of CJC officials, Social Credit was increasing its negative doctrine and falling out of step with post war public opinion. The issue came to a head in 1947 when Wetaskiwin Social Credit MP Norman Jaques was found reading excerpts from the racist "Protocols of Elders of Zion" into the Parliament’s Hansard. His association with American racists drew condemnation from lead editorial writers in Montreal’s main English newspapers. However, even with public opinion turning in their favour, Janine Stingel notes, CJC was loath to join the fray. At one point in the narrative she cannot restrain her personal view when she writes, "What they needed was a little chutzpah."

continued on page 16
New Perspectives on Canada, The Holocaust and Survivors, Vol. 4-5, 1996-97, Canadian Jewish Studies Journal

Edited by Richard Menkis and Paula Draper
Assoc. for Canadian Jewish Studies
Reviewed by Cecilia Kalaw

The implications of the Holocaust on Canadian Jewry is the subject of a special issue of the journal, Canadian Jewish Studies entitled New Perspectives on Canada, the Holocaust and Survivors edited by Richard Menkis and Paula Draper. It is a collection of research articles and memoirs accompanied by an extensive listing of Canadian archival resources and book reviews. Despite being intended for an academic audience, the selections are highly readable for both Jewish and non-Jewish lay audiences interested in the checkered history of minority groups in Canada.

Menkis and Draper address the two-fold reason for this special focus on the Holocaust - first, to respond to the proliferation of Holocaust literature, and secondly, to encourage researchers to take on the complex issues presented by Holocaust survivor testimonies - issues of representation, intergenerational impact, the difficulties of documenting the diversity of survivor experiences. This volume's sampling of scholarly treatment, personal testimonies and book reviews provides readers with a broad overview of the literature. Overall, this volume provides a useful context and framework for analyzing the increasing number of memoirs and testimonies now available.

Part of the appeal of this volume is that it provides an academic forum for critical approaches to history without de-prioritizing personal and communal narratives. Michael Englishman's "Neo Nazis in Toronto" and Robbie Waisman's "Testimony of a Child Survivor" give heart to the volume and jointly illustrates how individual experiences with Nazi genocide shaped individual politics, life choices and opportunities and social ties after the war.

Barriers to integration and the diverse realities of Holocaust survivors adjusting to Canadian Jewry and Canadian society is the unifying theme of the research articles. Goutor's "Canadian Media and the 'Discovery' of the Holocaust" provides insight into media's role of perpetuating public ignorance (and therefore indifference) in Canada about the Holocaust. He raises the nagging questions of "What did Canadians know of the genocide of European Jews" and "How could the Canadian government/people turn their backs on so many Jews?" By tracing the first appearance of Holocaust coverage in national and local newspapers and magazines (albeit mostly central Canadian), this article points out some interesting contradictions: while journalists "disbelieve" over the mass killings of Jews led them to under-report the Holocaust, by 1945, when reports of death camps became "news", the journalistic accounts were so sensationalized that they fed public incredulity. Goutor also points out that Holocaust coverage in Canada during this period focussed more on the "evils" of German militarism rather than its anti-Semitism or the suffering of Jewish people.

Draper's article, "Canadian Holocaust Survivors: From Liberation to Rebirth" and Gerber's "Survivors in Vancouver" complement each other's description of Holocaust survivors' post-war experiences. Draper's very personalized accounts of both physical and emotional journeys survivors took from their 'lost' homes in Europe to new homes and new lives abroad, gives readers a profound sense of human loss. Gerber's article provides more of an overview - "checking in" on how survivors fared in Vancouver by the 1970s. Like Draper, she notices the ambivalent attitude of survivors towards Canadian culture, but focuses on the community supports available to survivors to establish new careers and businesses. The link between the Draper and Gerber articles is the comparison of integration experiences for Jewish survivors in central Canada with those on the west coast. Size, composition and geographic location of host Jewish communities, according to Gerber, favoured survivors in Vancouver and resulted in more immediate integration with Canadian Jews.

