

An Ethnic Coalition: the Liberal Party of Canada and the Engagement of  
Ethnocultural Communities, 1959-1974

by

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B.A., University of Waterloo 2010

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## Supervisory Committee

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## Abstract

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During the 1960s and 1970s the Liberal Party of Canada sought to engage ethnocultural communities in an effort to win federal elections. The author argues that the Liberal Party's relationship with ethnocultural communities in Metro Toronto during the 1960s was characterized by indifference. Though it adopted a programme that encouraged the courting of ethnocultural communities, the Pearson-led Liberal Party showed limited interest in recognizing ethnocultural communities as a part of the party's electoral coalition. The efforts of Andrew Thompson, the Liberal Party's Ethnic Liaison Officer during the Pearson years, were separated from the rest of party's organization and campaign structure. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau ended Pearson's lost decade and strengthened party bonds with ethnocultural communities. Trudeau welcomed ethnocultural communities to the Liberal Party, declared Canada as multicultural, and distributed patronage to leaders of non-English and non-French communities. This dissertation differentiates between groups and categories, and critically analyzes how people and organizations do things with categories. This dissertation argues that Thompson and the Liberal Party grouped ethnocultural communities as "ethnic groups" and "ethnic voters" in order to simplify diverse and unbounded peoples they did not understand.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

Though the role of ethnocultural communities in Canadian politics has received less national attention since the victory of Justin Trudeau's Liberal Party of Canada over Stephen Harper's Conservative Party of Canada in the 2015 federal election, for several years prior to that Harper's conservative coalition included ethnocultural communities in both urban and suburban pockets across the country. Jason Kenney assumed the public face of this coalition for the Harper Conservatives. Kenney's objective was "understanding, seducing and attracting ethnic communities to the Conservative party, an electorate once taken for granted by the Liberal Party of Canada."<sup>1</sup> While Canada's mainstream political parties had been courting ethnocultural communities for several decades, Kenney's work for Prime Minister Harper attracted attention. The inspiration for this dissertation came in part from Kenney's efforts to influence the voting habits of ethnocultural communities in Canada.<sup>2</sup>

The Liberal Party has long been associated with ethnocultural communities. During the 1960s and 1970s, those voters were white immigrants from Continental Europe. During the 1980s and 1990s the party's identity was associated with voters from non-white ethnocultural communities who had immigrated from outside of Europe as a result of changes brought from Canada's immigration points system. The Liberal Party's long history of association with a relatively open immigration policy and with multiculturalism captured the loyalty of voters from ethnocultural communities in the eyes of the public. In 2011, Susan Delacourt, a columnist with

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<sup>1</sup> Alec Castonguay, "The inside story of Jason Kenney's campaign to win over ethnic votes: The secret to the success of Canada's immigration minister," *Macleans*, 2 February 2013.

<sup>2</sup> For an insider's account on Jason Kenney's multiculturalism policy see Andrew Griffith, *Policy Arrogance or Innocent Bias: Resetting Citizenship and Multiculturalism*, (Ottawa, ON: Anar Press, 2013).

the *Toronto Star*, wrote that the Liberal Party was “traditionally seen as the party for new Canadians.”<sup>3</sup> In 1980 John Fraser, a columnist for the *Globe and Mail*, wrote that “the Liberal Party hardly has to do anything to reap its usual healthy majority of [the ethnic] vote.”<sup>4</sup> This dissertation looks at the ways in which the Liberal Party engaged with ethnocultural communities.

This dissertation is not about why the Liberals targeted ethnocultural communities. I know why. They did it because they wanted to win elections. My research confirmed this suspicion. The most intriguing aspect of the topic was “how” and “when.” How and when did the Liberal Party begin courting these communities? The idea for this project came from two places. The first, as explained above, was the work of engaging ethnocultural communities by Jason Kenney. The second was a conversation I had with Dr. John English after my Masters thesis defence in the summer of 2012. Dr. English suggested that there was a large supply of archival sources on the subject and it had yet to be examined in significant detail.

There is a very real disconnect in the scholarship between the history of the mainstream political parties, federal elections, and studies on ethnocultural communities in Canada. Even in studies that examine ethnocultural communities and Canadian politics, few attempt to examine the work of mainstream political parties and their efforts to engage support from non-English and non-French communities. While there is scholarship that examines fringe or radical political movements and ethnocultural communities in Canada, the key works on Canada’s major political parties ignore efforts to appeal to these communities. Moreover, studies on Canada’s federal elections are often vague on the influence of ethnocultural communities on political parties. This dissertation addresses holes in the scholarship of all three historical genres.

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<sup>3</sup> Susan Delacourt, “The Ethnic Conservative Myth,” *Toronto Star*, 20 May 2011.

<sup>4</sup> John Fraser, “The Ethnic Vote: It’s tough for PCs to shake anti-immigration tag,” *The Globe and Mail*, 29 January 1980.

My research interest in the Liberal Party is derived in part from my own views on politics as well as my experience as a member of the Liberal Party since 2004. I have campaigned for Liberal candidates at the federal and provincial level in Ontario in nearly every election since that time. However, my involvement since Justin Trudeau's election has been limited to hardly more than my place in the party's database. I am not the first academic to openly profess my Liberal political credentials. Ramsay Cook, Pauline Jewett, Stephen Clarkson, John English, Joseph Wearing, Brooke Jeffrey, among many others, have all openly acknowledged that they were, at one time or another, active in the Liberal Party. English even served one term as a Liberal Party Member of Parliament in the constituency of Kitchener from 1993 until 1997.

### **Historical Scholarship**

Several scholars have argued that political parties are shaped by their leaders. Reginald Whitaker argued in the seminal work *The Government Party* that “the long Liberal dominance in the national government [developed] ... in an environment where patronage and bureaucratic form rested in unequal equilibrium.”<sup>5</sup> The Liberal Party, according to Whitaker, functioned through a “ministerial” system, whereby cabinet ministers operated both an administrative and bureaucratic role.<sup>6</sup> Stephen Clarkson and Christina McCall write about the power of the prime minister and argue that “Trudeau laboured to bend the Liberal Party ... to his will.”<sup>7</sup> In his biography of former Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, Denis Smith argues that the Conservative Party successfully built their strategy around Diefenbaker and asked Canadians to “Follow John”

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<sup>5</sup> Reginald Whitaker, *The Government Party: Organizing and Financing the Liberal Party of Canada 1930-1958*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), xxiii.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Stephen Clarkson and Christina McCall, *Trudeau and Our Times*, volume 2, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1994), 11.

which left the “invincible Liberal Party ... shattered.”<sup>8</sup> Lawrence Leduc, Jon H. Pammett, Judith I. McKenzie, and André Turcotte argue “that Canadian politics has repeatedly followed ... long periods of political hegemony under successful political leaders” and were “punctuated by short, sharp interludes that disrupted what seemed at the time to be a one-dimension political success story.”<sup>9</sup>

While some studies argue that individuals shaped political parties, other scholars have argued that political parties were shaped by the need to win elections and political power. Richard Gwyn argues that after 1972, Trudeau “changed from doing what was right, rationally, to do what was advantageous politically.”<sup>10</sup> John English argues that political expediency forced the Liberals to “work on Pearson.”<sup>11</sup> The Liberals had public opinion polling that revealed that some Canadians thought that Pearson was a diplomat and unfit for Canadian politics. English explains that Dick O’Hagan, the Liberal Party’s communications chief, dressed Pearson in a straight tie, coached him on television, and adjusted his smile.<sup>12</sup> P.E. Bryden makes a similar argument and credits both Diefenbaker but also president of the National Progressive Conservative Association Allister Grosart, who “cultivated the image of the leader as a populist ... and built the central organization into a position from which it could respond to the slightest shift in voter concern.”<sup>13</sup> Bryden also recognizes the efforts of the Liberal Party’s social-policy planners for pushing the party towards adopting national health insurance, that was widely

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<sup>8</sup> Denis Smith, *Rogue Tory: The Life and Legend of John G. Diefenbaker*, (Toronto: MacFarlane, Walter & Ross, 1995), xi.

<sup>9</sup> Lawrence Leduc, Jon H. Pammett, Judith I. McKenzie, and André Turcotte, *Dynasties and Interludes: Past and Present in Canadian Electoral Politics*, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2010), 25.

<sup>10</sup> Richard Gwyn, *The Northern Magus: Pierre Trudeau and Canadians*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980), 139.

<sup>11</sup> John English, *The Worldly Years: The Life of Lester Pearson*, volume II: 1949-1972, (Toronto: Vintage Books, 1993), 235.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> P.E. Bryden, *Planners and Politicians: Liberal Politics and Social Policy, 1957-1968*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997), 47-48.

popular, but would also “take the most advantage of perceived party differences.”<sup>14</sup> I contribute to this literature by examining the Liberal Party’s efforts to appeal to ethnocultural communities, in a broader effort to win elections. This analysis focuses on political leadership.

A number of scholars have examined the Liberal Party of Canada’s efforts for reform in the aftermath of the 1957 and 1958 federal elections and focused on its period as the Official Opposition. Political scientist Reginald Whitaker notes that “the manpower turnover within the party from 1957 to 1963 was tremendous” because “a brief period of defeat ... offered the party a relatively painless method of renovation and renewal.”<sup>15</sup> Joseph Wearing argues that Lester Pearson asked Walter Gordon to clean house at the party office and hired James Scott, “a firm believer in the traditional techniques of riding organization” as National Director.<sup>16</sup> Scott, who soon after resigned from poor health, was replaced by Keith Davey, a proponent of grassroots politics and reform. Wearing argues that Davey brought in a new approach called the ‘new politics.’ “Initially,” Wearing posits, “it simply meant getting new blood flowing faster through the old veins of the various provincial organizations,” but eventually evolved into the appointment of his representatives to each of the province’s Liberal association structure.<sup>17</sup> English argues that Pearson guided the Liberal Party towards reform during his time as Opposition leader. “There were competing visions of what the party should be, and each reflected a different influence upon Pearson,” English says. “Each has left its mark upon the interpretation of the rebuilding of the Liberal Party.”<sup>18</sup> English argues that while “In opposition,” Pearson used his ability “to bind together through his own person different approaches, persons,

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid, 65.

<sup>15</sup> Whitaker, *The Government Party*, 215.

<sup>16</sup> Joseph Wearing, *The L-Shaped Party: the Liberal Party of Canada 1958-1980*, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1981), 22-23.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 26-30.

<sup>18</sup> John English, *The Worldly Years: The Life of Lester Pearson*, volume II: 1949-1972, (Toronto: Vintage Books, 1993), 203.

and organizations.”<sup>19</sup> English credits Pearson for the Liberal Party’s shift away from St Laurent liberalism towards welfare capitalism. English argues that it was Pearson who assembled the team of Davey, Gordon Dryden, Walter Gordon, and Tom Kent, as well as Mitchell Sharp, who organized the Kingston Policy Conference in September of 1960.<sup>20</sup> Examining the Liberal Party’s embrace of social policy throughout the 1960s, Bryden argues that the new party personnel hired after 1958 “wanted to create an organization that would better reflect the new progressive orientation of the party and would similarly dissociate it from the Liberal Party of old.”<sup>21</sup> “Equally important,” Bryden posits that a “carefully designed central organization would facilitate the achievement of the party’s new social goals.”<sup>22</sup> Like Bryden, this dissertation posits that the Liberal Party’s reforms continued throughout the 1960s and into the early 1970s, and included the courting of ethnocultural communities.

This dissertation contributes to the historiography of Canadian federal elections. This historiography is best understood in two separate streams. The first stream examines Canadian federal election through the narrative of events, offering an qualitative understanding of Canadian politics. These works are effective in unpacking the importance of these elections on political parties, political actors, and Canadian society more broadly. For example, Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond and John English explain that the results of the 1957 federal election were not only a surprise, but that they also changed Canadian politics. They explain that “most observers did not expect the Liberals to lose the general election of June 10, 1957; when they did, by a margin of seven seats, it seemed as if the foundations of the earth had shifted.”<sup>23</sup> Within

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 212.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Bryden, *Planners and Politicians*, 52.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond and John English, *Canada since 1945: Power, Politics, and Provincialism*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 190. Other historians have made similar assertions: Patrick Brennan, *Reporting the Nations Business: Press-Government Relations During the Liberal Years, 1935-1957*, (Toronto:

this stream of literature there are three different subsets. The first examines Canadian federal elections through the lens of a political actor or political parties.<sup>24</sup> The second are memoirs by persons in which elections figure in their writings.<sup>25</sup> The third subset, of which Bothwell, English

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University of Toronto Press, 1994), 164; Denis Smith, *Rogue Tory: The Life and Legend of John G. Diefenbaker*, (Toronto: Macfarlane Walter & Ross, 1995), 237-238; P.E. Bryden, *Planners and Politicians: Liberal Politics and Social Policy, 1957-1968*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 27.

<sup>24</sup> Stephen Azzi, *Walter Gordon and the Rise of Canadian Nationalism*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999); Stephen Clarkson and Christina McCall, *Trudeau and Our Times*, 2 volumes, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990-1994); John English, *Just Watch Me: The Life of Pierre Elliott Trudeau: 1968-2000*, (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009); John English, *The Worldly Years: The Life of Lester Pearson, 1949-1972*, (Toronto: Knopf, 1992); Richard Gwyn, *The Northern Magus: Pierre Trudeau and Canadians*, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1980); Brooke Jeffrey, *Divided Loyalties: The Liberal Party of Canada, 1984-2008*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010); Paul Litt, *Elusive Destiny: The Political Vocation of John Napier Turner*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011); Lawrence Martin, *Chrétien: The Will to Win*, (Toronto: Lester Publishing, 1995); Lawrence Martin, *Iron Man: The Defiant Reign of Jean Chrétien*, (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2003); Robert Moon, *Pearson: Confrontation Years Against Diefenbaker*, (Hull, Quebec: High Hill Publishing, 1963); Blair H. Neatby, *William Lyon Mackenzie King: A Political Biography*, 3 volumes (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958, 1963, 1976); Max Nemni and Monique Nemni, *Trudeau Transformed: The Shaping of a Statesman, 1944-1965*, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2011); Peter Oliver, *Unlikely Tory: The Life and Politics of Allan Grossman* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1985); J.W. Pickersgill, *The Mackenzie King Record*, 4 volumes, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960-1970); George Radwasnki, *Trudeau*, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1978); Denis Smith, *Gentle Patriot: A Political Biography of Walter Gordon*, (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1973); Denis Smith, *Rogue Tory: The Life and Legend of John G. Diefenbaker*, (Toronto: Macfarlane Walter & Ross, 1995); Dale C. Thomson, *Louis St. Laurent: Canadian*, (Toronto: Macmillan, 1967); Robert Wardaugh, *Mackenzie King and the Prairie West*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); and Robert Wright, *Trudeaumania: The Rise to Power of Pierre Elliott Trudeau*, (Toronto: HarperCollins Publishers Ltd., 2016).

<sup>25</sup> Jean Chrétien, *My Years as Prime Minister*, (Toronto: A.A. Knopf Canada, 2007); Jean Chrétien, *Straight from the Heart*, revised and updated edition, (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 2007); Keith Davey, *The Rainmaker: A Passion For Politics*, (Toronto: Stoddart, 1986); John Diefenbaker, *One Canada: Memoirs of the Right. Honourable John G. Diefenbaker*, 3 volumes, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1975-1977); Ellen Fairclough, *Saturday's Child: Memoirs of Canada's First Female Cabinet Minister*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); Donald Fleming, *So Very Dear: The Political Memoirs of the Honourable Donald M. Fleming*, 2 volumes, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985); Eddie Goodman, *Life of the party: The Memoirs of Eddie Goodman*, (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1988); Walter Gordon, *A Political Memoir*, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1977); Don Jamieson, *The Political Memoirs of Don Jamieson*, 2 volumes, (St. John's, Newfoundland: Breakwater Books, 1989-1991); James Jerome, *Mr. Speaker*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985); Donald Johnston, *Upp The Hill*, (Montreal: Optimum, 1986); Judy LaMarsh, *Memoirs of a Bird in a Gilded Cage*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969); David Lewis, *The Good Fight: Political Memoirs 1909-1958*, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1982); Roy MacLaren, *Honourable Mentions: The Uncommon Diary of an M.P.*, (Toronto: Deneau, 1986); Paul Martin, *A Very Public Life*, volumes 1 and 2, (Toronto Deneau, 1985); Erik Nielsen, *The House Is Not A Home*, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1989); Lester Pearson, *Mike: The Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Lester B. Pearson*, 3 volumes. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975); Gérard Pelletier, *Years of Choice: 1960-1968*, translated by Alan Brown, (Toronto: Methuen, 1987); J.W. Pickersgill, *My Years with Louis St. Laurent: A Political Memoir*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975); J.W. Pickersgill, *Seeing Canada Whole: A Memoir*, (Markham: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1994); Charles Power, *A Party Politician: A Political Memoir*, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1966); Pierre Sévigny, *This Game of Politics*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965); Mitchell Sharp, *Which Reminds Me...: A Memoir*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); and Eugene Whelan, *Whelan: The Man in the Green Stetson*, (Toronto: Irwin Publishers, 1986).

and Drummond figure, examines the impact of elections on broader Canadian society.<sup>26</sup> The second stream offers both qualitative and quantitative understandings of federal elections. This literature reflects on the elections themselves, making arguments that address such things as the British parliamentary system in Canada, political parties and political actors.<sup>27</sup>

A number of scholars have examined the 1957 federal election. In his analysis of the election, J. Murray Beck examines the Conservative Party's victory over the Liberal Party. Beck argues that since 1935 the Liberal Party had built a coalition of voters outside of Québec but failed to hold it in 1957. Beck argues that although these voters had come to be regarded as part

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<sup>26</sup> Bothwell, Drummond and English, *Canada Since 1945*; D. Owen Carrigan, *Canadian Party Platforms, 1867-1968*, (Scarborough, Ontario: Copp Clark Publishing 1968); Robert Craig Brown, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974); Terrance G. Carroll, *Political Participation: The 1974 Election in Canada*, (Washington, D.C.: The American Political Science Association, 1982); Donald Creighton, *Canada's First Century*, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1970); Donald Creighton, *The Forked Road: Canada, 1939-1957*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976); John Duffy, *Fights of Our Lives: Elections, Leadership and the Making of Canada*, (Toronto: HarperCollins Publishers Ltd., 2002); Jack Granatstein, *Canada 1957-1967: The Years of Uncertainty and Innovation*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986); Paul Litt, *Trudeaumania*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2016); Peter C. Newman, *A Nation Divided: Canada and the Coming of Pierre Trudeau*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969); Peter C. Newman, *Renegade in Power: The Diefenbaker Years*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968); Bryan D. Palmer, *Canada's 1960's: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009); Donald Peacock, *Journey to Power*, (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1968); Martin Sullivan, *Mandate '68*, (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1968); and John Herd Thompson, *Canada, 1922-1939: Decades of Discord*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985).

<sup>27</sup> J. Murray Beck, *Pendulum of Power: Canada's Federal Elections*, (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1968); N. Caiden, "The Canadian General Election of 1962," *The Australian Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (1962): 72-82; Harold D. Clarke, Lawrence LeDuc, Jane Jenson, Jon H. Pammett, *Absent Mandate: Interpreting Change in Canadian Elections*, (Toronto: Gate Educational Publishing Company, 1991); Stephen Clarkson, *The Big Red Machine: How the Liberal Party Dominates Canadian Politics*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2005); Chris Dornan and Jon H. Pammett, *The Canadian General Election of 2000*, (Toronto: Dundurn Group, 2001); Chris Dornan and Jon H. Pammett, *The Canadian General Election of 2004*, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2004); Alan Stewart Frizzell and Jon Pammett, *The Canadian General Election of 1997*, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997); Alan Stewart Frizzell and Anthony Westell, *The Canadian General Election of 1984*, (Ottawa, Ontario: Carleton University Press, 1997); Alan Stewart Frizzell and Jon Pammett, *The Canadian General Election of 1988*, (Ottawa, Ontario: Carleton University Press, 1989); Alan Stewart Frizzell and Anthony Westell, *The Canadian General Election of 1993*, (Ottawa, Ontario: Carleton University Press, 1994); Lawrence Leduc, Jon H. Pammett, Judith I. McKenzie, and André Turcotte, *Dynasties and Interludes: Past and Present in Canadian Electoral Politics*, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2010); John Meisel, *The Canadian General Election of 1957*, (Toronto: University of Toronto: 1962); John Meisel, editor, *Papers on the 1962 Election*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964); Howard R. Penniman, editor, *Canada at the Polls: The General Election of 1974*, (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1975); Howard R. Penniman, *Canada at the Polls, 1979 and 1980: A Study of the General Elections*, (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1981); Howard R. Penniman, *Canada at the Polls, 1984: A Study of the General Election*, (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1988); Peter Regenstreif, "The Canadian General Election of 1958," *The Western Political Quarterly* 13, no. 2 (1960): 349-73.

of the Liberal ‘majority’ in the country, they had actually not developed fixed habits of party allegiance and in 1957 they proved it.”<sup>28</sup> In contrast, Lawrence Leduc, Jon H. Pammett, Judith I. McKenzie, and André Turcotte argue that this was not the case. They argue that Conservative strategists “believed that there were many people who wanted to vote against the Liberals, who liked Diefenbaker, but who would have preferred to overlook the fact that they were voting Conservative.”<sup>29</sup> John Duffy argues that the Liberals offered a continuation of “technocratic management by an entrenched political and bureaucratic elite,” while Diefenbaker countered with “visionary populism that valued dynamism over management, nation over region, and ... the people over the elite.”<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, according to Duffy, Diefenbaker “was the Tory answer to the Liberals’ frequent crowing about solving Canada’s problems of race and religion, region and class.”<sup>31</sup> My dissertation posits that the 1957 federal election was the beginning of temporary shift of ethnocultural communities from the Liberals to the Conservatives. Diefenbaker’s populist message resonated with all voters, including ethnocultural communities, and was one of many factors that helped to propel the Progressive Conservatives to a tight victory over the St Laurent Liberals.

After electing a new leader in 1958, the Pearson Liberals were wholly unprepared for an election against the popular Diefenbaker. Bryden argues that Liberal campaign co-chairs Charles Power and Senator John Connolly were not comfortable with their positions. Pearson “seemed somewhat reluctantly cast in the role of focal point for the campaign, and the party platform was still in its formative stages.”<sup>32</sup> Similarly, Beck argues that Pearson approached the election

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<sup>28</sup> J. Murray Beck, *Pendulum of Power: Canada’s Federal Elections*, (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1968), 303.

<sup>29</sup> Leduc, Pammett, McKenzie, and Turcotte, *Dynasties and Interludes*, 184.

<sup>30</sup> John Duffy, *Fights of Our Lives: Elections, Leadership, and the Making of Canada*, (Toronto: HarperCollins Publishers Ltd, 2002), 176.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, 197.

<sup>32</sup> Bryden, *Planners and Politicians*, 45-46.

unprepared, explaining that the opposition leader “had not had time to consolidate his position or give a party in disarray a new look.”<sup>33</sup> Diefenbaker’s ‘Vision,’ according to Leduc et al, “combined [the] expansion of economic opportunity with nationalism” and reinforced the Conservative Party’s “appeal on those two key issues.”<sup>34</sup> They also argue that while “many Canadians who voted Conservative for the first time in 1958,” did so because they liked the prime minister despite being less enthused with his party.<sup>35</sup> Consequently, “the ties binding them to the party were weaker than ever and, as disillusionment with ‘the Chief’ began to set in over the next few years, these voters were easily shaken loose.”<sup>36</sup> Beck argues that “the results in Toronto indicate that the ethnic voter—so strongly wooed by Diefenbaker—also climbed on the bandwagon.”<sup>37</sup> Duffy argues that Diefenbaker, as a Prairie populist, “saw the world in terms of the broad mass of ordinary folks, undifferentiated by race, religion, or language, struggling for their dignity and opportunity against entrenched elites.”<sup>38</sup> My dissertation argues that the 1958 federal election completed the shift of the majority of ethnocultural communities who switched their loyalties from the Liberals to the Tories, which ultimately encouraged the Liberals to re-evaluate how they engaged ethnocultural communities. The Liberals acknowledged this shift amongst these voters and sought to reverse it before a longer pattern persisted.

Scholars agree that by the time of the 1962 federal election, the Diefenbaker government had lost much of the lustre that propelled it to a majority government in 1958. Beck argues that by 1962, Canadians had come to see “the grand vision of 1958” as “a hollow mockery.”<sup>39</sup> Granatstein argued that “There had to be losses, and the Conservative party’s aim was to

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<sup>33</sup> Beck, *Pendulum of Power*, 314.

<sup>34</sup> Leduc, Pammett, McKenzie, and Turcotte, *Dynasties and Interludes*, 195.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, 200.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>37</sup> Beck, *Pendulum of Power*, 323.

<sup>38</sup> Duffy, *Fights Of Our Lives*, 226.

<sup>39</sup> Beck, *Pendulum of Power*, 329.

minimize them.”<sup>40</sup> English argues that “Diefenbaker ran his worst campaign and the Liberals ran an innovative and often ingenious one.”<sup>41</sup> Beck, Smith, Duffy, as well as Leduc et al all argue that Diefenbaker and the Tories lost their momentum in urban Canada.<sup>42</sup> Smith argues that Diefenbaker, under pressure from the Liberals, appealed to ethnocultural communities, and joked bitterly about the abuse of his name: “Diefenbucks, Diefenbliss, Diefenbunkum; double, double, Diefentrouble/Diefenboil and Diefenbubble.”<sup>43</sup> Diefenbaker, in what appeared as an attempt to characterize the Pearson Liberals as prejudiced said, “If I didn’t have the name I have I don’t know what the Liberal party would do...The playing with my name indicates what they think of those of non-French and non-English origin.”<sup>44</sup> Though Leduc et al explain that both the Liberals and the Conservatives courted ethnocultural communities and while Smith acknowledges that “the ethnic vote was lost to the Liberals and the NDP,” neither provides much evidence.<sup>45</sup> Beck argues that while the Liberals received strong competition from the NDP, the Liberals were “the party of the common man” within ethnocultural communities during the 1963 federal election.<sup>46</sup> These “Eastern European voters deserted” Diefenbaker “in large numbers despite his none-too-subtle appeal for their support.”<sup>47</sup> The overall results of this trend saw the Liberals, and to a lesser degree the NDP, bury the Conservatives in Metro Toronto.<sup>48</sup> This dissertation compliments this historical literature and examines how the Liberals courted ethnocultural communities.

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<sup>40</sup> Granatstein, *Canada 1957-1967*, 88.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*, 239.

<sup>42</sup> Beck, *Pendulum of Power*, 338; Smith, *Rogue Tory*, 442; Duffy, *Fights Of Our Lives*, 235; Leduc, Pammett, McKenzie, and Turcotte, *Dynasties and Interludes*, 219.

<sup>43</sup> Smith, *Rogue Tory*, 440.

<sup>44</sup> *The Globe and Mail*, 15 June 1962 (Smith, *Rogue Tory*, 440).

<sup>45</sup> Leduc, Pammett, McKenzie, and Turcotte, *Dynasties and Interludes*, 216; Smith, *Rogue Tory*, 442.

<sup>46</sup> Beck, *Pendulum of Power*, 368.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid*.

English argues that “the Liberals were becoming ever more the urban, immigrant, and francophone party throughout the 1960s, while the Conservatives became more rural and Anglophone.”<sup>49</sup> English also argues that “unlike the historic elections of 1896, 1925-26, and 1957-58, no fundamental realignment and no great dividing issues characterized the election of 1968.”<sup>50</sup> This supports Beck’s argument that the Liberals continued their trend toward becoming an urban party that showed “incredible Liberal strength” in Metro Toronto.<sup>51</sup> Paul Litt concludes that “Trudeaumania was clearly not a mania” is corroborated by this dissertation.<sup>52</sup> Leduc et al also argue that Trudeaumania was modest.<sup>53</sup> I demonstrate that the Liberal Party’s efforts to court ethnocultural communities began in the early 1960s, and throughout the decade the number of seats they won in Metro Toronto increased in each election while polling indicated that voters from ethnocultural communities cast their ballots for Liberals.

While there is an extensive literature on multiculturalism, this dissertation is concerned with the manifestations of multiculturalism in Canadian politics. There is an extensive debate within the literature over the motivations behind the Pierre Trudeau’s introduction of multiculturalism policy in October 1971. John English posits that Trudeau was urged by his advisors to recognize ethnocultural communities, and that “he did so eloquently, thoughtfully, and politically” while soothing “MPs concerned about too much emphasis on Canadian bilingualism.”<sup>54</sup> Will Kymlicka argues that to accommodate Québec, Trudeau bargained with white ethnocultural communities to ensure their support for the national unity agenda. Kymlicka argues that multiculturalism within a bilingual framework, “was essentially a bargain to ensure

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<sup>49</sup> John English, *Just Watch Me: The Life of Pierre Elliott Trudeau, 1968-2000*, volume 2, (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 2009), 18.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, 31.

<sup>51</sup> Beck, *Pendulum of Power*, 412.

<sup>52</sup> Paul Litt, *Trudeaumania*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2016), 313. Also see Robert Wright, *Trudeaumania: The Rise to Power of Pierre Elliott Trudeau*, (Toronto: HarperCollins Publishers Ltd, 2016).

<sup>53</sup> Leduc, Pammett, McKenzie, and Turcotte, *Dynasties and Interludes*, 260.

<sup>54</sup> English, *Just Watch Me*, 146.

white ethnic support for the more urgent task of accommodating Québec.”<sup>55</sup> Kymlicka reasons that throughout the period of 1963 until 1971, when multiculturalism was debated and ultimately adopted, “the process was driven by white ethnics.”<sup>56</sup> S.V. Wayland makes similar assertions. Wayland argues that pressure from “ethnic collectivities, led by the Ukrainians,” relayed their fears and resulted in the addition of Book IV of the B & B Commission’s report.<sup>57</sup> Political scientist Kenneth McRoberts argues that while the Trudeau government was under pressure from ethnocultural communities to “substitute multiculturalism for biculturalism” their “adoption of multiculturalism” was in part “due to Trudeau’s hostility to biculturalism.”<sup>58</sup> McRoberts also questions the effect of the lobby effort from ethnocultural communities during the B & B Commission submissions. McRoberts says that “of the 55 briefs, supported by 14 ethnic groups, presented to the B & B Commission, 32 came from Ukrainian-Canadian organizations,” while the leaders of other communities like the Toronto Italian community and the Trans-Canadian Alliance of German Canadians were supportive of biculturalism.<sup>59</sup> In other words, there was a split between those who favoured multiculturalism and those who favoured biculturalism. David Pearson argues that “Anglophone elites and federalist Francophones used multiculturalism as a device to appease or subvert the sovereignty claims of separatist inclined Quebecois.”<sup>60</sup> Bob Plamondon makes similar arguments. Plamondon argues that “Trudeau embraced multiculturalism as the antidote to nationalism and the dominance of Canada’s ‘two

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<sup>55</sup> Will Kymlicka, “Marketing Canadian Pluralism in the International Arena,” *International Journal* 59 no. 4 (2004): 841.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> S.V. Wayland, “Immigration, Multiculturalism, and National Identity in Canada,” *International Journal on Group Rights* Volume 5 No. 1 (1997): 47.

<sup>58</sup> Kenneth McRoberts, *Misconceiving Canada: The Struggle for National Unity*, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997), 124.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> David Pearson, *The Politics of Ethnicity in Settler Societies: States of Unease*, (Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001), 137.

solitudes.”<sup>61</sup> Other scholars focus on Québec’s interpretation of the policy. Amy Nugent argues that Québec perceives multiculturalism “as a denial of recognition, a refusal to accord Québec status as a distinct and national minority within Canada.”<sup>62</sup> Darryl Leroux argues that though multiculturalism generated “fierce disagreement in Québec” much of the response was muted given the Trudeau government’s “reaffirmation of the founding role of the French language and of French-Canadians/Québécois in Confederation” through the Official Languages Act two years before.<sup>63</sup> Alan Cairns argues that multiculturalism “emerged as a policy requirement to alleviate the unanticipated negative consequences of singling out for privileged treatment the two official-language communities and the British and French charter groups from which they sprang.”<sup>64</sup> Cairns writes that while the federal government slowly began to recognize the “ethno-national duality” of Canada, multiculturalism encompassed the political necessity of “ethnic heterogeneity of the country within the evolving definition of the Canada it was attempting to fashion.” Or as McRoberts specifically argued, this was part of the Trudeau government’s plan to challenge Québec nationalism through a principled approach to multiculturalism. Jatinder Mann makes a similar argument. Mann argues that in the opinion of the B & B Commission, the federal government, and Trudeau himself, “there could not be one cultural policy for Canadians of French and British origin, another for the native peoples and yet a third for all others.”<sup>65</sup> Michael Oliver, the former research director of the B & B commission believed that the commission had a valuable and important contribution to make on English-French relations in

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<sup>61</sup> Bob Plamondon, *The Truth About Trudeau*, (Ottawa: Great River Media Inc, 2013), 167.

<sup>62</sup> Amy Nugent, “Demography, National Myths, and Political Origins: Perceiving Official Multiculturalism in Quebec,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* volume 38 no. 3 (2006): 33.

<sup>63</sup> Darryl Leroux, “Entrenching Euro-Settlerism: Multiculturalism and the Politics of Nationalism in Quebec,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* vol. 46 no. 2 (2014): 134.

<sup>64</sup> Alan Cairns, “The Embedded State: State-Society Relations in Canada,” in *Reconfigurations: Canadian Citizenship & Constitutional Change*, edited by Douglas E. Williams, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1995), 42.

<sup>65</sup> Jatinder Mann, “The introduction of multiculturalism in Canada and Australia,” *Nations and Nationalism* vol. 18 no. 3 (2012): 491.

Canada, and that Trudeau's multiculturalism policy damaged that contribution. Oliver argues that the notion of "'equal partnership' that came from a recognition of 'founding' cultures... was thus undermined."<sup>66</sup> Leslie Pal takes a more moderate approach and argues that bilingualism and multiculturalism "seemed to balance the need to accommodate Quebec without implying that there were simply two peoples – French and English – in Canada."<sup>67</sup>

None of above scholars on the political nature of multiculturalism deny the role of electoral expediency played in multiculturalism policy. However a number of scholars make it their primary mode of analysis. Richard Gwyn explained that "with a flick of the magician's wand, Trudeau's imperative, post-1972, changed from doing what was right, rationally, to do what was advantageous politically."<sup>68</sup> Gwyn attacks Trudeau's political style and accused the prime minister of pandering to ethnocultural communities and "up sprang a trebled multiculturalism program that functioned as a slush fund to buy ethnic votes."<sup>69</sup> Gwyn says that "Canada became an increasingly tolerant society" not because of multiculturalism, but because "Canadians had become an increasingly tolerant people."<sup>70</sup> Neil Bissoondath argued that multiculturalism was "boosted into the limelight not as a progressive social policy but as an opportunistic political one."<sup>71</sup> Freda Hawkins and Ryan Edwardson expressed the same

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<sup>66</sup> Michael Oliver, "The Impact of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism on Constitutional Thought and Practice in Canada," Conference Paper provided by Dr. Matt James, 6 August 1992, 10.

<sup>67</sup> Leslie Pal, *Interests of State: The Politics of Language, Multiculturalism, and Feminism in Canada*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 115.

<sup>68</sup> Richard Gwyn, *The Northern Magus: Pierre Trudeau and Canadians*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980), 139.

<sup>69</sup> Gwyn seemed to have confused the date of official multiculturalism. Multiculturalism policy was introduced in 1971, before the 1972 federal election which he implies was the turning point in Trudeau's governing style. (Gwyn, *The Northern Magus*, 139).

<sup>70</sup> Richard Gwyn, *Nationalism Without Walls: The Unbearable Lightness of Being Canadian*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1995), 185.

<sup>71</sup> Neil Bissoondath, "A Question of Belonging: Multiculturalism and Citizenship," in *Belonging: The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship*, edited by William Kaplan, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 371.

arguments.<sup>72</sup> Hawkins argues that the Liberal Party, fearing changes in Québec society that threatened their electoral power base, sought to encourage a stronger relationship with ethnocultural communities through multiculturalism.<sup>73</sup> Peter S. Li says that multiculturalism was a political ploy “aimed at compromising the demands of French Canadians and the aspirations of those not of British and French Origin.”<sup>74</sup> Li cites the mere symbolic recognition of multiculturalism as offering financial assistance to ethnocultural communities for their cultural pursuits while making “no political demand ... on key cultural, educational and political institutions to make fundamental changes” to incorporate the policy.<sup>75</sup> Li further supplements this argument by suggesting that the government created separate programs for multiculturalism instead of building them into pre-existing government programs. Li concludes that as a result “multiculturalism did not transform key institutions of Canada in the same way as official bilingualism.”<sup>76</sup> This dissertation explores the electoral expediency behind the Liberal Party’s efforts to woo ethnocultural communities throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s. The Liberals sought electoral advantage first through general outreach and then by declaring that Canada was multicultural.

Several scholars have grappled with questions concerning immigration and belonging in Canada. Immigration and belonging are central concepts underpinning the Liberal Party’s efforts

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<sup>72</sup> Freda Hawkins, *Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern*, (Kingston, Ontario: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1988), 17 and Ryan Edwardson, *Canadian Content: Culture and the Quest for Nationhood*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 190.

In contrast to this, Raymond Breton argues that multiculturalism policy was integral to the “reconstruction of the symbolic system and to the redistribution of social status among linguistic and ethnocultural groups in Canadian society.” [Raymond Breton, “The production and allocation of symbolic resources: an analysis of the linguistic and ethnocultural fields in Canada,” *Canadian Review of Sociology* 21 no. 2 (1984): 134].

<sup>73</sup> Freda Hawkins, *Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern*, (Kingston, Ontario: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1988), 17.

<sup>74</sup> Peter S. Li, “The Multiculturalism Debate,” in *Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, edited by Peter S. Li, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1999), 151.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid*, 152.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid*.

to engage ethnocultural communities during the 1960s and 1970s. With regards to immigration, scholars argue that the Second World War and other world events shaped immigration policies in Canada. Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock argue that the “claims of the racial superiority made by the Nazi regime” led to a re-evaluation of Canada’s discriminatory immigration policies.<sup>77</sup> Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos makes similar claims. Triadafilopoulos argues that “world-historical events and epoch-defining processes” like “the Holocaust, decolonization, and the emergence of a global human rights culture ... discredited long-standing discriminatory policies” in the post-war period.<sup>78</sup> John Herd Thompson and Morton Weinfeld also made a similar argument about the impact of the Holocaust on Canadian immigration policy.<sup>79</sup> Yet immigration policies changed slowly. Franca Iacovetta points out that in 1950 major employers and farmers lobbied the government to ignore concerns about cultural assimilation of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. These business interests, Iacovetta and Harold Troper argue, were also supported by pro-refugee and ethnic groups that advocated for familial and humanitarian considerations.<sup>80</sup> Thompson argues that “prosperity and anti-communism pushed Canada to a pro-active refugee policy.”<sup>81</sup> These trends continued. Kelley and Trebilcock argue that during the 1960s and 1970s, new political influences emerged in the form of ethnic, religious and community organizations that influenced governments in support of “more liberal

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<sup>77</sup> Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 17.

<sup>78</sup> Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos, *Becoming Multicultural: Immigration and the Politics of Membership in Canada and Germany*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2012), 4.

<sup>79</sup> John Herd Thompson and Morton Weinfeld, “Entry and Exit: Canadian Immigration Policy in Context,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 538 Being and Becoming Canada (March 1995): 189.

<sup>80</sup> Franca Iacovetta, “Ordering in Bulk: Canada’s Postwar Immigration Policy and the Recruitment of Contract Workers from Italy,” *Journal of American Ethnic History*, vol. 11, no. 1 (Fall 1991): 53; Harold Troper, “Canada’s Immigration Policy Since 1945,” *International Journal*, vol. 48 no. 2, Migrants & Refugees (Spring, 1993): 256.

<sup>81</sup> Thompson and Weinfeld, “Entry and Exit,” 189.

immigration policies.”<sup>82</sup> The points system, to which Kelley and Trebilcock refer, was introduced as a “universal admissions policy in 1967” and was later entrenched in the *Immigration Act, 1976*.<sup>83</sup> Triadafilopoulos argues that the points system “shattered the foundations of ‘white Canada’ and created conditions for Canada’s development into one of the most culturally diverse countries in the world.”<sup>84</sup> Unlike Kelley and Trebilcock’s analysis, Triadafilopoulos argues that “immigrants who had benefited from the liberalization of policy in previous years, were concentrated in competitive urban ridings key to both the federal Liberal and Conservative parties’ electoral fortunes.”<sup>85</sup> While Troper asserts that politicians were the ultimate decision-makers on immigration matters, Triadafilopoulos argues that Canada’s electoral system encouraged the “winning electoral coalitions that included immigrant voters,” building on trends that “had roots in the 1950s.”<sup>86</sup> This dissertation builds on the work of Kelley and Trebilcock, as well as that of Triadafilopoulos, and argues that during the Pearson years, the Liberal Party accepted the inclusion of ethnocultural voters in principle, but failed to understand how to integrate them into the party system which was oriented towards the French-English duality of their electoral coalition. Furthermore, this dissertation accepts the notion that the Liberal Party was aware of the influential role ethnocultural communities could play in elections, but challenges the thought that the Liberal Party catered to interests from within ethnocultural communities. During the Pearson years, the Liberal Party was opposed to the demands of ethnocultural communities while simultaneously attempting to secure their votes. It was not until Pierre Trudeau became Liberal prime minister and the Liberal Party officially recognized Canada

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<sup>82</sup> Kelley and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 18

<sup>83</sup> Triadafilopoulos, *Becoming Multicultural*, 2.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 87.

<sup>86</sup> Troper, “Canada’s immigration policy since 1945,” 258; Triadafilopoulos, *Becoming Multicultural*, 87.

as a multicultural state, that a Liberal government targeted the electoral interests of voters from outside English- and French-Canada.

Scholars have also analyzed the nature of belonging in Canada. José Igartua examines the changes in English Canada from 1946 until 1971. English-Canada, according to Igartua, was defined by its British connection to the English, Irish, Welsh and Scottish cultures “that were transplanted to Canada.”<sup>87</sup> During the post-war period, Igartua asserts that English Canada made an allowance for “French Canadians, Natives, and Canadians of immigrant origins, but that these ‘other’ Canadians were depicted as not quite on par with Canadians of British origin.”<sup>88</sup> English-speaking Canada, Igartua argues, “retained this British ethnic definition of itself until the 1960s, and then abruptly discarded it during that decade.”<sup>89</sup> Yet this process was not a static one. Igartua explains that English Canada, as a nation or historical entity evolved over time and was “reconfigured under the pressure of demographic, economic, social, and cultural factors.”<sup>90</sup> Franca Iacovetta argues in *Gatekeepers* that immigrants who came to Canada encountered “a variety of women and men” who patrolled Canada’s “entry points and its newly expanded welfare state.”<sup>91</sup> These gatekeepers, as Iacovetta has dubbed them, “ran the country’s many reception campaigns, health and welfare services, and family and community programs.”<sup>92</sup> Iacovetta argues that these “encounters often consisted of pro-active attempts to guide the adjustment to ‘Canadian ways’ and transform the immigrants into productive, democratic citizens.”<sup>93</sup> These projects were designed to assimilate or ‘Canadianize’ the new arrivals and

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<sup>87</sup> José Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities In English Canada, 1945-1971*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006), 4-5.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 12-13.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada*, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006), 10.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

encouraged “social and cultural mingling between them and the old Canadians.”<sup>94</sup> Ivana Caccia examines the debates over citizenship during the Second World War and grapples with the political discourse on concepts such as “race,” “foreignness,” “cultural diversity,” the inclusion of “new Canadians” in the national community, and the meaning of “Canadian citizenship.”<sup>95</sup> Caccia argues that the Second World War prompted debates about “the growing and problematic presence of Canadians of origins other than British or French-Canadian in the life of the country.”<sup>96</sup> In Caccia’s view, the process of determining the “boundaries of national identity” according to the idea “being native Canadian” and that of “being a foreigner,” a “new Canadian,” or a “hyphenated” Canadian, affirmed an “evolving national self-consciousness.”<sup>97</sup> Through an examination of this evolution, Caccia sheds light on the “ethnically marginalized Canadians” who were excluded from the political discourse.<sup>98</sup> Caccia argues that the Canadian government’s interest in these marginalized communities was motivated by a public concern about their loyalty, the need to preserve Canadian economic growth, and meet its international obligations as a reliable military ally.<sup>99</sup> This dissertation examines the Liberal Party’s successes and failures at providing a welcoming space for ethnocultural communities during the 1960s and 1970s. Liberals attempted to fit ethnocultural communities into their own political understandings that were centered around their conception of English-speaking Canada in Ontario. Because the Liberal Party changed only slowly during the Pearson era, they continually found connecting with ethnocultural groups to be problematic. Like Iacovetta has argued regarding gatekeepers, the Liberal Party attempted to change the perception of individuals within ethnocultural

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Ivana Caccia, *Managing the Canadian Mosaic in Wartime: Shaping Citizenship Policy, 1939-1945*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010), 3-4.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid, 9.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid, 10.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

communities of politics instead of changing the views of their own party to accommodate these individuals. Much like Caccia has argued about the interest of the federal government in “ethnically marginalized groups” during the Second World War, this dissertation argues that the Liberal Party sought to preserve its interests when it engaged ethnocultural communities. The party used ethnocultural communities to return to power and continued to engage them to preserve that power. Even when the Trudeau-led Liberal Party found a breakthrough with ethnocultural communities, its efforts continued to be self-serving and self-motivated, though Liberals were then willing to include members from those communities in their system of patronage.