Bialystok's "Neo Nazis in Toronto: The Allan Gardens Riot" comments on the relationship between established Canadian Jewish communities and survivors. He argues that a "survivor" identity emerged which challenged existing power structures within Toronto's Canadian Jewish communities. In this micro-study of how Canadian Jews responded to racial nationalist groups of the 1960s, readers get a glimpse of ideological and power differences within ethnic communities. Survivors who at first were reticent to get involved in communal affairs later became active "intelligence" gatherers, political activists ready to take "direct action" against anti-Semitism in the mid-sixties. They pushed established Jewish organizational leaders who fought antisemitism by "work[ing] behind the scenes" with politicians and law enforcement officials to be more inclusive and public in their response efforts.

The final third of the volume provides notes to researchers on the direction of research involving survivors. I found Butovsky and Jonasshoh's, "An Exploratory Study of Unpublished Memoirs by Canadian Holocaust Survivors" the most compelling because it injected into the collection a discussion of how "survivor" experiences are represented, of what motivates survivors to tell their stories, the important differences that exist in the storytelling and the common themes in survivor testimonies.

While it is natural and valuable for Canadian Jewish Studies to have dedicated a special issue on Canada, the Holocaust and survivors, the challenge that remains is for those outside the Jewish community to take up the rigours of Holocaust historiography and analysis of anti-Semitism and racism within a Canadian context.
TEACHING IN NUREMBERG
From Vancouver to Nuremberg

O
ur survivors often speak to groups of high school students in far-away places, and last summer Bronia Sonnenschein spoke to students very far away both in terms of distance and in terms of their need to understand the Holocaust. Through the new technology of video-conferencing Bronia spoke to students in Nuremberg, Germany. This "witnessing" occurred in real time, with Bronia speaking directly to students and students asking questions. Germany has many Holocaust memorial sites but few survivors; and these sites can communicate only a part of the story. It is the survivors themselves who we believe do the most effective teaching through the first hand account of their lived experience. The Vancouver Holocaust Education Centre through a general donation from the Partners of Kornfield Mackoff Silber in memory of Mr. Sam Kornfeld has made possible the acquisition of the teleconferencing equipment. This equipment will not only allow our survivors to address groups in Germany but also in distance places within BC directly from the VHEC. We have always felt that our survivors did an amazing job of serving students in the Lower Mainland but worried that the rest of the Province was not receiving Holocaust education. This technology will enable us to reach students we were not able to serve in the past and with less wear and tear on our aging survivor community.

Remembering the Holocaust in Nuremberg
by Bronia Sonnenschein

A display on the wall of the Wilhelm Löhe Schule in Nuremberg, Germany reads: "We have met Bronia Sonnenschein and her granddaughter Emily -- and we won't forget the tragedy of the Holocaust." It also shows pictures of both of us, as well as text.

It all came about when one student listened to the testimony of a survivor, describing life behind barbed wire in Hitler's death camps. His name is Markus Schirmer and we met at Hillel at the University of British Columbia in 1993. But he had never forgotten what he heard and when he left in 1994 to continue his studies in Nuremberg he did what he had promised to do. Markus became a teacher and is now teaching the Holocaust during History classes in his home town, Nuremberg.

We have stayed in touch during all these years and when I mentioned to him that my granddaughter Emily would travel through Europe upon her graduation from university the idea to invite her formed immediately in his head and so he did. I "brokered" this invitation and no sooner had I informed Emily, her answer was as spontaneous as I knew it would be. "Of course, I will do it and what's more, I want to do it."

Emily had occasion to sit in on a class to listen to me and so she now became my "Ambassador" and no better ambassador could ever have been found, as Markus Schirmer's students wrote to me after listening to Emily telling "my story" and that of her paternal grandparents now deceased. Emily gave three 90-minute presentations in the Wilhelm Löhe Schule on May 8 and 9, 2000. I know the grade 9 students she addressed won't forget her or her powerful presentation, representing the third generation after the Holocaust.

What followed was my participation and that of my son Dan at a video-conference, where we sat in the UBC Telestudios and "got in touch" on the screen with Markus and his students and I answered questions. A similar event -- through E-mail occurred in July 1999 in the Neue Gymnasium in Nuremberg. The next chapter has been the display on the wall, which is planned to be put on the school's web site at www.loehe-schule.de.

My deepest thanks go to Markus Schirmer, the staff and students of the Wilhelm Löhe Schule, my beloved Ambassador, Emily Herman, and my son Dan. All it took was a lot of good will of a small group participating in these projects. Margaret Mead, a well known anthropologist, once said: "Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful committed people can change the world. Indeed it is the only thing that ever has."
Nuremberg, Germany. The name of this city recalls to our minds such phrases as "The Nazi Rally City", "The Nuremberg Laws", and "The Nuremberg Trials." These phrases and their implications were at the forefront of my mind as I sat on the train headed to the infamous city. So why were Sebastian, my boyfriend, and I including it in our European backpacking itinerary? Because we had a place to stay. Seven years ago, my grandmother, Bronia Sonnenschein of Vancouver, had befriended a young man from Nuremberg named Markus Schirmer. Markus had been in the audience of a presentation my grandmother gave to University students about her experiences in the Holocaust. Compelled by her story of persecution and survival, Markus stayed after the lecture to speak with her. From then on, the two have been close friends, and from then on, Markus has dedicated much of his time to Holocaust education, working as a teacher of English and History in Nuremberg. Over time, their relationship grew to encompass Markus's parents, Peter and Ilse Schirmer, who were now opening their doors wide to Sebastian and me.

As the days before our departure from Calgary became fewer, Markus and my grandmother started talking casually about how nice it would be if I could meet with some of his students during my visit to talk about the Holocaust. I thought it was a fine idea and agreed. This casual conversation soon led to a plan encompassing two days of lectures at Wilhelm Löhe School, in which I would meet with three classes of 25 students from grades seven through ten to discuss the Holocaust.

We arrived in Nuremberg on June 7, greeted by Peter Schirmer's valiant English attempts, his wife Ilse's shy smile, and Markus's friendly embrace. After a true German meal accompanied by introductory conversations, Markus drove us around to the Nazi Party Rally sites, covering the entire history of Nuremberg in the Second World War. I was pleasantly surprised to discover that the city of Nuremberg has been adamant about keeping these landmarks in existence as a way of remembering their history and repenting for what took place here.

The next day brought the "task" of this destination. My talks with the classes consisted of the experiences of my grandmother Bronia in the concentration camps, the stories of Holocaust survival of my paternal grandparents, Benek and Sima Herman of Calgary, and an explanation of why I had come to speak to them. Ignorance regarding the Holocaust is dangerous. To ignore this one historical event and to not take from it lessons for the future is to risk repetition.

After relaying to them my information and opinions, I welcomed a class discussion. I had left quite a bit of time for this in our hour and a half slot, because I knew that if they couldn't fill the void with queries, I could. I wanted to know what they knew about the Holocaust. Do their parents or grandparents speak of it? Have they had ever met a survivor or been to a concentration camp? Do they know any Jews? Their answers were fascinating, but better yet was the enthusiasm with which they asked me questions and shared their personal stories and feelings. They told me of a grandmother who still denies the Holocaust ever happened and a grandfather who hid four Jewish neighbours for the entire war. Some of their parents don't talk about it, and others have taken their families on trips to Dachau and other concentration camps. They wanted to know how I felt about coming to the country which fostered the Holocaust. I told them the truth. I was afraid to walk their streets and to see their people because I didn't want to discover how much hate I had within me, but when I gained Markus's friendship, felt the love of his dear parents and was greeted by their own open-minded enthusiasm, I experienced a reversal and an awakening.