C.P. Champion was the first to examine Andrew Thompson’s efforts to engage ethnocultural communities in his broader study on the decline of British Canada. Champion argues that both the Liberals and the Conservatives “sought to win over New Canadians in a process that contributed to their integration into civic life.”<sup>100</sup> While Champion looks almost exclusively at the efforts of Thompson, he leaves the broader efforts of the Liberal Party substantially unexplored. It is in this vein that Champion argues that “ethnic groups were by no means marginalized” and were integrated “into civic life, into Canada’s parliamentary system with its appeals to voting blocs and interest groups, lobbying, patronage, and patron-client relationships.”<sup>101</sup> This dissertation shows that Champion’s account is overstated. Whereas Champion alludes that this process was a positive one, this dissertation demonstrates that the process was at times bitter and negative. Ethnocultural communities were in fact marginalized. The Liberals seemed to discard ethnocultural communities when they were elected to office in 1963 and almost exclusively focused on them during elections. It was not until Pierre Trudeau

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<sup>100</sup> C.P. Champion, *The Strange Demise of British Canada: The Liberals and Canadian Nationalism, 1964-1968*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010), 138.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

made the declaration of multiculturalism that this trend changed and the party's overt marginalization of these communities ended. Yet even through this process of marginalization, ethnocultural communities arrived into Canadian society. Their arrival did not take place in a physical sense; rather it was a symbolic becoming of 'Canadianness' that saw once marginalized ethnocultural communities emerge as active and equal participants in Canada's political system.

Inder Marwah, Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos, and Stephen White have examined the more recent efforts of the Conservative Party of Canada in courting the "ethnic vote" since 2003. They explain that the Conservatives' efforts stand in stark contrast to positions of the Reform Party and the Canadian Alliance that eventually merged with the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada in 2003. Winning government, the authors argue, requires any serious national party to consider the "ethnic vote" and issues that affect them. "The combination of immigrant settlement patterns, citizenship laws, and Canada's single member plurality (SMP) electoral system" the authors argue created "a context in which appeals to immigrant voters are required of any party with aspirations to national power."<sup>102</sup>

This dissertation characterizes the courting of ethnocultural communities by the Liberal Party as a part of the broader reforms instigated after the 1958 federal election. Unlike some of the literature that views the reforms in the context of party renewal in the opposition benches, I see these reforms continuing to shift through to the implementation of multiculturalism policy in the early 1970s and afterwards. These reforms are not static; they are continuous and ongoing. The need to win elections was the Liberal Party's primary motivations for engaging with non-British and non-French communities as political actors. The Liberal Party's interest in courting ethnocultural communities changed from an ambivalent approach during the 1960s, to an active

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<sup>102</sup> Inder Marwah, Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos, and Stephen White, "Immigration, Citizenship, and Canada's New Conservative Party," in *Conservatism in Canada*, edited by James Farney and David Rayside, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013): 95-96.

one with the adoption of multiculturalism in the early 1970s. Trudeau's multiculturalism policy demonstrated the Liberal Party's recognition of these communities as members of their electoral coalition.

According to statistics from the Canadian Election Studies and other secondary literature, the federal elections in 1957 and 1958 were the only elections between 1953 and 1974 in which voters from non-British and non-French communities voted for the Tories in larger numbers than the Liberals. Before those elections, the Liberals were confident that they would be supported by a large number of voters from ethnocultural communities. It was these electoral losses that propelled the Liberals to target these voters with party resources. This dissertation demonstrates that the Liberal Party made a concerted effort to court ethnocultural communities in every election from 1962 until 1974.

The Liberal Party introduced multiculturalism policy out of electoral expediency. What began with the hiring of Andrew Thompson in the late 1950s to represent the Liberal Party with ethnocultural communities, culminated with multiculturalism; a government policy created to curry favour within ethnocultural communities and their leadership more broadly. The Liberal Party itself evolved, and changed with a changing Canada. The Liberal Party accepted over time that voters who were non-English and non-French, were crucial to their success in Canada's political system.

Richard Johnston argues in his article "The Reproduction of Religious Cleavage in Canadian Elections" that while there is no distinct policy preferences that explain it, there are sharp differences in Canadian party choice between Catholics and Protestants in Canadian elections. Specifically, Johnston examines the connection between Catholics and their preference for the Liberal Party in Canadian elections. Johnston argues that there appears to be a

“countervailing *ethnic* ethos amongst Catholics which produces the Catholic-Liberal attachment.”<sup>103</sup> Johnston posits that “Growing up Catholic” in the company of other Catholics made Canada seem “more French and almost certainly less British than may be the case in non-Catholic circles.”<sup>104</sup> Johnston’s study echoes conclusions reached by John Meisel in his case study on the 1953 federal election and 1955 provincial election in Kingston, Ontario. Meisel argues that “a considerable number of Catholics in Kingston voted for the Liberal party in 1955 thinking or perhaps assuming without very much thought that this was the natural course to be taken by a Catholic.”<sup>105</sup> Both Johnston and Meisel conclude that a pattern of Catholics voting Liberal grew stronger over time. André Blais echoed these views in his examination of elections using data from Canadian Election Studies. Blais argues “that the propensity to vote Liberal among Catholics was 19 points higher before 1990 and it is 16 points after 1990” in Atlantic Canada and Ontario.<sup>106</sup> Therefore, Blais asserts, “the Catholic vote is absolutely crucial to the Liberals.”<sup>107</sup> Denis Smith argues that internal divisions within the Conservative Party over Family Allowances hurt the Tories in Quebec. Smith says that MP Herbert Bruce argued in the House of Commons that the Family Allowance bill was “a bribe of the most brazen character, made chiefly to one province and paid for by the taxes of the rest.”<sup>108</sup> In private, Smith says, Bruce made it clear he believed French Canadians, who were overwhelmingly Catholic, would be the largest beneficiaries of the program. While the focus of this dissertation is on ethnicity, it

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<sup>103</sup> Richard Johnston, “The Reproduction of the Religious Cleavage in Canadian Elections,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 18 no. 1 (March, 1985): 112.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> John Meisel, “Religious Affiliation and Electoral Behaviour: A Case Study,” *The Canadian Journal of Political Science and Economics* vol. 22 no. 4 (November 1956): 494.

<sup>106</sup> André Blais, “Accounting for the Electoral Success of the Liberal Party in Canada: Presidential Address to the Canadian Political Science Association London, Ontario June 3, 2005,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 38 no. 4 (December, 2005): 823.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid, 825.

<sup>108</sup> Denis Smith, *Rogue Tory: The Life and Legend of John G. Diefenbaker*, (Toronto: MacFarlane Walter & Ross, 1995), 150.

shows that the Liberal Party's efforts to engage ethnocultural communities focused on groups that were typically Christian. Furthermore, it shows that the Liberal Party typically favoured efforts that targeted communities that were Roman Catholic. While other scholars have focused on the intense relationship between the Liberal Party and Roman Catholics, this dissertation focuses on ethnicity and does not analyze religion in any kind of systematic manner.

## **Methodology**

This dissertation focuses on the Liberal Party's national plan to draw support from ethnocultural communities, particularly through the party's efforts in the region of Metro Toronto. It does not generalize findings for Metro Toronto on the rest of Canada. The Liberals believed that Metro Toronto was an ideal region for them to target ethnocultural communities. The City of Toronto and its surrounding areas was in the midst of a transformation that began in the post-war period. Toronto was "Canada's most popular immigrant destination," and it "shared disproportionately in the flood of newcomers."<sup>109</sup> By 1971, foreign-born residents accounted for forty-four percent of Metro Toronto's population.<sup>110</sup> This dissertation relies on primary documents to determine key ridings with ethnocultural communities in Metro Toronto. The 1976 census was the first to group Canadians by "Mother Tongue in Federal Electoral District."<sup>111</sup> This dissertation determines electoral constituencies that had sizeable voter populations in Metro Toronto from Liberal Party documents and newspaper reports. For the purposes of this dissertation it is not crucial to know how many of each ethnocultural community lived in a

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<sup>109</sup> Jordan Stanger-Ross, *Staying Italian: Urban Change and Ethnic Life in Postwar Toronto and Philadelphia*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 11.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>111</sup> Appendix 3.

particular electoral constituency in Metro Toronto nor is it possible because the Census was not categorized by electoral constituency until 1976. This dissertation focuses on Metro Toronto because the documents show that while the Liberal Party promoted a national strategy, it was in fact focused on Metro Toronto. As Toronto's demographics changed, so too did the political parties they chose to represent them. Appendix 1 shows that from 1925 until 1949, the Conservatives typically held the majority of the districts. In 1925 the Tories held all eleven of Metro Toronto's seats in the House of Commons. In 1949, in the Liberal Party's first election with a francophone leader since Wilfrid Laurier, the Liberals began to chip away at the Conservatives' dominance in the region, and in 1953 the Tories were reduced to just seven seats in Metro Toronto, out of the region's fifteen seats.<sup>112</sup> The Liberal Party's efforts to court ethnocultural communities did not come first. In fact, the Progressive Conservatives were the first mainstream political party in Canada to court voters from non-British and non-French backgrounds.<sup>113</sup> As chapter three explains, the Liberals hired Liberal organizer Andrew Thompson in 1959 to engage ethnocultural communities because the Liberals believed that a majority of them cast their ballots for the Tories in 1957 and in 1958.<sup>114</sup> This dissertation engages archival documents as the Liberals gauged their own success in courting ethnocultural communities throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Using these documents, election results in Metro Toronto, and Canada Election Study surveys from 1965, 1968 and 1974, I argue that the Liberals were routinely targeting support from these communities.

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<sup>112</sup> Appendix 1.

<sup>113</sup> Champion, *The Strange Demise of British Canada*, 152.

<sup>114</sup> The Canadian Election Study began in 1965. In the 1968 survey, respondents were asked who they voted for in 1958. This dissertation relies on these numbers to inform polling numbers for 1958. Unfortunately more accurate polling was not found. Polls conducted in 1958 and 1957 did not account for the ethnicity of the respondent nor did they detail languages they spoke aside from English and French. No reasonable determination can be made on data from 1957 and 1958. Appendix 4.

Under the influence of Andrew Thompson, the Liberal Party targeted groups of ethnocultural communities. In particular, these communities were the Germans, Italians, Ukrainians, Czechs, Polish, and Hungarians, although involved other groups in specific instances.<sup>115</sup> Though Thompson did not characterize these groups as Christian, or even as Catholic, these groups tended to be disproportionately Catholic. In this sense, Thompson operated within an explicitly Christian and Catholic orientation. This dissertation argues that the Liberals treated these categories of ethnocultural communities as individual groups and as a collective grouping, as they sought to positively influence election campaigns in their favour. They composed and initiated political strategies to court these communities in broad strokes, sometimes in a way that acknowledged their independent ethnicities, but still targeted them as a collective set of voters that could be influenced. Their independent ethnicities were only necessary for personal communication while grand strategy was more concerned with the fact that they were part of the non-English and non-French collective.

This dissertation makes use of Canadian newspaper stories throughout. The second chapter traces newspaper coverage of immigration during the 1950s through an investigation of Canada's major English-language newspaper dailies from across Canada. It includes coverage from Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia, the prairies, and the Maritimes, and prioritizes reporting from mainstream publications in Canada's major centres. These papers were selected to ensure a cross-section of coverage from across Canada. Throughout the rest of the dissertation, newspaper stories are used to provide reported facts but also characterizations of how some of the events discussed were covered during the 1960s and 1970s. These accounts rely on reporting in the *Globe and Mail*. This dissertation does not draw connections between the Liberal Party

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<sup>115</sup> LAC, Jack Pickersgill fonds, MG32 B 34, vol. 109, Andrew Thompson, Liberal Publicity Officer, 1958-1963, Andrew Thompson, "Monthly Report on Ethnic Groups," 18 July 1958.

and newspaper boards, editors or journalists, like Patrick Brennan does in *Reporting the Nation's Business*. Instead it uses the English-language newspapers' printed stories as a source for evidence and as points of analysis.<sup>116</sup> Whereas Stephanie Greco Larson argues that the media helps to “maintain the racial status quo” and ignores racial minorities and their problems, this dissertation shows how columnists publishing in English-Canadian newspapers during the 1950s advocated a change to the status quo through an increase to immigration.<sup>117</sup> This dissertation also examines the Liberal Party's evolving relationship with the Canadian Ethnic Press Association. However, it does not utilize newspapers from the ethnic press. Instead, it challenges Karim H. Karim who wrote that “little room in the mass media was conceded to ethnic minorities” in Canada and utilizes coverage in the *Globe and Mail* that promoted the influence of the “ethnic vote” and the efforts of political parties to win it.<sup>118</sup> This dissertation does not suggest that the *Globe and Mail* was filled with stories chronicling the life of non-British and non-French Canadians, but it does demonstrate that in the context of politics, there was a clear interest in this coverage.

This dissertation is a political history but its understanding of ethnicity goes beyond political terms. In his article on the Liberal Party's early efforts to court ethnocultural communities, C.P. Champion defined “ethnic” as “the political strategists of the day defined it: a convenient label for non-British and non-French communities of minority voters.”<sup>119</sup> While Champion is right in suggesting that political strategists of the day grouped these voters as ethnic, this formulation overlooks important critical scholarship on ethnicity. Werner Sollors

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<sup>116</sup> For information on the Liberal Party's relationship with the Canadian press during the 1950s see Brennan, *Reporting the Nation's Business*.

<sup>117</sup> Stephanie Greco Larson, *Media & Minorities: The Politics of Race in News and Entertainment*, (Toronto: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2006), 3.

<sup>118</sup> Karim H. Karim, "Public Sphere and Public Sphericules: Civic Discourse in Ethnic Media," in Sherry Devereaux Ferguson and Leslie Regan Shade, eds., *Civic Discourse and Cultural Politics in Canada: A Cacophony of Voices* (London: Ablex Publishing, 2002), 232.

<sup>119</sup> C.P. Champion, *The Strange Demise of British Canada*, 142.

explores the problems with this kind of preconception in scholarship and argues that “Ethnic groups are typically imagined as if they were natural, real, eternal, stable, and static units” that “seem to be always already in existence.”<sup>120</sup> Kathleen Neils Conzen, David A. Gerber, Ewa Morawska, George E. Pozzetta, and Rudolph J. Vecoli build on Sollors view that ethnicity is not primordial. They argue that ethnicity is a “process of construction or invention which incorporates, adapts, and amplifies preexisting communal solidarities, cultural attributes, and historical memories.”<sup>121</sup> In other words, ethnicity “is grounded in real life context and social experience” and thus “invented.”<sup>122</sup> Political strategies such as that of the Liberal Party in Canada are part of the process of “inventing ethnicity.”

In its analysis this dissertation relies on the work of Rogers Brubaker who critically analyzes groupism and offers “alternative ways of conceptualizing ethnicity without invoking the imagery of bounded groups.”<sup>123</sup> This dissertation utilizes three of Brubaker’s methods for analysis. In the first formulation Brubaker argues that using ethnicity, race or nationalities as groups for classification fails to distinguish between groups and categories. By distinguishing between groups and categories, Brubaker says that we can understand the “settings” and “psychological processes” behind groups. In simple terms, Brubaker’s analysis allows us to investigate how people and organizations “do things” with categories.<sup>124</sup> “Groupism,” Brubaker says, is “the tendency to take discrete, sharply differentiated, internally homogenous and externally bounded groups as basic constituents of social life, chief protagonists of social

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<sup>120</sup> Werner Sollors, ed, *The Invention of Ethnicity*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), xiii-xiv.

<sup>121</sup> Kathleen Neils Conzen, David A. Gerber, Ewa Morawska, George E. Pozzetta, and Rudolph J. Vecoli, “The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U.S.A.,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* vol. 12 no. 1 (Fall 1992): 4.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid*, 5.

<sup>123</sup> Rogers Brubaker, “Ethnicity Without Groups,” *European Journal of Sociology* vol. 43 no. 2 (August 2002): abstract.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid*, 169.

conflicts, and fundamental units of social analysis.”<sup>125</sup> Alternatively, categories are concepts and tools that we use to understand our view of the world. For the purpose of this dissertation, categories are a practical collection of people that are linked through identically measured characteristics, with real and not imagined bonds, and are simple to define. Therefore, as Brubaker also suggests, categories are not groups; rather, they are a potential basis for group-formation. Categories are clearly defined whereas groups are inventions that distort the defined boundaries of categories. While it is imperative to investigate how these groups are understood, historians must not make the mistake of adopting such groupings as the basis of our own analysis.<sup>126</sup> This dissertation argues that the Liberal Party, relying on categorizations of Canadians of various ethnicities that were non-British and non-French, imagined “ethnic groups” as votes at the ballot box. It also investigates the differences between groups and categories in the context of the Liberal Party’s perception of “ethnic groups,” “ethnocultural groups,” “ethnic voters,” and “ethnocultural voters.” These groups were imagined as bounded by political strategists and politicians during the 1960s and 1970s. They were also grouped in lower orders of aggregation, based on their individual ethnicities, as Ukrainian-Canadians, Italian-Canadians, among others, for example. The Liberals had a propensity to use both sets of groupings at the same time. Furthermore, this dissertation argues that in imagining “ethnic groups” and “ethnic voters” in homogenizing terms, they helped give life to that homogenization. This dissertation looks at the ways these categories were utilized as groups for political purposes. Brubaker also argues that groupness is not something that should be examined as “fixed and given” but rather as something that is “variable and contingent.”<sup>127</sup> Brubaker references E.P. Thompson’s examination of class and says that by treating “groupness as an *event*, as something that

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid, 164.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid, 166.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid, 168.

‘happens’” we are ready for the possibility that “groupness may *not* happen.” This dissertation argues that the Liberal Party’s conception of ethnicity as “ethnic groups” and “ethnic voters” occurred at times but did not occur at others. Ethnicity happened when these groups were homogenized in moments of interconnection.

This dissertation traces the historical use of the terms “ethnic groups,” “ethnocultural groups,” “ethnic voters,” and “ethnocultural voters” within the context of the Liberal Party’s desire to win more votes by engaging minority communities. In practical terms, an “ethnocultural community” includes both English- and French-Canadian communities. However, for the purposes of this dissertation, an “ethnocultural community” means non-English and non-French communities. In order to avoid confusion this dissertation will use the phrase “ethnocultural communities” in referring to a larger collection of sub-categories such as Ukrainian-Canadians, German-Canadians, Polish-Canadians, among others, but will use their sub-categories when referring to them specifically. These sub-categories are defined for the purposes of this dissertation as people whose birth origins originate in another country and are living in Canada or whose family descends from another country and are living in Canada within two generations. The phrase “ethnocultural communities” does not imply a compilation of groupness, but rather is a way of compiling them in the context of the Liberal Party and Canadian politics in a descriptive category.

### **Expanding the Liberal Party’s Electoral Coalition**

This dissertation explores how the Liberal Party’s commitment to courting ethnocultural communities changed between the 1950s and 1970s in Metro Toronto. This period is characterized with *starts* and *stops* until Prime Minister Trudeau made a committed effort

towards these communities. I argue that as a result of the Liberal defeats in the 1957 and 1958 federal elections, the party believed that their appeal to “New Canadian” voters was threatened by the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada and their leader John Diefenbaker. With the Conservatives in power, the Liberals looked for ways to get back into power. From 1959 until 1963, the Liberals strategically engaged ethnocultural communities. However once in power under Prime Minister Lester Pearson, the Liberal Party’s engagement of ethnocultural communities lost priority and they became less interested in maintaining positive relationships with them. From 1963 until 1971, the Liberals work courting ethnocultural communities was poor and sporadic, often solely focused on winning federal elections. It is characterized by a revolving cycle of interest and disinterest, with the party’s attention to its “ethnic groups” programme often in limbo. Yet, despite all the uncertainty throughout the 1960s, the Liberals seemed to always commit to engaging ethnocultural communities during election campaigns. For the duration of Pearson’s term in office, the Liberal Party’s appeal to ethnocultural communities was made almost exclusively through the Canada Ethnic Press Federation (CEPF). Andrew Thompson, the party’s chief strategist in courting ethnocultural communities, and the Liberal Party conceived of groupings of “ethnic groups” and “ethnic voters” as categories in order to simplify diverse and unbounded peoples they did not understand. Politicians in the party succeeded and failed at times to homogenize these groupings. After Pearson retired and Pierre Trudeau became prime minister, the Liberal Party re-engaged its focus on these relationships. The trajectory of the Liberal Party’s commitment to ethnocultural communities strengthened with the implementation of multiculturalism policy. In part, the Trudeau government’s multiculturalism policy was about getting votes by implementing a policy that prioritized interests from within ethnocultural communities and funded programs that affected them. The

Liberals capitalized on this policy commitment and campaigned on multiculturalism in the 1972 and 1974 federal elections, showing clear signs that the Trudeau government's policies were integral to the party's bonds with ethnocultural communities.

Chapter two traces the focus of the Canadian English-language press to promote the increase of immigration to Canada. This chapter builds on the work of Franca Iacovetta who argues in the second chapter of *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* that Europeans who fled to Canada received an extraordinary amount of sympathy in the Canadian press.<sup>128</sup> Citing letters written to newspaper and magazine editors throughout the 1950s, Iacovetta asserts that the perceptions of immigrants coming to Canada were changing. I argue that throughout the 1950s the governing Liberals were under significant pressure from English-language newspapers to increase the number of immigrants it was accepting into Canada. The motivations behind this pressure were not strictly humanitarian but motivated by demographic and economic factors. This coverage highlighted the interests of Canadian citizens and businesses who were interested in growing Canada's population to contribute to the country's economic growth. By the time the Liberals were defeated in 1957, immigrants and immigration from eastern and southern Europe were routinely covered positively in the press.

Chapter three examines the Liberal Party's efforts to cultivate a stronger relationship with ethnocultural communities and argues that the hiring of Andrew Thompson and the courting of these communities was one aspect of the Liberal Party's reforms. After the Liberal Party's narrow loss in 1957 and significant defeat in 1958, members of the Liberal Party discussed how

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<sup>128</sup> Iacovetta argues in this chapter that press writers "wanted to do more than tell dramatic stories set against a global canvass. They also wanted to influence, even mold, public opinion, in this instance in favour of a positive response towards the newcomers." However this argument varies from the book's broader message that primarily casts the "Gatekeepers" in a negative light. Iacovetta argues that Gatekeepers attempted to influence newcomers to "conform to 'Canadian ways ... on everything from food customs and child-rearing methods, or marriage and family dynamics, to participatory democracy and anti-communist activism.'" [Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada*, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006), 22, 11]

to overcome the circumstances of their defeats in the next election. Thompson challenged the notion that the Liberals could rely on their past efforts to open immigration under Laurier and St. Laurent as a method of enticing ethnocultural communities to support the party and its candidates. Though Thompson undertook an extraordinary effort to understand and dialogue with non-English and non-French communities, the Liberal Party organization sheltered those efforts from its primary functions and preparations for the 1962 federal election.

Chapter four shows how Thompson, now the Liberal Party's Ethnic Liaison Officer, engaged ethnocultural communities prior to and during the 1962 and 1963 federal elections. Diefenbaker used his vision for "One Canada" as a beacon for minority communities in Canada. The Tory prime minister of German-descent looked to maintain his connection with voters from ethnocultural communities in the 1962 and 1963 elections. Yet Diefenbaker had been a disappointment and "left a bad taste in Canadians' mouths."<sup>129</sup> The Liberals appealed to all Canadians, including ethnocultural communities, with a pan-Canadian platform that included social security and medicare. Thompson advertised the Liberal Party heavily in ethnic press publications while Liberal candidates appealed to ethnocultural communities in their own constituencies.

Chapter five examines the transition of the Liberal Party from Official Opposition to governing party in the context of its relationship with ethnocultural communities. Keith Davey, National Director of the Liberal Party, attempted to ensure that the Liberal Party was able to influence the Pearson government while they were under pressure from ethnocultural communities, particularly representatives of the Canada Ethnic Press Federation (CEPF). This chapter demonstrates the strain between the Pearson government, the Liberal Party, and

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<sup>129</sup> Duffy, *Fights Of Our Lives*, 235.

influencers in ethnocultural communities through a focus on the debate over government advertising dollars being spent in ethnic press publications.

Chapter six scrutinizes the Liberal Party's efforts to re-engage with ethnocultural communities during Liberal governments between 1965 and 1968. After the 1965 federal election, the Liberals showed a general disinterest in courting ethnocultural communities. Liberals like Davey and Thompson, who had been most interested in ethnocultural communities, were no longer able to affect the relationship. Traditional allies to ethnocultural community leaders, like Paul Hellyer, became less supportive of lobbying efforts made to the Pearson government by editors of the ethnic press. It was not until 1968 that the Liberal Party seriously reengaged ethnocultural communities during the election.

Chapter seven examines the Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's efforts to court ethnocultural communities through the implementation of multiculturalism policy before and after the 1972 and 1974 federal elections. This chapter argues that multiculturalism policy was the Liberal Party's primary tool to engage these communities during these elections. This was the first instance of the Liberal Party implementing a government policy to entice voters from ethnocultural communities to cast their ballots for Liberal candidates.

## Chapter 2: Immigrants Welcome: Public Opinion in the English-Canadian Press on Immigration During the St. Laurent Era, 1949 to 1958

### Introduction

In the first couple of years after the Second World War Canadian immigration policy continued to be highly restrictive. The re-elected government of Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King maintained tight restrictions surrounding immigration providing few concessions to the humanitarian causes apparent to some in the aftermath of the war. The King government cited two main issues for not liberalizing its immigration policy. The first was the possibility of a post-war economic depression and the second was a shortage of ships. The government was not going to commit to bringing refugees or immigrants from Europe when Canadian servicemen and women were waiting to be returned to Canadian soil.<sup>1</sup> Still, the governing Liberals faced significant pressure from the pro-immigration lobby.<sup>2</sup> In 1947, with Canadian servicemen home, the King government enacted changes to its immigration policy. In these changes another rationale behind immigration policy became apparent. In May 1947 Prime Minister Mackenzie King's speech to the House of Commons endorsed a new immigration policy that protected the character of the Canadian population. In his speech to the House of Commons, the prime minister remarked that:

“there will, I am sure, be general agreement with the view that the people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make fundamental alteration in the character of our population.”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Valerie Knowles, *Strangers At Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1950-2015*, (Toronto & Oxford: Dundurn Press, 2016), 155.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 156-161.

<sup>3</sup> Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 1 May 1947, pp. 2644-2646.

Robert Vineberg says that King's speech, because of this line, is considered "anachronistic at best and clearly racist at worst."<sup>4</sup> However, Vineberg argues that King's statement laid out a change in Canada's immigration program.<sup>5</sup> King's policy maintained that immigration should increase the population, support economic growth, and be maintained at high levels consistent with Canada's absorptive capacity. King also believed in selecting immigrants who would benefit the economy and have the means to support themselves.<sup>6</sup> The Standing Committee of the Senate on Immigration and Labour concluded that it was "desirable that immigrants be admitted to Canada in substantial numbers ... as soon as possible," while also noting that Canada had the ability to "support a substantial increase in population."<sup>7</sup> Under King, Canada's immigration policy focused on increasing the population and growing the economy, but also became about limiting immigration from certain parts of the world. This policy, which was used to by the Liberals at times to restrict immigration, continued under King's successor Louis St. Laurent, faced opposition from the Canada's English-language newspapers.

The literature on the acceptance of immigrants into Canada during the postwar period varies. In *Gatekeepers* Franca Iacovetta argues that "the Europeans who fled difficult or dangerous conditions overseas for Canada received a good deal of sympathy, with journalists actively seeking out their personal stories."<sup>8</sup> This sympathy was prevalent in the English-Canadian press coverage. Iacovetta shows that the press stories detailing the settlement of

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<sup>4</sup> Robert Vineberg, "Continuity in Canadian Immigration Policy 1947 to Present: Taking a Fresh Look at Mackenzie King's 1947 Immigration Policy Statement," *Int. Migration & Integration* vol. 12 (2011): 201.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Vineberg, "Continuity in Canadian immigration policy 1947 to present," 207-208.

Vineberg also argues that in King's speech to the House of Commons, the prime minister moved Canadian immigration policy "towards removing discrimination from Canadian immigration policy."

<sup>6</sup> Vineberg asserts that King's focus on three pillars – economic, family, and humanitarian – "continue to form the basis of Canada's immigration program." (Ibid, 215).

<sup>7</sup> Canada, Standing Committee of the Senate on Immigration and Labour, 1946, 311, accessed 2 March 2017, <https://archive.org/stream/proceedingsofsta1946cana#page/310/mode/2up>.

<sup>8</sup> Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada*, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006), 22.

European immigrants in the 1950s and early 1960s contrasted with portrayals of “suspenseful Cold War tales of refugee arrivals ... placed in DP camps, or who had escaped from behind the Iron Curtain” in the immediate postwar period.<sup>9</sup> As Iacovetta acknowledges, while it is impossible to know how press coverage about immigrant settlement was being received by readers, “an overview of almost one hundred letters written to newspapers and magazines reveals plenty of both positive and negative responses.”<sup>10</sup> The perceptions were changing. Howard Palmer argued that “in Canada, there was much less resistance to these postwar immigrants from Europe than there had been to earlier arrivals” and that the two main opponents to immigration, French Canadians and organized labour, “modified their positions by the end of the war and were favourable to immigration.”<sup>11</sup> Harold Troper argued that “sustained prosperity and a gradually widening circle of racial and ethnic tolerance gradually eroded barriers against eastern and then southern Europeans.”<sup>12</sup> Echoing Palmer and Troper, Kerry Badgely argues that Canadian immigration officials “misread Canadians’ perceptions about immigration, or were condescending in their attitudes,” in portraying immigrants as Western European.<sup>13</sup> Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock suggest that labour organizations and big business in Canada closed the gaps on their disagreements over immigration. They argue that there was “growing acceptance of the fact that, at least in the booming postwar economy, immigrants tended to contribute to, rather than hamper, further economic growth and job creation.”<sup>14</sup> This chapter demonstrates that English-language newspapers across the country were critical of the

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 28.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 47.

<sup>11</sup> Howard Palmer, “Mosaic versus melting pot?: Immigration and ethnicity in Canada and the united states,” *International Journal*, 31 no. 3 (1976): 511-512.

<sup>12</sup> Harold Troper, “Canada’s immigration policy since 1945,” *International Journal*, 48 no. 2 (1993): 256.

<sup>13</sup> Kerry Badgely, “As long as he is an immigrant from the united kingdom”: Deception, ethnic bias and milestone commemoration in the department of citizenship and immigration, 1953-1965. *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 33 no. 3 (1998): 140.

<sup>14</sup> Kelley and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 17-18.

government's immigration policy during the 1950s and advocated for a liberalized policy to spur both overall economic and population growth.

Canadian immigration policy in the initial post-war period was affected by both economic and humanitarian concerns. The economic quagmire of the Great Depression and the tumultuous years of the Second World War had brought a virtual halt to the arrival of immigrants to Canada. In all, Canada experienced more than fifteen years without the arrival of a significant number of new immigrants to Canadian shores. By 1946 initial fears about economic recession were replaced with optimism for economic growth<sup>15</sup> and an increasing number of Canadians pressured their parliamentarians for a more progressive immigration policy. These Canadians were "reacting to the plight of the displaced persons and refugees," according to Valerie Knowles, and "called for the prompt admission of these people on the grounds of simple human decency."<sup>16</sup> This public pressure was instrumental in encouraging the government to open the doors to the refugees and immigrants of a Europe unable to house, feed and employ them all. Iacovetta argues that "international and pro-refugee pressures, as well as the demands of the domestic economy, led Ottawa to turn first to Displaced Persons' (DP) camps for their supplies of immigrant workers."<sup>17</sup> Richard Wanner has argued that in the postwar period, "rapid economic development in Canada combined with difficult political and economic circumstances in Europe" increased immigration in Canada.<sup>18</sup> W.L. Morton makes similar arguments about how government policy and public opinion were shaped by the need for economic growth.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Franca Iacovetta, "Ordering in Bulk: Canada's Postwar Immigration Policy and the Recruitment of Contract Workers from Italy," *Journal of American Ethnic History* vol. 11 no. 1 (Fall 1991): 55.

<sup>16</sup> Knowles, *Strangers At Our Gates*, 121.

<sup>17</sup> Iacovetta, "Ordering in Bulk: Canada's Postwar Immigration Policy and the Recruitment of Contract Workers from Italy," 55.

<sup>18</sup> Richard Wanner, "A prejudice, profit or productivity: explaining returns to human capital among male immigrants to Canada," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 30 no. 3 (1998): 27.

<sup>19</sup> W.L. Morton, "The historical phenomenon of minorities: The Canadian experience," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 13 no. 3 (1981): 18.

Postwar pressure on the governing Liberals to increase the flow of immigration into Canada continued into the 1950s. During the decade Canada's population grew by 4.2 million. This growth included 1.1 million people who immigrated to Canada.<sup>20</sup> The St. Laurent government sought to grow its economy by increasing its population through immigration. As the decade progressed the Liberal's immigration policy was perceived as too cautious by an optimistic Canadian business community with an interest in significant economic growth. This chapter argues that English-language newspaper publications from across the country advocated for a more robust immigration policy that led to growth of the Canadian economy and its population. Through their coverage, the press reasoned that growing immigration numbers would keep economic growth accelerating. While it is impossible to prove that this press coverage created a sense of acceptance within the broader Canadian society, many Canadians read this coverage. Iacovetta argues that journalists and writers sought to influence the Canadian public.<sup>21</sup> This analysis utilizes different stories than Iacovetta does in *Gatekeepers*, and highlights general news coverage on the Canadian economy and immigration matters. In the English-language press, many Canadians read about the benefits of a growing and engaged immigrant population.

Many Canadians distinguished between different ethnocultural communities during the Second World War. Ethnocultural communities from Allied countries such as Poland were elevated to a new level of respectability because of their homeland's contribution to the war effort. In contrast, the people originally from lands of enemy powers were treated with suspicion and were sometimes detained. Between 1939 and 1945 the police in Canada arrested and

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<sup>20</sup> Hawkins, *Canada and Immigration*, 36.

<sup>21</sup> In *Gatekeepers*, Franca Iacovetta examines narratives found in the Canadian press concerning migration throughout the 1950s. Iacovetta focuses on the newspaper accounts that showed Canadians the struggles immigrants were facing in their new life in Canada and argues that the journalists and popular writers wanted to influence public opinion in favour of a positive response towards the immigrants arriving in Canada. Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada*, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006), 22.

interned 847 German-Canadians and 632 Italian-Canadians.<sup>22</sup> The federal government was also responsible for the relocation of 22,000 Japanese-Canadians from the coast of British Columbia.<sup>23</sup>

Despite increasing nativism during the war, there were developments that enabled individuals from ethnocultural communities to play a more active role in Canadian politics. Ivana Caccia argues that Canada underwent a process during the Second World War whereby the country recognized it “had an additional and equally inherent dimension in its cultural diversity due to immigration.”<sup>24</sup> Caccia asserts that the country’s war effort demonstrated the political significance of an actively participating category of Canadians who were outside of the French-English duality.<sup>25</sup> The Canadian wartime decision-makers desire to engage ethnocultural communities, Caccia argues, was “driven by the desire to enhance the country’s endeavours to act as an important member of the British Empire..., a reliable military ally” and the pursuit of

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<sup>22</sup> Robert H. Keyserlingk, “Breaking the Nazi Plot: Canadian Government Attitudes Towards German Canadians, 1939-1945,” in *On Guard For Thee: War, Ethnicity, and the Canadian State, 1939-1945*, edited by Norman Hillmer, Bohdan Kordan, and Lubomyr Luciuk, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1988): 63.

<sup>23</sup> Jordan Stanger-Ross and Landscapes of Injustice Research Collective, “Suspect Properties: The Vancouver Origins of the Forced Sale of Japanese-Canadian-owned Property, WWII,” *Journal of Planning History* vol. 15 no. 4 (2016): 271.

For more information on internment camps in Canada during the Second World War: Keyserlingk, “Breaking the Nazi Plot: Canadian Government Attitudes Towards German Canadians, 1939-1945,” 53-70; Bruno Ramirez, “Ethnicity on Trial: The Italians of Montreal and the Second World War,” in *On Guard For Thee: War, Ethnicity, and the Canadian State, 1939-1945*, edited by Norman Hillmer, Bohdan Kordan, and Lubomyr Luciuk, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1988): 71-84; N.F. Dreisziger, “7 December 1941: A turning point in Canadian wartime policy toward enemy ethnic groups?” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 32, no. 1 (April 1, 1997): 93-111; Luigi Bruti Liberati, “The Internment of Italian Canadians,” in *Enemies Within: Italian and Other Internees in Canada and Abroad*, edited by Franca Iacovetta Roberto Perin, and Angelo Principe, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000): 76-98; Reg Whitaker and Gregory S. Kealey, “A War on Ethnicity? The RCMP and Internment,” in *Enemies Within: Italian and Other Internees in Canada and Abroad*, edited by Franca Iacovetta Roberto Perin, and Angelo Principe, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000): 128-147; Mary Taylor, *A Black Mark: The Japanese-Canadians in World War II* Canada (Ottawa: Oberon Press, 2004); Patricia E. Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship: The Japanese and Chinese in Canada, 1941-67* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007); Stephanie Bangarth, *Voices in Protest: Defending North American Citizens of Japanese Ancestry, 1942-49* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008).

<sup>24</sup> Ivana Caccia, *Managing the Canadian Mosaic in Wartime: Shaping Citizenship Policy, 1939-1945*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010), 3.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

“ensuing and remarkable advantages for Canadian economic growth.”<sup>26</sup> There was also declining public support for discriminatory immigration laws and franchise restrictions, as well as support for Canada’s signing of the United Nations Charter in 1944 and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948.<sup>27</sup> Ukrainian, Polish, Croat, Slovak, and Finish communities lobbied Canadian, American, and British governments to support national independence for their country of origin and its people.<sup>28</sup>

### **Calls for Immigration**

In the twelve months prior to the end of March 1949 more immigrants arrived in Canada than in any year since 1929.<sup>29</sup> The 125,603 newly arrived immigrants in 1948 were hailed as an achievement in the English-Canadian press. The press advocated for an increase in the number of immigrants the country absorbed each year in an effort to grow the economy. The Liberal government was pressured by some Canadians to increase the number of immigrants. In July 1949 some Canadians were hopeful that the creation of the new Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration meant Canada would increase the number of immigrants it was accepting. The *Financial Times* reported that the new department seemed “to indicate that,” Canada would have “more of an immigration policy” than it had “had since 1930.”<sup>30</sup> According to Arthur Blakey of the *Montreal Gazette*, Canadians wanted an immigration policy that did more than alternate between opening and shutting the door to the world’s people.<sup>31</sup> Instead, by the standard of

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 10.

<sup>27</sup> Palmer, *Ethnicity and Politics in Canada Since Confederation*, 17-18.

<sup>28</sup> Ivana Caccia, *Managing the Canadian Mosaic in Wartime: Shaping Citizenship Policy, 1939-1945*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010), 122-123.

<sup>29</sup> "The Wave of Immigration." *Toronto Daily Star*, May 7, 1949.

<sup>30</sup> "Are We to Have an Immigration Policy?" *Financial Times*, July 22, 1949.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

frustrated reports, the Liberal government of Louis St. Laurent maintained an immigration policy that was cautious.

By early 1950 the criticism of the Liberal government became more apparent as the citizenship department released its statistics for 1949. Immigration Minister Walter Harris acknowledged a 24.1 percent decline in immigration from 1948 to 1949. Department officials explained that there were three causes of this decline: restrictions from countries on emigrants, the shrinking pool of displaced persons from which Canada had received a significant number in the past, and the tightening of the Canadian labour market.<sup>32</sup> While Mackenzie King had presided over years of low immigration statistics, it had been policy since the King government in the post-war period to increase the Canadian population through immigration. King “stressed that the number of new arrivals would be related to the ‘absorptive capacity,’ of the Canadian economy.”<sup>33</sup> Knowles says that King’s use of the phrase ‘absorptive capacity’ was ambiguous, but stresses that statements by ministers and others clarified it. Knowles posits that the goal of immigration was to allow “enough immigrants to enter the country to meet domestic labour shortages but not enough to disrupt the Canadian labour market.”<sup>34</sup> Of course, as Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock explain about King’s policy, “immigration was not to change the fundamental demographic character of the community, which necessitated continued restrictions on Asian immigration.”<sup>35</sup> However, King’s announcement formed the basis of his successor’s immigration policy for the entirety of the 1950s under its new Immigration Ministry.

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<sup>32</sup> The three causes of the decline cited by officials were “1. Controls exercised by Commonwealth and foreign countries which make it increasingly difficult for would-be immigrants to emigrate; 2. Shrinkage in the size of displaced persons’ pools to the point where these can no longer be regarded as important sources of desirable immigrants; 3. A tightening of employment conditions in Canada which is causing labor unions and other organizations to press for a more cautious implementation of the immigration policy.” (Arthur Blakely, "Sharp Decrease Shown for 1949 In New Settlers for Dominion." *Montreal Gazette*, February 3, 1950).

<sup>33</sup> Knowles, *Strangers At Our Gates*, 162-163.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Kelley and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 312.

During the 1950s, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration wanted to expand Canada's population through an aggressive immigration programme, but it was not the only government department controlling Canadian immigration policy. The officials in the Department of Labour believed that immigration should be dictated by the economy. The economy allowed for more immigrants when employment was readily available but needed a restrictive immigration policy to prevent heavy unemployment when jobs were unavailable. In this sense the members of the Departments of Immigration and the Department of Labour disagreed over philosophy and conflict developed.<sup>36</sup> Nonetheless this bureaucratic infighting happened behind closed doors, not in the Canadian press. In 1952, in direct conflict with the number of immigrants Canada could absorb according to Department of Labour policy, St. Laurent forecast a Canadian population of over 40,000,000 by the end of the century.<sup>37</sup> Warren Baldwin of the *Financial Post* pondered in his column, whether "Prime Minister St. Laurent [was] indirectly announcing a new immigration policy, when he recently forecast a Canadian population of 40 million by the end of the century."<sup>38</sup> With the confusion concerning the Liberal government's immigration policy, the Canadian English-language press was critical of that policy.

Canadian immigration policy saw a preference for immigrants coming from Britain, the United States and Western Europe. The need for low-wage employment in the post-war period forced a re-examination and caused tension for the immigrant selection process. As a result, immigrants from Italy and the rest of Southern Europe were initially rejected outright.<sup>39</sup>

Canadian Immigration, Labour and External Affairs officials disagreed about the merits of

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<sup>36</sup> Hawkins, *Canada and Immigration*, 111-112.

<sup>37</sup> Warren Baldwin, "More Immigrants, New Policy On Way?" *Financial Post*, 18 October 1952.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 21-22.

accepting Italian immigrants, because of their perceived cultural inferiority.<sup>40</sup> Italians were considered “less desirable than the British, white Americans and northwestern Europeans who traditionally were Canada’s preferred immigrants.”<sup>41</sup> The nativist assumptions made about Italy in Canada before the war were just as prevalent in the postwar period. Italians were equated with warmer climates and cultural backwardness.<sup>42</sup> A report from the Anglican church recommended restricting entry “to those people who have the ‘Anglo-Saxon idea’ if not the Anglo-Saxon blood.”<sup>43</sup> However, fears over the foreignness of Italian culture ultimately took a backseat to the need to find people willing to fill low-wage jobs.<sup>44</sup> Together immigrant and refugee aid groups, as well as industry leaders, drowned out the criticism to accept immigrants from Southern Europe, including Italy.<sup>45</sup>

The Immigration Act of 1952 simplified the administration of immigration, and expanded the responsibility of the minister, but burdened the department with marginal cases. The legislation gave the minister power to prohibit or limit the admission of persons for reasons of their nationality, ethnicity, occupation, lifestyle, unsuitability with regard to Canada’s climate or a perceived inability to be readily assimilated into Canadian society.<sup>46</sup> In effect, the minister of Citizenship and Immigration had the final say on every individual case. Consequently, the minister’s role became more cumbersome. Two years after the Act was passed, Liberal Immigration Minister Jack Pickersgill told the Special Committee on Estimates that ninety percent of his time was “devoted to the Immigration Department on marginal cases.”<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers*, 26.

<sup>41</sup> Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People*, 22.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, 22.

<sup>43</sup> Archives of Ontario, Ontario Department of Planning and Development, Immigration Branch, Church of England, Bulletin Council for Social Service, NO. 104, 15 Oct. 1941 (cited in Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People*, 22).

<sup>44</sup> Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People*, 22.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*, 24.

<sup>46</sup> Hawkins, *Canada and Immigration*, 102.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*, 103.

In 1952 and 1953, the Canadian English-language press portrayed the St Laurent government's mixed messages concerning its immigration policy. In the press, many Canadians read about the need to increase immigration and balance that policy with economic growth. The policy focused on tying immigration to the consistency of Canada's economic growth. The Kingston *Whig-Standard* challenged the Liberal government for falling short of its ambitious plan to boost population growth laid out by Prime Minister St. Laurent in 1952. The number of people who arrived in September 1952 was fewer than the number from the same month the previous year.<sup>48</sup> The criticisms persisted. The Calgary *Herald* reported in 1953 that the Chamber of Commerce called for the St Laurent government to boost the growth of Canada's population through immigration. The *Herald* argued that the government ought to be encouraging immigrants to come here "not by the thousands but by the hundred thousands."<sup>49</sup> In St. Catharines, then Immigration and Citizenship Minister Walter Harris speculated to a crowd of students that Canada could absorb around 500,000 immigrants each year. Under Harris's projection, immigration could boost Canada's population by ten million in just twenty years and improve the overall prosperity of Canadians. According to the *Globe and Mail*, Harris's boast reflected the goal espoused by St. Laurent the year before. Harris's message inspired hopes that the government was signalling a consistent direction in policy toward "a large-scale program of planned immigration, which would double Canada's population within the next two decades."<sup>50</sup> Based on the number of immigrants Canada was actually accepting, Harris and his department were sending mixed signals about their immigration programme. The press continued to

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<sup>48</sup> "Immigrants to Canada Total 135,296 This Year to Date." *Kingston Whig-Standard*, October 30, 1952.