Nuremberg is ashamed of how it was used and how it let itself be used by the Nazis, and now it wants its people and the world to begin to see past this reputation. The students begged me to tell them how they could make the world and other Jewish people see them as Germans, not as Nazi descendants. I had no answer, only advice. Show that you are different from what you see them as Germans, not as Nazi descendants. I had no answer, only advice. Show that you are different from what you think they are. Meet people and help them to see who you really are and be open to seeing the same revealed in others. It's not easy for any of us to look or be seen beyond our past, but small links like the ones made from Sebastian and me, to Markus, Peter and Ilse, and the students of Wilhelm Löhe School, have shown me that understanding and acceptance are not only attainable, but deserved.
The impetus to host the conference in Seattle arose out of that city’s child survivor Fred Taucher’s experience in one of the workshops in Prague in 1999. The genesis of his decision is an interesting one. It illustrates how participants continue to discover amazing connections with the past which often lead to very emotional encounters between people and sometimes spur them into unprecedented action. These emotional connections and feelings of "kinship" are some of the driving forces which cause participants to continue to attend conferences on an annual basis.

Fred, who had not attended any conference prior to the one in Prague, told about himself in one of the workshops. He and his brother were hidden by their former nanny who was a member of the Nazi party. As happened to so many children, in the end they were betrayed, arrested and sent to Dachau. There they survived until liberation. After the war they were sent to a camp for child survivors in Luenenberg. As Fred told about his experiences a woman who sat beside him burst into tears, and in an astonished, deeply emotional voice, cried out, "Fred, is that you, I thought you were dead!" She had heard that after Fred left Luenenberg, the American air force plane, which would have taken him to his uncle in the USA, had crashed. Unbeknown to her, Fred and his brother took passage on a ship and arrived in the States unharmed. This emotional interaction affected Fred so much that he offered to organize the next conference in Seattle.

There are still many first timers. People who have not had the opportunity to attend previous conferences or those who only recently found the courage to meet. Some had attended other conferences but only became able to let go at this particular time. There are still survivors, who have neither spoken or written about their experiences during the Holocaust. These men and women were filled with a great deal of angst. Many had problems dealing with the pain they felt, when writing or speaking of parents who themselves felt misunderstood. It was not acceptable to express one’s feelings when the overriding rebuttal was "you were just a child, what could you possibly be able to remember?" This rejection and lack of understanding from those who should have cared the most is still haunting many. The workshop was cathartic for many who had never acknowledged that this was a "problem" between them and their parent(s).

Of course, there was also the social aspect of the conference. Friends meeting friends. Rejoicing, that notwithstanding the evil of more than half a century ago, a group of hardy, willful people were together in a hotel, in the year 2000, showing off their individual success. Dragging out pictures of their new families. Joy growing out of tears.
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David & Regina Feldman, Special Greetings On Your Special Anniversary, From Eddy Fraenme

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Francis Hoyd, A Perfect Birthday & Lots Of Happiness, From Mary Powell

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Zachor ... January 2001
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Mr. Art (Aaron) Szajman & Family, Condolences On Your Recent Loss, From Rosalie & Saul Dimant

Izzy Fraeme, Auntie Bertha Will Be Sadly Missed By Our Family, Rosalie & Saul Dimant

Feldman Family, She Will Never Be Forgotten, From Rosalie & Saul Dimant

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Mimi Noodlemann, In Memory Of Your Beloved Husband, Regina & David Feldman

Beatrice Ben, In Loving Memory Of Dearest Victor, From His Cousins Elsie & Rosa Ferera

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Aaron, Sam & Albert Szajman, We Mourn With Your Sad Loss, From Izak & Lili Folk

William & Lola Mendelson, Our Deepest Sympathy On The Loss Of Your Beloved Sister, From Izak & Lili Folk