<sup>49</sup> "We Can't be Too Selective About This." *Calgary Herald*, January 24, 1953.

<sup>50</sup> "How Many Immigrants?" *The Globe and Mail*, February 4, 1953.

challenge these messages and reported that the number of immigrants the Canadian Immigration Department allowed into Canada continued to drop.<sup>51</sup>

In 1954 the Liberals signalled to Canadians that a slowing economy necessitated a decrease in the number of immigrants the country accepted. It was the government's intention to "admit fewer immigrants to Canada in 1954 than in 1953," while also arguing that "unless economic conditions improve this downward process will continue."<sup>52</sup> Indeed immigration was reduced again in 1954.<sup>53</sup> In 1955 some newspapers questioned the government for its selective immigration policy. The *Edmonton Journal*, *Ottawa Citizen*, and the *Regina Leader Post* all reported the view that the economy could recover if more immigrants were admitted into Canada.<sup>54</sup> The *Vancouver Sun* wrote that in order to develop the economy, more immigrants were needed to drive economic growth because "the huge task of developing huge areas cannot and will not be done by the limited working force [in] Canada."<sup>55</sup> The predominant view printed in the English-language press across the country was that only by substantially increasing the workforce could economic growth be achieved.

While the Canadian government's immigration numbers were up in 1956, St Laurent's Liberals were under pressure from the Canadian print media over their slow response to the Hungarian Refugee Crisis in November of 1956. The Soviet Union sieged the city of Budapest, crushing an anti-Soviet revolution. Tens of thousands of refugees passed into Austria and an

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<sup>51</sup> "Immigration to Canada Fell Off 15 p.c. in 1952," *Montreal Star*, February 19, 1953; "Immigration to Dominion Has Decreased," *Montreal Gazette*, February 20, 1953; "Is Ottawa Courting Danger in its Immigration Policy?" *Financial Times*, March 20, 1953.

<sup>52</sup> "Impending Influx of Immigrants." *Windsor Daily Star*, August 4, 1954.

<sup>53</sup> "Canada's Immigration Down 40 Per Cent During 1954." *Edmonton Journal*, February 25, 1955.

<sup>54</sup> "Canada Immigration Down 30% In 1955." *Edmonton Journal*, January 7, 1956; "Immigration Backslides As Europe's Polls 'Dry'." *Ottawa Citizen*, January 7, 1956; "Immigration zags." *Regina Leader Post*, January 14, 1956.

<sup>55</sup> "Liberal Cabinet's Duty To Foster Immigration." *Vancouver Sun*, May 7, 1956.

international refugee crisis developed.<sup>56</sup> Initially the government's efforts to accept refugees were greeted positively. The Toronto *Daily Star* credited the government for its quick response. According to the *Star*, Pickersgill acted quickly, providing 1,732 visas to refugees within the first month.<sup>57</sup> He promised to:

by-pass all legal restrictions to make sure that every Hungarian who wants to go to Canada can freely do so and even those who are found medically unfit on arrival in Canada will not be deported but will be treated by Canadian health services.<sup>58</sup>

However as 1957 began, questions about another change in Canadian policy towards the Hungarian refugees emerged. The *Globe and Mail* criticized Pickersgill after the Liberal government changed the Canadian policy from an open door for Hungarian refugees to a capped maximum of 24,000.<sup>59</sup> The St Laurent government had reversed its policy. The *Victoria Daily Times* reported the change. In November the federal government had announced "that Hungarian refugees would be admitted to Canada without limit," but "then the Government, by an administrative act which was not announced publicly, ceased to grant more visas to Hungarians."<sup>60</sup> The reversal caused some outcry and that was not helped by the stories Canadians were reading in the press. Iacovetta asserts that many Canadians were moved by the images of "young people, teenagers, and even unaccompanied children," fleeing the destruction and retribution of the Soviets.<sup>61</sup> In the face of the backlash, Pickersgill announced that 30,000 refugees would arrive by the summer of 1957.<sup>62</sup> Out of the public eye, Pickersgill was dealing with pushback from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) who had serious concerns

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<sup>56</sup> Robert H. Keyserlingk, editor, *Breaking Ground: The 1956 Hungarian Refugee Movement to Canada*, (Toronto: York Lanes Press, Inc. 1993), viii.

<sup>57</sup> Douglas Blanchard, "1,732 Refugees Given Visas, Canada Sets No Limit - - Pickersgill." *Toronto Daily Star*, December 1, 1956.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> "Who Changed the Policy?" *The Globe and Mail*, January 10, 1957.

<sup>60</sup> "The Door Is Closed." *Victoria Daily Times*, January 11, 1957.

<sup>61</sup> Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers*, 44.

<sup>62</sup> Needham, Robert W.. "30,000 Due As Refugees By Summer." *London Free Press*, January 26, 1957.

about “the implantation of agents among the bona fide refugees.”<sup>63</sup> Pickersgill told the RCMP that “unless your Security Officer has serious reason to believe the applicant is a security risk, we would expect him to issue a security clearance.”<sup>64</sup> Pickersgill’s Deputy Minister told the RCMP that the government “properly assum(ed)” that “these Hungarian refugees would not present any security risk.”<sup>65</sup> Pickersgill was not intimidated by the RCMP’s authority. As Whitaker has said, “Pickersgill was one of the few politicians who had the courage to stand up to the RCMP and convince his Cabinet colleagues to back him.”<sup>66</sup> While there were some public concern about where Canada would house these refugees in the short-term, those concerns clearly were outnumbered by the sentiments calling for a strong Canadian response to the refugee crisis.

While many Canadians read pro-immigration views in the English-language press during the 1950s that openly criticized the government for its fluctuating policy, those views were scrutinized. C.S. Woodrow, a judge in the Lambton County Family court, criticized Canadian Immigration Officials for not letting the right kind of persons into Canada. Woodrow cited the case of an immigrant German couple who allegedly attempted to sell their six-year-old son for \$1,000. The *Ottawa Citizen* criticized the judge for using one example to attack the government’s admission of immigrants, but also for the discriminatory tone used in the case at hand. The report said:

Among a few Canadians of Anglo-Saxon ancestry there is a tendency to relate offences committed by non-Anglo-Saxons to the racial origin of the offenders. Implied, if not expressed, is the idea that nothing better can be expected of ‘foreigners’.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Reginald Whitaker, *Double Standard: The Secret History of Canadian Immigration*, (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys Limited, 1987), 85.

<sup>64</sup> Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Citizenship & Immigration fonds, vol. 167, file f.3-25-11-40, L. Fortier to L.H. Nicholson, 6 November, 1956 and Fortier to J.W. Pickersgill, 26 November, 1956 (Whitaker, *Double Standard*, 85).

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> Whitaker, *Double Standard*, 43.

<sup>67</sup> “All Immigrants Aren’t Like That.” *Ottawa Citizen*, December 11, 1952.

Despite some reservations on immigration, the English-language press's reporting of the positive impact immigrants were making on the Canadian economy was prevalent in their coverage. In 1952, nearly half of the 160,000 immigrants Canada accepted settled in Ontario and brought with them capital totalling nearly \$24,000,000.<sup>68</sup> Those in fear of the declining immigration numbers began once again to speculate about the cause in 1953. Some regarded the promotion of immigration from Europe as important because the supply of European emigrants declined each year. As the *Halifax Chronicle Herald* reported, as conditions in Europe gradually improved, Europeans had less need to emigrate.<sup>69</sup> The *Montreal Star* noted similar reports about the trend continuing in 1955.<sup>70</sup> The Hungarian Refugee Crisis was merely another example of the St. Laurent Liberals disappointing Canadian expectations on accepting more Europeans. Throughout the 1950s some Canadians wanted to accept more immigrants than the Federal government was willing to absorb. While the Liberals were ultimately slow in moving the immigration process along, their meagre targets for immigration and their miscommunication with the public was portrayed critically in the English-Canadian press.

### **The Press, the Canadian Business Community, and Immigration**

In the English-Canadian press, many read that the Canadian business community was staunchly supportive of increasing immigration in an effort to strengthen the economy and fill the demand for an expanding workforce. In August 1949 McMaster University hosted a symposium on "Population Growth and Immigration Into Canada." The symposium, on the need for more immigrants, welcomed contributors who commented on the impacts of immigration.

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<sup>68</sup> "Canada Profited Financially By Her Immigrants." *Hamilton Spectator*, January 8, 1953.

<sup>69</sup> "A Vexed and Vital Question." *Halifax Chronicle Herald*, January 26, 1953.

<sup>70</sup> "Big Immigration Drop Blamed on Two Factors." *Montreal Star*, September 3, 1955.

Members of the Canadian business community openly advocated an expanded immigration programme from the Federal government. James S. Duncan, president of the Massey Harris Company, and P.C. Armstrong, economic adviser to the Canadian Pacific Railway, both argued for more immigrants. While neither Duncan nor Armstrong preferred an open door immigration policy, both wanted a larger flow of immigrants into Canada.<sup>71</sup> Canadians across the country read in the English-Canadian press that leaders in Canada's business community were pro-immigration. The papers showed that Canadian business interests were willing to integrate new Canadians, particularly those who were not French or English in background, into the labour force. This was a continuing trend throughout the 1950s when these Canadians slowly integrated into broader Canadian society.

The Winnipeg *Free Press* reported that T.S. Mackeray, Vice-President and General Manager of the Imperial Bank of Canada, advocated for an increase in the number of immigrants Canada accepted. Speaking to the 78<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of Shareholders in Toronto, Mackeray expressed the view that "one of Canada's greatest needs is a further increase in population through immigration."<sup>72</sup> One of the reasons for his view was that Canada was experiencing what he called "full employment." He said that:

these welcome newcomers had been readily absorbed and, in this connection, it is relevant to note that in a recent survey the number of unemployed persons seeking employment was approximately 1.5% of the total labour force, and to all intents and purposes, therefore, it is correct to say that there is full employment.<sup>73</sup>

The *Free Press* presented a senior Canadian business figure urging the government to address the problem of "full employment." Two years earlier Walter Harris had suggested that

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<sup>71</sup> "Toward the Immigration Policy." *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, July 25, 1949; "Problems of Immigration." *Regina Leader Post*, August 15, 1949

<sup>72</sup> "Increased Population Through Immigration One of Canada's Greatest Needs." *Winnipeg Free Press*, November 28, 1952.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

immigrants made a strong impact on the Canadian economy through the establishment of “seventy-two new industries employing more than 6,000 people.”<sup>74</sup>

The Winnipeg *Tribune* reported that another strong proponent of immigration during the war was the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. In January of 1953 the Canadian Chamber of Commerce “urged the federal cabinet to open immigration doors to the point where Canada’s population would double to 30,000,000 in 1975.”<sup>75</sup> It was requesting the government bring in 700,000 immigrants a year.<sup>76</sup> However the Chamber expressed its desire for Canada to increase the number of immigrants from the U.K., France and the United States. In other words, they advocated a selective immigration policy.<sup>77</sup> The Calgary *Herald* challenged this notion and reported that *more* immigrants was a more important notion than *which* immigrants.<sup>78</sup> Some Canadians found the Chamber proposal to be “reasonable,” but others were critical of its selective position favouring British, French and American immigrants, stating that “such selectivity is ridiculous.”<sup>79</sup> Rhys Sale, the President of Ford Canada, made similar suggestions when speaking to the Halifax Board of Trade. Sale said that within the next twenty-five years, Canada’s population was on track to increase to more than 23 million and its national production to \$60 billion. Sale argued that an increase in immigration was essential in order to support the growth and development of Canadian industry.<sup>80</sup>

In March of 1953 the press reported the Canadian Chamber of Commerce publicly restating their interest in an expanded immigration policy to sustain economic growth. The Chamber argued that “Canada must have more people” and that “unless we continue to obtain

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<sup>74</sup> "Mr. Harris States His Policy." *The Globe and Mail*, April 29, 1950.

<sup>75</sup> "Widen Immigration Doors, Ottawa Told." *Vancouver Province*, January 20, 1953.

<sup>76</sup> "C of C Seeking Doubled Population." *Winnipeg Tribune*, January 20, 1953.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> "We Can't be Too Selective About This." *Calgary Herald*, January 24, 1953.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> "A Vexed and Vital Question." *Halifax Chronicle Herald*, January 26, 1953.

them ... we may well find that our prosperity of today may not continue.”<sup>81</sup> Not only were more immigrants necessary to sustain economic growth but Canada was ready for a dramatic increase in its population. The Chamber of Commerce said that, “we have the food to take care of many more millions, we can clothe them, we have the lumber to build houses and the fuel to heat them—we have all that is required.”<sup>82</sup> The Chamber of Commerce ratcheted up their position on immigration. The Chamber’s immigration committee said that “it is the people of Canada who will lose out if short-sighted opposition to immigration impairs the country’s future development.”<sup>83</sup> The committee was headed by A.E. McGilbray, assistant to the president of General Motors of Canada. McGilbray said that any study of immigration “reveals it creates more jobs, creates more homes, and raises the standard of living.”<sup>84</sup> The Chamber argued that immigrants create jobs and that “historically a heavy inflow of immigrants has meant greater stability, higher efficiency and higher production and consumption.”<sup>85</sup> Big business in Canada entrusted the growth of the country and the growth of the economy to new immigrants.

In 1955 the operations of big business provoked complaints from Progressive Conservative John Diefenbaker. That year the Canadian National Railway hired 1,000 new immigrants instead of rehiring out of a pool of 7,700 former employees previously laid off. Diefenbaker, who in 1954 had encouraged the Liberal government to loosen its selective immigration policy, was suddenly critical of the CNR over the hiring issue.<sup>86</sup> The *Vancouver Province* was critical of Diefenbaker, and argued that “we must recognize that as long as we accept new settlers, they must have the opportunity to work.”<sup>87</sup> Despite Diefenbaker’s

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<sup>81</sup> "Godsoe Urges Canada to Step Up Immigration Pace." *Winnipeg Daily Star*, March 19, 1953.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> "Immigrants Create Jobs--Chamber." *Ottawa Citizen*, August 5, 1954.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> "We must not bar immigrants from jobs." *Vancouver Province*, May 4, 1955.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

opposition, the English-language press portrayed big business as making decisions that, for whatever reasons, had the roundabout effect of further drawing new immigrants into broader society.

During the 1950s many Canadians read in the English-language press about the positive rationale behind accepting immigrants. The displaced persons and refugee crisis of the Second World War changed the way some Canadians thought about mass-scaled emigration from Europe.<sup>88</sup> Refugees were “all those people who had fled totalitarian regimes before the outbreak of the war” as well as those who, “starting in the second half of 1945, had left East European countries that had come under Communist control.”<sup>89</sup> These displaced persons included survivors from concentration camps, individuals who had been sent to labour camps, and those who refused to return home to Communist regimes.<sup>90</sup> These humanitarian considerations helped turn the tide of Canadian public opinion on displaced persons, refugees, and immigration.<sup>91</sup> During the period from 1950 to 1955, immigration increased the size of the Canadian labour force by two-thirds and made up almost half the total increase of the labour force during the entire decade.<sup>92</sup> Furthermore postwar immigration brought Canada more skilled workers providing more support to a growing economy during the decade.<sup>93</sup> The concerns of some Canadians regarding questions of immigration dissipated as the economy strengthened.

The Canadian Chamber of Commerce led the business crusade to pressure the Federal government to accept more immigrants. Big business interests in Canada continually stressed that immigration was the key to growing the economy and the English-language press assisted

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<sup>88</sup> Knowles, *Strangers At Our Gates*, 142.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid*, 158.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>91</sup> Palmer, *Ethnicity and Politics in Canada Since Confederation*, 17-18.

<sup>92</sup> Hawkins, *Canada and Immigration*, 41.

<sup>93</sup> Caccia, *Managing the Canadian Mosaic in Wartime*, 211.

them in presenting this message to Canadians from across the country. As the economy worsened towards the mid- to late-1950s, the Canadian business community grew more adamant that Canada accept more immigrants to supplement the economy.

## **Conclusion**

Before the 1957 federal election *The Globe and Mail* presented immigration as one of the ten major issues that would affect the outcome at the polls, questioning whether a “faster flow of manpower (was) needed in Canada.”<sup>94</sup> Throughout the 1950s federal immigration policy tied immigration levels to the status of the Canadian economy while the Canadian business community tied the growth of the economy to the number of immigrants Canada accepted. The English-language press reported on immigration and was critical of government policy. It was in the press that many Canadians read about the governing Liberals’ immigration policy. Whether it was to increase the population of the country or expand the economy, the government was portrayed as underperforming on these expectations. By the time the St Laurent Liberals were defeated by the Diefenbaker Tories at the polls in 1957, immigrants had become more visible in Canadian life, through the efforts of the press to promote immigration.

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<sup>94</sup> “The Search for the Issues,” *The Globe and Mail*, 8 June, 1957.

## Chapter 3: Liberal Party Reforms and the Ethnic Liaison Officer, 1957 to 1961

### Introduction

The Liberals lost the 1957 federal election and with it, several senior Liberals, who subsequently retired from public life. When parliament was dissolved for the election, the Liberals had 171 seats to the Progressive Conservatives fifty-one. After the votes were counted, the Liberals were down to 105 seats, with the Conservatives winning 112.<sup>1</sup> Although St. Laurent lost the election, the Liberals were within seven seats of Diefenbaker's party and managed to win the popular vote, 40.5 percent compared to the Tories' 38.5 percent,<sup>2</sup> but they had still lost much of their senior bench through retirements or defeat.<sup>3</sup> A few months later the members of the Liberal Party chose Lester Pearson as their new leader at the 1958 leadership convention. Pearson challenged Diefenbaker in the House of Commons, blamed the Conservatives for Canada's poor economic performance, and demanded that his government resign. Diefenbaker shrewdly attacked the Liberals, waving a document entitled "The Canadian Economic Outlook for 1957" that showed, according to Diefenbaker, that the Liberals had known that the economy was headed for a downturn.<sup>4</sup> Armed with rhetoric to assault the Liberals' hypocrisy, Diefenbaker now had his reason to call an election.<sup>5</sup> Parliament dissolved and Canadians headed to the polls again. Liberal Senator John Connolly, who agreed to manage the 1958 campaign with Charles Power from Québec, recalled that "the former cabinet ministers had lost touch with the grass

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<sup>1</sup> Parliament of Canada, History of Federal Ridings Since 1867, 22<sup>nd</sup> Parliament, accessed on 2 March, 2017, <http://www.lop.parl.gc.ca/About/Parliament/FederalRidingsHistory/hfer.asp?Language=E&Search=Gres&genElecti on=22&ridProvince=9&submit1=Search>; John Meisel, *The Canadian General Election of 1957*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), 238.

<sup>2</sup> Meisel, *The Canadian General Election of 1957*, 240.

<sup>3</sup> Wearing, *The L-Shaped Party*, 16.

<sup>4</sup> English, *The Worldly Years*, 200.

<sup>5</sup> Smith, *Rogue Tory*, 276-278.

roots of the party; there were no lines to the provinces. There was simply no organization in the 1958 election.”<sup>6</sup> The criticism of his own efforts speaks volumes. The election was a disaster.

After the 1957 federal election, the Liberal Party formed the Official Opposition against a large and inexperienced Progressive Conservative majority government. P.E. Bryden explains that in an election where the old-guard of the Liberal Party had been rejected by the Canadian electorate, Pearson’s Liberals “engaged in a quiet battle for control of the party.”<sup>7</sup> This conflict emerged as party elders spent much of the time after the 1958 federal election “discussing the relative shortcomings of the new Pearson party, offering advice, and seeking influence.”<sup>8</sup> These debates were happening while the party undertook serious organizational and strategic reforms. These reforms were discussed after the 1957 and 1958 defeats, and continued after the arrival of Keith Davey as the National Director in the spring of 1961.<sup>9</sup> This chapter argues that the hiring of Andrew Thompson as Ethnic Liaison Officer for the Liberal Party is one aspect of Liberal Party reform that Pearson’s party attempted during his tenure as leader. The Liberal Party debated the ways in which to include the broader membership of ethnocultural communities in the parliamentary system and election process for the benefit of the party. By matching the efforts of the Conservatives, Canada’s two mainstream political parties redefined the typical English and French contours of Canadian politics. Thompson, the Liberal Member of Provincial Parliament for Dovercourt in Toronto, designed and implemented reforms that targeted the recruitment of support from within ethnocultural communities. The Liberal Party believed that these voters had played a role at the polls in their recent defeats, and that work was needed to be

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<sup>6</sup> Wearing, *The L-Shaped Party*, 18.

<sup>7</sup> Bryden, *Planners and Politicians*, 47.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 48.

<sup>9</sup> Davey, *The Rainmaker*, 29.

done to woo them back.<sup>10</sup> Though the Liberal Party understood that Thompson's efforts were necessary to wrestle the allegiance of ethnocultural communities from the Tories, the National Liberal Federation (NLF) treated ethnocultural communities as a niche, avoiding any overlap with the rest of the campaign structure. While the Canadian Election Study indicates that the Tories won only marginally more votes from ethnocultural communities than the Liberals, Liberal Party strategists believed that the results were a definitive problem.<sup>11</sup> Though they never specified the results by region, the overall results alarmed them. Thompson explained in his "Suggested Programme with Ethnic Groups":

With consistent personal informed interest in the Ethnic groups, the Liberal Party should regain their vote ... In Canada, the wide experience of Mr. Pearson in working with the peoples of the world should be emphasized. The slow-up in immigration by the Government should be stressed. People of Ethnic background should be recruited into Liberal organizations and into the ranks of candidates.<sup>12</sup>

The fact that Thompson's role in advance of the 1962 federal election was sheltered from the broader campaign structure highlights the Liberal Party's apprehension to completely embrace Thompson's philosophies around the courting of ethnocultural communities. Ultimately the party's interest in these communities was not as clear as Thompson's hiring may indicate. Yet when we probe deeper into the efforts undertaken by Thompson and the Liberal Party to appeal to ethnocultural communities, there is ample evidence that they constructed groupings to reorganize ethnocultural categories. This process of grouping, an analysis explored first by scholar Rogers Brubaker, was a political process that emphasized the possibilities of ethnocultural communities as voting blocs. This chapter unpacks these efforts and examines ethnicity without groups.

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<sup>10</sup> Appendix 4.

<sup>11</sup> Appendix 4.

<sup>12</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic Groups -- Mr. A.E. Thompson, Andrew Thompson, "Suggested Programme With Ethnic Groups," 1 May 1958.

### **Ethnocultural Communities in the 1957 and 1958 Federal Elections**

For many Liberal Members of Parliament (MPs) and candidates, courting ethnocultural communities was neither a common practice nor a priority in their efforts to win elections. The NLF had no strategy and made no concerted effort to court New Canadian voters prior to their losses in 1957 and 1958. The Liberal Party had traditionally relied on their historical ties to immigrants and their modest efforts in liberalizing immigration policy. In addition their Progressive Conservative opponents' frequent anti-immigrant posture reinforced these traditional Liberal appeals.<sup>13</sup> Except for a few exceptions, the fact remained that Liberal politicians had little to no experience mingling with members of ethnocultural communities. By contrast the Progressive Conservative Party portrayed itself as comfortable among ethnocultural communities and were led by a party leader who focused attention on these communities. This image was aided by the fact that in some instances the Conservatives ran candidates who were members of those communities. Howard Palmer argues that Diefenbaker's appointment of Michael Starr as Minister of Labour and Canada's first Ukrainian-Canadian cabinet minister, helped "swing many Ukrainians to the Conservatives."<sup>14</sup>

Though they were in the small minority, Paul Martin and Jack Pickersgill understood that courting ethnocultural communities would increase the Liberal Party's election prospects. They were among the first in their party to recognize that non-English and non-French Canadians created a political advantage. Martin spent time campaigning amongst ethnocultural communities both inside and beyond in his own riding of Windsor. He visited with the Windsor Lebanese & Syrian Association to meet and encourage local voters. Moreover, Martin spent time

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<sup>13</sup> Palmer, *Ethnicity and Politics in Canada Since Confederation*, 20.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, 21.

courting the Toronto German Association on behalf of Toronto-area Liberals.<sup>15</sup> Jack Pickersgill also spent time meeting with ethnocultural communities. While he was Minister of Citizenship and Immigration he interacted with members of the Montreal Polish Canadian Congress, a Dutch community association in Chatham, and a representatives of the ethnic press editors.<sup>16</sup> These efforts by Martin and Pickersgill, though not exclusively, tended to focus on groups within the Christian, and even Catholic, communities. The archival evidence suggests that by 1955 and 1956, other members of the St. Laurent cabinet were not advising the Liberal Party of any efforts made at courting of ethnocultural communities.<sup>17</sup>

Although the Liberal party brass in Ottawa neglected ethnocultural communities until after the 1957 federal election, as early as 1955, politicians in the Toronto area began openly talking about them. Jim Karfilis, the Ontario Liberal candidate in St. David, criticized his Conservative and CCF opponents for their parties' focus on either just business or just labour. Karfilis promised to be a representative to all his constituents:

the Liberal Party is the only one which represents the people as a whole: it is the party that is the friend of all ethnic groups, and that's why the Liberal Party is the only one that can unite Canada.<sup>18</sup>

Karfilis's remark was broad, but pointed to a trend that included ethnocultural communities in political discourse. The notion that the Liberal Party was the "friend of all ethnic groups" speaks to the lack of knowledge that could be found in the party during the 1950s. Certainly the Liberals were not "friends" of all ethnocultural communities. In preparation for the 1957 federal election

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<sup>15</sup> LAC, Liberal Party of Canada (LPC) fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 631, Ministers Itineraries 1955-1956, George Carty to James Cross, 1 September 1954; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 631, Ministers Itineraries 1955-1956, George Carty to James Cross, 24 October 1955.

<sup>16</sup> LAC, MG 28 IV 3 vol. 631, Ministers Itineraries 1955-1956 "Engagements for Honourable J.W. Pickersgill," 5 January 1956; LAC, MG 28 IV 3 vol. 631, Minister's Itineraries 1956, "Engagements for Honourable J.W. Pickersgill," 19 March 1956; LAC, MG 28 IV 3 vol. 631, Cabinet Ministers' Itineraries 1956, Charlie Granger to H.E. Kidd, 15 November 1956.

<sup>17</sup> No itineraries provided to the NLF show Liberal Ministers interacting with ethnocultural communities aside from Pickersgill and Martin. See this folder for details: LAC, MG 28 IV 3 vol. 631, Ministers Itineraries 1955-1956.

<sup>18</sup> "Jim Karfilis: Wouldn't Take Orders of Gang, Lost Nomination," *The Globe and Mail*, 7 June 1955.

the Toronto Liberals nominated Alderman Phillip Givens in the riding of Spadina. Givens later became the mayor of Toronto from 1963 until 1966. Spadina, formerly represented by Senator David Croll, included a significant number of ethnocultural communities that the Liberals were targeting. The nomination meeting attracted over 600 Liberals including a significant number of persons from ethnocultural communities. The *Globe and Mail* reported that Givens's "nomination was seconded by a parade of representatives from ethnic groups," though no explicit mention of which communities was mentioned.<sup>19</sup> Though Givens lost the election by just 852 votes, clearly the Liberals had attracted some ethnocultural communities to participate in their partisan political process.<sup>20</sup>

In challenging the Liberals, Progressive Conservative candidates targeted ethnocultural communities in Metro Toronto. In late April 1957 Progressive Conservative leader John Diefenbaker came to Toronto and campaigned. Diefenbaker focused on a group of editors from the ethnic press in Ontario and Manitoba.<sup>21</sup> The ethnic press sought to integrate, assist and guide New Canadians from a variety of emigrant origins. According to Joseph Kirschbaum, a past President of the Canadian Ethnic Press Federation (CEPF), which was an association of ethnic press newspapers, "in this way, the ethnic press became an important tool in forming public opinion among millions of new Canadians."<sup>22</sup> When Diefenbaker spoke with editors of the ethnic press, he praised the contribution immigrants made on Canada's economic development.<sup>23</sup> Diefenbaker appealed to the ethnic press's power of informing public opinion of ethnocultural communities. Later, he unveiled the party platform at "the greatest gathering of Conservatives

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<sup>19</sup> "Spadina Liberals Name Givens As Candidate," *The Globe and Mail*, 26 March, 1957. Unfortunately the article does not specify how many ethnic members attended or describe their ethnic origins.

<sup>20</sup> Wilfrid List, "Nor Cold Nor Snow Stays Candidates: Warm Up to Battle in Spadina," *The Globe and Mail*, 20 February, 1958.

<sup>21</sup> Palmer, *Ethnicity and Politics in Canada Since Confederation*, 21.

<sup>22</sup> J.M. Kirschbaum, B. Heydenkorn, V. Mauko, Rev. P. Gaida, editors, *Twenty Years of the Ethnic Press Association of Ontario*, (Toronto: Published by the Ethnic Press Association of Ontario, 1971), 5.

<sup>23</sup> "Strong and Simple," *The Globe and Mail*, 30 April, 1957.

ever seen in Canada,” at Massey Hall in Toronto.<sup>24</sup> Unlike the Liberals, Diefenbaker’s focus on Toronto and the ethnic press, indicated that the Conservatives were challenging the allegiance of ethnocultural communities to the Liberals.<sup>25</sup>

In the Toronto riding of Parkdale the Progressive Conservatives nominated Arthur Maloney. Once a bastion of Protestant votes for the Conservatives, the Liberals won Parkdale in the 1949 federal election. Since the days it was a Conservative stronghold, the makeup of the riding changed considerably. In 1957 the riding was “50 per cent new Canadian.”<sup>26</sup> Maloney challenged Liberal incumbent John Hunter and focused on the recruitment of new Canadian voters, with an emphasis on the Ukrainians and the Poles. The Conservative candidate hosted a St. Patrick’s Day event at the Croatian National Hall that was attended by more than one hundred representatives from a dozen ethnocultural communities that resided in the Parkdale riding. Grey Hamilton of the *Globe and Mail* reported that “Maloney’s March 17 party was part of a careful program of cultivating the new Canadian vote.” Hamilton posited that Maloney’s strategy was a clear one: Hunter had “neglected the ethnic vote” and the PCs hoped to knock the Liberals off in the riding.<sup>27</sup> In 1953 the Liberals had won the majority of the riding’s 183 polls while the Conservatives had won just 20 of them and the CCF only two. Maloney’s campaign worked on the logic that each voter they won from an ethnocultural community would go a long way in denting the Liberal’s hold on the riding. Maloney possessed credentials that made him appealing to voters from ethnocultural communities: he was a Catholic, and well-known as a Criminal

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<sup>24</sup> “Date With Diefenbaker Big Conservative Rally Will Launch Campaign,” *The Globe and Mail*, 25 April, 1957.

<sup>25</sup> In fact Thompson considers the ethnic press as one of several factors contributing towards the Liberal Party’s defeat. He explains to the NLF in his assessments that: “the Conservatives won the ethnic vote because they ... had more favourable coverage at ethnic affairs from both the Toronto newspapers and ethnic press.” (LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic Groups -- Mr. A.E. Thompson, Andrew Thompson, "Suggested Programme With Ethnic Groups," 1 May 1958).

<sup>26</sup> “Face of Population Changed: Cultivate Vote of New Canadians in Parkdale,” *The Globe and Mail*, 23 May, 1957.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

lawyer who figured prominently in high-profile cases. Furthermore, Maloney strategically canvassed in parts of the riding that were populated by ethnocultural communities and “always managed a few words in their own language,” when going door-to-door.<sup>28</sup> Maloney in the end was successful in capturing the riding for the Conservatives by a margin of 2,211 votes.<sup>29</sup>

The Progressive Conservatives also focused on the importance of ethnocultural communities in High Park and selected physician Dr. John W. Kucherepa as their candidate. Kucherepa was then President of the Ukrainian Council of Canada.<sup>30</sup> Palmer argues that the Ukrainian community in Canada took significant pride in the election of officials from their community and viewed it as a growing sign of acceptance.<sup>31</sup> Kucherepa certainly stressed this nuance when he told the press that “in High Park ... there is a large ethnic population of whom I am very proud.”<sup>32</sup> Still, Kucherepa faced the challenge of defeating Liberal incumbent Pat Cameron who was seeking his third term as MP for the constituency. Relying on his name and Ukrainian background, local Conservatives sensed “a swing” that they felt would “send Dr. John W. Kucherepa to Ottawa.”<sup>33</sup> The Tories believed that the “ethnic vote” would be a “big factor operating in his favour.”<sup>34</sup> Kucherepa defeated Cameron by 2,267 votes.<sup>35</sup>

Maloney characterized the Progressive Conservative victory in 1957 as a triumph for a “national party”:

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Parliament of Canada, Parkdale, Ontario (1917-1979), accessed on 8 April, 2017, <http://www.lop.parl.gc.ca/About/Parliament/FederalRidingsHistory/hfer.asp?Language=E&Search=Det&Include=Y&rid=533>. Maloney received 9,882 votes or 45.18% of the popular vote compared to John Hunter’s 7,671 or 35.07%. The CCF’s Archie Chisholm received 3,492 votes or 13.39%.

<sup>30</sup> Dr. John W. Kucherepa, a medical doctor, was President of the Ukrainian Council of Canada from 1956 to 1958. He was also Alderman of Toronto City Council in Ward 7 from 1952 to January 1958.

<sup>31</sup> Palmer, *Ethnicity and Politics in Canada Since Confederation*, 22.

<sup>32</sup> “Liberals, PC’s In Bitter Battle For High Park,” *The Globe and Mail*, 7 June, 1957.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Parliament of Canada, High Park, Ontario (1935-1972), accessed on 8 April, 2017, <http://www.lop.parl.gc.ca/About/Parliament/FederalRidingsHistory/hfer.asp?Language=E&Search=Det&rid=284&Include=>. Kucherepa received 11,034 votes or 46% of the popular vote compared to Cameron’s 8,767 votes or 36.6%. The CCF’s Clarence Pethick received 3,657 votes or 15.27%.

The support we got knew no boundaries of race, or class or creed. We were supported by the workingmen; we were supported by the people who hire them. We were supported by the English; we were supported by the French. We were supported by the Protestant, the Catholic and the Jew. We were supported by every group, every race, every class of people in our country. In other words, we proved ourselves to be what others might sometimes suggest we were not. We proved ourselves to be the national party, the party of all the people in this country.<sup>36</sup>

Despite the rhetoric employed by Maloney or others, ethnocultural communities were not entirely welcome participants in the political process. Ethnocultural communities were looked at differently than Canadians of the two main charter communities. Laura Schippers, then a co-editor of the Dutch language newspaper, *De Nederlandse Courant voor Canada*, described the environment these voters found themselves in.<sup>37</sup> She said that:

If an immigrant were to criticize Canada, saying that job opportunities had been misrepresented, housing was too expensive, old age pensions a measly pittance, farm prices a disgrace, and asking why we allowed the United States to call the Canadian tune, the deportation board of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration and the RCMP would have him under observation. He would be lucky if he could avoid deportation on the grounds of being subversive and communistically inclined. So the wise immigrant keeps his thoughts to himself and goes to political meetings where he can hear the same things said with lots of fire and plenty of passion.<sup>38</sup>

Ethnocultural communities were courted by political parties but some of them still felt isolated from voicing concern for issues that affected them. Schippers also complained about the temporary convenience of courting “New Canadians” in an election. She wrote sarcastically that “for those of us who have become citizens, it is nice to know that at election time we are THE PEOPLE, just as much as if we were Canadian-born.”<sup>39</sup>

The 1958 federal election was fought under entirely new terms for the Liberals and the Conservatives. In the aftermath of the 1957 federal election, Liberal leader Louis St. Laurent resigned the leadership, which necessitated a convention to select his successor. The veteran

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<sup>36</sup> Clark Davey, “Maloney’s Unity Plea Called Official Reply To Chevrier Charges,” *The Globe and Mail*, 22 October, 1957.

<sup>37</sup> “Writer, Editor on Dutch Paper Here for 10 Years,” *The Globe and Mail*, 30 April, 1962.

<sup>38</sup> Laura Schippers, “It’s a Time for Newcomers to Aid the party,” *The Globe and Mail*, 26 October, 1957.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

campaigner Martin and the relative newcomer Lester Pearson challenged each other with the latter winning in a one-sided race. Pearson's attack on Diefenbaker over the economy failed and the prime minister called a snap election. In Québec Maurice Duplessis' Union Nationale supporters helped propel Diefenbaker's party to win fifty seats there building on the extensive groundwork Conservatives had made in Ontario.<sup>40</sup> It was estimated that of the 1,500,000 immigrants who arrived in Canada since the Second World War, as many as 800,000 of them were eligible to vote in 1958 federal election. The *Globe and Mail* reported that 400,000 of these eligible voters were from non-English and non-French communities while the others were from the British Isles. One political strategist commented that of the 265 electoral districts, 101 of them had ethnocultural populations that could influence the outcome.<sup>41</sup> John Meisel argues that the analysis done on the 1958 federal election, "points to the fact that Prime Minister Diefenbaker ... received strong support from [ethnic voting members] of the population."<sup>42</sup>

The campaign in Spadina is critical to understanding the emergence of influential ethnocultural communities. The riding had a diverse collection of voters that included Anglo-Saxons, Italians, Ukrainians, Germans and Poles. These groups, outside of the Anglo-Saxons, tended to be Catholic Christians, who Richard Johnston argues were typically loyal to the Liberal Party.<sup>43</sup> Moreover all three major parties picked candidates and prepared strategies to court

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<sup>40</sup> The Union Nationale actively assisted the Conservatives during the 1953 federal election, though Duplessis himself stayed out of the campaign. In 1957, Duplessis put the Union Nationale machinery into work for Progressive Conservative's "to keep up with his own voters." (Smith, *Rogue Tory*, 179, 281-282).

<sup>41</sup> Wilfred List, "Party Interest Pays Off: 400,000 Ethnic Voters Seen in Key Role," *The Globe and Mail*, 27 March, 1958.

<sup>42</sup> S. Peter Regenstreif, "Group Perceptions and the Vote: Some Avenues of Opinion Formation In the 1962 Campaign," in *Papers on the 1962 Election*, edited by John Meisel, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), 245.

<sup>43</sup> Richard Johnston, "The Reproduction of the Religious Cleavage in Canadian Elections," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 18 no. 1 (March, 1985): 112.

ethnocultural communities.<sup>44</sup> The Tories had won the riding in a 1955 by-election when former Prime Minister St Laurent appointed Croll to the Senate.<sup>45</sup> The Liberals brought in a number of former cabinet ministers such as Jack Pickersgill and Paul Martin with experience in courting ethnocultural communities to speak on behalf of Givens. Givens went after voters from ethnocultural communities and produced tape-recorded appeals in several languages. The Progressive Conservative incumbent, Charles Rea, mailed campaign literature in six different languages. The CCF mounted a strong challenge by nominating John Kedzierzykowski, their candidate in 1957, once again. Kedzierzykowski was fluent in Polish, German, French and English.<sup>46</sup> In Spadina these parties competed for the allegiance of these voters. To do this the campaign teams made use of multilingual campaign materials to engage the significantly different ethnocultural pockets within the electoral district. Rea was elected to a second term by over 4000 votes.<sup>47</sup>

To compete with Diefenbaker, the Liberals tried to cast Pearson in a stronger light with ethnocultural communities. Signalling another round of change Pearson conducted an interview with the Toronto Polish-language newspaper *Zwiaskowiec Polish Alliance* that was published on 5 February 1958. The interview was subsequently translated and reprinted in the *Globe and Mail*. Pearson noted the unification of English and French Canada into one united Liberal Party and

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<sup>44</sup> Wilfrid List, "Nor Cold Nor Snow Stays Candidates: Warm Up to Battle in Spadina," *The Globe and Mail*, 20 February, 1958.

<sup>45</sup> Parliament of Canada, Spadina, Ontario (1935-1988), accessed on 8 April, 2017, <http://www.lop.parl.gc.ca/About/Parliament/FederalRidingsHistory/hfer.asp?Language=E&Search=Det&Include=Y&rid=696>.

<sup>46</sup> Wilfrid List, "Nor Cold Nor Snow Stays Candidates: Warm Up to Battle in Spadina," *The Globe and Mail*, 20 February, 1958.

<sup>47</sup> Parliament of Canada, Spadina, Ontario (1935-1988), accessed on 8 April, 2017, <http://www.lop.parl.gc.ca/About/Parliament/FederalRidingsHistory/hfer.asp?Language=E&Search=Det&Include=Y&rid=696>. Rae received 14,616 votes or 50.16% of the popular vote compared to Philip Givens 10,596 votes or 36.37%. The CCF's John Kedzierzykowski received 3,040 votes and 10.43%.

focused his message on incorporating more ethnocultural communities into his vision for Canada. He said:

Fifty years ago, French-Canadians and Anglo-Canadians could be considered as two separate political forces. During the past twenty years, however, the Liberal Party contributed a great deal to their unification. Now we have a third force, consisting of New Canadians who are adding color and diversity to Canadian life. With the greatest joy I would welcome all New Canadians to our ranks, because in such manner, any difference between visions would be erased.<sup>48</sup>

Pearson appeared open to the idea of acknowledging the place of this so-called “third force” in Canadian life. But how were the Liberals appealing to these voters? In mid-March, Pearson gave the ethnic press special access to him on the campaign trail in Winnipeg and held a special news conference.<sup>49</sup> In the final week of the campaign, mirroring Diefenbaker’s opening campaign, the *Globe and Mail* reported that Pearson attended an “ethnic group luncheon” in Toronto.<sup>50</sup> Pearson used the luncheon, in front of 150 leaders of ethnocultural organizations, where he promised that under his leadership, Canada would play a role in freeing Soviet satellite states through diplomacy. Pearson also talked about a more open immigration policy than Canada was seeing under the Diefenbaker.<sup>51</sup> Pearson, at the very least, presented his party’s ideas to ethnocultural communities.

In 1958 the Tories continued to show that their party was interested in ethnocultural communities. Maloney accused Toronto-area Liberals of pitting ethnocultural communities against one another. “There is a tendency for the Liberals in this campaign to revert to the methods of Mackenzie King—divide the people and you can conquer them. Set race against race, class against class and creed against creed.”<sup>52</sup> Maloney’s rhetoric was of course exaggerated. His

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<sup>48</sup> “A Polish Newspaper’s Interview With Mr. Lester Pearson,” *The Globe and Mail*, 27 February, 1958.

<sup>49</sup> “The Liberal Leader ‘Faintly Recalled,’” *The Globe and Mail*, 15 March, 1958.

<sup>50</sup> “Pearson Turns To Ontario In Final Drive,” *The Globe and Mail*, 19 March, 1958.

<sup>51</sup> Wilfred List, “Pearson Favors Talks To Free Satellites, Rejects Use of Force,” *The Globe and Mail*, 22 March, 1958.

<sup>52</sup> “On the Hustings: Maloney Charges Liberals Try to Split Ethnic Groups,” *The Globe and Mail*, 10 March, 1958.

Liberal opponent and volunteers were telling ethnocultural communities in the constituency that the Progressive Conservatives were opposed to immigration, citing the decrease in immigration numbers in the year that the Diefenbaker government took office.<sup>53</sup> Yet the Conservatives were still sending positive messages to these communities. Maloney, in particular, ran an inclusive and diverse campaign. Days before the election he hosted a rally that included a number of ethnocultural leaders from the Croatian, Czech, German, Hungarian, Italian, Latvian, Polish, Lithuanian and Ukrainian communities speaking on his behalf.<sup>54</sup> The evidence suggests that Maloney and other Conservatives were conscious of voters from ethnocultural communities. The Conservative candidate for Trinity, for example, Edward Lockyer, spoke to a community of Polish-Canadians at the Polish Veterans' Hall, at College and Shaw Streets.<sup>55</sup> Lockyer promised that under the Diefenbaker regime, new Canadians would continue to contribute to the fabric of Canada.<sup>56</sup> Lockyer, who eventually beat former Liberal MP Stanley Haidasz, was undoubtedly conscious of his opponents Polish-Canadian background.

During the 1958 campaign, the Progressive Conservatives attempted to do more to integrate New Canadians. The Conservatives supplied their candidates with a special speaker's kit to help them address ethnocultural communities in their own language.<sup>57</sup> For Michael Starr, the Ukrainian-Canadian Minister of Labour "the biggest thrill" was speaking in the west:

The halls would be filled with people, and sitting there in the front would be the first Ukrainian immigrants with shawls and hands gnarled from work. I would speak for about twenty minutes in English and then I would switch to Ukrainian and the tears would start to run down their

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> "Hall Packed For Maloney, Many Stand," *The Globe and Mail*, 29 March, 1958.

<sup>55</sup> Edward Lockyer was selected for the Progressive Conservative candidate in Trinity over R.C. Barrington, a mathematics teacher fluent in Polish, German and French.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Wilfred List, "Party Interest Pays Off: 400,000 Ethnic Voters Seen in Key Role," *The Globe and Mail*, 27 March, 1958.

faces. A man came to me one day and he said, "Now I can die, I have met a minister of Ukrainian extraction."<sup>58</sup>

The Progressive Conservatives used their perceived appeal to ethnocultural communities to attack the Liberals and draw conclusions on their victory. A couple of days before the election, Maloney remarked that "the Liberals talk as though they have a monopoly of the people who have come to Canada since 1945. I wish they could be here tonight."<sup>59</sup> When the prime minister was returned to office with a massive majority, for some, "the Conservative victory confirmed the support of the party and the Diefenbaker program by the so-called ethnic groups."<sup>60</sup> According to George Nagy, more than one million voters from ethnocultural communities cast their ballots for the Progressive Conservatives during the 1958 federal election.<sup>61</sup> Of those voters, 400,000 were reported to have been voting for the first time.<sup>62</sup> Nagy says that of the 102 "ethnically-sensitive" ridings across the country, the Tories lost just seven of them. This phenomenon resulted in a considerable number of victories for the Progressive Conservatives and a few close calls for the CCF and the Liberals, such as Paul Martin's narrow 1,000 vote victory. The Conservatives improved in districts like Edmonton East, "where last year's loss (to the Liberals) by a 7,000 margin with an Anglo-Saxon Conservative candidate, was turned into a 9,000 vote victory this time with a candidate of Ukrainian Origin, William Skoreyko."<sup>63</sup>

The efforts by the Liberal Party during the 1950s to court ethnocultural communities were small and specific. Moreover, most Liberals only seemed to be concerned with them during the elections. It would take serious Liberal defeats in 1957 and 1958 and the hiring of Ontario

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<sup>58</sup> Smith, *Rogue Tory*, 280-281.

<sup>59</sup> "Hall Packed For Maloney, Many Stand," *The Globe and Mail*, 29 March, 1958.

<sup>60</sup> George Nagy, "PCs Sweep Country, Win 50 Quebec Seats," *The Globe and Mail*, 1 April, 1958.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> Wilfred List, "Party Interest Pays Off: 400,000 Ethnic Voters Seen in Key Role," *The Globe and Mail*, 27 March 1958.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

Liberal MPP Andrew Thompson before more members of the party began to believe that courting new immigrants and ethnocultural communities could reap electoral dividends.

### **Liberal Party Reform**

After their defeats to Diefenbaker's Progressive Conservatives, the Liberal Party considered reforms. Discussions on reform were predicated on characterizing their defeats and assessing the prospects of winning the next election. An unsigned memorandum after the party's defeat in 1957 expressed concern that the Liberals represented the interests of French Canada above all others. The memorandum argued that the NLF's standing in Québec hurt them in Ontario. The latter province was described as "the key to the whole situation," and the place where their efforts should begin.<sup>64</sup> The NLF sought to build itself up in Ontario first with an empowered executive, paid strategists, and more volunteers.<sup>65</sup> Specifically though, the Liberal Party's efforts became focused on Metro Toronto.

Liberal Party President Senator John Connolly hired James Scott as National Director in 1959. Scott had previously been the Executive Director of the Ontario Liberal Party and favoured an effective grassroots approach to politics. He believed that successful campaigns focused on canvassing and local influencers.<sup>66</sup> Scott's influence in the Liberal Party had an early effect but it was also sympathetic of Connolly's approach. Before Scott was hired, some members of the NLF were already discussing reform centered around local, grassroots politics. There had been discussions of opening the NLF up to local riding associations who could influence provincial executive committees, the provincial campaign committees, the national

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<sup>64</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 724, Election Reports 1965 Post Election, "Memorandum concerning the Liberal Party in Canada after June 10th, 1957," June 1957.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Wearing, *The L-Shaped Party*, 23.

campaign committee and the national executive.<sup>67</sup> Conversely, the NLF's initial discussion focused on reform to develop a more effective grassroots base in the party. Under Scott's leadership, the national executive sought more contact with the party's local constituency associations through existing provincial structures.<sup>68</sup>

In consideration of the broader aspects of the reform, the Liberal Party discussed how it would engage ethnocultural communities. In the spring of 1958 Andrew Thompson made detailed recommendations on the party's recruitment of support from ethnocultural communities. Thompson's recommendations offered both national and local approaches. Thompson was a Toronto-area politician and organizer. The party prioritized its own emphasis on the political consequences in Metro Toronto by discussing outreach plans towards ethnocultural communities with Thompson. This decision to focus on courting ethnocultural communities was centered on the city's history of immigration. After the Second World War, "non-British immigrants, mostly Europeans, seriously challenged the city's predominantly Anglo-Saxon and Protestant character."<sup>69</sup> Some in the Liberal Party believed that these immigrants impacted the 1957 federal election.<sup>70</sup> Toronto had changed and was still changing rapidly when Thompson began his work engaging ethnocultural communities on behalf of the Liberal Party.

Thompson was an Ulster Protestant immigrant who came to Canada from Belfast. He first came to prominence in the 1953 federal election, raising the alarm to the Ontario wing of the Liberal Party that Louis St-Laurent's bid for re-election was on the brink of collapse for want of support from ethnocultural communities in Ontario.<sup>71</sup> Though the Liberals maintained their

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<sup>67</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 724, Election Reports 1965 Post Election, "Memorandum concerning the Liberal Party in Canada after June 10th, 1957," June 1957.

<sup>68</sup> Wearing, *The L-Shaped Party*, 23.

<sup>69</sup> Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People*, xix.

<sup>70</sup> John Meisel, *The Canadian General Election of 1957*, 254.

<sup>71</sup> Champion, *The Strange Demise of British Canada*, 140-141.

majority government, Thompson predicted that the Liberals' neglect of ethnocultural votes cost them twenty seats in the province. Throughout the remainder of the 1950s Thompson continued to express an interest in courting ethnocultural votes on behalf of the Ontario and federal Liberal Parties.<sup>72</sup> Thompson's eventual efforts, as explained by Franca Iacovetta, even led a short stint of living with a "'typical' Italian working-class family."<sup>73</sup> Thompson's observations of the experience were the source for a *Toronto Star* feature on the experience by Pierre Berton. "The experiment," says Iacovetta, "was designed both to highlight the difficulty of the immigrants' lives and to illustrate that they were adaptive and hard-working."<sup>74</sup> Undoubtedly Thompson had political motivations for this maneuver. He was staking his career on making ethnocultural communities active Liberal voters.

Thompson's proposal which urged the Liberal Party to take action focused on four aspects: establishing personal contact with the ethnocultural communities; organizing background material on ethnocultural communities for the party; organizing information and education services for these communities; and organizing ethnocultural participation in community events and within the Liberal Party. Thompson argued that for the Liberal Party to be effective at attracting votes from ethnocultural communities, they needed to prepare their candidates with background information on the history of these communities, their current structure, where they get their news and information, as well as a break-down of key communities within their constituencies. The Dovercourt MPP then recommended that the party communicate with these communities through monthly bulletins, the Liberal-friendly *Toronto Star*, ethnic radio programming, and a film detailing the history of the Liberal Party. Thompson

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid, 141.

<sup>73</sup> Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People*, 121.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

focused on Ukrainian-, German-, Polish-, and Italian-Canadians.<sup>75</sup> Aside from the Ukrainian-Canadian community, these groups Thompson targeted were typically Roman Catholic. Thompson recommended that these activities be undertaken by a paid Ethnic Liaison Officer, equipped with an office and paid staff to interact regularly with members of ethnocultural communities on behalf of the party and its leader.<sup>76</sup>

Thompson's proposal was well-received. H.E. Kidd, the NLF National Secretary, believed that the Liberals failed to win the "ethnic vote" during the 1957 and 1958 elections because all the work was left to individual efforts by former Immigration Minister Jack Pickersgill and Paul Martin.<sup>77</sup> Kidd expressed an interest in developing a more centralized effort to appeal to these communities. By mid-July Thompson joined the party payroll with a monthly salary while he retained his duties as an MPP.<sup>78</sup> Despite the focus ethnocultural communities were receiving, NLF officials understood that ultimately this was just one of many areas of concern.<sup>79</sup>

Keith Davey arrived in Ottawa as national director after Scott resigned the position because of health concerns. Davey was hired after discussing the opportunity with Walter Gordon and Lester Pearson.<sup>80</sup> Davey emerged in Liberal politics out of Toronto from a collection of young Liberals who referred to themselves as Cell 13 and who met for dinner every

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<sup>75</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic Groups -- Mr. A.E. Thompson, Andrew Thompson, "Suggested Programme With Ethnic Groups," 1 May 1958.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Whitaker, *The Government Party*, 171; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic Groups -- Mr. A.E. Thompson, H.E. Kidd to Duncan MacTavish, 6 May 1958.

<sup>78</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic Groups -- Mr. A.E. Thompson, Andrew Thompson to H.E. Kidd, 4 July 1958.

<sup>79</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic Groups -- Mr. A.E. Thompson, H.E. Kidd to Duncan MacTavish, 6 May 1958.

<sup>80</sup> Davey, *The Rainmaker*, 23-24.

Wednesday evening.<sup>81</sup> The group quickly rose to prominence in Toronto and Ontario Liberal politics. Davey became President of the Toronto and York Liberal Association in 1959, and eventually national director of the federal party, while Royce Frith became President of the Ontario Liberal Association and Dan Lang became its treasurer.<sup>82</sup> Joseph Wearing argues that Cell 13 revitalized the Liberals in Toronto.<sup>83</sup> It was only a matter of time before they made their mark in Ottawa.

The Liberal Party looked to fix their deficiencies since losing government. Thompson impressed Senator Connolly with his proposal on engaging ethnocultural communities. Those in the party office understood that they could no longer just look to MPs and candidates to foster a positive relationship with ethnocultural communities who appeared to be tipping the polls across Toronto in favour of the Tories. Yet the Liberal Party changed with Davey's arrival in Ottawa as national director. Davey and others from Cell 13 had the ear of Pearson but also of Walter Gordon, Pearson's most trusted advisor.<sup>84</sup> The group, connected to Gordon, was likely also connected with Thompson, Gordon's provincial seat-mate. Davey's 'new politics' mantra was inspired by new ideas and fresh faces to stimulate an old party into a new direction. Davey believed that the existing provincial organizations could not produce reforms needed to bring in new blood.<sup>85</sup> Thompson's vision to engage ethnocultural communities fit within Davey's operational political objectives.

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<sup>81</sup> The group included Davey, Dan Lang, Gordon Dryden, Vern Singer, Joe Potts, Paul Hellyer, David Anderson, Archie Whitelaw, Boyd Upper, Richard Stanbury, Al Hollingworth, Royce Firth, Frank Enfield, Phil Givens, Jim Service, Barney Danson, and Judy LaMarsh, among others. (Ibid, 18).

<sup>82</sup> Wearing, *The L-Shaped Party*, 24; Davey, *The Rainmaker*, 18.

<sup>83</sup> Wearing, *The L-Shaped Party*, 24.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid, 26.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

## Enticing Votes From Ethnocultural Communities

After Thompson went to work for the Liberal Party as their Ethnic Liaison Officer in the summer of 1958, the party quickly bore the stamp of the Dovercourt MPP's work. Among his first contributions was to add content of interest for ethnocultural communities to the Liberal Party's publication, *Canadian Liberal Magazine*. Thompson also arranged meetings with Toronto-area ethnocultural leaders, Liberal Party representatives, as well as candidates. Thompson also represented the Liberal Party in discussions with ethnic press publications.

By the end of June 1958 the NLF had already begun preparing ethnocultural content for issues of the *Canadian Liberal Magazine*, a tool of the party to inform their riding executives and members of relevant news and information. By the end of August Thompson secured interest in writing for the magazine from Frank Glogowski, a Polish newspaper editor, and Dr. Yip, the first lawyer of Chinese background in Canada. Thompson sought columns from various other representatives in the Ukrainian, German and Italian communities.<sup>86</sup>

Thompson spoke with several leaders from various ethnocultural communities. His early meetings gave the indication that the Liberals faced an uphill battle with the Conservatives who were strongly situated with these communities. Thompson met with Joseph Strung, President of the German Alliance, which was the head of all German organizations in Canada. While Thompson found Strung on the fence, politically speaking, he emphasized that his hesitancy might be related to the fact that "he receives land appraisal jobs from the Provincial government, and therefore must be discreet about political affiliation."<sup>87</sup> During his meeting with Strung,

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<sup>86</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic Groups -- Mr. A.E. Thompson, Andrew Thompson to H.E. Kidd, 26 August 1958.

<sup>87</sup> LAC, Jack Pickersgill fonds, MG32 B 34, vol. 109, Andrew Thompson, Liberal Publicity Officer, 1958-1963, Andrew Thompson, "Monthly Report on Ethnic Groups," 18 July 1958.

Thompson inquired about potential candidates for the Liberal Party in the next election. Strung also advised Thompson of his community's concerns about the number of films stereotyping Germans as Nazis on Canadian television and requested that the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation resolve the complaint. The German community was also concerned with the Citizenship Act. Strung advised Thompson that he believed the clause detailing the loss of citizenship was too broad; while the Diefenbaker government promised to amend the Act, Thompson advised the party that a question could still be raised in question period. Thompson had similar conversations with representatives of the Ukrainian and Polish communities. Thompson found that Stanley Haidasz, a former Liberal MP, medical doctor, and a prominent member of Toronto's Polish community, was a strong symbol for the party.<sup>88</sup> In his meetings with representatives of the Ukrainians, Thompson reported that while the Liberals had a significant contact in lawyer and owner of the Ukrainian publication *Vilne Slovo* Joseph Boyko, there was a "very large swing by Ukrainians to the Conservative camp due to Starr and other Ukrainian representatives."<sup>89</sup> In fact, at a meeting of the Ukrainian Youth Federation, telegrams from Lester Pearson and Wintermeyer were not read aloud. Thompson blamed this on the influence of Tory MP Kucherepa.<sup>90</sup>

Thompson also contacted several foreign language newspapers to assess their political orientation. Thompson found that the editor of Italian newspaper, *Courier Canadese*, was

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In his chapter "Courting Our Ethnic Friends" in *The Strange Demise of British Canada: The Liberals and Canadian Nationalism, 1964-1968*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), 140, ff257, C.P. Champion incorrectly cites Thompson's "Monthly Report on Ethnic Groups," as 18 July 1953. The document is clearly dated 18 July 1958 at the end of the report. As a result, Champion incorrectly credits Thompson's analysis of the Tories and "Ethnic Groups" to the 1953 federal election, when in fact, it was written more than three months after the 1958 federal election. The report is meant to advise the Liberals on how to proceed with "Ethnic Groups" as they rebuild the Liberal Party. Champion makes the same error in his article "Courting 'Our Ethnic Friends': Canadianism, Britishness, New Canadians, 1950-1970," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* vol. 38 no. 2 (2006): 30.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

ideologically affiliated with the Progressive Conservatives and was largely under the control of conservative financial backers. The German paper *Der Courier* was a Liberal-friendly publication while *Zeitung* tended to favour the Conservatives. Stan Borowicz, editor of the *Polish Voice*, was a strong advocate of the Liberal Party. Borowicz kept Thompson informed of Polish events and celebrations across the country. The other Polish paper *Zwiazkowiec* was edited by Glogowski, a staunch Liberal, but heavily influenced by anti-Liberal board members. The Czech paper *Novy Domov* was more pro-CCF than Liberal. Joseph Boyko, editor of the Ukrainian paper *Vilne Slovo*, informed Thompson of the materials that the Tories were providing his operations with. The Tories translated every one of Diefenbaker's speeches into Ukrainian and sent them directly to Boyko. Other papers also corroborated this information. Thompson's initial contacts with these ethnic press publications had a significant impact on how he viewed the press and its influence on ethnocultural communities. Thompson met with a series of editors from ethnic press papers and advised the Liberal Party that the Italian paper *Corriere Canadese*, the German paper *Zeitung*, and the Ukrainian paper *New Canadian Press* were supported by conservative-leaning editors while editors of the German paper *Der Courier*, the Polish papers *Ziazowiec* and the *Polish Voice*, and the Ukrainian paper *Vilne Slovo* were in favour of the Liberals. Thompson's belief that the *Toronto Star* was the best avenue for the Liberal Party to target ethnocultural communities had begun to change, although the interests of the ethnic presses were so skewed, it is not surprising that he found investing in any of them a formidable task at the outset. Thompson advised the party that "the Conservatives appear to have a strong control over the ethnic press."<sup>91</sup>

A little more than half a year into his work as the Liberal Party's Ethnic Liaison Officer, Thompson created a programme that translated summaries of ethnic newspaper publications for

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

the Liberal Party. He reasoned that the party could not “rely on a steady flow of information from voluntary sources.”<sup>92</sup> The programme facilitated the party’s understanding of the ethnic press and provided “continuous information on: their editorial policies, their problems, their new slates of officers, celebrations, etc. and Conservative activities amongst these groups.”<sup>93</sup> This programme reiterated the Liberal Party’s interest in understanding ethnocultural editors and publications, as well as their desire to understand issues that affected their communities.

Thompson identified that there were “approximately 140 ethnic papers with about 50 situated in Toronto.”<sup>94</sup> Thompson encouraged the party to hire translators to focus on papers from the Dutch (*De Nederlandse Courant, Calvinist-Contact*), German (*Der Courier, Toronto Zeitung*), Italian (*Corrier Canadese*), Hungarian (*Kanadai Magyarasag*), Polish (*Glos Polski, Zwiaskowiec*), Ukrainian (*Homin Ukrainy, Nasha Meta*), Estonian (*Meie Elu*), and Chinese (*Shing Wah Daily News*) communities. Though Thompson never acknowledged that not all papers would be beneficial for the party in Toronto, he reasoned that “many national activities [took] place [t]here” in justifying the programme.<sup>95</sup> Thompson made no arguments on the notion of diversity, relying instead on the need for reliable information. The programme was an explicitly political endeavour, conceived of as a political tool to help the party understand how national political affairs were being covered in the ethnic press. The party hired translators out of Toronto because the city had the greatest access to publications from across the country. Furthermore, using Toronto translators allowed Thompson’s Toronto office closer contact with both the translators and access to ethnic press publications. Thompson recommended that these translations be sent every week to the NLF and Pearson’s office because it allowed Pearson the chance to deliver

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<sup>92</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic Groups 1959-1960, Andrew Thompson, "Translation Service of Ethnic Press," 27 January 1959.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

congratulatory letters, news and other time sensitive issues or information immediately. The programme provided “translated summaries of the various items listed in the first paragraph, rather than complete translations.”<sup>96</sup> The translators also assisted the party with translations of press releases for ethnic press editors and ethnocultural community leaders. Thompson utilized his relationships with members of various ethnocultural communities to check the quality of the translations. The project was given an initial three-month trial period in February 1959 and was shared with the Ontario Liberal Association before it was adopted permanently.<sup>97</sup>

The translation services programme ran until 1965 when it was disbanded. The programme was characteristic of the approach Thompson employed. He used the service to keep tabs on Canada’s ethnocultural communities. Each weekly translation often included a summary of political news, Canadian headlines, and international news and was organized by the language of the press.<sup>98</sup> They provided Thompson, the party, and Pearson’s office with not only perspective on what ethnocultural communities were reading in their press, but also information on ethnocultural community organizations. For example, during the trial run of the programme the party was provided with the names of new officers from various organizations from the German, Latvian, and Polish communities. Thompson encouraged the party to make use of the information by having Pearson send congratulatory letters to these new officers. In another instance the ethnic press ran quotes from immigration critic Jack Pickersgill about the Conservatives proposed citizenship legislation.<sup>99</sup> Thompson also used translators to translate

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic Groups -- Mr. A.E. Thompson, George Marler to Andrew Thompson, 27 February 1959.

<sup>98</sup> See these records for the summaries: LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic Groups -- Mr. A.E. Thompson; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 703, Ethnic; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 706, Ethnic Newspapers 1960-1961; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 727, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 2 Jan. 1964 - Dec/64; LAC, Paul Hellyer fonds, MG32 B 33 vol. 207, Canada Ethnic Press Federation 1964-1965.

<sup>99</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 697, Ethnic Groups 1959-1960, Andrew Thompson to George Marler, 19 February 1959.

Liberal Party materials and sent them to the ethnic press.<sup>100</sup> The party employed an entirely new source of information.

In the spring of 1959 Ukrainian-Canadian Dr. George Korey-Krzeczowski asked Liberal leader Lester Pearson for a meeting to discuss his “proposal of an Ethnic Bureau at the Headquarters of the Liberal Party.”<sup>101</sup> Korey-Krzeczowski advised Pearson that he had “discussed with representatives of different ethnic groups the idea of integrating ethnic elements in the political life of Canada.”<sup>102</sup> He had served in the Polish diplomatic service as an economic advisor until 1951 when he resigned and emigrated to Canada. In Canada, Korey-Krzeczowski became a management consultant but was also involved in the Canadian Polish community.<sup>103</sup> He wanted the Liberal Party to establish an “Ethnic Council” to serve as an advisory board on “ethnic issues.” The idea, first discussed in Montreal, had “reached the point that it might be ... of mutual interest to explore ... with the leadership of the Liberal Party.”<sup>104</sup> Liberal Party staff seriously considered the merits of the idea but they were skeptical of Korey-Krzeczowski, so they suggested that he meet with George Marler who had served as St. Laurent’s Minister of Transportation from 1954 to 1958. In the fall of 1960 Marler was appointed Minister without Portfolio in the Cabinet of Jean Lesage in Québec and became a trusted liaison with the federal party.<sup>105</sup> During the meeting, Korey-Krzeczowski presented Marler with the idea of courting ethnocultural communities across the country, unaware that the Liberal Party was simultaneously

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<sup>100</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic Groups -- Mr. A.E. Thompson, George Marler to Andrew Thompson, 27 February 1959.

<sup>101</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic, George Korey-Krzeczowski to Lester Pearson, 13 August 1958.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> LAC, “George Korey-Krzeczowski fonds,” accessed 6 March, 2017,

[http://collectionsCanada.gc.ca/pam\\_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&rec\\_nbr=103466&lang=en&rec\\_nbr\\_list=103466](http://collectionsCanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&rec_nbr=103466&lang=en&rec_nbr_list=103466).

<sup>104</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 697, Ethnic Groups 1959-1960, George Korey-Krzeczowski to Lester Pearson, 21 February 1959.

<sup>105</sup> Jack Pickersgill, *My Years With Louis St Laurent*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), 214, 218-219; Dale C. Thomson, *Jean Lesage & The Quiet Revolution*, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1984), 97.

exploring the effort in Toronto with Thompson. Marler was impressed with Korey-Krzeczowaki and encouraged Thompson to take his ideas seriously.<sup>106</sup> The difference between Thompson's operation and what Korey-Krzeczowaki proposed was the latter's desire to form an advising "Ethnic Council." Marler thought the idea had some merit and believed that the Liberal Party executive should explore the concept.<sup>107</sup> Essentially Korey-Krzeczowaki proposed a parallel organization to the Liberal Party at the national, provincial, and local levels.<sup>108</sup> Thompson was hesitant and rejected the idea.<sup>109</sup> Thompson, Marler and the Liberal Party national executive feared that the suggestion would divide the party along ethnocultural lines:

the Executive believes that the establishment of Ethnic Councils or Committees would tend to create a separation between Canadian citizens rather than to bring them all closer together. The Liberal party has—as I think I told you at our very first meeting—always held the view that there should be no distinction between Canadians, whether native born or naturalised, and the Executive Committee thought that the setting up of separate councils or committees on an ethnic basis would run directly counter to what the Liberal party has advocated in the past.<sup>110</sup>

The use of "councils" or "committees" in Marler's rejection of the idea of an Ethnic Council to Korey-Krzeczowaki was used to soften the negative decision as a principled response. Evidently the party was uninterested in any potential divisions. Nonetheless, Thompson continued his mandate to encourage ethnocultural communities to support the Liberal Party.

Thompson's role needs to be considered in the broader context in the Liberal Party's preparation for the 1962 federal election. Thompson served as the de facto organizer for courting ethnocultural communities on behalf of the NLF but his services were unique within the campaign structure. The NLF did not have the budget to hire organizers for the effort of the

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<sup>106</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 697, Ethnic Groups 1959-1960, George Marler to Andrew Thompson, 16 March 1959.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid, Thompson to Marler, 6 April 1959.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid, George Korey-Krzeczowaki to Marler, 24 August 1959.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid, Thompson to Marler, 6 April 1959.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid, Marler to Korey-Krzeczowaki, 15 December 1959.

whole campaign in Ontario. For example, in 1945 the Liberals employed seven full-time field organizers six months out from the federal election.<sup>111</sup> In 1961 the NLF had limited funds but understood that Thompson played a crucial role in the outcome of the election, specifically in Metro Toronto. Yet Thompson's role courting voters from ethnocultural communities was cut off from the Ontario campaign structure. The strategy outlined for the election in 1962 made no mention of ethnocultural communities or Thompson's role. Clearly there was a disconnect between the Ontario campaign organization and Thompson's role for the NLF. For example, the section on advertising makes no mention of advertising in the ethnic press nor the translations services program that was providing content from the ethnic publications every week.<sup>112</sup> So in effect the Liberals were paying for Thompson's "Ethnic Liaison Office" but chose to exclude his work from the broader campaign in Ontario.<sup>113</sup> In fact Thompson worked independently and reported directly to Bruce Powe, the Ontario campaign chairman.<sup>114</sup> Evidently Thompson's absence from the broader campaign structure indicates that the NLF was not entirely invested in courting ethnocultural communities.

### **Unpacking "Ethnic Groups" and "Ethnic Voters"**

In writing about ethnicity, it is imperative to be critical about the concept of groups. Rogers Brubaker explored the various ways to unpack the idea of groupings and challenged the logic that a group "functions as a seemingly unproblematic, taken-for-granted concept."<sup>115</sup> This

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<sup>111</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 690, Election Ontario Campaign 1961-1962, Bruce Powe, "The Federal Campaign Committee -- Ontario: The Jobs to be Done (1961)," 1961.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> LAC, Bruce Matthews fonds, MG 32 G 28, vol. 1, Vol 4 1960, Andrew Thompson to Bruce Matthews, 25 November 1960.

<sup>114</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 690, Election Ontario Campaign 1961-1962, Bruce Powe, "The Federal Campaign Committee -- Ontario: The Jobs to be Done (1961)," 1961.

<sup>115</sup> Brubaker, "Ethnicity Without Groups," 163.

section unpacks ethnicity and discusses how Andrew Thompson and the Liberal Party conceived of groups as categories. Thompson and the Liberal Party used categories of different ethnocultural communities to create groupings of “ethnic groups” and “ethnic voters.” These groupings were created through a political process whereby the Liberal Party sought to collect ethnocultural communities into a bloc of voters, who were influenced by their community leaders, and who subsequently voted for Liberal candidates. However what these groupings actually show is a general lack of awareness about ethnocultural communities by both Thompson and the Liberal Party.

In analyzing ethnicity and groupism, this study explores “how people—and organizations—*do things* with categories.”<sup>116</sup> An examination of the archival record shows that Thompson and subsequently, the Liberal Party, simplified many different categories of Canadians into groups, to create a collection of “ethnic groups” and “ethnic voters.” Thompson and the Liberal Party grouped these many categories of Canadians in order to classify them as others who were “doing being ethnic.”<sup>117</sup> In other words, they fit Thompson’s depiction of non-English and non-French members of the electorate who could be influenced. Thompson advised the Liberal Party that the Conservative Party’s victory in the 1957 and 1958 federal elections was because they improved their status amongst “ethnic groups.” Thompson reasoned that “previously the ethnic groups generally had considered the Conservative Party to be narrowly British” while the party simultaneously opposed “the Liberal government’s immigration policy towards Europeans and Asiatics.”<sup>118</sup> Thompson’s advice to the Liberal Party is telling of the way he conceived ethnocultural communities in the late 1950s. In his first proposal to the Liberal

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid, 169.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic Groups -- Mr. A.E. Thompson, Andrew Thompson, "Suggested Programme With Ethnic Groups," 1 May 1958.

Party, Thompson never defined what “ethnic groups” were in any significant detail. He later addressed this error and defined them as the “German Group,” “Chinese Group,” “Italian Group,” “Ukrainian Group,” “Czechoslovakian Group,” “Polish Group,” “Negro Group,” “Hungarian Group,” “Baltic Group,” and the “Macedonian Group.”<sup>119</sup> Thompson took individual categories of ethnocultural communities and grouped them. The Liberal organizer took for granted that these groupings of ethnocultural communities could *do something* for the Liberal Party. Moreover, discussions by NLF executives, suggest that they believed in Thompson’s ideas and were discussing them in their own briefings. NLF Secretary H.E. Kidd wrote to President Duncan MacTavish that “it is obvious that Mr. Thompson speaks from considerable personal knowledge” and that the NLF was “fully aware of the importance of the ethnic vote.”<sup>120</sup> Kidd also acknowledged that the NLF was meeting to discuss the role the “ethnic vote” in its Liaison Committee.<sup>121</sup> Thompson and NLF members plotted the ways they could reap rewards from the “ethnic vote.”

Neither Thompson nor other representatives from the Liberal Party, made any specification as to whether “ethnic groups” were composed of those born in foreign countries and having immigrated to Canada, or whether these groups were descendants of those who had previously done so in more recent generations. A thorough assessment of the archival documents suggests that neither Thompson nor the Liberal Party differentiated between those “ethnic groups” who were “New Canadians” and others who had lived in Canada for a significant number of years or were born into a family who had been living in Canada for several generations. Put more plainly, neither Thompson nor the Liberal Party, differentiated between

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<sup>119</sup> LAC, Jack Pickersgill fonds, MG32 B 34, vol. 109, Andrew Thompson, Liberal Publicity Officer, 1958-1963, Andrew Thompson, "Monthly Report on Ethnic Groups," 18 July 1958.

<sup>120</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic Groups -- Mr. A.E. Thompson, H.E. Kidd to Duncan MacTavish, 6 May 1958.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

“New Canadians” and other “ethnic groups” who undoubtedly were in a different stage of adjustment to life in Canada. So while the Thompson and NLF officials encouraged the creation of groupings from categories, they showed an unawareness of who exactly they were targeting.

It is also imperative to examine the “political ... processes through which categories are invested with groupness.”<sup>122</sup> Thompson advised the Liberal Party that to “establish contact with groups” the Liberal Party’s representative should make “an introduction to ethnic leaders.”<sup>123</sup> In this sense, Thompson conceptualized “ethnic groups” as a bloc of voters that acted in a uniform manner. He emphasized that “ethnic groups” could be influenced to vote for the Liberal Party by the leadership within their ethnocultural communities. Not only did Thompson and the Liberal Party create “ethnic groups” as “ethnic voters” or the “ethnic vote,” but they also envisioned these groupings as *doing* voting blocs. In other words, Thompson and the Liberal Party reified groups as voting blocs. Champion, in his own analysis of Thompson and the Liberal Party, suggested that “ethnic groups” were attractive political targets because of the “appeals to voting blocs.”<sup>124</sup> Yet Thompson never specified in his reports to the Liberal Party how such groups could be actioned into a voting bloc. Presumably, he advised the Liberal Party they could be. This conception plays into the notions of the “ethnic vote” or an “ethnic voter” tied directly to the reification of groups.

By scrutinizing “the politics of categories ... from above,” this analysis also focuses on the ways “categories are proposed, propagated, [and] imposed.”<sup>125</sup> Reification – such as Thompson’s suggestion that “ethnic groups” could cast their ballots in a coordinated effort – is an example of the politics of categories from above. Thompson’s proposal to the Liberal Party

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<sup>122</sup> Brubaker, “Ethnicity Without Groups,” 169.

<sup>123</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic Groups -- Mr. A.E. Thompson, Andrew Thompson, "Suggested Programme With Ethnic Groups," 1 May 1958.

<sup>124</sup> Champion, *The Strange Demise of British Canada*, 138.

<sup>125</sup> Brubaker, “Ethnicity Without Groups,” 170.

supposedly explained the “possible reasons why the Liberal party lost the ethnic vote” but actually posited a number of reasons why “the Conservatives won the ethnic vote.”<sup>126</sup> Thompson reasoned this was because the Tories:

Provided continuous personal and informed representation at ethnic events; invited ethnic representatives to their homes and political functions; in Opposition were sympathetic to the problems of individuals concerning immigration regulations; in Government passed legislation concerning ten years residence for old age pension, and informed all ethnic groups of this action; had ethnic representation in Cabinet, in Parliament and in candidates. Diefenbaker stressed his ethnic background; appeared to be more aggressively anti-communist; had more favourable coverage at ethnic affairs from both the Toronto newspapers and ethnic press.<sup>127</sup>

Thompson’s analysis of the 1957 and 1958 federal election argued that “ethnic groups” voted for Diefenbaker because of the Conservative Party’s efforts to appeal to them. Not only did Thompson meld “ethnic groups” into a grouping, he also assumed that an “ethnic group” was an “entity or actor” that could do something.<sup>128</sup> In this particular case, it was vote. As Brubaker argues, reifying groups is problematic because we cannot make something that is abstract, concrete or real.<sup>129</sup> Therefore we must acknowledge that an “ethnic group” cannot vote. Individuals, who together, comprise an ethnocultural community, can vote in an election, assuming they are eligible to do so. However, they are individuals, with their own individual ballot, and their own individual set of criteria to determine how that ballot will or will not be used. Therefore groups, as a grouping, cannot vote.

Though he convinced the NLF of his approach, Thompson demonstrated a general lack of awareness of ethnocultural communities and failed to explain how the Liberal Party could lure support from ethnocultural communities away from the Conservatives. In Thompson’s view, the Liberal Party needed to fulfill several objectives to “regain the ethnic vote” from the

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<sup>126</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic Groups -- Mr. A.E. Thompson, Andrew Thompson, "Suggested Programme With Ethnic Groups," 1 May 1958.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Brubaker, “Ethnicity Without Groups,” 165.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid, 164.

Conservatives. Thompson recommended that the party “appoint a local representative of the Leader of the Liberal party for ethnic groups” to accomplish four things:

establish personal contact with the groups, organize background material on ethnic groups for the party; organize information and educational services for groups; organize ethnic participation in community activities and in the Liberal party.<sup>130</sup>

Thompson’s notion that “ethnic groups” are something that the Liberal Party should have established “background material” on, implied that they were unique from other citizens, specifically English- and French-Canadians. By differentiating Canadians from non-English and non-French communities as from the traditional charter groups, Thompson and the Liberal Party showed that they knew far less about the former categories than the latter. Thompson also advised the Liberal Party for more “ethnic participation” in wider-community activities but also within the Liberal Party. In this sense, Thompson implied a desire to assimilate these groupings into broader Canadian society and the Liberal Party. However, as discussed above, Thompson never differentiated between “New Canadians” and established Canadians of non-English and non-French backgrounds, whether their birth origins were from in or outside of Canada.<sup>131</sup>

Thompson advised the NLF that “the ethnic groups look [at the Toronto *Telegram* and Toronto *Star*] as representing the respect of political parties.”<sup>132</sup> In this sense, Thompson believed that individuals from ethnocultural communities looked at the *Telegram* and the *Star* with legitimacy or status. Though the Dovercourt MPP acknowledged the ethnic press and was among the first Liberals to understand its value in the early 1960s, Thompson demonstrated another uninformed view of ethnocultural communities. The notion that a significant number of non-English and non-French speaking Canadians preferred what was printed in the *Telegram* or the *Star*, over

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<sup>130</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic Groups -- Mr. A.E. Thompson, Andrew Thompson, "Suggested Programme With Ethnic Groups," 1 May 1958.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

publications they presumably had been reading since their arrival in Canada, shows how Thompson was formulating his assumptions. It also shows that Thompson was unaware of which groupings he was targeting. By focusing on the conception of political categories from above we can draw a critical conclusion of Thompson's programme. This analysis shows that Thompson and the Liberal Party, by extension, showed a general lack of awareness of ethnocultural communities, and attempted to fit them within their pre-existing understanding of politics vis-à-vis English and French Canada.

In endeavouring to engage ethnocultural communities, Thompson and the Liberal Party used categories to create groupings that simplified the idea of ethnocultural communities as "ethnic groups" and "ethnic voters." These groupings were created in a political setting, driven by the need to engage community leaders, for the purposes of creating a bloc of voters that could have been accessible to the Liberal Party and its candidates. However just because Thompson and the Liberal Party acted as if these groupings were real does not mean that they were or that they would act as Thompson and the Liberal Party envisioned that they would.

## **Conclusion**

When Andrew Thompson was hired by the Liberal Party as the Ethnic Liaison Officer, the NLF was investigating possible areas of reform to rejuvenate the party that had been continually elected since 1935. Thompson's hiring was one example of the Liberal Party's attempted reforms. While some in the NLF did not see the need for such reforms, others viewed the losses in 1957 and 1958 as symptoms of an old party. Thompson's idea was to specifically target the allegiance of Canada's growing non-English and non-French communities. The Liberals believed that these voters played a decisive role in the Tory victories. The Liberal

Party's reliance on its historical connection to open-immigration policies during the Laurier and St Laurent eras lacked the counterbalance of anti-immigration attitudes from the Conservatives under Diefenbaker. Therefore the Liberals believed that their supremacy amongst these communities was threatened. The Liberals used Thompson to set their course on the future. However, even Thompson's hiring is misleading: clearly the Liberal Party's efforts to engage ethnocultural communities were sheltered from the broader preparations being made by the organization in advance of the 1962 federal election. In fact, Thompson and the Liberal Party showed that they had little understanding of ethnocultural communities. In an effort to compete with their Conservative opponents and usher more voters from ethnocultural communities, Thompson and the Liberal Party created groupings of "ethnic groups" and "ethnic voters."

## Chapter 4: Andrew Thompson and the Liberal Party's Appeal to Ethnocultural Communities in Metro Toronto, 1961-1963

### Introduction

For the Liberal Party, the results of the 1958 federal election showed that the Conservative Party made great strides in their efforts to court ethnocultural communities. In fact, that courtship played an integral role in the Tory leader's political revival. The biographer of John Diefenbaker, Denis Smith, says that the veteran of the House of Commons was on the brink of retiring from politics in 1950 when he reconsidered. Smith writes that Diefenbaker was "buoyed by the adulation of the minority communities whose rights and interests he promoted."<sup>1</sup> The Jehovah's Witnesses, Ukrainians, Jews, Indians and "all those English-speaking Canadians who felt themselves to be outside the old British Canadian mainstream" helped draw Diefenbaker back into politics. For these communities, Diefenbaker "held a beacon that justified his quest."<sup>2</sup> Diefenbaker took his crusade for public office across the country, campaigning for party leader George Drew in the 1953 federal election and ultimately winning the leadership himself in 1956. In 1958, Diefenbaker's party took forty-seven percent of the vote from ethnocultural communities compared to the Liberals' forty-three percent.<sup>3</sup> George Nagy reported in the *Globe and Mail* that the of the 102 "ethnic-sensitive" ridings across the country, the Tories lost just seven of them.<sup>4</sup> In response to that, Andrew Thompson, the Liberal Party's Ethnic Liaison Officer, sought to strengthen the NLF's connection with ethnocultural communities. In

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<sup>1</sup> Smith, *Rogue Tory*, 191.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix 4.

<sup>4</sup> George Nagy, "Why 'Ethnic' Vote Swung to PCs," *The Globe and Mail*, 7 April 1958.

the early 1960s, Thompson sought to create a new standard for the party and forge their electoral strength in these communities. The Liberals advocated pan-Canadian policies to appeal to voters across the country, regardless of their familial origins. Though the results of the 1962 and 1963 federal elections do not necessarily demonstrate that his efforts to appeal to ethnocultural communities tilted the results, it does explain why the party was interested in pursuing the strategy. According to the Canadian Election Study, the Liberals won a significant portion of votes from ethnocultural communities. In contrast, the Tories support from those communities declined from forty-eight percent in the 1958 federal election to thirty-seven percent in 1963.<sup>5</sup>

### **Ethnocultural Communities, Conservative Strategy and the Liberal Response**

The Liberals prepared for the next federal election immediately after their defeat in 1958. Thompson built on his proposal and engaged members of ethnocultural communities. Senior Liberals understood the important role voters from ethnocultural communities played at the polls in Toronto and were wary of the popularity of the Progressive Conservatives. Pearson thus tried to make his anti-communist rhetoric more persuasive to combat Conservative attacks. Hellyer, one of the Liberals defeated in 1958, won a seat back in the Commons in a 1958 by-election and followed Thompson's efforts closely to ensure his loss was not repeated. Thompson also worked with Frank Glogowski, the President of the Ethnic Press Club, in an attempt to align the Pearson team with the editors of the ethnic press and their publications.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Appendix 4.

<sup>6</sup> The Canadian Ethnic Press Federation was created in 1955 when the Winnipeg Ethnic Press Club and the Canadian Ethnic Press Association of Toronto merged. In 1962 the organization boasted 54 newspapers as members. The Ethnic Press Club was a subcommittee of the Canadian Ethnic Press Association and organized meetings in the offices of its different members to hear guest speakers like politicians. (Michael Graham, "The growing power of the ethnic press," *The Globe and Mail*, 29 December, 1962).

Metro Toronto was the ideal region for Thompson to cultivate votes from ethnocultural communities on behalf of the Liberals. A comparison of the 1951 and 1961 Canada censuses show the increasing number of non-English and non-French persons in Metro Toronto. In the 1951 Census, the population of York Region, which included the City of Toronto, was 1,176,622. Of that, 1,018,271 said that English was their mother tongue, while French was only the mother tongue of 13,784 people. 144,567 people listed neither English nor French as their mother tongue.<sup>7</sup> In the 1961 census, York Region's population was 1,733,108, while people with English as a mother tongue numbered 1,320,019 and French as a mother tongue numbered 24,516 people. By comparison, the total number of those who said their mother tongue was not English or French was 388,573.<sup>8</sup> The size of Metro Toronto's ethnocultural community grew considerably over those ten years. In other words, the size of Metro Toronto's ethnocultural communities grew from just twelve percent to over twenty-two percent between 1951 and 1961.

Particularly in Ontario ethnocultural communities were changing the electorate. Between 1958 and 1962, 273,412 Canadians received their citizenship. Half of these new citizens came to the province of Ontario. The *Globe and Mail* reported that while some of these new citizens were from the British Isles, a significant portion of them were from elsewhere.<sup>9</sup> They joined a larger collection of ethnocultural communities, numbering in the hundreds of thousands, already settled in Canada.<sup>10</sup> It was these voters, according to the Liberals, that Diefenbaker was able to attract in larger margins than the Liberals in 1958.<sup>11</sup> Mildred A. Schwartz argues that after Diefenbaker's win in 1958, immigrant voters were looking for an alternative to the Tories. Schwartz cites an

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<sup>7</sup> Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1951 Census of Canada, *Population by Official Language and Mother Tongue*, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1952), 8.

<sup>8</sup> Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961 Census of Canada, *Mother tongues, counties and subdivisions*, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), 62.

<sup>9</sup> Langevin Cote, "An Election Affair: Old Parties and New Voters," *The Globe and Mail*, 5 March 1962.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Appendix 4; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic Groups -- Mr. A.E. Thompson, Andrew Thompson, "Suggested Programme With Ethnic Groups," 1 May 1958.

Italian who arrived to Canada in 1954: “When I came the Liberals were in Ottawa the country was rich, and it was easy to find a job. Now you have to take whatever you can find.”<sup>12</sup>

As 1962 approached, the stakes to influence ethnocultural communities were high. The Progressive Conservatives used extensive anti-communist rhetoric during the 1962 federal election campaign. Diefenbaker and the Progressive Conservatives alluded to Pearson’s “softness on communism.”<sup>13</sup> Anti-communist sentiments were shared by many individuals within ethnocultural communities. For example, in the midst of the campaign, more than 600 representatives of Toronto’s ethnocultural communities attended a panel discussion on the impact of Soviet communist aggression and Western responses.<sup>14</sup> Diefenbaker, his advisers and his slate of candidates, attempted to persuade many in these communities to cast a Conservative ballot in the polling booth. The *Globe and Mail*, eyeing the impact on the results, reported that the Liberals were in trouble because Diefenbaker had set “himself up as Canada’s champion of democracy over communism.”<sup>15</sup>

The *Globe and Mail* reported that on 22 November 1961 members of twenty-nine Toronto ethnocultural communities gathered at the Canadian National Exhibition’s Queen Elizabeth Building to pay tribute to Prime Minister John Diefenbaker.<sup>16</sup> Arthur Maloney, the Conservative MP for Parkdale, was elected chairman of the rally committee. The event was billed as non-partisan and open to all New Canadians regardless of their political affiliations.<sup>17</sup> Maloney invited Paul Hellyer to attend.<sup>18</sup> A large swath of ethnocultural community members

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<sup>12</sup> Mildred A. Schwartz, “Political Behaviour and Ethnic Origin,” in *Papers on the 1962 Election*, edited by John Meisel, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964): 266-267.

<sup>13</sup> Smith, *Rogue Tory*, 431.

<sup>14</sup> “Address Polish Canadians: Pearson Urges Caution in Fighting Red Threat,” *The Globe and Mail*, 9 April 1962.

<sup>15</sup> “Peace Prize, Pink Paint Pot and Politics,” *The Globe and Mail*, 9 March, 1962.

<sup>16</sup> The *Globe and Mail*’s report does not specify which “ethnic groups” attended.

<sup>17</sup> “29 Toronto Ethnic Groups To Honor Prime Minister,” *The Globe and Mail*, 21 November, 1961.