Arnold Nemetz, Our Deepest Condolences On Your Loss, Izak & Lili Folk

Mr. & Mrs. Magid, We Mourn The Death Of Elly With You, Izak & Lili Folk

Debbie, Mark & Darcy Slavin, We Mourn The Death Of Your Mother, From Izak & Lili Folk

Bill Osten, Your Mother Was A Special Friend, From Lili Folk

Robert Osten, I Will Miss Your Mother Very Much, Lili Folk

Mark Shelinitz, Frieda Fraeme, Matt & Jamie, Sympathy On The Loss Of Your Grandmother & Great Grandmother, From Izzy Fraeme

Mark Shelinitz, Frieda Fraeme, Matt & Jamie, On The Loss Of Your Beloved Grandmother & Great Grandmother, From Margaret & Jack Fraeme

Bob & Carole Shelinitz & Family, On The Loss Of Your Mother & Grandmother, From Izzy Fraeme

Bob & Carole Shelinitz & Family, On The Loss Of Your Beloved Mother & Grandmother, Margaret & Jack Fraeme

Art (Aaron) Szajman & Family, On The Loss Of Your Beloved Wife & Mother, Margaret & Jack Fraeme

Izzy, Murray & Jeff Fraeme, In Memory Of Your Beloved Wife & Mother, Margaret & Jack Fraeme

Neil Kornfeld, Esther Blumes & Families, In Memory Of Your Father & Grandfather, Shmul Kornfeld, From Luha Gempel

Michael Millman, In Memory Of Your Beloved Father, From Derek & Marilyn Glazer

Cynthia & Lyall Levy, In Memory Of Your Beloved Mother, Alice Kaplan, From Derek & Marilyn Glazer

Aaron Szajman & Family, In Memory Of Your Beloved Wife & Mother, From Derek & Marilyn Glazer

Yosef Wosk, Towards The Wosk Publishing Fund, In Loving Memory Of Your Mother, Dená, From Jody & Harvey Dales

Shirley Diner, In Memory Of Your Beloved Husband, Alan, From Derek & Marilyn Glazer

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Morris Wosk & Family, On The Loss Of Your Wife & Mother, Dena, From Leon & Evelyn Kahn

Izzy Fraeme, In memory Of Your Beloved Wife, Bertha, From Leon & Evelyn Kahn

Morris Wosk & Family, On The Loss Of Your Wife & Mother, Dena, From Ida Kaplan

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Sir Martin Gilbert, On The Loss Of Your Mother, Emmy Krell

Barry Dunner, In Memory Of Else & Sam Dunner, Marian Krieger

In Memory Of Else & Sam Dunner, From Marian Krieger

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Emerich Klein, Our Deepest Condolences On The Loss Of Your Beloved Wife, Jenny, From Joseph & Rose Lewin

Art (Aaron) Szajman & Family, On The Loss Of Your Beloved Wife & Mother, From Herb & Evelynne Loomer

Morry Wosk and Family, On The Loss Of Your Beloved Wife & Mother, from Leo & Jocie Lowy

Arnie Nemetz & the Slavin Family, We Were Very Fond Of Ellie. From Leo & Jocie Lowy

Aaron Szajman & Sons, In Loving Memory Of Terry Szajman, From Harley & Leslie Mackoff

Morris Wosk, In Loving Memory Of Dena Wosk, From Harley & Leslie Mackoff

Yosef Wosk, Mordehai Wosk & Kenny Wosk, In
The tide turned in 1947-48 when Ernest Manning led a successful purge of the racial ideologues. The reasons for Manning’s change of heart are most interesting. He was an astute politician and noted changing public opinion. He fired the editorial board of the Social Credit newsletter stating the negativism of conspiracy theories had kept the circulation down to 10,000 when support for the party suggested a circulation of 50,000. The return of the Jews to Palestine was viewed by Manning and many of his associates “as a sign of prophecy which would lead to the second coming of Christ”. He supported the founding of the State of Israel. And finally, the ushering in of a new economic age with the discovery of oil at Leduc prompted Manning to change gears. Rather than denounce international capital as the demon, he now recognized the need to attract foreign investment. Douglas’s theories had proven to be unworkable and unnecessary, Janine Stingel demonstrates clearly that it was Ernest Manning, rather than the CJC, who cleansed Social Credit of its anti-Semitism. She suggests that it was the turning point for CJC as well, as it became more assertive. The CJC also changed its approach realizing it should not solely focus on issues affecting only Jews but should be more universalistic, championing all minority rights.