<sup>18</sup> Arthur Maloney, “Letter to Paul Hellyer,” 6 November 1961, LAC, MG32 B 33 Political Liberal Party - Ethnic Press - 1961-1963.

met to honour “the prime minister for his firm stand against the Soviets,” at the United Nations in the fall of 1960, as well as “his steadfast opposition to world communism.”<sup>19</sup> Nearly 10,000 people attended, far exceeding Maloney’s expectations. The event included folk-singers, dancers and performers. Diefenbaker told the reporter Eric Geiger that he felt “welcome here” because he knew he was “among loyal and devoted fellow-Canadians.”<sup>20</sup> Regardless of the label Maloney and the rest of the organizers used, the event was political. Diefenbaker employed strong anti-communist rhetoric, saying that for “too long the USSR and its satellites have been permitted to take the offensive against colonialism elsewhere while concealing their own.”<sup>21</sup> C.P. Champion argues that during the 1950s, the “Tories were more convincing cold warriors than Liberals, particularly as the growing number of new arrivals from behind the Iron Curtain displaced the ethnic left.”<sup>22</sup> The prime minister also showed his gratitude to voters from ethnocultural communities who endorsed anti-communist positions during the 1957 and 1958 federal elections.<sup>23</sup> Finally, Diefenbaker intoned a message that welcomed and acknowledged ethnocultural communities as devoted Canadians. The event drew the obvious ire of Liberals and Paul Martin expressed an unease to Keith Davey about the event.<sup>24</sup>

Diefenbaker’s effectiveness on delivering an anti-communist message pushed the Liberals to have Pearson invoke similar rhetoric and harden his image. The Liberals considered “newcomers particularly sensitive to the unemployment situation,” but did not “rate Government

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<sup>19</sup> “29 Toronto Ethnic Groups To Honor Prime Minister,” *The Globe and Mail*, 21 November, 1961.

<sup>20</sup> Eric Geiger, “New Canadians Gather To Honor Diefenbaker,” *The Globe and Mail*, 23 November, 1961.

<sup>21</sup> “PM Seeks to Arouse UN: Canada to Attack Soviet Colonialism; Immigrants Told Reds Hypocrites,” *The Globe and Mail*, 23 November, 1961; George Nagy, “Why ‘Ethnic’ Vote Swung to PCs,” *The Globe and Mail*, 7 April 1958.

<sup>22</sup> C.P. Champion, “Courting ‘Our Ethnic Friends’: Canadianism, Britishness, and New Canadians, 1950-1970,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 38 no. 1 (2006): 30.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Keith Davey, “Letter to Andrew Thompson from Keith Davey,” 29 November 1961, LAC, MG 28 IV 3, Ethnic Groups -- Mr. A.E. Thompson.

immigration policies as a major election issue.”<sup>25</sup> Instead the Liberals focused on anti-communist messaging to influence these communities. The Liberal Party prepared a pamphlet emphasizing Pearson’s opposition to communism and sent it to all ethnic press editors across the country. They also sent the pamphlet to each president of an ethnocultural organization in Toronto.<sup>26</sup> Clearly the Liberals were worried about matching the Conservatives’ outreach in ethnocultural communities. In addition to anti-communist rhetoric, the Conservatives were encouraging their party members to attend ethnocultural community events.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, according to a reporter for the *Globe and Mail*, the Liberals were worried about the possibility of Diefenbaker appointing the first Polish-Canadian or Italian-Canadian Senator. In fact, back in 1959, the Polish Canadian Congress proposed to Diefenbaker that he appoint a Polish-Canadian Senator. Ultimately Diefenbaker never took the advice.<sup>28</sup> Though the Conservatives were slumping in popular opinion polls, the Liberals feared that the Tories could build on their work in ethnocultural communities with such a maneuver.<sup>29</sup>

Pearson employed anti-communist rhetoric in his speech to ethnocultural communities at Massey Hall in his address on the final night of the First Freedom Festival. The event was key for the Liberals because it was sponsored by twenty-seven ethnocultural organizations from Metro Toronto. The event was Pearson’s opportunity to send a message that the Liberals were committed to supporting ethnocultural communities. Pearson not only celebrated the cultural

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<sup>25</sup> Langevin Cote, “An Election Affair: Old Parties and New Voters,” *The Globe and Mail*, 5 March, 1962.

<sup>26</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic Groups -- Mr. A.E. Thompson, Andrew Thompson to Keith Davey, 6 December 1961; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 706, Ethnic Newspapers 1960-1961, Andrew Thompson to Paul Lafond, 6 December 1961; and LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic Groups -- Mr. A.E. Thompson, Keith Davey to Andrew Thompson, 12 December 1961.

<sup>27</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic Groups -- Mr. A.E. Thompson, "Memorandum to Presidents," 21 December 1961.

<sup>28</sup> Walter Gray, “Religious Balance: Must the PM Follow an Unwritten Senate Rule?” *The Globe and Mail*, 21 February, 1962.

<sup>29</sup> Diefenbaker only appointed one Senator from a visible ethnocultural group: Ukrainian-Canadian Paul Yuzyk from Manitoba in 1963.

displays at the festival but attacked the Soviets, remarking that “I fully realize such a performance as this would never be permitted within the Soviet colonial empire.”<sup>30</sup> Pearson spoke about the evils of communism and argued that “freedom is not maintained by only knowing what we are against but also through knowing and believing with fervour what we are for.”<sup>31</sup> Pearson’s speech signified a political change in the Liberal Party’s direction. Their attacks on communism appealed to voters from within ethnocultural communities. Thompson encouraged Liberals to distribute the “Lester B. Pearson – A force against communism” pamphlet when campaigning in ethnocultural areas of the city.<sup>32</sup>

The Liberals matched the Tories on their anti-communist rhetoric but faced a Progressive Conservative Party that was diverse in its composition.<sup>33</sup> Conservative candidates included a number from ethnocultural communities like Minister of Labour Michael Starr, who was of Ukrainian descent and the first cabinet minister in Canadian history of non-English and non-French origin, as well as Douglas Jung, who was born in Victoria and was the first person of Chinese descent in Parliament.<sup>34</sup> With candidates of non-English and non-French descent, the Conservatives developed “a more visible presence of New Canadians into public life and in political appointments,” that added “to the prime minister’s ethnic political capital.”<sup>35</sup> A thorough evaluation of the primary documents shows that actively recruiting candidates of diverse ethnocultural backgrounds was not a priority for the Liberal Party while they were in Opposition.

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<sup>30</sup> LAC, Paul Hellyer fonds, MG32 B 33 vol. 46, Political Liberal Party - Ethnic Press - 1961-1963, Andrew Thompson to Richard O'Hagan, 11 January 1962.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic Groups -- Mr. A.E. Thompson, Andrew Thompson to Keith Davey, 6 December 1961.

<sup>33</sup> “Diefenbaker Big Favorite in Cool Prince Albert Riding,” *The Globe and Mail*, April 28, 1962. Michael Starr, the MP from Oshawa whose ancestry was Ukrainian was the representative of “New Canadians” in Diefenbaker’s Cabinet. (Smith, *Rogue Tory*, 244).

<sup>34</sup> Champion, *The Strange Demise of British Canada*, 150.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

## The Liberal Party, the Ethnic Press Before the 1962 Federal Election

The Liberal Party became more interested in ethnic press publications in the build-up to the 1962 federal elections. Hellyer, one of the Liberals defeated in 1958, won a seat back in the Commons in a 1958 by-election and followed Thompson's efforts closely to ensure his loss was not repeated. Thompson also worked with Frank Glogowski, the President of the Ethnic Press Club, and aligned the Pearson team with the ethnic press.<sup>36</sup> Though Hellyer became an advocate of courting ethnocultural communities, Thompson's efforts to convince others of organizing in those communities did not extend to the entirety of the Liberal caucus and the party's campaign team. However Thompson successfully convinced the Liberals to advertise in ethnic press publications.

At a joint meeting of the Winnipeg and Toronto ethnic press in April 1957, Jack Pickersgill said that the Canadian people "should speak with one voice."<sup>37</sup> The CEPF came into being about a year later, after a meeting of over forty representatives of the ethnic press from across Canada in Ottawa.<sup>38</sup> At the time of its founding, the CEPF represented over 150 publications, mostly weeklies, that published newspapers in languages in languages other than English and French. The combined circulation of these publications was almost two million. J.M. Kirschbaum, a one-time President of the CEPF, wrote that when new immigrants settled in

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<sup>36</sup> The Canadian Ethnic Press Federation was created in 1955 when the Winnipeg Ethnic Press Club and the Canadian Ethnic Press Association of Toronto merged. In 1962 the organization boasted 54 newspapers as members. The Ethnic Press Club was a subcommittee of the Canadian Ethnic Press Association and organized meetings in the offices of its different members to hear guest speakers like politicians. Found in Michael Graham, "The growing power of the ethnic press," *The Globe and Mail*, 29 December 1962.

<sup>37</sup> J.M. Kirschbaum, "The Canadian Ethnic Press and Its Role in Canadian Life," in *Twenty Years of the Ethnic Press Association of Ontario*, edited by J.M. Kirschbaum, B. Heydenkorn, V. Mauko, Rev. P. Gaida, (Toronto: Ethnic Press Association of Ontario: 1971): xi.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

Canada, “their first concern ... was to get in touch with their countrymen.”<sup>39</sup> Yet Kirschbaum also credits the rise of the ethnic press in Canada with “the growing national consciousness in Europe.”<sup>40</sup> Overtime, Kirschbaum argues, the ethnic press altered its goal of serving the needs of the “ethnic community” to serving their new country, Canada.<sup>41</sup> The various editors and publishers of the ethnic press, Kirschbaum wrote, met “the challenge of integration, assistance and guidance” for “millions of newcomers” who came to Canada.<sup>42</sup> Yet the ethnic press was also an influencer of political opinion over newcomers who were in the midst of adjusting to life in Canada and developing an understanding of the practitioners in its political system.

By 1962 the CEPF had 123 semi-weeklies, weeklies and monthlies in 28 different languages. Toronto, a growing hub for ethnocultural communities, was home to fifty member newspaper publications. The extraordinary growth of the ethnic press rose sharply in the wake of heavy immigration since the end of the Second World War. Bruno Tenhunen, editor of the Finnish newspaper *Vapaa Sana* (Free Press) and eventual President of the CEPF, explained that “post-war immigration has enhanced our position politically and as advertising media. We try to mirror the Canadian scene for immigrants who are uncomfortable with the English language.”<sup>43</sup> A research study done by Gruneau Research Ltd. found that in 1962 ninety-six percent of immigrants, including those who lived in Canada for several years, preferred to read news publications in their own languages.<sup>44</sup>

The NLF was aware of what ethnocultural communities were reading in the ethnic press. The Translation Services programme established in 1959 kept the Liberals apprised of events in

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid, 1-2.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, 5.

<sup>43</sup> Hugh Munro, “The Advertising World: Big Political Parties on Reduced Budgets,” *The Globe and Mail*, 22 March, 1963.

<sup>44</sup> Michael Graham, “The Growing Power of the Ethnic Press,” *The Globe and Mail*, 29 December 1962.

the ethnocultural communities. James Scott, the Liberal's national organizer, encouraged the caucus and candidates to attend these events with their riding associations.<sup>45</sup> The programme supplied the Liberal Party with an awareness of ethnocultural communities at the constituency level. The Liberals were also interested in influencing new Canadians early on. The party obtained the contact information of those who received Canadian citizenship and used Pearson's office to send each of them a letter of congratulations.<sup>46</sup>

In July of 1960, James Moore, an assistant at the Liberal Party offices, met with Thompson regarding the translation of a pamphlet entitled "Liberalism in Canada."<sup>47</sup> The English and French language versions of the pamphlet were already printed but Moore envisioned a pamphlet that focused more on labour legislation, immigration laws, electoral reform, human rights and social security.<sup>48</sup> Hellyer also supported this version for ethnocultural communities.<sup>49</sup> Although the Liberals wanted to "promote larger ethnic representation," the project never got off the ground.<sup>50</sup> The discussions surrounding the printing of a pamphlet for ethnocultural communities illustrated the Liberal Party's limited commitment to engage them. Instead of the pamphlet, Thompson arranged for various Toronto-area ethnocultural community

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<sup>45</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic Groups -- Mr. A.E. Thompson, James Scott to Andrew Thompson, 10 February 1960.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, D. Milco Valeriotte to Keith Davey, 18 December 1961; Ibid, Davey to Valeriotte, 27 December 1961. The government provided these lists to Members of Parliament. However in June of 1962, the Diefenbaker government discontinued the practice. Keith Davey wrote to Thompson: "We should continue to compile citizenship lists for the purpose of sending congratulatory letters from members. I agree that we should re-examine the actual mechanics of how this is to be done. However, perhaps we can postpone such a re-examination until such time as the lists in question are again made available to us. Very few people are aware of the fact that the Tories since June 18<sup>th</sup> have prevented our access to these lists." (LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic Groups -- Mr. A.E. Thompson, Andrew Thompson to Keith Davey, 6 December 1961.)

<sup>47</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 706, Ethnic Newspapers 1960-1961, James Moore to Andrew Thompson, 11 July 1960.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, Moore to Thompson, 9 August 1960.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, Paul Hellyer to Moore, 31 August 1960.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid, Moore to Thompson, 20 September 1960.

leaders to receive copies of the party magazine, *The Liberal*.<sup>51</sup> The Translation Services project was limited to briefing the Liberal Party on reporting in the ethnic press.

By the fall of 1960 Thompson's role as the Ethnic Liaison Officer revolved routinely around the translation project. Thompson kept the party up to date with information from ethnocultural communities identified in the ethnic press. Thompson was also concerned with the editorial control of the newspapers in ethnic press publications because they influenced their readers on federal politics and he sought to develop closer relationships with them. The project also provided Thompson with a list of ethnocultural events which he routinely attended in the evenings and on the weekends.<sup>52</sup>

Thompson's efforts on behalf of the Liberal Party shifted away from promoting ethnocultural communities as political activists. For example, the party failed to bridge the gap between party activists and ethnocultural communities. In June 1960, the Liberal Party announced that they welcomed the contribution of policy briefs on questions of foreign policy, unemployment and other issues from a variety of sources across the country, including ethnocultural communities.<sup>53</sup> The policy briefs would be considered at a National Liberal Rally in the winter of 1961. The rally, held between 9 January and 11 January, examined the briefs under a special sub-committee chaired by Walter Gordon.<sup>54</sup> The Liberals hoped the rally would invigorate the base of the NLF and attract participation from across the country, including

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid, Thompson to Paul Lafond, 26 September 1960.

<sup>52</sup> LAC, Bruce Matthews fonds, MG 32 G 28, vol. 1, Vol 4 1960, Andrew Thompson to Bruce Matthews, 25 November 1960.

<sup>53</sup> "Liberals Plan Ottawa Rally For January," *The Globe and Mail*, 16 June, 1960.

<sup>54</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 706, Ethnic Newspapers 1960-1961, Walter Gordon, "News Release for National Liberal Rally January 1961," 7 November 1960.

ethnocultural communities.<sup>55</sup> However the resulting policies that came out of the rally make no mention of those communities as a whole or their sub-levels.<sup>56</sup>

Thompson was prepared for the Liberals to wage a stronger campaign directed at ethnocultural communities than they ever had before. He met with Frank Glogowski and several other editors to discuss the Liberal Party's advertising program in the ethnic press for the upcoming election. Thompson reasoned that the party needed to connect with voters from ethnocultural communities during the campaign and employed a \$14,000 budget to advertise the party and its leader in specific ethnic press publications during the writ period. Thompson also endeavoured to be more inclusive of ethnocultural communities in party affairs in the midst of the campaign. For example Thompson invited 200 ethnocultural community leaders to Paul Hellyer's high profile nomination meeting and took Spadina Liberal candidate Perry Ryan to an event with the Belorussian community.<sup>57</sup>

Hellyer's work to court ethnocultural communities in his riding is further testament to his interest in them. His loss and re-election imparted on him the importance of appealing to voters from ethnocultural communities. Hellyer and Thompson developed a close professional relationship after Thompson was hired by the Liberal Party. In fact Keith Davey complained that only Hellyer and Thompson cultivated ethnocultural communities on behalf of the party.<sup>58</sup> In the summer of 1961, with Thompson's assistance, Hellyer and his wife hosted a meeting for ethnic leaders in their Toronto home in preparation for his re-election campaign. Champion asserts that

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<sup>55</sup> "Liberals Planning New Strategy," *The Globe and Mail*, 19 August, 1960.

<sup>56</sup> "Unemployment Heads Liberal Rally Topics," *The Globe and Mail*, 5 January, 1961; "Ottawa Scene: Women to Help at Liberal Rally," *The Globe and Mail*, 7 January, 1961; Bruce Macdonald, "Liberal Rally Seen Urging Cut in Taxes," *The Globe and Mail*, 7 January, 1961; Walter Gray, "Delegates at Odds Over Health Policy," *The Globe and Mail*, 10 January, 1961; "Clock Is Running Out On Liberals' Planning," *The Globe and Mail*, 11 January, 1961; Langevin Cote, "No Final Decision in 9 Policy Areas: Liberal Fiscal Program Shunted to Council," *The Globe and Mail*, 12 January, 1961; "Rally Every 5 Years Proposed by Liberals," *The Globe and Mail*, 12 January, 1961;

<sup>57</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 690, National Office: General Correspondence Elections, Andrew Thompson to Keith Davey, 25 March 1961.

<sup>58</sup> Champion, *The Strange Demise of British Canada*, 147.

the Hellyer's went to such care to as to serve "a politically sensitive menu."<sup>59</sup> The catering company suggested a buffet dinner, with little signs adjoining the cuisine with its corresponding culture.<sup>60</sup> Leaders from various communities attended and brought with them a handful of friends from their own communities.<sup>61</sup> Among those invited to the meeting was the President of the CEPF, who brought along five editors from ethnic press publications to meet Hellyer. The guest list included representatives and guests from the Polish, Baltic, German, Italian, Hungarian, Slovak, Croatian, Chinese, and Japanese communities. Thompson explained to Hellyer that he excluded Serbs, Slovenians, Greeks, Macedonians, because he felt "that they are either small or not well organized."<sup>62</sup> The Hellyer's keenness for interacting with ethnocultural communities is seen elsewhere. For example Hellyer sent ethnocultural organizations form letters to "congratulate them on every appropriate occasion."<sup>63</sup> These included letters to the Baltic Women's Council, Latvian National Committee, The German-Canadian Business and Professional Association of Toronto, and the Chinese Community Centre.<sup>64</sup> While Hellyer showed a real interest in courting voters from these communities, his efforts centered around providing these them with his attention. Hellyer, a rising star in the Liberal Party, bet on his efforts to influence community leaders with his time. Yet an extensive examination of the archival record reveals that efforts like this from Hellyer were limited in the rest of the caucus.

The relationship that developed between Thompson and the ethnic press with near exclusion of other Liberal Party officials is telling of the party's preparations preceding the 1962

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<sup>59</sup> C.P. Champion, "Courting 'Our Ethnic Friends'," 33.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Thompson was integral to Hellyer's preparations. Thompson provided Hellyer with a long list of friendly ethnocultural contacts from the Ukrainian, Polish, Baltic, German, Italian, Hungarian, Slovak, Croatian, Chinese and Japanese communities. Hellyer invited each leader personally and then asked each of them to bring between 3 and 5 additional persons. The additional guests were to be influential persons from the ethnocultural communities.

<sup>62</sup> LAC, Paul Hellyer fonds, MG32 B 33 vol. 46, Political Liberal Party - Ethnic Press - 1961-1963, Andrew Thompson, "Letter To Paul Hellyer From Andrew Thompson," 16 August 1961.

<sup>63</sup> Champion, *The Strange Demise of British Canada*, 151.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, 151-152.

federal election. Thompson developed a close professional relationship with Glogowski, who was re-elected President of the Ethnic Press Club.<sup>65</sup> Glogowski was integral to Thompson's ethnocultural outreach plans during the election. Though the President of the Ethnic Press Club prepared the Liberal Party's advertising strategy in ethnic press publications for the campaign, Glogowski was critical of the party's financial commitment to the strategy. The proposed \$50,000 budget by Glogowski was out of the question for the Liberal Party, which lacked money to spend.<sup>66</sup> The election advertising campaign was designed to introduce the party's policy platform and their leader to non-English speaking ethnocultural communities through print media across the country.<sup>67</sup> There was also a radio advertisement campaign focused in Toronto, "the hub of ethnic group activity."<sup>68</sup> These efforts were also supported by local advertising from Liberal candidates in the ethnic press and during ethnocultural radio programming. Thompson took advantage of his translators and provided Liberal candidates with pamphlets in foreign languages.<sup>69</sup>

Thompson organized party efforts in Toronto, through the ethnic press and through the work done by Hellyer in organizing support within ethnocultural communities. While Thompson focused on building a relationship with the ethnic press, involvement from other Liberal Party officials was noticeably absent; Thompson was always the point of contact. Thompson relied on Glogowski to prepare the party's advertising blitz in ethnic press publications. Under Thompson's direction the Liberal campaign ran radio broadcasts directed at ethnocultural

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<sup>65</sup> LAC, Paul Hellyer fonds, MG32 B 33 vol. 46, Political Liberal Party - Ethnic Press - 1961-1963, Canadian Ethnic Press Club, "Officers 1962-1963 - elected Annual Meeting Feb. 8, 1962," 8 February 1962.

<sup>66</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 690, National Office: General Correspondence Elections, Frank Glogowski to Andrew Thompson, 17 April 1962.

<sup>67</sup> LAC, Paul Hellyer fonds, MG32 B 33 vol. 46, Political Liberal Party - Ethnic Press - 1961-1963, Andrew Thompson to All Candidates, 23 April 1962.

<sup>68</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 690, National Office: General Correspondence Elections, Frank Glogowski to Andrew Thompson, 17 April 1962.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

communities. The preparations for the 1962 federal election are characterized by the serious disconnect between the efforts of Thompson and the interest of the Liberal Party.

### **The 1962 Federal Election**

During the writ period the Conservative cabinet campaigned and continued to attack the Liberals. Diefenbaker attempted to influence ethnocultural communities and preserve his party's appeal. Moderate Tories sought to make the issue of the upcoming election about free enterprise versus socialism, while others continued to link Pearson with communism. For example Harry White, the MP for Middlesex East, said that Pearson had won the Nobel Prize "because he sided with the communist world against Britain and France."<sup>70</sup> Eldon Wooliams, another PC MP, said the Liberals were "a cesspool of civil servants with Red Friends."<sup>71</sup> While more senior Conservative MPs avoided such dark characterizations of Pearson and the Liberals, they still harpooned the Liberal leader for being "soft on communism" in front of ethnocultural audiences.<sup>72</sup> The Liberals took more seats in Ontario than the Conservatives and won twelve of Metro Toronto's twenty-three seats.<sup>73</sup> Despite their losses, the Conservatives continued to run a strong organizational operation. By comparison the Liberals organizational work was done on a much smaller scale with fewer resources. Though the results in Metro Toronto are not indicative of the role of voters from ethnocultural communities, the Liberal Party's improvement in the region did correspond with the maturation of Thompson's efforts. The 1962 federal election showed that the support from ethnocultural communities across the country was volatile, in light

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<sup>70</sup> John Saywell, "Parliament and Politics," in *Canadian Annual Review for 1962*, edited by John T. Saywell, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), 9.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, 10.

<sup>73</sup> Ontario Results: Liberals (42), Progressive Conservatives (36), NDP (6). "Members Elected to House of Commons," *The Globe and Mail*, 19 June, 1962. See Appendix 2 for the Metro Toronto results.

of the Tories drop in support according to data from the Canadian Election Study, by eleven percentage points.<sup>74</sup>

Keith Davey wrote in his memoirs that there was “no secret to winning elections,” and that “too many academic journalists and politicians make it seem complicated.”<sup>75</sup> For Davey, “the final analysis of any campaign comes down to one major issue, whether it is a personality or a policy.”<sup>76</sup> Davey relied on polling to determine this from the outset. In their preparations for the election, Davey and Walter Gordon hired Lou Harris, then John F. Kennedy’s pollster. Harris conducted an exhaustive report and determined that while Prime Minister Diefenbaker was more popular than his Progressive Conservative Party, the Liberal Party was more popular than Pearson.<sup>77</sup> Using Harris’s polling data, Davey and Gordon decided that it would be unwise to attack Diefenbaker personally and that the Liberal Party should focus on several key issues.<sup>78</sup> Strategists in the Progressive Conservative campaign came to different conclusions. Tory organizer Dalton Camp told Tory operatives that Diefenbaker was a liability and that they should use their cabinet ministers to be the face of the government.<sup>79</sup> The prime minister refused to believe it and criss-crossed the country attacking the NDP and the Liberals.<sup>80</sup> Unemployment was the major issue of the campaign. Davey remembers that “seven out of ten thought the Diefenbaker government was not dealing effectively with the unemployment crisis.”<sup>81</sup> The Liberals did not specialize their campaign around any policies or ideas to engage ethnocultural communities. Instead, the Liberals believed that their attacks on the government over unemployment, deficits, government spending, record interest rates, and tax increases, would

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<sup>74</sup> Appendix 4.

<sup>75</sup> Davey, *The Rainmaker*, 45.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, 45-46.

<sup>78</sup> Walter Gordon, *A Political Memoir*, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1977), 98-99.

<sup>79</sup> Smith, *Rogue Tory*, 430.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, 431-432.

<sup>81</sup> Davey, *The Rainmaker*, 53.

make a general impact on voters.<sup>82</sup> The Liberal Party campaign slogan was “let’s get Canada going again,” and the party platform focused on jobs and prosperity.<sup>83</sup> The Liberals emphasized the “Pearson Team” and showcased a series of new candidates alongside veteran Liberals.<sup>84</sup> Davey’s real pleasure was in “destroy(ing) the myth of Tory Toronto,” reducing the Conservatives to just three seats.<sup>85</sup> While the Liberals were thrilled with their results in Toronto, the biggest impact of the campaign was seen in Québec. The Liberals went from twenty-five to thirty-five seats while the Tories went from fifty seats to just fourteen. The Social Credit Party of Canada (Socreds), who had not won a single seat in 1958, won twenty-six seats in that province.<sup>86</sup>

The Liberal Party appealed to ethnocultural communities through a series of new tactics. Thompson arranged for five articles to be written by Pearson, Jack Pickersgill, Paul Martin, Gordon and Hellyer advocating Liberal policy positions.<sup>87</sup> These articles were translated into different languages and published in various ethnic press publications. In addition, the Liberal Party advertised in ethnic press papers across the country.<sup>88</sup> These advertisements were done during the weeks of 28 May, 4 June, and 11 June in sixty-three ethnocultural publications in twenty-three different languages.<sup>89</sup> In an effort to match the Conservatives, the Liberals ran

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid, 54.

<sup>83</sup> D. Owen Carrigan, ed., *Canadian Party Platforms 1867-1968*, (Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing Company, 1968), 258.

<sup>84</sup> The new candidates emphasized on the “Pearson Team” were: Richard Cashin, Donald MacDonald, John Munro, Harry Harley, Herb Gray, Jim McNulty, and Lloyd Francis. The veterans they emphasized were: as well as old guard Liberals Jack Pickersgill, Paul Martin, Paul Hellyer, Lionel Chevrier and George McIlraith. (Davey, *The Rainmaker*, 55).

<sup>85</sup> Ibid, 58.

<sup>86</sup> Carrigan, *Canadian Party Platforms*, 259.

<sup>87</sup> “Peace and freedom” by Lester Pearson; “Immigration” by Jack Pickersgill; “Social Security” by Paul Martin; “Employment” by Walter Gordon; and “Defence” by Paul Hellyer (LAC, James Coutts fonds, R13437 vol. 17, Ethnics, Andrew Thompson to Liberal Candidates Re: Election Campaign to the Ethnic Groups, 4 May 1962).

<sup>88</sup> LAC, Jack Pickersgill fonds, MG32 B 34, vol. 109, Andrew Thompson, Liberal Publicity Officer, 1958-1963, Andrew Thompson, "Suggested Party Program For New Citizens," June 1962.

<sup>89</sup> LAC, James Coutts fonds, R13437 vol. 17, Ethnics, Andrew Thompson to Liberal Candidates Re: Election Campaign to the Ethnic Groups, 4 May 1962).

seven Ukrainian-Canadian candidates, as well as one German-Canadian and Polish-Canadian candidate. Throughout the election Pearson and other key Liberals such as Martin, Gordon and Hellyer, among others, held special press conferences and receptions for the editors of the ethnic press.<sup>90</sup> Thompson targeted the ethnically diverse western areas of Toronto like Spadina, Trinity, as well as the smaller areas like Dufferin, East Junction, Christie and Oakwood.<sup>91</sup> The Liberal Party also supplied their candidates with leaflets that targeted voters from within ethnocultural communities.<sup>92</sup> In addition to the prepared leaflets, candidates had the option to design their own leaflets or write their own ads and have them translated into different languages, at their own cost.<sup>93</sup> For example, in High Park, former Liberal MP Pat Cameron targeted the Ukrainian community in his riding by using excerpts from Pearson's speeches to the Canadian-Ukrainian community, as well as on Ukrainian issues in the House of Commons and at the United Nations.<sup>94</sup>

Not only did the Conservatives select candidates from ethnocultural communities, they focused on Diefenbaker's own non-English and non-French background while they campaigned in front of ethnocultural communities. Presumably Diefenbaker's German ancestry was not appealing to all voters, regardless of their ethnicity. Yet the interest provided to ethnocultural communities was not limited to these factors. Conservative candidates and their supporters regularly attended ethnocultural community events.<sup>95</sup> Moreover, their support extended off the campaign trail. The Conservatives were supportive of minority rights and were careful to portray

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid, page 6; Eric Dowd, "Book and Bar: Political? Perish The Idea," *The Globe and Mail*, 2 May, 1962.

<sup>91</sup> LAC, James Coutts fonds, R13437 vol. 17, Ethnicity, Andrew Thompson to Liberal Candidates Re: Election Campaign to the Ethnic Groups, 4 May 1962).

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 698, L.B. Pearson Correspondence 1960-62, AJP Cameron to Liberal Campaign Headquarters, 29 May 1962; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 703, L.B. Pearson Correspondence 1960-62, Marianne Barrie to AJP Cameron, 31 May 1962.

<sup>95</sup> LAC, Jack Pickersgill fonds, MG32 B 34, vol. 109, Andrew Thompson, Liberal Publicity Officer, 1958-1963, Andrew Thompson, "Suggested Party Program For New Citizens," June 1962.

themselves as vehemently anti-communist. They also appeared in the ethnic press. Ethnic publications ran stories chronicling the ethnocultural backgrounds of Conservative candidates and printed pictures of Diefenbaker with ethnocultural representatives. Many of these publications attacked Pearson for being soft on communism and the Liberal Party for being inclusive with their candidate selection. Ethnic editors received frequent communications from the Progressive Conservative campaign criticizing the Liberals for neglecting the interests of non-Anglo-Saxons. While the Liberals had Thompson in Toronto, the Conservatives hired ethnocultural community field organizers across the country. In Toronto, the Tories had a staff of fifteen organizers courting voters from within ethnocultural communities. By contrast, the Liberals worked in smaller numbers and with far fewer resources.<sup>96</sup>

When the results came in for Metro Toronto, the Conservatives were stunned with the loss of fifteen seats. Conservative Finance Minister Donald Fleming survived a steep challenge from Liberal Mitchell Sharp in Eglinton, Trade Minister George Hees held on against Liberal candidate David Hahn, and backbencher Frank McGee held on against Liberal Maurice Moreau.<sup>97</sup> Clearly though, the Liberals were ultimately the beneficiaries of the Conservative collapse in the city. Votes coming from ethnocultural communities were one set of many factors affecting the election. PC incumbent Maloney was defeated in Parkdale by former MP and Polish-Canadian Liberal candidate Haidasz. The Liberals won twelve of the ridings in Metro

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Eglinton was heavily British in character but there was a growing presence of New Canadians, including a Estonian community that was growing in size and opened its own church, St. Peter's Estonian Evangelical Lutheran on Mount Pleasant Road. Fleming courted this Estonian community with anti-communist rhetoric. Brian Land, *Eglinton: The Election Study of a Federal Constituency*, (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1965), 5, 108; Parliament of Canada, *History of Federal Ridings Since 1867, 25<sup>th</sup> Parliament*, accessed on 20 April, 2017, <http://www.lop.parl.gc.ca/About/Parliament/FederalRidingsHistory/hfer.asp?Language=E&Search=Gres&genElecti on=25&ridProvince=9&submit1=Search>.

Toronto, a region in the early stages of transforming with an influx of postwar immigration, while the Tories and the NDP won just three each.<sup>98</sup>

It was not until the Liberals were well into the election campaign that they made appealing to ethnocultural communities a priority. It was only during the election that Thompson's efforts to engage these voters were picked up on by other Liberal candidates. The Liberal campaign struggled to launch their advertising program. While the Liberal Party planned to prepare an advertising campaign targeted at ethnocultural communities, by early May, the order had not yet been placed. Glogowski criticized Davey for not allocating more money to courting voters in the ethnic press, particularly in comparison to the \$2,000,000 the Liberal Party was going to spend on the entire campaign.<sup>99</sup> Glogowski reasoned that because ethnocultural communities represented twenty-five percent of Canada they should receive more than just 1.5 percent of the budget. Glogowski suggested that "this indicates the wrong attitude of the Liberal Party towards the ethnic groups whose value as voters is...not fully appreciated." Certainly Glogowski's criticisms were emotional but he did raise interesting questions that remained long after the election. This certainly raises interesting questions: where would ethnocultural leaders, including those in the ethnic press, draw the line? Realistically could Davey ever be convinced to spend considerable sums of money on a collection of voters few in the Liberal Party understood?

The election showed that the Liberal Party still had significant issues in courting voters from within ethnocultural communities. For example, Fedor Rajic, a Liberal and an ethnocultural community member in Windsor, told the party:

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<sup>98</sup> City of Toronto Planning Board, A Report on the Ethnic Origins of the Population of Toronto, 1960, chaired by W.H. Clark. (LAC, Paul Hellyer fonds, MG32 B 33 vol. 46, Political Liberal Party - Ethnic Press - 1960-1963); Parliament of Canada, History of Federal Ridings Since 1867, 25<sup>th</sup> Parliament, accessed on 20 April, 2017, <http://www.lop.parl.gc.ca/About/Parliament/FederalRidingsHistory/hfer.asp?Language=E&Search=Gres&genElecti on=25&ridProvince=9&submit1=Search>; See Appendix 2.

<sup>99</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 768, Ontario Correspondence, Frank Glogowski to Keith Davey, 7 May 1962.

Major complaints heard often among the ethnic groups are, summarily taken these: (1) Liberal leadership does not seem to be too much interested with the desires and problems of ethnic groups; (2) there is no full appreciation of anti-communistic feelings among groups from Eastern European countries; (3) Liberal Party and its Leader have no policy toward ethnic groups based on the advice or recommendations from within those groups; such influence reaches only low levels; (4) some Liberal officials and MP's have patronizing, sometimes even arrogant and unfriendly attitude toward ethnic groups; (5) generally, ethnic groups are not receiving from the Liberal Party the attention they feel they deserve, particularly in comparison with the way Tories are handling themselves.<sup>100</sup>

Rajic warned that if the Progressive Conservatives offered ethnocultural communities more, then the Liberals would undoubtedly have do the same:

Tories have spoiled ethnic leaders by making lucrative offers and openly trying to bribe them one way or another. We have to face the whole problem realistically. I've tried to do it, not as one who comes within the ethnic groups, but as a Liberal concerned for both our Party's success and our country's future.<sup>101</sup>

In battling the Tories for the support of voters within ethnocultural communities, the Liberal Party knowingly opened themselves to demands coming from non-English and non-French communities. Undoubtedly though, they had still concerns to address.

Thompson created within the Liberal Party a programme to appeal to ethnocultural communities in Toronto. Under Thompson's lead, the party used limited resources to target voters from ethnocultural communities in the ethnic press. However, the election brought on the need to examine Thompson's operation. Through his extensive efforts, Thompson showed signs of frustration with the way the ethnocultural outreach operation was supported by the party. Moreover, Thompson was tired and overwhelmed from having managed and operated the efforts nearly on his own. He complained that the outreach ought to be "increasingly delegated to the responsibility of new members," and suggested that "it is only by new members attending functions and keeping a personal contact with individuals in ethnic groups, that they will ensure

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<sup>100</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 768, Ontario Correspondence, Fedor Rajic, "Memorandum on Advisory Council for Ethnic Groups," 3 May 1962.

<sup>101</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 768, Ontario Correspondence, Fedor Rajic to Keith Davey, 6 May 1962.

votes from this area.”<sup>102</sup> In other words he argued that Liberal MPs and candidates needed to work with ethnocultural communities in their own ridings more consistently to gain their confidence. He had no trouble convincing Davey of the need to pursue this strategy. Davey knew Thompson was overstretched and he lauded Thompson (and Hellyer) for frequently being the Liberal representative at ethnocultural community events. Davey acknowledged it was “imperative” for more Liberals to participate in working with ethnocultural communities.<sup>103</sup> It became expected that Liberal candidates increased their ethnocultural influence in their own ridings by serving as the intermediary between Pearson and their ethnocultural community constituents. Moreover, Thompson endeavoured to refer queries received from ethnocultural communities to the appropriate Liberal MP and became in charge of co-ordinating the party’s efforts instead of continuing to serve as the party’s sole facilitator. Thompson also criticized the party for ignoring ethnocultural organization in the party’s executive structure, but maintained that “representation for the party” should still be “initiated and coordinated through this office.”<sup>104</sup>

Thompson built the Liberal Party’s efforts to court ethnocultural communities from the floor-up. Yet the Liberal Party had begun to rely on the ethnic press to convince voters on the merits of Pearson’s team. By comparison, the Tories support from voters inside ethnocultural communities dropped by eleven percentage points while the Liberals increased their performance by five percent. Support for the NDP amongst these voters also grew by five percent.<sup>105</sup> Clearly voters from ethnocultural communities were not strictly loyal to one particular party.

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<sup>102</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1111, ETHNIC Correspondence 1962-1969, Andrew Thompson, "Suggested Party Program for New Citizens," September 1962.

<sup>103</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 706, Ethnic Press 1962 Summaries of News - Lists of Newspapers, Keith Davey to Andrew Thompson, 10 October 1962.

<sup>104</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1111, ETHNIC Correspondence 1962-1969, Andrew Thompson, "Suggested Party Program for New Citizens," September 1962.

<sup>105</sup> Appendix 4.

## The 1963 Federal Election

In a general sense, the Liberals were buoyed by the results in 1962. Diefenbaker continued to stumble and Pearson was grew more comfortable in Opposition. All voters, including those from ethnocultural communities, had grown increasingly disenchanted with the Tories since 1958, and the Opposition took advantage.<sup>106</sup> For the 1963 federal election Thompson relied heavily on the ethnic press to identify the Liberal Party with voters from ethnocultural communities to convince them to support the Liberals. Stan Mokrzycki, President of New Canadian Publications, worked with Thompson to place Liberal Party advertisements in ethnic press publications across the country.

In December 1962 Pearson reversed his position on the acquisition of American nuclear arms on Canadian soil. Pearson made the decision without consultation.<sup>107</sup> Undoubtedly Pearson's political instincts played a role in the decision. In his memoirs Pearson says that he was appalled that Diefenbaker was waffling on the issue and criticism from Hellyer, the party's defence critic, and the Cuban missile crisis prompted him to change his mind.<sup>108</sup> Yet the debate impact on this decision varied. Davey argued that, "defence and External Affairs matters have never, in any of the polls I have seen, been a major issue of concern for the people of Canada."<sup>109</sup> Anomaly or not, Pearson's position on nuclear arms enabled the Liberals to take advantage of the Diefenbaker's indecision and his cabinet's division over the issue.

In the winter of 1963 the Liberals moved a motion of non-confidence, accusing the government of a "lack of leadership, the breakdown of unity in the cabinet, and confusion and

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<sup>106</sup> Smith, *Rogue Tory*, 489.

<sup>107</sup> Davey, *The Rainmaker*, 64; Gordon, *A Political Memoir*, 114.

<sup>108</sup> Lester Pearson, *Mike: The Memoirs of the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, volume 3: 1957-1968*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), 69-70.

<sup>109</sup> Davey, *The Rainmaker*, 65.

indecision in dealing with national and international problems.”<sup>110</sup> The motion passed and Diefenbaker’s party limped into the campaign. Conservative Cabinet Minister George Hees resigned and Ministers Fulton, Fleming, and Halpenny all decided not to run in the election. Conservative papers the *Globe and Mail*, the *Toronto Telegram*, and the *Montreal Gazette* all encouraged Diefenbaker to resign. When he refused, they urged their readers to vote Liberal.<sup>111</sup> The campaign centered on issues of unemployment and inflation. Defence and nuclear arms issues were in the public discourse “but it was not nearly as important to the voters as questions of domestic policy.”<sup>112</sup> After the campaign got off to a slow start, the Liberals coined the phrase “Sixty Days of Decision,” a commitment to do things within sixty days of winning the election.<sup>113</sup> Unlike in 1962, Thompson’s operation to court votes from ethnocultural communities was being discussed in the Liberal Party’s campaign office in Ottawa. The Liberals campaigned on the idea that they were the only party capable of forming a majority government, but Canadians sent them to Ottawa two seats short.<sup>114</sup> The Liberals continued their gains on the Conservatives in Ontario and improved against the Socreds in Québec.<sup>115</sup> In Metro Toronto, the Liberals retained all the seats that they won in 1962, while taking three Conservative seats and one of the NDP’s.<sup>116</sup>

One influential member of the ethnic press community was Stan Mokrzycki, President of New Canadian Publications. New Canadian Publications represented ethnic press newspapers across Canada and sold advertisements on their behalf. Mokrzycki started New Canadian

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid, 118.

<sup>111</sup> John Saywell, “Parliament and Politics,” *Canadian Annual Review for 1963*, edited by John T. Saywell, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), 16-17.

<sup>112</sup> Gordon, *A Political Memoir*, 120.

<sup>113</sup> Davey, *The Rainmaker*, 65.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid, 76-77.

<sup>115</sup> Carrigan, *Canadian Party Platforms*, 292.

<sup>116</sup> Appendix 2. Only New Democrats Reid Scott in Danforth and Andrew Brewin in Greenwood survived the Liberal tide in Metro Toronto.

Publications in 1950 with an original group of 27 newspapers in 18 languages. In 1962 Mokrzycki estimated that his firm handled approximately \$250,000 (50% of the market-share) in national advertising placed in ethnic newspapers across the country every year. Like the ethnic press publications in general, Mokrzycki overcame considerable barriers to grow his business.<sup>117</sup>

Though New Canadian Publications did not prevent his ethnic press clients from soliciting their own advertisements, it encouraged them to allow Mokrzycki to sell on their behalf.<sup>118</sup> New Canadian Publications, in addition to placing advertising, was often asked to develop special approaches to ethnocultural communities. For example, a Canadian bank asked Mokrzycki to explain the use of personal accounts to immigrants through advertisements in the ethnic press. Another person who asked for help was Liberal ethnocultural organizer Thompson. Mokrzycki's influence over the ethnic press meant that Thompson acquired a timely ally.

During the 1963 federal election Thompson worked with New Canadian Publications to purchase advertising in the ethnic press on behalf of the Liberal Party and its candidates. In Toronto Thompson organized a joint effort by all candidates to purchase advertising through Mokrzycki. The advertisements ran in the weeks of 25 March and 1 April 1963.<sup>119</sup> Moreover, like in 1962, Thompson offered the services of his office to translate any custom advertising Liberal candidates wanted to pursue.<sup>120</sup> Thompson and Mokrzycki also organized a national ad campaign. The Liberals purchased national advertisements for the weeks of 11 March, 25 March and 1 April 1963 in sixty ethnic press publications in twenty-three different languages. They also arranged for translated press articles written by Pearson, Martin and Rudy Usick to cover the

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<sup>117</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 727, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 1, Stan Mokrzycki, "New Canadian Publications Contract," 26 October 1962.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> LAC, Paul Hellyer fonds, MG32 B 33 vol. 46, Political Liberal Party - Ethnic Press - 1960-1963, Andrew Thompson to Liberal Candidates, 13 March 1963.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid, Thompson to Liberal Candidates, 21 March 1963.

major election issues, social security and farming.<sup>121</sup> Thompson argued the importance of running advertisements and content in the ethnic press in foreign languages. He explained that the

advertisements in their own language newspapers and literature in their own language does help to get their vote. It is proof that the party is concerned about them and wants them to know our program.<sup>122</sup>

Thompson's efforts once again focused on the Toronto area but he also advised "candidates in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia...for the sake of expediency," to "contact their ethnic papers locally."<sup>123</sup> Moreover Thompson lacked any concrete information on ethnocultural newspapers west of Ontario.<sup>124</sup>

During the campaign Pearson spoke about the need for Canada to play an important role in world affairs and particularly with its allies. In a speech to 150 ethnocultural community leaders in Montreal, Pearson explained that Canada could not be neutral, as espoused by the NDP, nor could Canada continue with Diefenbaker's course of failing its military commitments to the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Pearson said "Let's keep our coalition for security safe and strong. If we take on a job for peace, let's do it," undoubtedly referring to Diefenbaker's failures in his relationship with American President John F. Kennedy.<sup>125</sup> The Liberals managed to turn Diefenbaker's waffling on the nuclear question and the Cuban missile crisis against him. "Pearson was a hard to sell last time because of the 'better

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid, Thompson to Ethnic Editors, 15 March 1963. Usick was the President of the Manitoba Farmers Union and the Liberal Party candidate in the Manitoba electoral district of Selkirk. Found in "Hopes to See End to Mudslinging but Expects More to Come, Pearson Says," *The Globe and Mail*, 3 March, 1963. Articles written by Pickersgill, Gordon and Hellyer on immigration, the economy and defense policies were all cancelled. Found in Stan Mokrzycki, "Letter to Andrew Thompson," 15 March 1963, LAC, MG 28 IV 3, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 1.