The question must be asked, how did all this anti-Semitic rhetoric on radio, in the press and at public rallies over a period of 14 years play on the lives of Albertan Jews? Surely it added support to the anti-Jewish immigration policies of the Federal government in the pre and post war periods. It definitely affected employment opportunities for Jews in gentile dominated businesses and organizations, but this was probably the case across the country. As a young person educated in Alberta during the Social Credit years, this reviewer did not experience racial slurs or discrimination. Perhaps, the general populace regarded the anti-Semitic messages with the same skepticism it assigned to the promised social dividend.

To honor their dear mother and wife Bertha Fraeme who passed away on June 5, 2000 in Israel, the Bertha Fraeme Endowment Fund was established in October 2000 by her husband Izzy Fraeme and sons Murray and Jeff.

Bertha Fraeme was born in 1926 in Chust, Czechoslovakia. Bertha was deported to Auschwitz with most of her family. Out of seven children, she was the only survivor of the Holocaust. She was liberated from Auschwitz by the Russians in 1945. She initially returned to Romania and then went to a DP camp in Germany where she met and married Izzy Fraeme who was from her home town. They lived in the DP camp for three years before emigrating to Vancouver, Canada in 1950. They arrived with 50 other couples who became her surrogate family. They lived in Vancouver for 50 years and raised two sons.

Bertha was very active in the Jewish community. She was a dues-paying member of Emunah, Hadassah, Na'amit, B'nai B'rith Women International, B'nai B'rith local, ORT, Schara Tzedek Synagogue, Louis Brier and the Canadian Zionist Federation, among others. Bertha was also very involved in the Vancouver Holocaust Education Society, lecturing for more than 20 years at the Holocaust Symposium and in different schools around the Lower Mainland. Despite the difficulty of being reminded of her history, she felt it was her duty to tell her story and to let people know that there is goodness in every individual.

Bertha was a gentle, caring, good-natured person, always smiling, always ready to give a helping hand to friends and even strangers. She genuinely cared about people, and she was devoted to family and friends.

To honor Shoshana (Terry) Szajman who passed away on Sept. 7, 2000 the Terry Szajman Educational Endowment Fund has been established by her family and husband Aaron.

Terry was born Shoshana (Drezel) Eisner in 1920 in the small Eastern European town of Vlove (Carpathia), where Terry and her family were forced to abandon their homes by the Nazis. Interned in Auschwitz, in the spring of 1944, only Terry and her sister, Tova, survived after witnessing their parents, grandparents and a younger brother taken to the gas chambers. After the war, Terry and her sister were reunited with their older brother, Joseph Eisner. In 1947, Terry found herself once again interned in a camp - this time by the British, who had sent them to Cyprus after they along with hundreds of other survivors were blocked from running the British blockade and entering Palestine.

In Cyprus Terry met Aaron Szajman who would become her life long partner. They married in B'nei Brak, Israel after they were finally permitted to leave Cyprus. Terry and Aaron gave birth to their first son, Sam, in 1949, and the three of them emigrated to Canada in 1952, eventually settling in Vancouver. Five years later, Terry gave birth to her second son, Al.

Known throughout the community for her kind and caring nature, Terry was the personification of the yiddishe momma. She devoted her life to her husband and children and to ensuring that their home preserved the Yiddishekeit and old-country traditions she learned at her mother's apron strings before the tragedies of the war destroyed that way of life.

The capital of these funds will remain in perpetuity, the interest will support Holocaust education programs.