<sup>122</sup> LAC, Paul Hellyer fonds, MG32 B 33 vol. 46, Political Liberal Party - Ethnic Press - 1960-1963, Andrew Thompson to Liberal Candidates, 6 March 1963.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Bruce MacDonald, "Liberal Chief Sure Voters To Shun PCs." *The Globe and Mail*, 19 March, 1963.

red than dead' business," said one Liberal candidate. "This time, the ethnic voter figures that Diefenbaker is the one who's being soft toward communism."<sup>126</sup> The tables had certainly turned.

The Liberals also attempted to win over Italians using food in the election.<sup>127</sup> Liberals of Italian origin in York Centre worked with Liberal MP James Walker and staged an Italian People's Night at a North York Roman Catholic Parish Hall. At the event, about 100 voters of Italian descent attended for free beer and pizza. Though the number of guests was small, the leading organizer, James Mizzoni, hoped the experience would influence those attending to tell their friends in the Italian community to vote for Walker. At the least, the event connected Walker to Italian-Canadian voters in his constituency. The event held a dual purpose as party volunteers also showed new voters how to vote in a Canadian election. For many in attendance at the Walker event, the 1963 federal election was their first Canadian election.<sup>128</sup>

Another example of the Liberals success can be found in the efforts of Joseph Boyko in the Ukrainian community of Toronto. Boyko was a lawyer and was involved in the Ukrainian Canadian Congress and the Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen's Association.<sup>129</sup> Boyko was instrumental in connecting the Liberal Party with Ukrainian-Canadians in Toronto. He advised Thompson and Toronto-area Liberal candidates on the affairs of the Ukrainian community and provided the local Liberal campaigns with lists of Ukrainians in their ridings.

Boyko also provided free labour out of his business offices. He and his employees mailed 7,000

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<sup>126</sup> David Carmichael, "A Wall of Apathy and Disgust' in Hamilton Ridings," *The Globe and Mail*, 26 March, 1963.

<sup>127</sup> Though it outside the preview of this dissertation, there is an extensive pool of literature on the intersection of food and culture. A number of studies include: Donna Gabaccia, *From Sicily to Elizabeth Street: Housing and Social Change Among Italian Immigrants, 1880-1930*, (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1984); Harvey Levenstein, *Paradox of Plenty*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Harvey Levenstein, *Revolution at the Table: the transformation of the American diet*, (New York: University of Oxford Press, 1988); Donna R. Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998); and William R. Dalessio, *Are We What We Eat?: Food and Identity in Late Twentieth-Century American Ethnic Literature*, (Amherst, New York: Cambria Press, 2012).

<sup>128</sup> "Beer and Pizza: Loyal Liberal Italian-Canadians Lay It on for Walker," *The Globe and Mail*, 27 March, 1963.

<sup>129</sup> Joseph Boyko, Finding Aid No. 2137, LAC, <http://data2.archives.ca/pdf/pdf001/p000000661.pdf>, accessed on 31 October, 2016.

letters to members of the Ukrainian community that enclosed Liberal Party literature translated into Ukrainian. In addition, Boyko provided local Liberal candidates with assistance in translating letters from English into Ukrainian.<sup>130</sup>

The influence of voters from ethnocultural communities were one of several factors affecting results outside of Metro Toronto, like ridings in Hamilton West. As the Tories formed government in 1957, immigration drew more attention in the midst of the economic recession. Ellen Fairclough, Diefenbaker's new immigration minister, embarked on a review program. The challenges facing the department included a que of over 50,000 cases from Italy. In 1959, cabinet passed an Order-in-Council at the recommendation of Fairclough, "restricting the admission of sponsorship cases to the immediate family – the wives, unmarried children and parents of Canadian sponsors."<sup>131</sup> Fairclough, then Postmaster-General, was defeated by Liberal newcomer Joseph Macaluso. Though Fairclough was considered by some in the riding a safe bet to return to Ottawa, uproar in the Italian community threatened her re-election because the Italian-Canadian community believed the order unfairly targeted them.<sup>132</sup> Macaluso had won the Liberal nomination in the riding against Colin Gibson, the son of Justice Colin Gibson, to the displeasure of "Old Guard" Liberals in the riding. Macaluso was unlikely to win the seat, according to local Liberals, because of his Sicilian name and the wealth dispersed throughout the riding. Macaluso focused his campaigning in the southern portion of the riding, where the wealthiest voters resided. The ethnocultural communities in the northern portion of the riding were left to Macaluso's campaign team which relied heavily on Macaluso's identity as the son of an

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<sup>130</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 727, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 1, Joseph Boyko to Andrew Thompson, 17 April 1963.

<sup>131</sup> Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People*, 50-51.

<sup>132</sup> Harvey Hickey, "Ottawa Withdraws Immigration Curbs," *The Globe and Mail*, 23 April 1959.

immigrant.<sup>133</sup> Macaluso targeted groups that were typically Roman Catholic. The “organization printed campaign letters in Dutch, German, Hungarian, Polish, Latvian, French and Italian. It also ran off 150 in Chinese.” These were generally well received, but it was not a perfect exercise; “One man who phoned the headquarters said ‘I’m a Canadian but I appreciate getting your literature in my mother tongue’ ... another who called up said: ‘what do you mean sending me campaign literature in German? My family’s been here for five generations.’”<sup>134</sup> Still the overall effect demonstrated a broader effort.

Davey and Gordon were thrilled with the results<sup>135</sup> while Pearson quickly thought of the “problems, opportunities, and privileges ahead” that involved the formation of his government.<sup>136</sup> Thompson and the rest of the Ontario campaign had many reasons to be fulfilled. The Liberals had returned from opposition with a minority government and they captured fifty-one of Ontario’s eighty-five seats.<sup>137</sup> In Metro Toronto the Liberals captured sixteen of the region’s eighteen seats, knocking off the remaining Tories and one New Democrat.<sup>138</sup> The NDP retained just two seats in Toronto. A survey from Gallup found that the Liberals won fifty-two percent of Roman Catholics, thirty-four percent of Protestants and forty-nine percent of “Other” religions. These numbers, though not entirely suggestive of the influence of ethnocultural communities, does suggest that the Liberals continued their positive trends

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<sup>133</sup> David Carmichael, “Brochures Printed in 9 Languages, A Rented Circus Train and Balloons Helped Topple Cabinet Minister,” *The Globe and Mail*, 10 April 1963.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Davey, *The Rainmaker*, 75-77; Gordon, *A Political Memoir*, 128.

<sup>136</sup> Pearson, *Mike*, vol. 3, 82.

<sup>137</sup> Clark Davey, “Heavy Vote Cast Across Canada: LIBERALS 127, PCs 97 Support on Prairies Halts Trend in East,” *The Globe and Mail*, 9 April, 1963.

<sup>138</sup> Liberals Elected: Marvin Gelber (York South), Leonard “Red” Kelly (York West), Steven Otto (York East), Maurice Moreau (York-Scarborough), Ralph Cowan (York-Humber), John Addison (York North), Dr. Stanley Haidasz (Parkdale), Ian Wahn (St. Paul’s), Donald S. MacDonald (Rosedale), David Hahn (Broadview), Paul Hellyer (Trinity), Walter Gordon (Davenport), and Pat Cameron (High Park). NDP Elected: Reid Scott (Danforth) and Andrew Brewin (Greenwood). Found in “In the Liberal Committee Rooms It Was Joy 16, Gloom 2,” *The Globe and Mail*, 9 April, 1963.

amongst those voters.<sup>139</sup> Though the results in Metro Toronto do not indicate that voters from ethnocultural communities pushed the Liberals over the top, unquestionably, the results indicated their efforts meant something. In the 1958 federal election, according to those surveyed for the Canadian Election Study, the Tories received forty-eight percent of the vote from non-English and non-French voters, the Liberals forty-three, the NDP ten, and the Socreds three.<sup>140</sup> These numbers point to a more prevalent trend when compared to the overall popular votes. In 1958, the Tories won fifty-four percent of the popular vote, compared to thirty-four percent for the Liberals, ten percent for the NDP, and two-and-a-half percent for the Socreds. The breakdown of the overall popular vote in the 1963 federal election was forty-two percent for the Liberals, thirty-three for the Conservatives, thirteen for the NDP, and twelve percent for Social Credit.<sup>141</sup> In other words, the significant drop from voter support from the Tories is just as significant in the popular vote as it is in regards to voters from non-English and non-French communities. However, this is not to suggest that ethnocultural communities made up this steep decline for the Tories between elections, but it does suggest that voters from ethnocultural communities were shifting their allegiance in a similar fashion to other Canadian voters. The partisan allegiances of voters from ethnocultural communities appeared to be fluctuating like that of Canadians in general.

In the 1963 federal election the Liberal Party built on the gains they had made in Metro Toronto during the 1962 federal election. They captured forty-five percent of the vote from ethnocultural communities in the election, over the Tories thirty-seven percent.<sup>142</sup> Furthermore the Liberal Party's victories in the region are also indicative of their success in courting large

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<sup>139</sup> Saywell, "Parliament and Politics," 38.

<sup>140</sup> Appendix 4.

<sup>141</sup> Simon Fraser University, "Canadian Election Results by Party, 1867-2015," accessed 11 August 2017, <https://www.sfu.ca/~aheard/elections/1867-present.html>

<sup>142</sup> Appendix 4.

numbers of voters from ethnocultural communities.<sup>143</sup> Like they did in the 1962 campaign, the Liberals trusted their advertisements in ethnic press publications to influence ethnocultural communities in their own mother tongue. The Liberal Party and Thompson allowed New Canadian Publications and Mokrzycki to coordinate the party's advertising efforts. The Liberal Party also relied on their other friends in the region's ethnocultural communities like Joseph Boyko, as well as a change of tone that accused Diefenbaker of being soft on communism. The election results in 1963, when compared to 1958, show that ethnocultural voters in a general sense moved from the Conservatives to the Liberals and the NDP with the rest of the country.<sup>144</sup>

### **Homogenizing “Ethnic Groups” and “Ethnic Voters”?**

In advance of the 1962 federal election, the efforts by the Liberals and the Conservatives to court “ethnic groups” and “ethnic voters” inspired moments that homogenized ethnicity and groups. Diefenbaker, according to the *Globe and Mail*, had established himself “as Canada's champion of democracy over communism.”<sup>145</sup> Canadian officials had been working with Canada's ethnic press and ethnocultural community organizations like the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and the Canadian Polish Congress “in an effort to combat Communism and undermine and discredit left-wing ethnic Canadian groups and their newspapers.”<sup>146</sup> Diefenbaker seized the moment and became a strong advocate of democracy and denouncer of communism. In November of 1961 representatives of twenty-nine ethnocultural communities gathered in

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<sup>143</sup> A comparison of Appendix 1 and Appendix 2, while understanding the change in Metro Toronto's postwar population, is further evidence of the Liberal Party's success in courting voters from ethnocultural communities in both the 1962 and 1963 federal elections.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> “Peace Prize, Pink Paint Pot and Politics,” *The Globe and Mail*, 9 March, 1962.

<sup>146</sup> Franca Iacovetta, “The Gatekeepers: Middle-Class Campaigns of Citizenship in Early Cold War Canada,” in *The Making of the Middle Class: Toward a Transnational History*, edited by A. Ricardo López and Barbara Weinstein, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2012), 95.

downtown Toronto to celebrate “the prime minister for his firm stand against the Soviets,” at the United Nations in the fall of 1960, as well as “his steadfast opposition to world communism.”<sup>147</sup> From both the Conservative’s and the Liberal’s perspectives, this gathering of ethnocultural communities for Diefenbaker is an instance of “ethnic groups” occurring. Both parties had conceived of “ethnic groups” for political purposes, and both parties understood the political reverberations of the occasion celebrating the prime minister. Yet for all the distinct and diverse individuals who attended the event as members of ethnocultural communities, this chapter argues that the evening was an experience of “extraordinary cohesion” and “collective solidarity.”<sup>148</sup> These many different “ethnic groups” came together to denounce communism and Soviet aggression, while celebrating the political leadership of the Conservative prime minister. In this sense, the Tories created a moment in time whereby “ethnic groups” were homogenized in support of Diefenbaker. This experience propelled the Liberals to respond.

The Liberal Party reacted to Diefenbaker’s homogenization of “ethnic groups” with an effort of their own, mimicking the prime minister’s rhetoric with Pearson’s appeal of international experience. Pearson preached the evils of communism on the final night of the First Freedom Festival at Massey Hall in Toronto. The Liberal leader harkened back to days of past Liberal governments and remarked that “Canada ... has firmly and consistently exposed the aggressive lust of the Soviet Cominform.”<sup>149</sup> Pearson made himself a victim of the Soviets, accusing them of banning his book, vetoing his appointment to be Secretary General of the United Nations, and for attacking him in the Soviet press.<sup>150</sup> Pearson highlighted his experience opposing communism as an MP, afterwards as Minister of External Affairs, and argued that

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<sup>147</sup> “29 Toronto Ethnic Groups To Honor Prime Minister,” *The Globe and Mail*, 21 November, 1961.

<sup>148</sup> Brubaker, “Ethnicity Without Groups,” 168.

<sup>149</sup> LAC, Paul Hellyer fonds, MG32 B 33 vol. 46, Political Liberal Party - Ethnic Press - 1961-1963, Andrew Thompson to Richard O’Hagan, 11 January 1962.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*

“Canada must constantly work to develop her fullest economic opportunities with the widest group of our democratic allies.”<sup>151</sup> In other words, under Pearson’s leadership, Canada would work with many ethnocultural communities’ European countries of origin in their fight against communism and the Soviet Union while building common economic bonds with them. Like Diefenbaker had done in the fall of 1961, Pearson had succeeded in homogenizing “ethnic groups” at the First Freedom Festival, rallying their ethnicity in a moment by captivating them under the lure of fighting the communists in Europe and building economic solidarity.

Andrew Thompson and the Liberal Party were unable to make “ethnic groups” of “ethnic voters” homogenize as an occurrence during the 1962 and 1963 federal elections. Thompson’s conception of courting ethnocultural groups for the NLF had recognized the important role community leaders played in convincing their “ethnic group” to cast ballots for Liberal candidates. In other words, there was an appeal to use voting blocs to benefit the Liberal Party. However there is no evidence any such voting blocs ever emerged during these campaigns. The Canadian Election Study cites that the Liberal Party managed to win just forty-five percent of the vote from ethnocultural communities during the 1963 federal election. In simple terms, there was a larger bloc of voters from ethnocultural communities who voted for another party than they did the Liberal Party.<sup>152</sup> Moreover there is no evidence that the Liberal Party or Thompson had any control over “ethnic groups” of “ethnic voters” within any single constituency or across many of them. The Liberal Party’s efforts to advertise in the ethnic press during the election campaigns suggests that the appeal of voting blocs was more of a dream than a political reality. When Thompson and Marler rejected Dr. George Korey-Krzeczowski’s idea to form an Ethnic Council to advise the Liberal Party, they perhaps ended any semblance of potentially forming a voting

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<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Appendix 4.

bloc. By rewarding the council with patronage appointments, either within government or the party, the Liberals may have parlayed that power into the establishment of voting blocs or something like them. The Liberal Party's inability to create voting blocs and their decision not to create an ethnic council is an example of how Thompson and the party failed to make "ethnic groups" of "ethnic voters" homogenize as an event.

This chapter argued in part that Diefenbaker and the Liberals both homogenized "ethnic groups" and "ethnic voters" into happening. The efforts of the Conservatives and the Liberals to encourage their leaders around ethnocultural communities homogenized the notion of "ethnic groups" as both political parties had imagined. Yet this was not always the case. Thompson's failure to create voting blocs is an example of groupism not homogenizing as an *event*.

## **Conclusion**

The Liberal Party, with the help of Andrew Thompson, began the 1960s with the goal of strengthening their political appeal inside ethnocultural communities. In doing so, the Liberals reconsidered how they targeted voters from ethnocultural communities in response to earlier efforts by the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada and its leader John Diefenbaker. For a short time Diefenbaker bridged Canadian identity outside of Québec. He connected with English-Canadians and ethnocultural communities alike and his party seemed to resemble those connections. Furthermore, Diefenbaker became the first prime minister of German-Canadian descent and victory shattered the perception of the Liberal Party was the primary political choice of New Canadians. The swing of voters from ethnocultural communities to the Conservatives shattered the Liberal Party's political reliance on their historical efforts to liberalize immigration. Although the Liberal Party far from embraced Thompson's programme, the political organizer's

efforts were well-received. However it must be said that the party's efforts to court ethnocultural communities were part of a larger political discourse that impacted these elections. The Liberals relied entirely on a broad message of appeal to all Canadians and used a national advertising strategy in ethnic press publications to supplement their efforts on local campaigns. According to the Canadian Election Study, ethnocultural communities abandoned the Tories for the Liberals and the NDP in 1963. Despite the waves of success and abundant reasons for optimism, these results were far from set in stone. There was always the next election; Liberal strategists just needed to ask Conservative strategists if they had any doubt. This chapter also analyzed the notion of ethnicity and groupism as something that takes place. "Ethnic groups" as Andrew Thompson and the Liberal Party constructed them, existed only in moments of cohesion but failed at times when homogenized connections failed.

## **Chapter 5: The Politics of Patronage and Power: the new Pearson Government, New Canadian Publications, and the Canada Ethnic Press Federation, 1963-1965**

### **Introduction**

Lester Pearson formed a minority government after the 1963 federal election and the Liberal Party recalibrated the terms of its engagement with representatives of ethnocultural communities as the governing party. Pearson and Keith Davey negotiated with ethnocultural communities in an environment with an array of new political stakeholders for both the new government and the Liberal Party. The Liberal Party won the majority of voters from ethnocultural communities in 1963. This is substantiated by the Canada Election Study, which suggested that the Liberals performed well nationally with voters from ethnocultural communities.<sup>1</sup> Now in power, the Liberal Party's efforts to engage ethnocultural communities gravitated between small gestures and overt slights. A relationship, now judged on deliverables from a government, wobbled under the weight of expectations while the sudden absence of Andrew Thompson complicated matters further. Thompson's departure from federal politics in the fall of 1964 left Davey to contend with these communities on the Liberal Party's behalf. Yet Davey was just as concerned with his ability to maintain control as the Liberal Party itself took a backseat to the new Liberal government. As it had since 1962, the Liberal Party viewed its connection to ethnocultural communities through the lens of the Canada Ethnic Press Federation (CEPF) and New Canadian Publications. The Liberals grappled with how influential ethnic press

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix 4.

publications were on Canada's growing constituency of voters from ethnocultural communities. Davey was negotiating his relationship with ethnocultural communities and the Liberal government simultaneously. These negotiations led to conflict between all sides.

Thompson was the driving force behind the Liberal Party's efforts to woo ethnocultural communities in the buildup to their victory in the 1963 federal election. Thompson, whose efforts were largely ignored by the broader Liberal Party, competed with the Conservative's efforts to engage ethnocultural communities. Yet Thompson had larger political ambitions and his career as an organizer led him to achieve higher office. In the 1963 provincial election in Ontario, Ontario Liberal Party leader John Wintermeyer lost his seat in Waterloo North and resigned as leader of the party, forcing a leadership convention. Following the convention from Ottawa, Davey and Walter Gordon encouraged Ontario Liberals to support Thompson for the leadership.<sup>2</sup> Thompson ran for the leadership in September 1964 and won on the sixth ballot, defeating veteran Ontario Liberal Charles Templeton.<sup>3</sup> Buoyed by his victory, Thompson focused his attentions on Queen's Park and set out to end the Tories grip on power at the provincial capital. Unsurprisingly, Thompson's departure for Ontario politics left the federal Liberal Party's plans with ethnocultural communities with an empty void. Could the Liberal Party adjust to Thompson's departure while they simultaneously readjusted to its position as the governing party?

### **Patronage Appointments, Favours, and Representation**

The Liberal Party sought to balance several interests through patronage, appointments and favours. The Liberal Party was run by Davey but ultimately its leader was the new prime

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<sup>2</sup> Regenstreif, "Why Ottawa Went All Out For Andy," *Toronto Daily Star*, 21 September, 1964.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid; Peter Regenstreif, "Why Ottawa Went All Out For Andy," *Toronto Daily Star*, 21 September, 1964.

minister. Davey sought to instigate post-election reforms to ensure the parliamentary wing of the party did not overrun the authority of the Liberal Party. While Pearson made decisions affecting the government, Davey made decisions about the Liberal Party. Requests came across Davey's desk and the national director set a precedent early in the government's return to power through his responses. While Davey held the reigns of the Liberal Party, Pearson sought to balance a variety of interests in his first government. The new prime minister's agenda was the creation of his first cabinet as well as a series of appointments that were crucial to the fortunes of his government and his party. Davey and Pearson's efforts ultimately resulted in disappointment for ethnocultural communities, with only small gestures put in place to placate their interests.

Though Davey was not an employee of the Prime Minister's Office or any government department, the Liberal Party and its staff were linked to their political counterparts in government. It is therefore necessary to understand how the Liberal Party changed after 1963. Before Pearson won the election in 1963, Pearson and Davey met regularly to discuss pressing partisan matters. Afterwards, Davey found the process became much more difficult. He kept the prime minister apprised of issues affecting the Liberal Party but Pearson frequently seemed to allow them to go unaddressed.<sup>4</sup> Yet Davey remembers fondly that "Mike had time for everyone and he never took anyone, most especially himself, too seriously."<sup>5</sup> From all accounts the personal relationship between Pearson and Davey was warm. While Davey's memoirs are somewhat muted about how the Liberal Party and government interacted during the Pearson years, Wearing explains that as national director, "Davey was anxious to maintain high visibility for the party."<sup>6</sup> Davey confided in Walter Gordon that it was essential for the party to maintain control over its own organization, fearing that "the parliamentary wing of the party" would

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<sup>4</sup> Wearing, *The L-Shaped Party*, 46.

<sup>5</sup> Davey, *The Rainmaker*, 92.

<sup>6</sup> Wearing, *The L-Shaped Party*, 47.

attempt to reassume control as it had during the St Laurent era.<sup>7</sup> Davey still represented the opinions of the “new and younger wing of the party,” who were “genuinely concerned that the party organization maintain its vigorous approach.”<sup>8</sup> At Davey’s urgings the prime minister took up the theme of “new politics” in an address to Liberal Party faithful in Toronto:

The dropping of narrow and nasty, short-sighted and selfish partisanship...politics that makes the appeal to the people that John Kennedy made in his inaugural address... the fullest democratization of our party, in the sense that authority and policies must flow upwards from what we call the rank and file to those who have been chosen to fill positions of responsibility and authority in the party. That requires work on the party of the members of the party...so that the involvement of the individual can be mobilized for the determination and pursuit of national purpose through national parties.<sup>9</sup>

Under Pearson and Davey’s direction, changes were made to the party constitution ensuring that the Liberal membership elected party officers and voted on future amendments to the party constitution. These efforts reaffirmed the power of the party membership within the Liberal Party and weakened the parliamentary caucus.

Davey also sought to limit the authority of the Liberal Party’s parliamentary caucus through a re-examination of the allocation of patronage. Under Davey’s “New Politics” mantra, the Liberal Party as an organization would have at least some say in how cabinet ministers administered patronage. Davey wanted the federal campaign committees to serve as advisers and liaisons on matters of patronage between the grassroots of the Liberal Party and the cabinet.<sup>10</sup> These reforms would have ensured that when a cabinet minister considered a question on patronage, they would have to consult with the wider party to ensure the best recommendations were made.<sup>11</sup> Although these changes did not relate directly to the Liberal Party’s relationship

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in LAC, LPC fonds, vol. 685, file: Davey’s Weekly Report, 26.3.64, cited in Wearing, *The L-Shaped Party*, 48-49.

<sup>10</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 728, Federal Organization Confidential, Keith Davey to Walter Gordon, 30 May 1963.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

with ethnocultural communities, the proposal could have established a second front for them to target elected Liberals. These changes, undoubtedly, followed in line with Davey's goals of equipping the Liberal Party with new faces for its electoral machine. Like many other efforts to open the Liberal Party to its base, the effort was never implemented.

Pearson's first task was to craft his cabinet and "Seniority and regionalism" were key factors in his decisions.<sup>12</sup> Pearson did not hesitate to offer portfolios to several Liberal MPs who had served in St. Laurent's cabinet: Lionel Chevrier, Paul Martin, Senator Ross Macdonald, Jack Pickersgill, and Paul Hellyer were all veteran anchors for the new cabinet. Of those ministers, Pickersgill and Hellyer were experienced in appealing to voters from ethnocultural communities. Pearson also sought ministers from each province who were both Roman Catholic and Protestant. The former diplomat also reasoned that there should be "at least one woman, an Irish Catholic from Ontario, and one or more representatives of our ethnocultural communities."<sup>13</sup> Frank Glogowski advised Pearson to appoint Stanley Haidasz, a prominent member of the Toronto Polish community. Glogowski believed that appointing Haidasz recognized the importance of ethnocultural communities to the Liberal Party. Moreover, Glogowski argued that "the omission of such recognition will create difficulties" in maintaining the support of voters from ethnocultural communities.<sup>14</sup> Dan Lang, the Liberal Party's Ontario Campaign Chairman, advised Pearson to appoint Haidasz to a parliamentary assistantship because of his ethnicity. In the end Pearson followed Lang's advice and appointed Haidasz Parliamentary Secretary to the

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<sup>12</sup> Davey, *The Rainmaker*, 80.

<sup>13</sup> Pearson, *Mike* vol. 3, 85.

<sup>14</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 727, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 1, Frank Glogowski to Senator John Connolly, 18 April 1963.

Minister of National Health and Welfare. He also appointed Hubert Badanai, an Italian-Canadian, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Public Works.<sup>15</sup>

Another of Pearson's early tasks was to honour his campaign commitment and form the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.<sup>16</sup> The B & B Commission, as it was popularly known, was charged with investigating "the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between two founding races."<sup>17</sup> The Commission was also charged with taking "into account the cultural contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution."<sup>18</sup> John English posits that Pearson's fascination with Québec led him to propose the creation of a royal commission to investigate the partnership between English and French Canadians "that required 'equal and full opportunity to participate in all federal government services.'"<sup>19</sup> Yet the Commission's true purpose, according to José E. Igartua, was to investigate the relationship between Québec and the rest of Canada.<sup>20</sup> Historian Lee Blanding explains that in 1963 the Liberals were still tied to the concept of biculturalism. He advances the idea that:

the major intellectual hurdle that the Liberal Party had to overcome was the notion of Canada as bicultural. Whereas Progressive Conservatives talked openly about Canada as a "mosaic" and the idea of "unhyphenated" Canadian identity, the Liberals were tied to a concept that had less and less resonance for many Canadians of non-British and non-French descent.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> "Parliamentary Secretaries: Nineteenth Ministry." Guide to Canadian Ministries since Confederation. March 26, 2014. Accessed December 10, 2016. <http://www.pco-bcp.gc.ca/mgm/dtail.asp?lang=eng&mstvid=19&mbtpid=5>.

<sup>16</sup> For more information on the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and ethnocultural communities see Lee Blanding, "Re-branding Canada: The Origins of Canadian Multiculturalism Policy, 1945-1974," (PhD dissertation, University of Victoria, 2013).

<sup>17</sup> Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book IV, *The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups*, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), 3.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> English, *The Worldly Years*, 259.

<sup>20</sup> Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution*, 164.

<sup>21</sup> Blanding, "Re-branding Canada: The Origins of Canadian Multiculturalism Policy, 1945-1974," 92.

None of these interpretations suggest that the Liberals were concerned with ethnocultural communities in the context of the commission. The Royal Commission was co-chaired by Andre Laurendeau and Davidson Dunton.<sup>22</sup> While the commission was ostensibly a format to have public hearings on concerns coming out of Québec, the Liberals were under new pressure to include representatives of ethnocultural communities on the commission.<sup>23</sup> Maurice Lamontagne, who had been Pearson's advisor on Québec since 1958, sought candidates for the Commission who represented non-English and non-French ethnocultural communities while maintaining the dualist nature of English and French Canada.<sup>24</sup> Richard O'Hagan, Pearson's special assistant, advised Lamontagne to appoint Adam Zurowski, a prominent multilingual member of the Polish Veterans Association and the Canadian Polish Congress.<sup>25</sup> In the end, however, Pearson appointed Jaroslav B. Rudnyckyj and Paul Wyczynski at Lamontagne's recommendation. Rudnyckyj, a Ukrainian-Canadian, was chair of the Department of Slavic studies at the University of Manitoba and Wyczynski, a Polish-Canadian, was a Professor at the University of Ottawa.<sup>26</sup> The appointment was a small gesture to ethnocultural communities, while the Liberals grappled with the relationship between Québec and the rest of Canada.

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<sup>22</sup> Laurendeau served sat in the Québec National Assembly for the nationalist Bloc Populaire from 1944 until 1948. Afterwards Laurendeau became the assistant editor-in-chief of *Le Devoir* from 1948 until 1957, when he became editor-in-chief and director. Dunton began his career as a reporter at the *Montreal Star*, becoming associate editor in 1957. In 1958 he became editor of the Montreal Standard. From 1945 until 1958 he was Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. (LAC, James Coutts fonds, R13437 vol. 16, Biculturalism and Bilingualism Commission 1963-1966, Office of the Prime Minister, "Press Release on Appointments to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism," 22 July 1963).

<sup>23</sup> Matthew Hayday, "Bilingualism versus Unilingualism: Federal and Provincial Language Education Policies in Quebec, 1960-85," in *Contemporary Quebec: Selected Readings & Commentaries*, edited by Michael D. Behiels and Matthew Hayday (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 420; Blanding, "Re-branding Canada: The Origins of Canadian Multiculturalism Policy, 1945-1974," 99.

<sup>24</sup> English, *The Worldly Years*, 211; Blanding, "Re-branding Canada: The Origins of Canadian Multiculturalism Policy, 1945-1974," 99.

<sup>25</sup> LAC, James Coutts fonds, R13437 vol. 16, Biculturalism and Bilingualism Commission 1963-1966, Richard O'Hagan to the Hon. Maurice Lamontagne, 17 July 1963.

<sup>26</sup> LAC, James Coutts fonds, R13437 vol. 16, Biculturalism and Bilingualism Commission 1963-1966, Office of the Prime Minister, "Press Release on Appointments to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism," 22 July 1963).

While the governing Liberals sought to placate the interests of individuals within ethnocultural communities, offering token appointments to their contingent of parliamentary assistants and to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the Liberal Party overtly pushed ethnocultural communities away from their partisan affairs. After the 1963 Federal elections, Joseph Boyko, a prominent Ukrainian-Canadian Liberal active in the Ukrainian Canadian Congress in Toronto, approached Thompson and Davey to create a Ukrainian-Canadian Liberal club.<sup>27</sup> Thompson and Davey had frowned upon the creation of partisan ethnocultural clubs in the past and they remained uninterested in extending special partisan privileges to ethnocultural communities through the structure of the Liberal Party. Later the Ukrainian-Canadian community was also interested in creating a Ukrainian Men's Business Association with the support of the Liberal Party.<sup>28</sup> Davey did not mind the creation of the association but was adamant that the Liberal Party and the Pearson government keep its distance. Davey explained that "the important thing is that for sometime into the foreseeable future we do not appear able to assist these projects financially."<sup>29</sup> Though there is no proof that the Liberals were cautious of Ukrainian-Canadian groups because of their association with Diefenbaker and the Conservative Party, the logic cannot be over-looked entirely. After all, Diefenbaker frequently appealed to Canadians of Eastern European descent, of which Ukrainians were included, with his anti-communist rhetoric. Diefenbaker employed a colourful explanation to inspire this connection. While speaking to an audience at a meeting in Montreal's Ukrainian Centre near the conclusion of the 1962 federal election, Diefenbaker remarked that: "I said to Mr. Khrushchev, 'Give the Ukrainians the vote!' Then he got mad and that's where he took off

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<sup>27</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 727, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 1, Joseph Boyko to Andrew Thompson, 3 May 1963.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, George Ben to Keith Davey, 15 August 1963.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, Keith Davey to George Ben, 16 August 1963.

one of his shoes, you remember!”<sup>30</sup> Diefenbaker’s recollection depicted himself as the antagonist of the Soviet leader’s frustration. Surely this was meant to connect him with Canadians of Ukrainian descent. Regardless the NLF had a history of casting divisions within the party. When the party was in opposition, they decided against the idea of forming an “Ethnic Council” to advise the party on issues affecting ethnocultural communities. Though the reasons behind these latest refusals are not particularly clear, in the aftermath of the election, the Liberals seemed to build barriers with ethnocultural communities instead of looking for ways to strengthen these relationships.

Davey sought to balance the interests of the party under the pressure of a significant number of requests for patronage. Ultimately this decision affected the Liberal Party’s relationship with ethnocultural communities and their representatives. Davey ignored financial entanglements and requests for the Liberal Party to establish associate organizations. However, he was cognizant that Liberal campaign workers would be looking for government contracts to reward them for their efforts. Though Davey considered the question of distributing funds to Liberal organizers, Thompson gave the national director pause. Thompson wondered how the funds would be used to assist the Liberal Party, how they would ensure they were used properly, and how they would select individuals in a transparent manner that would be understood and explained by those who were turned down.<sup>31</sup> George Ben, a Liberal campaign worker who assisted the party on local campaigns with ethnocultural communities, was one of those party workers looking for patronage. Hellyer encouraged Davey “to give George an

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<sup>30</sup> Newman challenges Diefenbaker’s memory and asserts that “the imagined sequence of events simply was not true,” claiming Diefenbaker was in St. Albert on the day in question. [Peter C. Newman, *Renegade in Power: The Diefenbaker Years*, Carleton Library Edition Number 70, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), 260].

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, Andrew Thompson to Keith Davey, 27 June 1963.

opportunity to carry on his work for a trial period at least.”<sup>32</sup> Ben proposed that he could bring young professional Ukrainians into the Liberal Party.<sup>33</sup> Ben, a lawyer and a Slovak-Canadian, later became an Ontario Liberal MPP for the riding of Bracondale in 1965.<sup>34</sup> Ben was infuriated when Davey informed him that the party could not offer him financial assistance for “some further indefinite period of time.”<sup>35</sup> Ben took Davey’s decision as an insult, insisting that he had never used the Liberal Party for financial gain. He explained in a letter to Davey:

The reasons given hurt my feelings deeply. Nobody in the Liberal Party can accuse me of running to the trough. In fact, so far as finances are concerned, with me, during the time I have been connected with the Liberal Party it has always been a one-way street, and that street has certainly not headed in my direction. Financial support was the smallest of my concerns; what I wanted more than anything was moral support and recognition of the problem of what is being done.<sup>36</sup>

Yet Ben was persistent and still stressed his case for financial support. He informed Davey that any funds allocated to him would go toward the betterment of the Liberal Party, suggesting that “If any work should come my way, you can rest assured that proceeds thereof would be put to a good use.”<sup>37</sup> Despite Ben’s complaints, Davey told Ben that while they could not reimburse him for the work, he “would be delighted” to have him proceed engaging these communities.<sup>38</sup> Moral support and recognition had to be enough. Ben appeared to have moved past his frustration but he continued to advance the interests of the Ukrainian community by convincing former Progressive Conservative organizer John Ellis to join the Trinity riding association. At Ben’s behest, Ellis gave three speeches to gatherings of Ukrainians in support of the Liberal Party. Ellis

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid, Paul Hellyer to Keith Davey, 2 July 1963.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, George Ben to Keith Davey, 15 August 1963.

<sup>34</sup> “Not Residents of Riding: Ben, Associates on Voters List,” *The Globe and Mail*, 3 September, 1965; Keith Davey, “Letter to George Ben,” 12 August 1963, LAC, MG 28 IV 3, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 1.

<sup>35</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 727, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 1, George Ben to Keith Davey, 12 August 1963.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, George Ben to Keith Davey, 15 August 1963.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, Keith Davey to George Ben, 16 August 1963.

also gave Ben a cheque for \$500 and promised another \$500 in the future.<sup>39</sup> Ellis was a prominent member of the Ukrainian community and was the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Association of Toronto's longest serving President for eight years over three terms. He was eventually honored for fifty-five years of community service to the Ukrainian-Canadian community.<sup>40</sup> The Liberals seemed to show disinterest in investing the party's financial resources into ethnocultural community engagement. This decision of course is unsurprising.

Other requests for Liberal patronage from members of ethnocultural communities came in the form of requests for Senate positions. While it was Louis St. Laurent who appointed William (Wasył) Wall as the first Ukrainian-Canadian Senator in 1955, Diefenbaker followed suit by appointing John Hnatyshyn in 1959 and Paul Yuzyk in 1963.<sup>41</sup> The Pearson Liberals were asked to appoint Senators from various other ethnocultural communities. Stefan Sznuk, a former Polish war veteran and leader in the Polish-Canadian community, received considerable interest from within his Polish-Canadian community as a potential Senate candidate as a representative of the Polish community.<sup>42</sup> Davey also considered recommending to Pearson the appointment of Dominic "Mico" Valeriote of Guelph, Ontario to the Senate.<sup>43</sup> Valeriote was an active Liberal and Guelph Alderman who provided the Liberal Party with lists of new citizens from the Guelph area.<sup>44</sup> These lists frequently went through Davey, which explains the connection between him

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid, George Ben to Keith Davey, 21 August 1963.

<sup>40</sup> Ellis served as President from 1945-1946, 1947-1953, and 1966-1968. (Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Association of Toronto, "History," accessed 9 March, 2017, <https://ucpba.ca/toronto/welcome/history>).

<sup>41</sup> Champion, *The Strange Demise of British Canada*, 150.

<sup>42</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 727, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 2 Jan. 1964 - Dec/64, E.H. Klimowics to Lester Pearson, 20 May 1964; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 727, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 2 Jan. 1964 - Dec/64, Mary Macdonald to Keith Davey, 8 June 1964; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 727, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 2 Jan. 1964 - Dec/64, Wilhelm Jakubianiec to Lester Pearson, 15 July 1964.

<sup>43</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1037, Ontario Campaign Committee, James Clare to Keith Davey, 9 July 1963.

<sup>44</sup> "Alderman to contest mayoralty in Guelph," *The Globe and Mail*, 23 November, 1965.

and Valeriotte.<sup>45</sup> Bruce Powe, an organizer of the Ontario Campaign Committee, advised Davey that Valeriotte was “well known to us as a party worker and a man of excellent character,” but that if Davey was considering an Italian-Canadian appointment for Ontario, “we would undoubtedly wish to look at a wider field.”<sup>46</sup> In the end Valeriotte was never appointed to the Senate.

There were also requests to appoint Frank Glogowski to the Senate.<sup>47</sup> Thompson himself suggested to Davey that Glogowski be appointed to the red chamber, emphasizing the role Glogowski could play within ethnocultural communities on behalf of the Liberal Party:

I really can't think of anyone who is more appropriate to be appointed than Frank Glogowski. We should balance the Ukrainian appointments by Diefenbaker with a Polish appointment. Frank is very popular with the main influences in ethnic groups – the ethnic publishers and editors. He is an openly declared Liberal for many years and if he is given any appointment other than one of considerable significance, all of these people will look upon it as a slur to them. Only if Frank was raised to a prestigious position could he become a really effective in the ethnic liaison position. It is much easier for an Anglo-Saxon Member of Parliament to be invited to a Ukrainian affair than a Polish editor, but a Senator has fairly ready access into any of their groups.<sup>48</sup>

Glogowski was suggested for the Senate because of his extensive contributions to the Liberal Party in ethnocultural communities but also because of a potential future role fulfilling Thompson's former role. Although he would not be rewarded with a Senate appointment, Glogowski was recommended for appointment to a federal board. Glogowski, as an editor of the *Polish Alliance Press* and an executive member of the CEPF, had worked on the inside of Thompson's ethnocultural outreach strategy. In 1964 Glogowski stepped down as editor of the *Polish Alliance Press* and was celebrated for his role in the community in both Liberal and the

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<sup>45</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 640, Ethnic Groups -- Mr. A.E. Thompson, D. Milco Valeriotte to Keith Davey, 18 December 1961.

<sup>46</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1037, Ontario Campaign Committee, Bruce Powe to Keith Davey, 1 August 1963.

<sup>47</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 727, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 2 Jan. 1964 - Dec/64, Mary Macdonald to Keith Davey, 8 June 1964.

<sup>48</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 727, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 2 Jan. 1964 - Dec/64, Andrew Thompson to Keith Davey, 23 October 1964.

provincial Progressive Conservative circles. His retirement party was heavily attended by both Liberals and Conservatives, and thus Stanley Haidasz recommended to Davey that the Liberals use Glogowski to court voters from ethnocultural communities across the country.<sup>49</sup> Haidasz argued to Davey that Glogowski

is a very deserving as well as a dedicated Liberal worker whom we should encourage to continue working for us. However, our encouragement should also be supported by tangible assistance to him. This would both reward him for his past services and enable him to work even more efficiently for the Liberal party.<sup>50</sup>

Paul Hellyer also became a vocal proponent of giving Glogowski a federal appointment to a board because of Glogowski's commitment to the Federal Liberals.<sup>51</sup> Their lobbying efforts succeeded in 1967 as Glogowski was appointed to the new Immigration Appeal Board by Minister of Manpower Jean Marchand.<sup>52</sup> By overlooking Glogowski for the Senate and appointing him to a government board, the Liberals, yet again, delivered another small gesture.

The party showed disinterest in expanding its efforts to engage ethnocultural communities by bridging Thompson's operations into the broader functions of the NLF or the Liberal campaign. While it was conceivable that Davey was undecided on how to approach the party's relationship with ethnocultural communities as the governing party, it is perhaps just as likely, if not more likely, that the party continued to ignore the organization of ethnocultural communities. After all, the entire practice of reaching out to ethnocultural communities began in Opposition when the Liberals were searching for a return to power. With power having been reclaimed, "Ethnic groups" were more of a nuisance than a benefit to the Liberal Party.

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<sup>49</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 727, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 2 Jan. 1964 - Dec/64, Stanley Haidasz to Keith Davey, 30 June 1964.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid; LAC, Paul Hellyer fonds, MG32 B 33 vol. 207, Canada Ethnic Press Federation 1964-1965, Paul Hellyer to Charles Dojack, 21 January 1965; LAC, Paul Hellyer fonds, MG32 B 33 vol. 207, Canada Ethnic Press Federation 1964-1965, Paul Hellyer to Stanley Haidasz, 27 February 1965.

<sup>52</sup> "6 named to board on immigrant appeals," *The Globe and Mail*, 28 September, 1967.

Faced with the reality of forming government Pearson and Davey quickly established precedents with ethnocultural communities. The evidence suggests that courting voters from ethnocultural communities was not top of mind for either of them. In fact Pearson and the Liberal Party only made small token gestures to representatives of ethnocultural communities.

The decision is an intriguing one in light of the political benefits of patronage. Martin Shefter writes that a political party “may distribute divisible benefits—patronage of various sorts—to the individuals who support” them.<sup>53</sup> Shefter also argues that a political party may also “distribute collective benefits or appeal to a collective interest in an effort to elicit contributions of money, labor, or votes from its supporters.”<sup>54</sup> In Canada, A. Brian Tanguay argues, this development resulted in the Liberal and Conservative Parties appealing to supporters “through networks of patron-client relations, where votes and other kinds of contributions are exchanged for certain favours.”<sup>55</sup> Though the patron-client relationship has evolved in Canada, gradually displaced by the bureaucratic state, Joseph Wearing argues that Keith Davey was opposed to the patronage practices of the previous eras.<sup>56</sup> This explains, at least in part, why Davey rejected opportunities to extend patronage to ethnocultural communities.

### **Liberals and Ethnocultural Advertising: New Canadian Publications**

After rejecting opportunities to cultivate support from ethnocultural communities through patronage, the Liberal Party opted for appealing to ethnocultural through advertising campaigns. Thompson and Davey considered ways of solidifying their influence over with ethnocultural communities through the press, including the creation of a Liberal advertising agency.

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<sup>53</sup> Martin Shefter, “Party and Patronage: Germany, England, and Italy,” *Politics and Society*, vol. 7, no. 4: 403.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> A. Brian Tanguay, “Canada’s Party System in the 1990s: Breakdown or Renewal?” *Canadian Politics*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, edited by James Bickerton and Alain G. Gagnon, (Toronto: Broadview Press, 1999), 329.

<sup>56</sup> Wearing, *The L-Shaped Party*, 56-58.

Ultimately, the Liberals opted to solidify their relationship with New Canadian Publications President Stan Mokrzycki. As a consequence of that decision, Davey, an officer of the Liberal Party and not Pearson's government, came under pressure to increase the spending of government advertising dollars in the ethnic press. The entire debate over government advertising dollars and the ethnic press reaffirms the Pearson government's limited interest in ethnocultural communities.

Before Thompson's eventual departure to lead the Ontario Liberal Party, he and Davey considered the idea of opening a Liberal ethnocultural advertising agency. Thompson believed that the advertising agency's profits would pay for the costs of the party's ethnocultural outreach programme.<sup>57</sup> This could have equipped his operation with more money to spend. Thompson's proposal to create a new advertising agency was presented in a broader scheme to grow his office's function as well as its budget.<sup>58</sup> Thompson made early preparations for the establishment of the agency with Liberal Senator Duncan MacTavish.<sup>59</sup> However these plans were halted when MacTavish died in a car accident in November 1963 and Thompson departed for provincial politics.<sup>60</sup>

Wearing explains in *The L-Shaped Party* that some federal government department advertising was conducted by Liberal friendly advertising agencies. MacLaren Advertising did much of this business. MacLaren Advertising grew closer with the Liberal Party in 1959 when, in the aftermath of its defeat in 1958, Davey called a meeting to evaluate the party's advertising

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<sup>57</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 727, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 1, Andrew Thompson to Keith Davey, 28 May 1963.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> MacTavish was a successful lawyer and major Liberal fundraiser during the King and St. Laurent eras. MacTavish was replaced in Walter Gordon's shakeup of the Liberal Party apparatus by General Bruce Matthews. Pearson appointed MacTavish to the Senate in June 1963. [Christina McCall-Newman, *Grits: An Intimate Portrait of The Liberal Party*, (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1982), 34.]

<sup>60</sup> "Change of Route: Still Seek Reasons for Crash in Which Senator Duncan MacTavish Died," *The Globe and Mail*, 18 November, 1963; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 727, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 3 Jan/1964 -, Andrew Thompson to Keith Davey, 12 December 1963.

strategy. Neither Walsh Advertising nor Cockfield Brown, both of whom contributed to the party's advertising with MacLaren, bothered attending the meeting. Thereafter, MacLaren filled the void, subsidized the salaries of Richard O'Hagan, Pearson's Press Officer, and Paul Goulet, the party's Public Relations Director. They also provided the Liberal Party with credit in their account that they could use for advertising.<sup>61</sup> Wearing argues that five years later the gamble paid off when "MacLaren was rewarded with \$1.3 million worth of annual government advertising (30.5% of all departmental advertising)."<sup>62</sup> Liberal friendly firms in Toronto and Montreal received the rest of the business. Yet cabinet ministers were often involved in negotiations over the choice of advertising agencies because they "had their favourites," and sometimes "considerations of 'merit' ... conflicted with 'political' considerations."<sup>63</sup> For example, the party's chief fundraiser John Aird opposed transferring any of MacLaren's business to Québec-based agencies while the Québec Liberal Party machine refused to contribute to the costs of the national campaign or the national office. To resolve these issues, Davey recommended to Pearson that "all government departments do their advertising through agencies," or to develop a government of Canada Advertising Agency, but Davey admitted that the "advertising agencies would be up in arms."<sup>64</sup>

New Canadian Publications was another advertising agency that the Liberal Party developed a relationship with. Mokrzycki's involvement with Thompson and Davey created a strong connection with the Liberal Party. After Thompson's departure to lead the Ontario Liberal Party, Mokrzycki advised the party that he was concerned about its appeal in ethnocultural communities. He stressed that their "lines of communication with the ethnic groups in Canada

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<sup>61</sup> Wearing, *The L-Shaped Party*, 58.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

are down and that the party is paying an increasingly greater toll for it every day.”<sup>65</sup> He was not the only one sounding the alarm. In a speech at the First National Conference on Canadian Slavs, Haidasz, the Parliamentary Secretary of State for External Affairs, observed that

26 percent of Canadians are from many different origins. This new element is exerting more and more a significant influence in music, art, education, politics and sports. It represents a valuable contribution which will have in the future a still more profound impact on the intellectual, cultural and political life of Canada.<sup>66</sup>

Yet Mokrzycki’s concerns were inherently attached to the success of his own business, New Canadian Publications. After Thompson’s departure, Davey relied on Mokrzycki to continue to manage the Liberal Party’s presence across the country in the ethnic press. At Davey’s request, Mokrzycki joined the party’s national communications committee.<sup>67</sup>

In the fall of 1964, Davey advised Mokrzycki that the Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration would purchase all ethnocultural newspaper advertising through New Canadian Publications.<sup>68</sup> However there were issues within the Department. Shortly thereafter, Mokrzycki complained about the department not running advertisements in the ethnic press. He complained to John Munro, the parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, that advertisements were not sent to New Canadian Publications:

As you can appreciate, these papers are not happy about it at all. In some cases this oversight is particularly unfortunate—for instance one of the omitted papers is the Ukrainian weekly *VILNE SLOVO*, owned by John Boyko, who is a devoted Liberal and has done a lot for the party. However, with all of them this oversight does not generate good will for the Government and for the party.<sup>69</sup>

Mokrzycki also complained to Davey about the Department of Labour’s decision not to run an advertisement campaign in the ethnic press:

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<sup>65</sup> LAC, Stanley Haidasz fonds, R1273 vol. 1, Ethnic Press 1964, Stan Mokrzycki to John Connolly, 21 October 1964.

<sup>66</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 727, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 3 Jan/1964 -, Stanley Haidasz, "Address Delivered by Dr. Stanley Haidasz at the First National Conference on Canadian Slavs," 10 June 1965.

<sup>67</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 727, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 2 Jan. 1964 - Dec/64, Keith Davey to Stan Mokrzycki, 26 May 1964.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, Davey to John Munro, 28 October 1963.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, Mokrzycki to Munro, 29 October 1963.

Similarly to the 'Winter Build' program, this campaign has not been ordered in our papers as yet—however, the statistics of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration prove that many newcomers open their own businesses which do employ other people. Immigrant employees would be even more receptive to the idea of hiring older people, because the question of age is not as critical in Europe as it is here. In addition, such a campaign in the ethnic papers would have an excellent public relations value for all immigrants.<sup>70</sup>

These complaints intensified as Mokrzycki and ethnocultural publications looked to the Liberals for their piece of government advertising dollars.

Instead of creating their own Liberal Party ethnocultural advertising agency, Davey assigned the party's communications with ethnocultural communities to Mokrzycki after Thompson's departure. Subsequently Mokrzycki advocated on behalf of his business, pressuring the government to fund advertisements in the ethnic press. Mokrzycki's priority was New Canadian Publications and he was honest with Davey in this regard, explaining that "I must make sure that my Company will get enough volume one way or another for us to carry on, and I make no bones about it."<sup>71</sup> Yet in the view of Mokrzycki and some editors of the ethnic press, the Liberal government provided insufficient advertising dollars to ethnic press publications. The Liberal Party showed a general disinterest in solidifying its relationship with the ethnic press, a key influencer of ethnocultural communities.

### **Ethnic Press Advertising Dollars, Patronage, and the Liberal Party**

The CEPF and New Canadian Publications lobbied the Liberal Party and the Pearson government to normalize the practice of running government department advertisements in ethnic press publications across the country. The pressure from the CEPF and Mokrzycki on the Liberals forced Davey to reconsider the Liberal Party's relationship not only with the ethnic press and New Canadian Publications, but also voters from ethnocultural communities. Davey

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid, Mokrzycki to Davey, 5 November 1963.

<sup>71</sup> LAC, Stanley Haidasz fonds, R1273 vol. 1, Ethnic Press 1964, Stan Mokrzycki to Keith Davey, 3 June 1964.

questioned how influential the ethnic press was within ethnocultural communities. This debate led the Liberals to question hard lobbying by editors of the ethnic press who demanded additional government advertising dollars for their publications. Without Andrew Thompson to advise the government, Pearson stalled on the question, and ultimately angered editors in the run-up to the 1965 federal election. The ethnic press attempted to leverage their influence on their readers through a form of political coercion, upsetting Keith Davey, and ultimately pushing the debate over ethnocultural publication advertising into the Prime Minister's Office and the cabinet. The relationship between the CEPF and the Liberal Party became one of significant conflict.

In early 1964, several months after Thompson's departure, the CEPF complained that the Liberal government had a communication problem:

in the last several months an air of discouragement has been spreading among ethnic groups, as we can sense from our daily contacts with our readers. One of the reasons for this is the lack of proper lines of communication between the Federal Government and the ethnic groups who may not fully appreciate the efforts and accomplishments of the Government because of the language barrier.<sup>72</sup>

The CEPF asked the government to provide their communications to the ethnic press in the appropriate languages. The CEPF Executive argued that they should do this because "knowledge of English or French is not a condition for immigration."<sup>73</sup> However, to fulfill this request the government would have had to invest significant resources to translate all government communications into the more than twenty languages represented by the CEPF. Yet the CEPF executive lobbied all of Pearson's ministers with the same request.<sup>74</sup> In terms of staffing and expenses, the hiring of translators for official government communications to languages other

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<sup>72</sup> LAC, Paul Hellyer fonds, MG32 B 33 vol. 207, Canada Ethnic Press Federation 1964-1965, Bruno Tenhunen Karl Julius Bater Daniel Iannuzzi Ken Mori V. Mauko and Frank Glogowski to Lester Pearson, 7 April 1964.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> See letters in LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 727, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 2 Jan. 1964 - Dec/6.

than English and French would have been a significant government policy change. Yet there were no arguments made that challenged the notions of fairness advocated by ethnic press editors. Unsurprisingly, Pearson stalled on the question, advising the CEPF that the matter would be considered by the government.<sup>75</sup>

Haidasz interjected himself into the debate. He was more concerned with the position of the CEPF than with the deliberations of Pearson or his cabinet on the matter, suggesting to the prime minister that there had been “inadequate communications between the federal Government and the Ethnic Groups and [there was] meagre advertising by federal departments in the Ethnic Press.”<sup>76</sup> In addition to his complaint to the prime minister, Haidasz also asked Pearson to arrange for the entire Liberal caucus to meet with New Canadian Publications and the CEPF. Haidasz had already discussed the matter with Davey, Connolly and members of cabinet.<sup>77</sup> Haidasz’s approach to the matter solidified his personal position with the editors of the ethnic press but overstepped his reach as a parliamentary assistant. Meanwhile, Mokrzycki was lobbying Davey with the same request.<sup>78</sup> The CEPF and New Canadian Publications wanted the government to spend a certain threshold of advertising dollars in the ethnic press. Both asked for the ethnic press to be guaranteed a percentage of each department’s advertising budget.<sup>79</sup>

Haidasz’s lobbying effort put Pearson’s team on their heels. Davey asked Thompson for his advice on the issue and he advised him that:

it would not be particularly useful, and perhaps compromising for the Prime Minister to discuss this with a group of ethnic editors, especially when they feel the government has almost an obligation to provide them with a certain measure of advertising support.

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid, Lester Pearson to Bruno Tenhunen, 16 April 1964.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid, Haidasz to Pearson, 23 April 1964.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid, Davey to Mokrzycki, 24 April 1964.

<sup>79</sup> LAC, Stanley Haidasz fonds, R1273 vol. 1, Ethnic Press 1964, Stanley Haidasz to Lester Pearson, 23 April 1964.

Thompson advocated against a meeting because it would not resolve the matter. Instead Thompson suggested to Davey, who agreed, that it would be better to have the CEPF and Mokrzycki meet with the Liberal Caucus Public Relations and Communications Committee.<sup>80</sup>

The CEPF's major concern was that the ethnic press was not getting a share of federal government advertising dollars proportionate to the number of Canadians who identified as non-English and non-French. They were upset that the government failed to advertise the Social Insurance Number Card campaign and the Canada Pension Plan campaign in the ethnic press. The CEPF argued that the Canada Pension Plan was not given much coverage in the ethnic press because the individual ethnic press publications could not afford to translate the information. This difficulty was also extended towards the translation of all of the federal government's press releases, speeches and other communication materials.<sup>81</sup> The CEPF Executives' requests affected Pearson, who questioned Davey and Thompson's decision not to schedule a meeting with the CEPF.<sup>82</sup>

Under conflicting pressure from cabinet and the prime minister, Davey gave considerable thought to the idea of outright rejecting the requests of the CEPF executive and Mokrzycki. The Liberal government had become inundated with appeals to allocate advertising dollars to ethnic press publications but Davey's recommendation to Pearson was to be reasonable regarding the CEPF and Mokrzycki. Davey understood that Liberal ministers were sympathetic to the case being made by the CEPF and New Canadian Publications for "obvious political reasons." Yet in Davey's view, Pearson needed to understand who was lobbying for these changes. He advised Pearson that the CEPF was a form of trade association, while New Canadian Publications was a

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 727, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 2 Jan. 1964 - Dec/64, Lester Pearson to Stan Mokrzycki, 29 April 1964.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, Tenhunen to Pearson, 19 May 1964.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, Mary Macdonald to Davey, 26 May 1964.

commercial agency with the goal of soliciting advertising sales.<sup>83</sup> Davey referenced a study by MacLaren's during the 1962 and 1963 campaigns which had concluded that the ethnic press's "pulling power is not very great," and that "it is quite possible to reach new Canadians through other more normal means of advertising."<sup>84</sup> However, Thompson had "always taken issue with MacLaren's both on their dismissal of weeklies and of ethnocultural papers."<sup>85</sup>

Davey was also critical of the motives of ethnocultural press publication editors. He argued that these editors tried to "use a form of political blackmail on governments and political parties."<sup>86</sup> The Progressive Conservatives had "painstakingly wooed the ethnic press," said Davey, "but if we are to judge from the 1963 results, [their] money and effort was wasted."<sup>87</sup> In the end, however, Davey acknowledged that the ethnic press did have political influence. He argued that the Liberal Party should not be boxed in by the CEPF and New Canadian Publications but warned that they "cannot risk antagonizing such a significant group of potential opinion makers."<sup>88</sup> Davey stood by his original suggestion and recommended to Pearson that Mokrzycki and the CEPF executive meet with the Liberal Caucus Public Relations and Communications Committee.<sup>89</sup>

In June 1964 Mokrzycki and members of the CEPF Executive met with the Liberal Caucus Public Relations and Communications Committee. The meeting was also attended by a variety of Liberal MPs and Executive Assistants.<sup>90</sup> The CEPF Executive's presentation stressed that the ethnic press should sell the Pearson government's position on the final report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism to voters from ethnocultural communities:

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid, Davey to Pearson, 26 May 1964.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid, Thompson to Davey, 5 June 1964.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, Davey to Pearson, 26 May 1964.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, Mokrzycki to Davey, 19 June 1964.

It is at that time that the most important work has to be done: the building up and maintaining of a strong public opinion in support of the legislation enacted and agreements reached. That will be the moment when ethnic editors and publishers will be in a position to render their greatest service.<sup>91</sup>

The CEPF stressed that their research showed that eighty-six percent of ethnic newspaper readers preferred reading news in their own language and that more than eighty percent did not receive English-language publications.<sup>92</sup> Ultimately the CEPF recommended that the federal government release communications information translated into different ethnocultural languages and that all well-established and reliable ethnocultural publications be given an equal share of government advertising as the English- and French-language publications.<sup>93</sup> Though the CEPF proposal would have been a considerable policy change for the federal government, the request itself was a fair one. After all the government was spending considerably more on advertisements in both English- and French-language print publications. Moreover the advertisements were informational, in the sense that they informed the general public about government programs, while also providing financial support to the publications themselves. Furthermore, Official Bilingualism was not yet the law of the land and there was no legal standard with which to reject the policy change. Though the policy change would have added additional costs to government departments, the added benefits certainly would have been influential across the country and in Canada's many diverse ethnocultural communities.

In the aftermath of the CEPF meeting, some Liberal cabinet ministers were won over by the perceived political clout of the ethnic press. For example, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration René Tremblay advocated for all government departments to place department advertising in the ethnic press. Tremblay said that "I believe the ethnic press is a necessity today

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<sup>91</sup> LAC, Paul Hellyer fonds, MG32 B 33 vol. 207, Canada Ethnic Press Federation 1964-1965, Bruno Tenhunen Walter Lindal Frank Glogowski and Stan Mokrzycki to the Liberal Caucus Public Relations Committee on Behalf of the Canada Ethnic Press Federation, 18 June 1964.

<sup>92</sup> They referenced a study done by Gruneau Research. The study is not included in the presentation. See: *ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

and I submit that we should help it as much as possible, by all the different means at the disposal of our respective Departments.”<sup>94</sup>

Despite pressure from within Cabinet, there were no immediate changes to government advertising until Mokrzycki approached Davey with another proposal. Recognizing that New Canadian Publications was positioned directly in the crosshairs of the federal government and Canada’s ethnic presses, he gave Davey a choice: either New Canadian Publications would stand with the party in support of the CEPF Executive’s request for additional advertising or it would no longer advocate for the party:

I want to be of help to the Liberal Party, providing that there is a general belief within the party that my ideas can help the Liberal cause among the Ethnic groups and that this belief be supported by action now. Otherwise, I would find it extremely difficult and embarrassing to ask the Ethnic press publishers and editors for support on behalf of the party or any Liberal candidates in the next Election Campaign – in view of the promises which have not been kept.<sup>95</sup>

This ultimatum came with a proposal that Mokrzycki’s company handle all of the government’s ethnic press advertising in exchange for absorbing all costs associated with translations and mailing the materials on behalf of the government.<sup>96</sup> It seemed like a solid proposal from Mokrzycki’s point of view that would also relieve the government of any responsibility in translating communications. Yet the debate within the government was far from over.

After the Liberal Caucus Public Relations and Communications Committee’s meeting with the CEPF and Mokrzycki, the Liberal caucus discussed the matter and Pearson decided the question would be decided by cabinet.<sup>97</sup> In his submission to cabinet, Davey argued that the

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<sup>94</sup> LAC, Paul Hellyer fonds, MG32 B 33 vol. 207, Canada Ethnic Press Federation 1964-1965, René Tremblay to Paul Hellyer, 21 July 1964; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 717, Citizenship & Immigration Hon. Guy Favreau (Mtl-Papineau, P.Q.) J.C. Munro/ R. Tremblay/ G. Favreau, René Tremblay to Lester Pearson, 21 July 1964.

<sup>95</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 727, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 2 Jan. 1964 - Dec/64, Stan Mokrzycki to Keith Davey, 27 August 1964.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 727, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 2 Jan. 1964 - Dec/64, Stanley Haidasz to Keith Davey, 4 September 1964.

government should meet the requests of the CEPF not “for reasons of political expediency alone,” but also because “we cannot afford to jeopardise our fine relationship with the ethnic press ... for we most certainly will need it in the future.”<sup>98</sup> Davey recommended to cabinet that all departments adopt a uniform list of ethnocultural newspaper publications to receive government advertising and that all those advertisements go through New Canadian Publications. Moreover, he recommended that New Canadian Publications handle all translation of government communications to ethnic press publications.<sup>99</sup> Davey asked the Liberal cabinet for a serious commitment of federal advertising in the ethnic press. But would his recommendations be adopted? Despite all the meetings with the Liberal caucus, the issues with the ethnic press concerning government advertising continued to go unresolved. In February of 1966, representatives of cabinet, including Secretary of State for External Affairs Paul Martin, met with members of the ethnic press and promised that their newspapers would be included in future advertising campaigns of federal departments. However, this promise clearly did not apply to all department and the matter was discussed at cabinet in March.<sup>100</sup> At cabinet, the Minister of Industry Bud Drury, said that “the committee on advertising, of which he was Chairman, would be proposing the allocation of an arbitrary amount of advertising to the ethnic, religious and weekly press.”<sup>101</sup> Cabinet concluded that while they found the allocation of a fixed proportion to the ethnic press objectionable, an arbitrary allocation could resolve the issue.<sup>102</sup>

The CEPF, along with Stan Mokrzycki, tried to leverage the Liberal government into buying more advertisements. Yet the position was far more than asking for increase in

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<sup>98</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 727, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 2 Jan. 1964 - Dec/64, Keith Davey to Cabinet, November 1964.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> LAC, Privy Council Office fonds, RG2 A-5-a, vol. 6321, "Advertising - Ethnic Press," 29 March 1966, page 14.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid, 15.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

advertising dollars. The CEPF promoted a significant policy change that would have made government services more accessible to the general public, especially amongst new immigrants, and would have promoted awareness about government programmes. In the end, the issues raised by the CEPF and Mokrzycki were not entirely resolved and the meetings were more small gestures given by the Liberals. Despite Davey's support for an increase, ranking Liberals continued to show a deference to programs or services that were promoted at ethnocultural communities.

### **Lester Pearson, Andrew Thompson and “Doing Being Ethnic”**

Pearson memoirs were published during the 1970s and demonstrated that he conceived of “ethnocultural groups” as one collective group who formed a single interest. The Liberal Party began its efforts to court “ethnic voters” in the late 1950s and the party conceived of “ethnic groups” as one, broad constituency of “ethnic voters” that could help propel their candidates to victory in elections. Once the party formed government after the 1963 federal election, this conception remained unchanged. Pearson, in remembering how he conceived of his cabinet, associated ethnocultural communities as one of many different interests affecting his government. In his memoirs, Pearson writes of his first cabinet construction and explains that he took care to ensure that there was “at least one woman, an Irish Catholic from Ontario, and one or more representatives of our ethnocultural communities.”<sup>103</sup> It is interesting that in identifying groups that needed representation in his cabinet, Pearson remembers taking care to break apart the concept of English-Canada, as it was understood in the 1960s, to include an Irish Catholic from Ontario but did not do the same with “ethnocultural groups.” José E. Igartua writes that by the 1960s, the ethnicities that made up English-Canada encompassed British culture and blurred

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<sup>103</sup> Pearson, *Mike vol. 3*, 85.

“the more specific English, Irish, Welsh, and Scottish cultures that were transplanted to Canada” while simultaneously retaining “an ethnic quality” that served “to define a specific ‘We’ that excludes those not bred and raised in its culture.”<sup>104</sup> Though Pearson’s care to have an Ontario Irish Catholic was more likely associated with the Protestant-Catholic balance in cabinet, his phrasing still unpacked the composition of English-Canadian identity. Paul Martin Sr. was an obvious choice for this criterion. Though Pearson put Martin, an Irish Catholic from Ontario in his cabinet, and Judy LaMarsh, a woman, he did not include a member from the “ethnocultural groups” that he mentioned in his memoirs. It is quite telling that Pearson, who was leader when the Liberal Party instigated the pursuit of political relationships with ethnocultural communities and who served as prime minister from 1963 until 1968 through the B & B Commission, still conceived of “ethnocultural groups” as a collective force.

Thompson was concerned that the appointment of a representative of one “ethnic group” impacted its relationships with other groups, and that only members of other “ethnic groups” with a certain level of prestige, could do the work of an Anglo-Saxon MP amongst “ethnic groups” outside of their own. Rogers Brubaker argues that while historical accounts portray ethnic groups as the protagonists of ethnic conflict, “the chief protagonist of most ethnic conflict” are organizations such as political parties and ethnic associations. Brubaker writes that conflict may be partly amorphous, “through everyday actions as shunning, insults, demands for deference or conformity, or withholdings of routine interactional tokens of acknowledgement or respect.”<sup>105</sup> In other words, the level of ethnic conflict or ethnic violence does not need to be understood as extreme and can be more subtle. In 1964, Thompson proposed to Davey that the Liberal Party “balance the Ukrainian appointments by Diefenbaker with a Polish appointment” to

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<sup>104</sup> Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution*, 4-5.

<sup>105</sup> Brubaker, “Ethnicity Without Groups,” 173.

the Senate. Thompson encouraged Davey to appoint Polish ethnic press and Liberal ally Frank Glogowski to the Senate. Thompson specified that Glogowski's appointment to the Senate could be used to fulfill the role of a new Ethnic Liaison Officer. Without the status of a Senator, Thompson reasoned that Glogowski could not fill his old role as the Ethnic Liaison Officer because "it is much easier for an Anglo-Saxon Member of Parliament to be invited to a Ukrainian affair than a Polish editor." By making Glogowski a Senator, he would have "fairly ready access into any of their groups."<sup>106</sup> Thompson's advice to Davey is full of perceptions of ethnic conflict. Thompson reifies groups and assumes that all Polish-Canadians, as a group of voters, yearn for a Senate appointment from their community after former Prime Minister John Diefenbaker appointed Ukrainian-Canadian Paul Yuzyk to the Senate. Furthermore, Thompson believed that only an Anglo-Saxon MP could build a bridge between the Liberal Party and Ukrainian-Canadians. He reasoned that only if a member of another "ethnic group" like Glogowski, a Polish-Canadian, was elevated to higher level of prestige, could he be as persuasive as an Anglo-Saxon. Thompson assumed that Ukrainian-Canadians as a group would not welcome Glogowski, as a Polish-Canadian, to its community events, unless he bore higher levels of prestige.

In identifying Ukrainian-Canadians and Polish-Canadians, Thompson signalled that like "ethnic groups" and "ethnic voters," he imagined other groupings. Thompson's belief that an Anglo-Saxon MP would be an ideal person to lead the Liberal Party's cause in Ukrainian-Canadian communities is an example of Thompson reifying groupings. Like he had done with "ethnic groups," Thompson cast Ukrainian-Canadians as "doing being ethnic."<sup>107</sup> Thompson believed that Ukrainian-Canadians were capable of welcoming or not-welcoming an Anglo-

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<sup>106</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 727, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 2 Jan. 1964 - Dec/64, Andrew Thompson to Keith Davey, 23 October 1964.

<sup>107</sup> Brubaker, "Ethnicity Without Groups," 163.

Saxon MP or a Polish-Canadian editor. In expressing his opinions to Davey, Thompson gives no reasoning behind any character-features associated with Glogowski, choosing to judge his ability to work for the party based on prestige that the party may or may not be giving him.<sup>108</sup>

Moreover, Thompson reifies Ukrainian-Canadians as a grouping that would not welcome other “ethnic groups” unless they bore a specific status within the Canadian political system.

Both Lester Pearson and Andrew Thompson *did things* with categories. Pearson, the former Liberal Party leader and prime minister, packed “ethnocultural groups” into one large grouping, in his assessment of the factors that went into building his first cabinet. Thompson, the Liberal strategist in ethnocultural communities, reified sub-groupings of “ethnic groups” but also perceived ethnic conflict amongst those groups. This ethnic conflict appeared between “ethnic groups” but also between the Liberal Party and Ukrainian-Canadians.

## Conclusion

The Liberal Party, the Pearson cabinet, and CEPF approached voters from ethnocultural communities with a reap and reward logic. The Liberal Party struggled to connect with ethnocultural communities and offered few incentives as the governing party. Pearson seemed content with making small offers like naming non-English and non-French Liberal MPs as Parliamentary Secretaries or by appointing influential individuals like Frank Glogowski in Toronto to a federal government board. The Liberal Party and its ministers were disinterested in placating the interests of the CEPF and New Canadian Publications. As a result, the relationship between the two sides was one characterized by conflict.

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<sup>108</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 727, Ethnic (Correspondence) File 2 Jan. 1964 - Dec/64, Andrew Thompson to Keith Davey, 23 October 1964.

While the Liberals were convinced on the need to communicate with ethnocultural communities, the real debate playing out in Ottawa concerned revenue and business. Thompson, before his departure to lead the Ontario Liberal Party, had already convinced Davey of the perceived benefits for the Liberal Party in advertising in the ethnic press. While Thompson no longer assisted the federal Liberals, Davey had few options to consider about how the party would continue to court voters from ethnocultural communities. Perhaps Davey should have relied upon his Toronto-area MPs to organize on behalf of the party. However, the alarm shown by some of the Liberal cabinet in potentially damaging the Liberal Party's relationship with the ethnic press undoubtedly inspired little action. Davey was probably frustrated with the actions of Stanley Haidasz, who seemed more motivated to act by his friends in various ethnocultural communities than he did by the prime minister or his Liberal colleagues. Yet Haidasz's response is potentially more reasonable when you consider that he lost the 1958 federal election and was forced to contest another seat in the 1962 federal election. Perhaps Haidasz was representing his non-English and non-French constituents on principle and his advocacy on their behalf was more about doing the right thing by a collection of ethnocultural communities who looked to him for leadership. Haidasz's insistence that the Liberals act on behalf of ethnocultural influencers is matched by the division in cabinet on the merits of advertising government programmes in ethnocultural newspaper publications.

The Liberals seemed unconcerned with courting ethnocultural communities after their election victory in 1963. As the party adjusted to the circumstances of government, it was also significantly impacted by Thompson's departure. Davey, who had been the chief decision-maker in the Liberal Party since he accepted the role as national director, was exasperated with the turn of events surrounding ethnic press editors. The editors asked to be treated equally with the

English- and French-language print publications. Davey, heeded the pressure from these editors and pushed for the caucus and cabinet to consider the question of advertising in the ethnic press. Ultimately the situation demonstrates Davey's inability to convince Pearson's ministers to accept a uniform program that would appease the ethnocultural constituency. The cabinet was composed of ministers from across different regions of the country and undoubtedly, investing more advertising spending into the ethnic press would benefit some members in disproportion to others. The Liberals continued to be sluggish with these communities since Thompson's departure, though their efforts to placate editors in the lead up to the 1965 federal election, relieved some of the pressures. The 1965 federal election returned the Liberals to power with another minority government. According to the Canadian Election Survey, the support the Liberals received from voters from ethnocultural communities grew to fifty-one percent compared to the Tories twenty-seven percent.<sup>109</sup>

The Liberal Party, or at least, the senior people in the party, continued to show a lack of understanding of ethnocultural communities. Pearson perceived ethnocultural communities as one large collection "ethnocultural groups." Thompson advised Davey to appoint a Senator from the Polish-Canadian community as a response to Diefenbaker's appointment of Ukrainian-Canadian Senator Paul Yuzyk. In doing so, Thompson perceived ethnic conflict between the Liberal Party and "ethnic groups." Thompson also reified groups, predicting an entire sub-community's reaction towards a Senate appointment and how they would rate the power status of an Anglo-Saxon MP or a representative of another "ethnic group."

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<sup>109</sup> Appendix 4.

## Chapter 6: Re-engaging Ethnocultural Communities Under Lester Pearson and Pierre Trudeau, 1966- 1968

### Introduction

Since the hiring of Andrew Thompson in the late 1950s, the Liberal Party's interest in courting ethnocultural voters suffered from a distinct separation between the efforts of Thompson and the interest of the party organization in his endeavour. As a result the party's efforts were fitful at best. After the departure of Thompson, the efforts to engage ethnocultural communities slumped to a new low. In his biography of Lester Pearson, John English highlights the prime minister's struggles after the 1965 election. The government was embroiled in scandal and marred by in-fighting in cabinet. Matters worsened when it became clear Pearson was ready to retire.<sup>1</sup> Unsurprisingly, the Liberal Party's efforts to organize ethnocultural communities, however poor they were before 1966, grew even more despondent until 1968. After Keith Davey's departure in 1966, the Liberal Party lacked a leader capable of pushing the ethnocultural programme into cabinet and caucus. Consequently, the party's relationship with the ethnic press and ethnocultural communities suffered heavily up until the 1968 leadership race. Maintaining the relationship was left to individual Liberals like Paul Hellyer who were continually under pressure to use government advertising budgets to supplement members of the Canada Ethnic Press Federation (CEPF). The CEPF requests for additional advertising funds continued to fall on deaf ears, especially after their traditional Liberal allies became more resistant. Trudeau's victory brought about a re-emergence of the party's interest in courting voters from ethnocultural

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<sup>1</sup> English, *The Worldly Years*, 357-381.

communities as Senators Thompson and Richard Stanbury conveniently reengaged the community in time for the election.

In December 1965, Pearson and Davey met to discuss Davey's future. Pearson offered to appoint Davey to "a key position at either the Board of Broadcast Governors or the CBC."<sup>2</sup> Davey remembers that Pearson was "astonished when I said I would much prefer to go to the Senate," reasoning that "I know that kind of appointment would keep me substantially involved in politics."<sup>3</sup> A month later Pearson invited Davey to his second-floor study at 24 Sussex Drive and asked Davey to stay on as the party's National Director. Pearson indicated to Davey that he would not seek re-election and that the two should finish the mandate together. Davey feared this offer could jeopardize his appointment to the Senate and declined. He admitted to Pearson that he no longer had the heart for the job. Pearson ultimately agreed and Davey was summoned to the Senate in February 1966.<sup>4</sup> With Davey out of the national office, the gap between the Liberal Party and ethnocultural communities widened. As Davey was departing his role as National Organizer he acknowledged that the Liberal Party needed to seriously contemplate its efforts in appealing to these communities. In his final analysis, Davey advised that the Liberal Party needed to consider "some active form of ethnic organization."<sup>5</sup> He expressed concern that "no one has filled the void left by Andy [Thompson]," recommending that the party look for a solution to their predicament with these voters.<sup>6</sup> Davey emphasized that it was imperative "to demonstrate a real interest in new Canadians," through both policies and organizational activity.<sup>7</sup> Davey recommended that Paul Hellyer and Richard Stanbury coordinate an approach to

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<sup>2</sup> Davey, *The Rainmaker*, 107.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 108-110.

<sup>5</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1095, Provincial Reports - Mr. John Nichol 1965-1966, Keith Davey to John Nichol, 31 January 1966.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

ethnocultural communities. In February 1967, Hellyer and Walter Gordon were made responsible, as Ministers, for collections of ridings in Toronto that had large ethnocultural populations.<sup>8</sup>

Thompson's tenure as leader of the Ontario Liberal Party ended abruptly after personal and professional turmoil.<sup>9</sup> Not only was Thompson's two-year stint in the provincial capital unsuccessful, but his return to Ottawa as a Senator was not an indication that the Liberals prioritized the engagement of ethnocultural communities. In fact Thompson's appointment to the Senate was done out of recognition of his past contributions and in acknowledgement that his health did not allow him to contribute to the Liberal Party's political organization.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Hellyer: Trinity, Spadina, Rosedale, Broadview, York East, Greenwood. Gordon: Davenport, Parkdale, High Park, Lakeshore, Scarborough East, Scarborough West. Found in: LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1026, Cabinet Organization Responsibility Confidential, John Nichol to Lester Pearson, 27 February 1967.

<sup>9</sup> On 6 October 1965 Thompson departed an event in Peterborough, Ontario and crashed his vehicle. Thompson was arrested and charged. Davey remembers the event as "the beginning of the end of Andy's leadership." As Thompson faced the charges he told his Ontario Liberal caucus that he tended to stay on as leader regardless of the charges against him while expressing that he was "terrifically sorry" about the car accident. Thompson's controversy with the law in the after the accident led to allegations that he was unfit to be leader of the Ontario Liberal Party. Yet, the concerns with Thompson's leadership stemmed largely from his performance as leader and not his legal troubles. A journalist asked a Liberal MPP "I hear there are people in the caucus who want a new leader, and that he'll be out within three months." The member told the reporter "To the first part of what you said the answer is yes, definitely. But on the second part, replacing him... a lot of people want him out of here, but nobody wants to be Brutus." The same MPP told the reporter that Thompson was not perceived as much of a leader by the Ontario Liberal caucus. Thompson's leadership troubles were not only affected by his professional and legal controversies. In the fall of 1966 Thompson missed five weeks of work as Opposition leader because of a heart murmur which he had had since childhood. The condition was said to be aggravated by the intense work required from Thompson as party leader. Thompson conferred with his doctor and was advised that his life was in jeopardy. Thompson subsequently resigned as Party leader, never having led the party into an election against the governing Tories. ("Thompson Charged After Crash," *The Globe and Mail*, 8 October, 1965; "Thompson Case Is Remanded For One Week," *The Globe and Mail*, 22 October, 1965; Rudy Platiel, "Thompson over line when car collided, constable testifies," *The Globe and Mail*, 5 November, 1965; Rudy Platiel, "Thompson fined \$250 on dangerous driving," *The Globe and Mail*, 2 December, 1965; "Thompson will stay as Liberals' leader," *The Globe and Mail*, 17 November, 1965; Scott Young, "Nobody wants to be Brutus," *The Globe and Mail*, 25 January, 1966; "Thompson resumes work after 5-week health rest," *The Globe and Mail*, 14 November, 1966; Arthur Brydon, "Thompson likely to resign post this afternoon," *The Globe and Mail*, 16 November, 1966).

<sup>10</sup> LAC, Maurice Sauvé fonds, MG 32 B 4, vol. 52, Thompson Andy, Maurice Sauvé to Lester Pearson, 26 January 1967; LAC, Maurice Sauvé fonds, MG 32 B 4, vol. 52, Thompson Andy, Lester Pearson to Maurice Sauvé, 1 February 1967; and LAC, Maurice Sauvé fonds, MG 32 B 4, vol. 52, Thompson Andy, Maurice Sauvé to Andrew Thompson, 14 February 1967.

## **Ethnocultural Priorities? Allan O'Brien As National Organizer and Senator**

### **Thompson**

While Thompson attempted to initiate changes to the Liberal Party's ethnocultural outreach practices after his return to Ottawa, he did not approach the changes with the same enthusiasm he showed in 1959. With Davey out of the picture, Thompson lacked influence over the Liberal Party and the Liberal government. Although he attempted to work with the Liberal Party's new National Director to court voters from ethnocultural communities, Thompson was secure in the comfort of a Senate seat and his efforts ultimately failed. His new role in the Senate was a comfortable fallback after Thompson confronted the Liberal Party and its MPs without any success.

Allan O'Brien became the Liberal Party's National Organizer five months after Davey was appointed to the Senate. O'Brien was a corporate lawyer, working as Solicitor at Interprovincial Pipeline Company in Edmonton from 1960 to 1966 before he became the party's director.<sup>11</sup> Together O'Brien and Senator John Nichol oversaw the party's operations.<sup>12</sup> O'Brien met with Thompson to devise a strategy for the Liberal Party to engage with ethnocultural communities. O'Brien understood that the party needed to reengage with ethnocultural communities and that the party required the assistance of its ministers to make the effort a priority.

O'Brien lauded the efforts of the party during the period of 1960 to 1965 for paying "special attention to the various ethnic interests in the country, including the ethnic press, ethnic

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<sup>11</sup> "O'Brien, Allan Robert Bremner," *The Globe and Mail*, Deaths, 12 March 2016, accessed 23 January, 2017, <http://v1.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/story/Deaths.20160312.93372165/BDAStory/BDA/deaths>.

<sup>12</sup> Geoffrey Stevens, "After the Rainmaker," *The Globe and Mail*, 4 November, 1967.

leaders, (and) New Canadians.”<sup>13</sup> Yet he recognized that since 1965 “a number of our specific programs designed to improve our communications and relationships with the ethnic community” had lapsed.<sup>14</sup> O’Brien and Thompson devised a plan to woo voters from ethnocultural communities through appointments to the Bench, the Senate, Boards, and Commissions.<sup>15</sup> Thompson also sought to arrange meeting with the Secretary of State and the Minister of Immigration to see if the party could regularly obtain a list of new citizens, a translation service for Department communications, and a calendar of ethnocultural events across the country. Unfortunately Thompson failed to secure the meetings and O’Brien complained to Pearson.<sup>16</sup> The Liberal Party’s efforts to court ethnocultural communities came to a virtual halt as the PMO and cabinet showed no interest in reviving the programme with O’Brien and Thompson’s plans.

While O’Brien and Thompson struggled to engage the government on behalf of the Liberal Party, Pearson was making his own decisions as prime minister that affected the party’s ethnocultural outreach. For example, Pearson was criticized for demoting Dr. Stanley Haidasz as Parliamentary Assistant to Indian Affairs and Northern Development from his previous post as Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of External Affairs.<sup>17</sup> In particular the “Third Force” as some ethnocultural Canadians referred to themselves, sought a symbolic representation in cabinet.<sup>18</sup> One request explained that “many ethnic groups... would like to see someone from the so-called ‘Third Force’ represent the vast population of non-English, non-French in the Cabinet,”

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<sup>13</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1111, ETHNIC Correspondence 1962-1969, Allan O'Brien to Lester Pearson, 26 December 1967.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1111, ETHNIC Correspondence 1962-1969, Allan O'Brien, "Memorandum to File," 8 January 1968.

<sup>17</sup> LAC, Paul Hellyer fonds, MG32 B 33 vol. 46, Political Liberal Party - Stanley Haidasz - 1965-1968, Paul Staniszewski, "Letter to Lester Pearson from Paul Staniszewski," 14 January 1968.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1111, ETHNIC Correspondence 1962-1969, Casimir Stanczykowski to Lester Pearson, 15 March 1968.

also noting that this was an important factor for “those who plan to work for your committees in case of an election.”<sup>19</sup> The prime minister showed no interest meeting this demand. In another instance Pearson was asked by the President of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee to appoint a Ukrainian Senator from Edmonton, following Senator Frederick Gershaw’s retirement.<sup>20</sup> Pearson, prepared to retire, never appointed Gershaw’s replacement. Shortly after he was elected Liberal Party President and Pierre Trudeau was elected party leader, Richard Stanbury investigated the possibility of finding suitable Ukrainian-Canadian Senate candidates from Edmonton.<sup>21</sup> Ultimately, no action came from this either.

Thompson and O’Brien failed to convince Liberal MPs and cabinet members to reinstate programs that targeted ethnocultural communities. Efforts to promote appointments from ethnocultural communities also failed. Entrenched in government, Prime Minister Pearson was uninterested in engaging ethnocultural groups and the party’s efforts dwindled to near non-existent. The members of Pearson’s cabinet, for the most part, seemed to show similar disinterest. By the end of Pearson’s tenure as prime minister, Thompson and O’Brien seemed to be in the minority of those in the party who thought that voters from ethnocultural communities needed to be specifically targeted. Perhaps it was the years of minority government and the disappointment of a minority victory in 1965, or the mire of scandal, but the Liberal Party lost interest in making special appeals to ethnocultural communities. Perhaps the party had grown stale and needed to be recharged.

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid, Casimir Stanczykowski to Pearson, 15 March 1968.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, B. Kushnir to Pearson, 2 April 1968.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, Richard Stanbury to Leo Lemieux, 18 April 1968.

## The Ethnic Press in the Final Pearson Years

The Liberals had won the 1965 federal election, although only a minority government, without any contribution from Thompson. However it seems like they did not need the former Ethnic Liaison Officer. As they had in done in the 1962 and 1963 federal elections, the Liberal Party coordinated with the CEPF and New Canadian Publications to buy advertisements and engage voters from ethnocultural communities through the pages of ethnic press publications. During Pearson's final term as prime minister, the Liberal Party's position in government continued to draw considerable interest from the CEPF and its members who requested more government advertising dollars. However, the Liberals did not replicate Davey's efforts to save their relationship with the CEPF. In fact, even the CEPF's traditional allies in the Liberal Party were becoming less and less cooperative with them. Hellyer, who had long been an ally to ethnic press editors, no longer assisted them with their appeals to the government.

Like those who came before him, then CEPF President Charles Dojack attempted to develop a close professional relationship with members of the Liberal Party during his tenure. Dojack was born in Winnipeg, Manitoba to parents who came from Czechoslovakia. Dojack was a graduate of the University of Manitoba and served in the Canadian Expeditionary Force during the Second World War. Dojack reconnected with his roots while stationed in England, meeting Dr. Edward Benes, then the President in exile of the Czechoslovakian government. Dojack, in addition to being the President of the CEPF, was publisher and general manager of a number of papers.<sup>22</sup> He also served as Vice-President of the Winnipeg Symphony Orchestra.<sup>23</sup> Dojack's influence in the greater Winnipeg community extended beyond ethnocultural communities,

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<sup>22</sup> Dojack was Publisher and General Manager of *The Canadian Farmer*, *Der Nordwesten*, *The Croatian Voice*, *The Montrealer Zeitung*, and *The Free World* (LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1091, Canada Ethnic Press Federation 1964-1966, Charles Dojack, "Charles E. Dojack ... a biography," July 1966).

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

although he sought greater influence for the CEPF within Ottawa's political circle arguing that the Liberal Party would benefit from a positive relationship. He suggested to Senator Connolly, "the excellent opportunity which will in this way be provided to the officers of the National Liberal Federation to meet the ethnic publishers and editors," noting also that it would "be a wise political move."<sup>24</sup> The Liberal Party, who sought better relations with the ethnic press, hosted a reception for editors and publishers at party headquarters in February 1966. Cabinet members were encouraged to attend and mingle with the representatives of the CEPF.<sup>25</sup> Moreover the members of the CEPF were invited to the Liberal Party's Conference in October 1966 as accredited members of the media.<sup>26</sup>

Despite Davey's early efforts to improve the relationship between the Liberal Party and the CEPF, Pearson's cabinet ministers still seemed divided over the value of cozying up to the ethnic press. Between 1959 to 1965 only a handful of government departments advertised with the ethnic press, despite the recommendations from Davey and others to do so.<sup>27</sup> For example Dojack complained to Hellyer that John Green, the Minister of Agriculture, and Edgar Benson, the Minister of National Revenue, allowed their departments' advertising agencies to make all decisions concerning advertising placements, asserting that "It is my firm conviction that the

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<sup>24</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1091, Canada Ethnic Press Federation 1964-1966, Charles Dojack to Senator John Connolly, 26 January 1966.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, Dojack to John Nichol, 19 February 1966; Ibid, Nichol to Cabinet, 22 February 1966.

<sup>26</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1091, Ethnic Correspondence 1966-1969, Ian Howard to Ethnic Editors, 28 September 1966.

<sup>27</sup> Departments advertising in the Ethnic Press from 1959 to 1965: Department of Transport, Department of National Defence, Department of National Revenue, Department of National Health and Welfare, Department of Fisheries, Department of Labour, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Canada Post Office, Bank of Canada (Canada Savings Bond), and the Department of Finance. Departments who did not advertise during the same period: Department of External Affairs, Department of Trade & Commerce, Department of Public Works, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Department of Justice and Attorney General, Department of Veteran's Affairs, Department of the Secretary of State, Department of Industry, Department of Forestry, Department of the Solicitor General, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, and the Department of Agriculture (LAC, Paul Hellyer fonds, MG32 B 33 vol. 207, Canada Ethnic Press Federation 1966-1967, Lech Mokrzycki to Paul Hellyer, 9 May 1966.

Minister must insist that the Ethnic Press must get this advertising.”<sup>28</sup> Hellyer, who favoured a stronger relationship between the Liberal Party and the CEPF, also advocated to his colleagues on behalf of running government advertisements in the CEPF. For example, Hellyer asked Minister of Industry Charles Drury to ensure that his department’s advertising in the ethnic press was maintained at least at 1965 levels.<sup>29</sup>

Hellyer’s early advocacy for the ethnic press won him praise from Dojack. Dojack pledged his and the CEPF’s support to Hellyer, affirming that Hellyer had “done an excellent job” and that he, the ethnic press and Canada’s “ethnic people” felt “strongly about [his] future in [the] party leadership.”<sup>30</sup> Dojack, stoking Hellyer’s leadership ambitions, advised him to advertise himself in ethnic press newspapers across the country. Yet, Dojack was primarily concerned with government advertising revenue for the members of the CEPF. For example, Dojack urged Hellyer to encourage all local military installations across Canada to advertise in their local ethnic press publications.<sup>31</sup>

Hellyer’s relationship with the ethnic press was fundamental to the Liberal Party’s relationship with the CEPF. In his final report to Senator John Nichol about the state of the Liberal Party, Davey suggested that Hellyer’s relationship with ethnocultural communities positioned him to be a strong advocate on behalf of the party. In the summer of 1966 Hellyer advised Dojack that he and other prominent members of the ethnocultural communities send biographical sketches of themselves to the prime minister and cabinet for consideration for patronage appointments and recruitment to public office.<sup>32</sup> For example, Dojack sent Senator

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<sup>28</sup> LAC, Paul Hellyer fonds, MG32 B 33 vol. 207, Canada Ethnic Press Federation 1966-1967, Charles Dojack to Paul Hellyer, 10 May 1966.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, Paul Hellyer to C.M. Drury, 24 May 1966.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, Charles Dojack to Hellyer, 16 June 1966.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, Dojack, to Hellyer, 8 August 1966.

Connolly his biographical sketch and explained that a “greater advantage should be taken of the editor members of our Federation,” and that they “could be of far more service to the Government by serving in public offices, commissions, etc.”<sup>33</sup> Yet Hellyer’s influence with the CEPF was well beyond his advocacy within the Liberal Party. Hellyer also sought to include the CEPF into government affairs. Hellyer, as Minister of National Defence, committed to bringing one member of the CEPF on international trips. Hellyer explained that he considered “the Ethnic Language Press a very important element among Canadian news media,” and that he thought “it is important that a representative of (CEPF) should cover the NATO Conference.”<sup>34</sup> For example, in 1966 Dojack accompanied Hellyer with the regular contingent of the English- and French-Canadian media to the NATO conference in Paris.<sup>35</sup> After the trip Hellyer committed to continuing the practice.<sup>36</sup> Hellyer’s loyalty to the CEPF and Dojack was rewarded, as Dojack advised Hellyer that the ethnic press coverage of the NATO meetings were positive.<sup>37</sup> Joseph Kirschbaum, Dojack’s successor as President of the CEPF, attended the NATO Conference as representative of the CEPF in 1967.<sup>38</sup>

Despite the positive relationship between Hellyer and the CEPF, ultimately Dojack was still sought to convince the government to increase their advertisements in the CEPF. In preparation for the Canada’s Centennial celebrations in 1967 the member publications of the CEPF prepared several special editions called Centennial Annuals. Dojack was particularly concerned that a number of his papers were struggling to attract advertisements from the federal government. Dojack asked Hellyer to have the Department of National Defence “schedule a

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid, Dojack to John Connolly, 23 September 1966.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, Hellyer to Dojack, 25 November 1966.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, Hellyer to Dojack, 15 August 1966.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, Dojack to Hellyer, 18 November 1966.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, Dojack to Hellyer, 7 December 1966.

regular or appropriate advertisement in our Ethnic publications for insertion in their Centennial supplements.”<sup>39</sup> As a result of Dojack’s inquiry Hellyer was briefed that his Department avoided running advertisements in the Centennial Annuals. Hellyer was advised by one of his staff members in the advertising department that:

I have deliberately stayed out of Centennial Specials across the country, because: I don’t believe it gives me the best value for the advertising dollar and I believe we get a halo effect from all the chest-thumping without spending any money; secondly, I wanted to spend what money I could spare to support DIS and Armed Forces Day special editions. Thirdly, I had good evidence that to go centennial on a national basis was to invite solicitation from every special in the country: weeklies, dailies, Ethnic and otherwise.<sup>40</sup>

Department of National Defence staff advised Hellyer that they would reschedule advertisements from the regular editions of Dojack’s publications into his Centennial Annuals.<sup>41</sup> However this was not exactly what Dojack was asking Hellyer for. The decision meant that the Department of National Defence would stay within its advertising budget but cancel advertisements in Dojack’s other publications in order to fulfill his request to the Minister to have advertisements in the Centennial Annuals. The Department explained to Dojack that “I think you will appreciate that we can go into ‘annuals’ only at the expense of withdrawing from the weekly editions.”<sup>42</sup> Dojack was upset with the decision made by the Department of National Defence and complained to Hellyer, who was fresh off a Cabinet shuffle and had been made Minister of Transport. Dojack expressed his frustration with Hellyer, adding that he did not “think it is right that any advertising that might be directed in our Annuals should interfere with any schedule which is being used in our weeklies.”<sup>43</sup> Dojack explained to Hellyer that he thought this extra advertising would be “considered as a special gesture of appreciation for the numerous extras which our

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid, Dojack to Hellyer, 30 March 1967.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, K.R. Robinson to Hellyer, 6 June 1967.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid; Ibid, Robinson to Hellyer, 14 June 1967.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, G.R. Truemner to Dojack, 22 September 1967.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, Dojack to Hellyer, 3 October 1967.

publications have always extended to the Liberal Party and yourself.”<sup>44</sup> Hellyer, who had been shuffled out of National Defence refused to help Dojack and advised him to in touch with the new Minister of National Defence Léo Cadieux.<sup>45</sup>

Dojack’s interventions regarding advertising were not limited to Hellyer or the Department of National Defence. Dojack accused the Department of Manpower and Immigration of discriminating against his papers because they did not place a specific advertisement in their papers, stating “we are at a loss to understand why our papers are being discriminated against.”<sup>46</sup> The Ministry of Manpower and Immigration was testing advisements in the Prairie region. It attempted to mitigate any ill will from Dojack on behalf of the Minister, and Tom Kent, the deputy minister, explained that “you can be assured of the wish of the Minister and all others concerned to make full use of your facilities whenever appropriate to the purposes of any advertising campaign.”<sup>47</sup> Further, Kent advised Dojack that his department ran other advertisements in Dojack’s publications and spent a considerable portion of their advertising budget in doing so. Dojack disregarded Kent’s explanation and asked that his papers be considered for all future advertisements from the department.<sup>48</sup>

As the Pearson administration drew to a close, the CEPF’s close relationship with the Liberal Party and the government changed. The Liberals had grown increasingly disinterested in the demands of the CEPF. The initial relationship between the Liberals and the CEPF appeared to function on the basis of an exchange. The party would spend advertising dollars in the ethnic press in exchange for a presence with voters from ethnocultural communities. As the Pearson years concluded fewer Liberals thought the exchange was worth pursuing.

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, Hellyer to Dojack, 16 October 1967.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, Dojack to Tom Kent, 16 May 1967.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, Kent to Dojack, 1 June 1967.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, Dojack to Kent, 15 June 1967.

## The Immigration Points System

The immigration system underwent extensive public consultations prior to regulatory amendments that introduced the points system in 1967. The points system assigned potential immigrants a score in the following categories: age; education; training; occupational skill in demand, knowledge of English or French; a personal assessment made by an immigration official in an interview; relatives in Canada; arranged employment; and employment opportunities in area of designation.<sup>49</sup> Independent applicants required a score of fifty points out of 100 to be admitted while those from the nominated category needed only twenty or twenty-five points depending on the status of their sponsor.<sup>50</sup> The new regulations also created three categories of immigrants: independent, sponsored and nominated. These changes created the third category for relatives, limiting their score on the points system to five factors: education, personal assessment, occupational demand, occupational skill, and age.<sup>51</sup> The other factors were waived under the expectation that their relatives in Canada would assist immigrants from the nominated category.<sup>52</sup>

Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock argue that “one of the most striking features of this period is the democratization of the process of policy formulation.”<sup>53</sup> The White Paper, published in 1966 by the Department of Manpower and Immigration, was followed by the joint Senate-House of Commons Committee hearings and attracted broad public participation. Kelley and Trebilcock assert that since “most postwar immigrants had acquired citizenship, sizable

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<sup>49</sup> Kelley and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 359.

<sup>50</sup> Alan G. Green and David A. Green, “Canadian Immigration Policy: The Effectiveness of the Point System and Other Instruments,” *The Canadian Journal of Economics*, vol. 28 no. 4b (Nov. 1995): 1013.

<sup>51</sup> Kelley and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 359.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 349.

ethnic political constituencies had developed ... in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver” and that MPs from these ridings were particularly interested in the process.<sup>54</sup> The hearings attracted participation from ethnocultural organizations and individuals at public hearings.<sup>55</sup> Alan G. Green and David A. Green argue that in 1966 “immigrant lobby groups successfully altered government policy.”<sup>56</sup> In the Canadian system where the cabinet exercises the regulatory powers over immigration, Green and Green argue, that “such a system is particularly vulnerable to the special interests of immigrant groups.”<sup>57</sup> Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos argues that the White Paper was perceived as restraining sponsored immigration. Pearson replaced the paper’s principal architect C.M. Isbister with Tom Kent, a civil servant and close friend, who shared many of the criticisms he received at the committee hearings. “In contrast to the White Paper,” Triadafilopoulos argues, that the “reaction to the ‘points system’ was positive.”<sup>58</sup> Like Green and Green, John R. Wood credits voters from ethnocultural communities with extraordinary electoral power. Wood argues that after the 1974 federal election there were “36 unsafe Liberal seats had minority ethnic concentrations” which would not be enough to turf them from office but enough to put them in jeopardy.<sup>59</sup> Though there are no references to the political ramifications of introducing the points system in Trudeau’s cabinet, the benefits of a system that protected sponsorship and promoted the nominations of relatives, was going to be looked upon favourably by New Canadians who arrived under the system.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid, 350.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, 349.

<sup>56</sup> Green and Green, “Canadian Immigration Policy,” 1015.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Triadafilopoulos, *Becoming Multicultural*, 96-102

<sup>59</sup> John R. Wood, “East Indians and Canada’s New Immigration Population,” *Canadian Public Policy* vol. 4 no. 4 (Autumn 1978): 561.

<sup>60</sup> LAC Privy Council Office fonds, RG2 series A-5-a, vol. 6323, "A new immigration selection system - Amendments to the Immigration Regulations Part I," 10 August 1967.

The point system not only resulted in a considerable change to immigrants arriving in Canada but brought the end of former Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King's influence on immigration. In 1962 there were 76,000 immigrants who arrived in Canada compared to 222,000 in 1967 and 149,000 in 1976. Kelley and Trebilcock argue that the decline after 1974 "was attributable to the stringent labour-market criteria imposed at that time on independent immigrants."<sup>61</sup> The system also dramatically changed where immigrants were coming from. While in 1962, seventy-eight percent of immigrants came from Europe, the number had fallen to only thirty-eight percent in 1976. The number of Italian immigrants during the same period fell from seventeen percent to just three percent. By 1976 more than a quarter of all immigrants arriving in Canada were from Asia.<sup>62</sup> With the introduction of the points system, Kelley and Trebilock argue that the era of Mackenzie King's influence on Canadian immigration had ended. King's efforts to protect the "basic demographic characteristics of Canada" was no more. Yet, while the 1967 regulations removed all explicit traces of racial discrimination from Canada's system, Kelley and Trebilock argue that "the emphasis on skills and education disqualified most immigrants from developing countries."<sup>63</sup>

### **The Leadership of Pierre Trudeau**

Pierre Trudeau succeeded Lester Pearson on 6 April 1968 after winning a highly contested leadership vote on the fifth ballot. Trudeau was relatively new to the Liberal Party, having only served as an MP since 1965 when he, Jean Marchand, and Gerard Pelletier came to Ottawa at Prime Minister Pearson's request. After winning the leadership, Trudeau was new on the job, still relatively new to the party, and bound to tradition in terms of how he treated his

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<sup>61</sup> Kelley and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 347.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid*, 348.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*, 351.

leadership rivals. Upon entering office Trudeau faced the obvious burdens of a Liberal Party that had been in government since 1963 with a caucus of extraordinary talent and ego. In the beginning the new prime minister adopted much of the old guard of the Liberal Party in important cabinet and campaign positions. While these things may have been counter-intuitive to how Trudeau would normally do things, he was limited in the amount of change he could bring about in the several months following his ascension to the leadership. The Liberal Party continued the practices of the Pearson era and courted voters from ethnocultural communities through advertisements in the ethnic press during the 1968 federal election.

Bryan Palmer argues that Trudeau was a man made for television. Palmer asserts that Trudeau's "virile performance" against Union Nationale premier of Québec Daniel Johnson, "made him a known political quantity across the country" as "television viewers saw a possible leader emerge on their screens."<sup>64</sup> Robert Wright argues that Trudeau "was not a creature of the screen but of the text." It was "the power of his ideas," Wright says, that "impressed the ... Canadians who voted for him in 1968."<sup>65</sup> Trudeaumania, as Wright argues, was propelled by a fascination of the man's ideas that circulated widely in books, newspapers, and journals across Canada, and also were subsequently detailed on television.<sup>66</sup> Yet Trudeau's ideas opened him up to intellectual attacks. During the leadership convention and throughout the federal election Trudeau was accused of being a communist or a socialist. An organization calling itself the Canadian Intelligence Service claimed that Trudeau was a closet communist and sent a "news sheet" to every delegate in advance of the April 1968 Liberal leadership convention. The delegate list was supposedly "poached from the Martin campaign (the evidence for which was

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<sup>64</sup> Palmer, *Canada's 1960s*, 164.

<sup>65</sup> Wright, *Trudeaumania*, 24.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*, 24-25.

that misspellings and typos were reproduced exactly as they appeared in the original).<sup>67</sup> Trudeau was also labelled a socialist by Igor Gouzenko, who achieved international fame by defecting from the Soviet Union's Embassy in Ottawa to the RCMP in 1946 and exposing the existence of widespread Soviet spy rings. Gouzenko published a pamphlet entitled *Trudeau, A Potential Canadian Castro*, and claimed that "the next Prime Minister of Canada might be a self-admitted radical socialist, and Canada might with ever increasing pace turn into a Second Cuba."<sup>68</sup> While the attacks were covered in the *New York Times*, the Liberals were unconcerned and Trudeau found the claims "pretty funny," but urged all Canadian political leaders to dissociate themselves "from this type of garbage."<sup>69</sup> The results of the election seem to indicate that many voters from ethnocultural communities, particularly those from Europe, were unconcerned with the communist accusations lobbed at the prime minister. As early as 1962, the Liberals had indications from their membership and election results that communism was becoming less of a factor in the minds of voters from ethnocultural communities.<sup>70</sup> The election results in 1968 seemed to confirm these views.

Senator Richard Stanbury, the new party president, immediately set out to organize on behalf of the party. Trudeau's grasp over the party would not be complete until he had time to hand-select his team. In fact, after his convention victory, Trudeau followed tradition by rewarding his leadership rivals with positions in his cabinet. Trudeau explained that "if they were willing to be on my team, it showed that they at least intended to work with me rather than

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid, 249-250.

<sup>68</sup> Igor Gouzenko, *Trudeau, A Potential Canadian Castro* (April 1968), Richard Nixon Presidential Library, White House Special Files Collection (Box 1, File 7), 1, cited in Wright, *Trudeaumania*, 251.

<sup>69</sup> Jay Walz, "Hate Literature in Canada Charges that Trudeau is Pro-Communist," *New York Times*, 17 June, 1968, cited in Wright, *Trudeaumania*, 254-255.

<sup>70</sup> LAC, LPC fond, MG 28 IV 3, Ontario Correspondence, Fedor Rajic, "Memorandum on Advisory Council for Ethnic Groups," 3 May 1962.

against me.”<sup>71</sup> Stanbury was a Toronto organizer and fundraiser who Pearson appointed to the Senate in February 1968.<sup>72</sup> Stanbury was interested in cementing the Liberal Party’s relationship with ethnocultural communities. After Trudeau assumed the leadership of the party, Stanbury wrote to the new Prime Minister and explained that the party had lacked a leader in the ethnocultural community since the departure of Andrew Thompson. According to Stanbury, the party needed an Anglo-Saxon to unite the ethnocultural communities on behalf of the Liberal Party, complaining that the current friendly Liberal representatives of each community disliked one another.<sup>73</sup> Stanbury did not have confidence that a still-ill Thompson could resume his old duties and he found the question of organizing around ethnocultural communities to be a pressing one. Undoubtedly buoyed by the enthusiasm for the party following the leadership convention, Stanbury advised the new prime minister of the early successes of Thompson’s approach and floated a desire to emulate those efforts.<sup>74</sup> Stanbury was also concerned that the Liberals were being coerced by a Slovak-Canadian, Steve Roman, President of Denison Mines and Standard Trust. Stanbury explained to Trudeau that members of ethnocultural communities were gathering around Roman. Ultimately Roman advised the Liberals that if Stanley Haidasz were not put in cabinet and if government departments did not get a great deal more of government advertising that he would incline the ethnic press and the ethnocultural communities to endorse the Conservatives. The potential for this influence was legitimate. The President of the CEPF was Ukrainian-Canadian Dr. Joseph Kirschbaum who shared offices with both Roman

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<sup>71</sup> Pierre Elliott Trudeau, *Memoirs*, McClelland & Stewart, 1993), 95.

<sup>72</sup> Stanbury, 44 at the time of his appointment, served as President of the Toronto and District Liberal Association from 1960 to 1964 and as a member of the federal Liberal campaign committee for Ontario from 1961 to 1967. He was that committee’s chairman in 1967. Found in Geoffrey Stevens, “Pearson names backroom boy to the Senate,” *The Globe and Mail*, 16 February, 1968; “Liberals expect no opposition to Stanbury,” *The Globe and Mail*, 3 April, 1968.

<sup>73</sup> Joe Piccinnini and Charles Caccia for the Italians; George Ben for the Rumanians; Ben Gryns for the Poles, Carl Vipavec for the Czechs. (LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1111, ETHNIC Correspondence 1962-1969, Richard Stanbury to Pierre-Elliott Trudeau, 16 April 1968.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

and Ed Albert Insurance, a prominent donor to Progressive Conservative leader Robert Stanfield. Moreover, Roman was a key financial supporter of the ethnic press, ethnocultural community festivals, and other ethnocultural causes in Metro Toronto. Stanbury proposed to the new prime minister that Haidasz, James Trotter, Walter Gordon, Hellyer and Thompson “by-pass Roman ... quickly and aggressively.”<sup>75</sup> Stanbury urged the prime minister to consider appointing Haidasz to cabinet but understood that cabinet decisions were based on far more considerations than the question of voters from ethnocultural communities.<sup>76</sup> Paul Martin refused to accept an appointment as Justice Minister and was appointed to the Senate. He became the Government Leader in the Senate. Former leader in the Senate, John Connolly, an early proponent of courting ethnocultural communities, was dropped from cabinet. Robert Winters, a veteran Liberal and one of Trudeau’s convention opponents, returned to the private sector while Judy LaMarsh, John Nicholson, and Lawrence Pennell resigned. Mitchell Sharp and Edgar Benson, both convention opponents of Trudeau, emerged as aces in the new cabinet.<sup>77</sup>

At the behest of Stanbury and Thompson, the Liberals coordinated a national advertising campaign in the ethnic press and a local effort to court voters from ethnocultural communities in the Metro Toronto region. As he had done in the 1962 and 1963 federal elections, Thompson’s strategy was to use the ethnic press, ethnic radio and television to reach voters in ethnocultural communities. At the outset of the campaign, the Liberals were concerned with how they would perform amongst ethnocultural communities. Nichol, one of the campaign co-chairs, alluded to

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid. Steven Roman ran for the Progressive Conservatives in the 1972 and 1974 federal elections in York North and lost to Liberal Barney Danson. Roman was chairman of Denison Mines, the world’s biggest uranium producer. Found in: Robert McKeown, “From The People Who Gave You The 1972 Election: ... plus a couple who wish you’d given them it,” *The Globe and Mail*, 6 July, 1972; Christie Blatchford, “Angry Tory explodes at Danson: Roman not exactly a graceful loser,” *The Globe and Mail*, 9 July, 1974.

<sup>76</sup> Joe Piccinnini and Charles Caccia for the Italians; George Ben for the Rumanians; Ben Grys for the Poles, Carl Vipavec for the Czechs. Found in: LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1111, ETHNIC Correspondence 1962-1969, Richard Stanbury to Pierre-Elliott Trudeau, 16 April 1968.

<sup>77</sup> John Saywell, “Parliament and Politics,” in edited by John T. Saywell, *Canadian Annual Review For 1968*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 30.

the party's "ethnic problems in this campaign."<sup>78</sup> The Liberal Party's preparations to court the voters from these communities began two weeks into the campaign.<sup>79</sup> Thompson temporarily relocated from his Senator's office in Ottawa to an office in Toronto to run the Liberals' national ethnocultural outreach operation for the duration of the campaign. In addition to providing extensive information to campaigns across the country on ethnocultural communities, the bureau provided candidates with resources to court voters from ethnocultural communities.<sup>80</sup> Thompson coordinated with New Canadian Publications to purchase advertisements in ethnic press publications across the country.<sup>81</sup> One of those advertisements was a column from Trudeau on the values of equality and plurality, prepared by Marc Lalonde.<sup>82</sup> Thompson also arranged for the translation of the English and French-language radio advertisements into thirteen non-English and non-French languages for use in the Toronto region on CHIN. These recordings were also made available to candidates across the country.<sup>83</sup>

Thompson designed a national advertising strategy in coordination with leaders from Toronto's ethnocultural communities. The party ran half-page advertisements in all ethnic weekly publications the week prior to the election. The ad included a picture of Trudeau and stressed the need for new leadership on Canadian unity and prosperity. In addition to the non-English and non-French radio spots, the party also dubbed a one-minute television spot with

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<sup>78</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1091, Ethnic Correspondence 1966-1969, John Nichol to Gordon Gibson, 15 May 1968.

<sup>79</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1111, ETHNIC Correspondence 1962-1969, Richard Stanbury to Andrew Thompson, 7 May 1968.

<sup>80</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1091, Ethnic Correspondence 1966-1969, John Nichol to Provincial Campaign Chairmen, 4 June 1968; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1091, Ethnic Correspondence 1966-1969, Andrew Thompson to Provincial Chairmen, 4 June 1968.

<sup>81</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1147, Bill McAfee Correspondence May-June 1968, P.J. Lavelle to Ian Howard, 21 May 1968.

<sup>82</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1147, Bill McAfee Correspondence May-June 1968, Bill McAfee to Andrew Thompson, 22 May 1968; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1147, Bill McAfee Correspondence May-June 1968, Andrew Thompson to Bill McAfee, 28 May 1968; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1091, Ethnic Correspondence 1966-1969, Andrew Thompson to John Nichol, 31 May 1968.

<sup>83</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1091, Ethnic Correspondence 1966-1969, Andrew Thompson John Nichol, 31 May 1968.

foreign language subtitles for use during non-English and non-French television programs. The column from Trudeau ran two weeks before the election. These columns were also converted into canvassing literature pieces. Thompson also provided candidates and their campaign teams with volunteer translators to assist them with their own literature pieces. Thompson also arranged for the availability of pre-taped messages playable on a tape recorder to be used by unilingual canvassers personalized for each candidate.<sup>84</sup>

During the campaign Trudeau spent time courting voters from ethnocultural communities in Toronto. For example, Trudeau spoke at the unveiling ceremonies of Sir Casimir Gzowski Park in Toronto with Haidasz, honouring Canadians of Polish origin. After the event Trudeau spoke with members of the ethnic press and leaders from Toronto's Polish organizations.<sup>85</sup> Trudeau also announced a 6-point linguistic charter in an appeal to ethnocultural communities whereby all federal courts would be obliged to ensure that "no person will be handicapped by the fact he does not know either of the official languages."<sup>86</sup> Trudeau also attended a reception with ethnocultural leaders and the ethnic press at the Seaway Towers Hotel where he interacted with guests, shook hands and signed autographs.<sup>87</sup> Trudeau's appeal for "one nation" also resonated with New Canadians. "I pity those politicians who talk about two nations," he said at a speech in Markham, Ontario to a crowd that included New Canadians.<sup>88</sup> He continued:

In a political sense there is only one nation in Canada, and if we are to talk only about the English and the French, well, that would leave a lot of you gentlemen out. There are a hell of

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<sup>84</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1091, Ethnic Correspondence 1966-1969, Andrew Thompson to Provincial Chairmen, 4 June 1968.

<sup>85</sup> LAC, Paul Hellyer fonds, MG32 B 33 vol. 46, Political Liberal Party - Stanley Haidasz - 1965-1968, Stanley Haidasz to Pierre Trudeau, 28 May 1968.

<sup>86</sup> Howard Frank, "Bilingualism price of unity, Trudeau says in tabling 6-point linguistic charter," *The Globe and Mail*, 28 May, 1968.

<sup>87</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1111, ETHNIC Correspondence 1962-1969, Haig Selian to Liberal Party of Canada, 11 June 1968.

<sup>88</sup> Pierre Trudeau, cited in Wright, *Trudeaumania*, 260.

a lot of people who are not included in the two nations concept. In a sociological sense, there are a great many nations here.<sup>89</sup>

The Liberals performed well in Metro Toronto-area ridings with large ethnocultural populations. The Liberals performed strongly in individual polls with large populations amongst Italians, Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Albanians, Maltese, Germans, Chinese, and Greek communities.<sup>90</sup> The Liberals continued to show strong connections to groups that were Roman Catholic. Trudeau proved to be especially popular among voters from ethnocultural communities, as one NDP worker in Trinity remarked, “Ever since he declared for the leadership, they’ve thought of him as an underdog, as someone who’s had to make it entirely on his own. They can identify with that.”<sup>91</sup> Perry Ryan, Spadina Liberal MP, played down the Trudeau angle, instead suggesting the party’s strong performance amongst new Canadians had more to do with local canvassing and new immigration regulations that eased immigration barriers. Ryan himself defeated Italian Progressive Conservative candidate Victor Bagnato in the majority of predominantly Italian polls.<sup>92</sup> The Liberals ran up large victories in Davenport, High Park, York South, and Trinity, all ridings with considerable ethnocultural populations.<sup>93</sup> The 1968 Canadian Election Study shows that the Liberals were supported by fifty-nine percent of voters from ethnocultural communities in the election while the Tories received just twenty-one percent.<sup>94</sup>

Trudeau outmatched his conservative opponent in the 1968 federal election. Former Nova Scotia Premier Robert Stanfield was entering his first campaign as leader of the Progressive Conservatives. Stanfield had a good reputation as a fine administrator and politician but the

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid, 260-261.

<sup>90</sup> John Burns, “Style was catching: Metro ethnic groups rallied to Trudeau,” *The Globe and Mail*, 27 June, 1968.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Appendix 4.

emergence of Trudeau immediately tarnished the image of the new Tory chief.<sup>95</sup> Trudeau and the Liberals campaigned on the prime minister's vision of a Just Society, a theme that promoted equality of opportunity and giving help to the disadvantaged. Trudeau explained that "social security and equalization payments, as well as a ministry of regional economic expansion," gave practical understanding to the Just Society's abstract principles.<sup>96</sup> Paul Litt argues that the Just Society facilitated "national unity by casting French Canada's cultural survival as a matter of equal rights ... while at the same time equating it with the minority rights of other ethnocultural groups."<sup>97</sup> Canadians were intensely interested in the 1968 federal election, and "according to one estimate, seventeen million Canadians watched or listened to at least part of the final day of the Liberal leadership convention."<sup>98</sup> The fascination with the election changed the fortunes of both Liberals and Conservatives. Between April and June, thousands of new party members joined both parties. For example, in the Toronto riding of Davenport, the Liberal Party's association membership went from 200 to 5,455. Two Liberal cabinet ministers in St Boniface and Outremont were denied the Liberal nominations. Saywell explains that "over a dozen well-known 'safe' candidates in all parties found themselves fighting for their political lives, and in some cases losing."<sup>99</sup> In the end, Trudeau won the 1968 federal election convincingly:

The Liberals took 45.2 percent of the popular vote but 63.9 percent of 'professionals,' 72.2 percent of immigrants after 1946, 67.1 percent of francophone, and 59.2 percent of Canadians under the age of thirty.<sup>100</sup>

Trudeau's victory in 1968 capped a decade that English says where the Liberals became "more the urban, immigrant, and francophone party ... while the Conservatives became more rural and

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<sup>95</sup> Carrigan, *Canadian Party Platforms, 1867-1968*, 327.

<sup>96</sup> Trudeau, *Memoirs*, 87.

<sup>97</sup> Litt, *Trudeaumania*, 268.

<sup>98</sup> Saywell, "Parliament and Politics," 39.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid*, 40.

<sup>100</sup> English, *Just Watch Me*, 29.

Anglophone.”<sup>101</sup> The Liberals continued to do well amongst ethnocultural communities.

Although the election results cannot be read for certain, a pattern has persisted: when the party does well in the polls, polling indicates that a significant number of voters from ethnocultural communities were Liberal voters.

With a new leader, the Liberal Party’s ethnocultural outreach campaign operated during the 1968 federal election in the same way that it had during the 1962, 1963 and 1965 campaigns. Trudeau was restricted by time, limited knowledge of the party apparatus, and the need to reward his leadership rivals following the convention. The prime minister was unattached to the ethnocultural outreach strategy devised largely by Senator Andrew Thompson with the assistance of Party President Senator Richard Stanbury. Trudeau’s image was used across the party’s national ethnic newspaper publication advertising during the campaign though his attendance at events, including ethnocultural events, was pre-determined by his campaign co-chairs and his tour manager. The Liberal Party’s polling confirmed that Trudeau was seen as a candidate of transformation:

Pierre Trudeau is looked upon as the man to usher in a new era in Canadian government. He can enhance this strength by ushering in a new era in Canadian politics – the Canadian electorate ... is grasping for movement. Pierre Trudeau must make certain that voting decisions are based on this.<sup>102</sup>

The Liberals increased their popular vote from 1965 by five percentage points, and while it was “enough to give them a majority government, this increase was hardly evidence of a mass phenomenon.”<sup>103</sup> Instead, Paul Litt argues that:

Trudeaumania allowed the Liberals to hold on to their base, offset the impact of new leadership in the Progressive Conservative Party, capture a large proportion of swing voters, and even win over some Canadians who usually voted for rival parties.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid, 31.

<sup>102</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1120, file: A Survey of Voter Opinion in Canada – Research Services Ltd., June 1968, cited in Litt, *Trudeaumania*, 299.

<sup>103</sup> Litt, *Trudeaumania*, 313.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, 313-314.

This trend can be seen in the increase of the number of voters from ethnocultural communities who cast their ballots for the Liberals. From 1965 to 1968, the Liberals experienced an eight percent increase from Canadians of non-English and non-French backgrounds.<sup>105</sup>

## **Conclusion**

During the final years of Lester Pearson's tenure as prime minister the Liberal Party's efforts to engage ethnocultural communities were noticeably absent. The efforts of Allan O'Brien, Keith Davey's replacement, and Andrew Thompson, who returned to Ottawa as a Senator, failed to reinstate the party's efforts. At the time of Davey's departure, the outgoing National Organizer warned Party President John Nichol of the party's weakness in organizing within ethnocultural communities. Though the Pearson government issued regulatory changes that imposed a point system on immigration, this author has seen no direct evidence the maneuver was politically motivated to court ethnocultural communities.<sup>106</sup> The party's efforts to maintain the loyalties of ethnocultural communities had stalled and seemed to be a casualty of the political conditions hampering the Pearson government at the time. When Trudeau was elected leader of the Liberal Party and prime minister, Thompson and new Party President Senator Richard Stanbury coordinated a national effort to court voters from ethnocultural communities through the ethnic press and the broader ethnocultural media on a larger scale. Trudeau's success amongst voters from ethnocultural communities mirrored the Liberal Party's success across the country. The Liberals seemed to be the masters of campaigning at ethnocultural communities in the final hours.

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<sup>105</sup> Appendix 4.

<sup>106</sup> This author found no actual archival evidence, aside from suspicion, of link between the points system and the Liberal Party's interest in engaging ethnocultural communities. Moreover, based on the interest in courting ethnocultural communities between 1966 and 1968, that finding is unsurprising.

## **Chapter 7: A Clash between Continuity and Change: Pierre Trudeau and the Liberal Party's Approach to Ethnocultural Communities, 1968-1974**

### **Introduction**

The Liberal Party engaged ethnocultural communities during the 1972 and 1974 federal elections on the back of multiculturalism policy. Despite the Trudeau Liberals poor performance at the polls in 1972, according to the 1972 Canadian Election Study the majority of voters from ethnocultural communities still voted for the Liberals. The Liberals were supported by forty-five percent of those voters, compared to the Tories' thirty-seven and the NDP's fifteen.<sup>1</sup> While scholars have suggested that Trudeau's multiculturalism policy was pitched against a two Canada's policies, unlike Pearson's advocacy of pan-Canadian policies, the Trudeau Liberals engaged ethnocultural communities through multiculturalism policies targeted specifically at that constituency. Yet the actual work of coordinating campaigns to engage ethnocultural communities was done out of party headquarters and campaign office. Multiculturalism was the centrepiece with which the Trudeau government and the Liberal Party organized ethnocultural communities.

Historian Lee Blanding argues that "though the Trudeau government viewed multiculturalism as an integral, but minor part of its national unity strategy, Liberal Party organizers only gradually came to view the policy as an electoral asset."<sup>2</sup> Blanding bases his argument on Andrew Thompson's involvement with Liberal Party President Richard Stanbury

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix 4.

<sup>2</sup> Lee Blanding, "Re-branding Canada," 289.

and Executive Director Torrance Wylie, and the formation of Trudeau's bi-partisan National Advisory Council. Blanding challenges Harold Troper who argues that "the ruling Liberal Party of the day was hoping that its advocacy of multiculturalism would reap it a rich reward in votes from the more than 30 percent of Canadians of non-British and non-French descent."<sup>3</sup> Liberal Party organizers made effective use of the Trudeau government's multiculturalism policy. While ethnocultural communities had a minimal impact in most electoral constituencies, they were a factor in others, specifically in Metro Toronto. Torrance Wylie, the party's National Organizer, Senator Andrew Thompson, Liberal MP Stanley Haidasz as well as several other MPs were interested in who new Canadians were casting their ballots for. Not only did Liberals court ethnocultural communities with the multiculturalism policy but the results of the 1972 and 1974 federal elections indicate that they were successful in appealing to them. In 1972, when the Liberals barely held onto control of the government after a near electoral collapse in Ontario, the fact that a majority of ethnocultural communities still voted for the Liberals was one of several reasons why Trudeau stayed prime minister.

### **Doing Things Differently?: Pierre Trudeau, the Prime Minister's Office, and Liberal Party Headquarters**

While Pierre Trudeau's PMO showed a lack of interest in courting ethnocultural communities from their office, the Liberal Party showed an active interest in engaging with these communities. The differences between the PMO and the party were clear. The Liberal Party preferred that the PMO actively engage with ethnocultural representatives at the community level and in personal meetings.

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<sup>3</sup> Harold Troper, "Multiculturalism" in *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*, edited by Robert Magocsi, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 1003.

After the Liberals' victory in 1968, Trudeau was pressured from ethnocultural communities, the Liberal Party, and his caucus to work closely with ethnocultural organizations. The members of the Canadian Polish Congress (CPC) were eager to engage the new prime minister after his victory, inviting him to their annual meeting in Hamilton, Ontario but also suggesting that Trudeau appoint High Park Member of Parliament and prominent Polish-Canadian Dr. Stanley Haidasz to his cabinet.<sup>4</sup> Haidasz, ever a supporter of the Polish community, the CEPF, and the broader ethnocultural community, lobbied Liberal Party President Richard Stanbury to ensure that the prime minister attended the Hamilton meeting.<sup>5</sup> Trudeau's PMO declined the invitation and made no initial effort to encourage another cabinet member to attend in his place. Allan O'Brien, the Liberal Party's Executive Director and National Organizer, wanted the PMO to make an extra effort to ensure Trudeau attended ethnocultural events. For O'Brien, the early experience with the CPC event in Hamilton encouraged the Liberal Party to be included in the invitations sent to the prime minister with the goal of ensuring that if the prime minister does not attend, an alternate member of cabinet would be encouraged to attend in his place.<sup>6</sup> After pressure from the Liberal Party, the PMO asked Haidasz to convey the prime minister's greetings to the CPC in Hamilton.<sup>7</sup> Stanbury also sought to develop closer relations between the Liberal Party and the CPC, speaking at an event celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the independence of Poland.<sup>8</sup> In another instance the PMO was under pressure from Haidasz, Stanbury, Paul Hellyer and others in the government for Trudeau to meet with leaders of the

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<sup>4</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1111, ETHNIC Correspondence 1962-1969, John Jaskula to Pierre-Elliott Trudeau, 26 June 1968; Ibid, Jaskula to Stanley Haidasz, 26 June 1968.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, Joseph Kirschbaum to Haidasz, 28 June 1968; Ibid, Haidasz to Richard Stanbury, 5 July 1968.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, Allan O'Brien to Michel Vennat, 27 September 1968.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, Judith Holland to Haidasz, 7 October 1968; Ibid, Pierre-Elliott Trudeau to George Korey-Krzeczowski, 8 October 1968.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, Haidasz to Richard Stanbury, 18 November 1968.

CEPF and the leaders of the Baltic States Federation.<sup>9</sup> The PMO advised them that Trudeau was unavailable for such a meeting and suggested tersely that “it is impossible for the Prime Minister to meet with everyone with whom he would like.”<sup>10</sup> Yet the rejection led to another complaint to the Liberal Party from Haidasz that the CEPF and Baltic States Federation were “anxious to obtain appointments with the Prime Minister but my representations seem to ‘fall upon deaf ears.’”<sup>11</sup> O’Brien attempted to secure the meetings but failed.<sup>12</sup> When Trudeau was invited to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee’s celebration of Ukrainian Independence in Toronto, lawyer and prominent Ukrainian-Canadian Joseph Boyko, complained that not one member of cabinet attended the event at Massey Hall in Toronto despite three Ministers being in Toronto that day.<sup>13</sup> While those in the Liberal Party attempted to persuade the government to prioritize ethnocultural communities, the Trudeau government, as the Pearson government before it, ignored them.

Stanbury sought to ensure that the Liberal Party had a role to play in coordination with the PMO, cabinet, and Liberal caucus. Stanbury worked to reform the Liberal Party office and give it more of a voice in the affairs of government. In addition to hiring fully bilingual staff to serve in both English and French, Stanbury explained that “many Liberals feel there is a need for closer co-ordination and co-operation between the party and its constituency and regional groups and the Cabinet and caucus.”<sup>14</sup> To fulfill this goal, Stanbury divided the party offices into three sections: a service section, responsible for policy and research, communications, printing and publishing; a liaison section responsible for co-ordinating party work with cabinet, caucus and

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid, Haidasz to Trudeau, 18 November 1968.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, Edward Rubin to Haidasz, 26 November 1968.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, Haidasz to Richard Stanbury, 28 November 1968.

<sup>12</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1111, ETHNIC Correspondence 1962-1969, Allan O'Brien, "Memorandum to File Re: Ethnic Affairs and New Canadians," 10 December 1968.

<sup>13</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1149, Ethnic Ukrainian Documents 1971-1972, Joseph Boyko to Liberal Party of Canada, 3 February 1971.

<sup>14</sup> Geoffrey Stevens, “A Liberal View: Senator Stanbury’s plans for a very big party,” *The Globe and Mail*, 10 August, 1968.

constituency associations; as well as a program section responsible for implementing Trudeau's promise of participatory democracy.<sup>15</sup> While Stanbury was open in the press about his reforms to the Liberal Party, internal party documents show that Stanbury was aware that the parliamentary wing of the caucus and their staff "do not think the party office is of any particular importance."<sup>16</sup> Certainly the party was interested in having cabinet be more involved in local community politics during non-election cycles by accepting "engagements with clubs such as the Kiwanis, Oddfellows, Canadian Legion, Women's Alliance, and Daughters of the Empire."<sup>17</sup> The Liberal Party's attempt to promote the engagement of ethnocultural communities is a key example of what these reforms were intended to address.

The government and the Liberal Party had different ideas about how best to encourage Liberal votes from ethnocultural communities. The Trudeau PMO viewed requests from Liberal Party officials for assistance in encouraging support from voters in ethnocultural communities with indifference. The Liberal Party headquarters and others like Senator Thompson clearly drove the party's efforts to organize ethnocultural communities for Trudeau.

### **Appealing to Ethnocultural Communities Through Policy Proposals**

The Trudeau government used multiculturalism policy to encourage voters from ethnocultural communities to cast their ballots for Liberals. This was a departure from the Pearson Liberal government's effort to appeal to ethnocultural communities with the same message they used to appeal to all voters through targeted advertising that proposed pan-

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid. Historian Paul Litt explains participatory democracy in terms of citizen engagement. He says that "Trudeau wanted people to engage in politics, to make democracy work by taking responsibility for their futures themselves." (Paul Litt, *Trudeaumania*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2016), 249.

<sup>16</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1151, Memoranda and Minutes 1968-1969, Liberal Party of Canada, "Liberal Federation of Canada - Minutes - Staff Meeting," 1 October 1968.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, Bobbie O'Neill to Senator Richard Stanbury, 15 April 1969.

Canadian policies. The Trudeau Liberals hoped that multiculturalism would be the centerpiece policy that the party could use to attract the interest of ethnocultural communities.

When the B & B Commission was established in the 1960s, several representatives from ethnocultural communities argued that the bicultural vision of Canada being discussed by the commission ignored them. Moreover, when the commission was announced, Canada's first prime minister of non-English and non-French origin, John Diefenbaker, said that "very important ethnic groups in Canada will ask why it is they have no representation."<sup>18</sup> A plethora of ethnocultural community organizations, including the Canadian Polish Congress, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, and the Canadian Jewish Congress, took the commission by surprise in their attacks on biculturalism.<sup>19</sup> The Ukrainian-Canadian representatives were particularly effective in meetings across Western Canada.<sup>20</sup> The commission acknowledged while there were some proponents of multiculturalism, Canada had "two dominant cultures, the French and the British."<sup>21</sup>

In the fall of 1971 the Trudeau government reversed a decade old precedent of the Liberal Party by courting voters from ethnocultural communities through the development and implementation of government policy. This change would take form in the declaration of official multiculturalism. Six months before Trudeau's multiculturalism announcement, the CPC and three different regional representatives of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) appeared before the Molgat-MacGuigan Committee and made two announcements on what would

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<sup>18</sup> House of Commons, *Debates*, 22 July 1963, 2443.

<sup>19</sup> Matt James, *Misrecognized Materialists: Social Movements in Canadian Constitutional Politics*, (Toronto: University of British Columbia Press, 2006), 56-59.

<sup>20</sup> John Jaworsky, "A Case Study of the Canadian Federal Government's Multiculturalism Policy," (M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1979), 50, cited in McRoberts, *Misconceiving Canada*, 123.

<sup>21</sup> B & B Commission, *The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups*, 13.

eventually become multiculturalism policy.<sup>22</sup> The Special Joint Committee on the Constitution was co-chaired by MP Mark MacGuigan and Senator Gildas Molgat from 1970 to 1972. The committee collected comments from Canadians on the 1971 intergovernmental agreement known as the Victoria Charter. The Victoria charter failed when Québec Premier Robert Bourassa withdrew from the agreement. However as Matt James said, “equality seekers made good use of two years of roving public hearings in forty-seven cities presided over by a committee that had declared itself open to ‘expanding the traditional procedures of ... decision-making.’”<sup>23</sup> They argued that the so-called ‘Third Force’ should be recognized and that Canada should be celebrated as an ethnocultural country. Their second appeal asked for support for all Canadian cultures through government funding.<sup>24</sup>

Before the fourth volume of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism -- *The Cultural Contribution of Other Ethnic Groups* -- was presented in the fall of 1969, Haidasz grew increasingly concerned with the protection of both languages and cultures of Canada’s “Third Force.” Trudeau’s vision of “multiculturalism within a bilingual framework,” was not clearly understood by many in ethnocultural communities. Haidasz, a vocal promoter of Canada’s ethnocultural communities, explained that “many doubts and fears have been expressed by Canadians of other than English and French origin.”<sup>25</sup> Haidasz emphasized that ethnocultural communities wanted “more assurances from the government as far as the future of their

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<sup>22</sup> The Special Joint Committee on the Constitution was co-chaired by Member of Parliament Mark MacGuigan and Senator Gildas Molgat from 1970 to 1972. The committee collected comments from Canadians on the 1971 intergovernmental agreement known as the Victoria Charter. The Victoria charter failed when Québec Premier Robert Bourassa withdrew from the agreement. However as Matt James said, “equality seekers made good use of two years of roving public hearings in forty-seven cities presided over by a committee that had declared itself open to ‘expanding the traditional procedures of ... decision-making.’” [Matt James, *Misrecognized Materialists: Social Movements in Canadian Constitutional Politics*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006), 68.]

<sup>23</sup> James, *Misrecognized Materialists*, 68.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, 74.

<sup>25</sup> Lewis Seale, “Help save cultures of minority groups, Haidasz urges MPs,” *The Globe and Mail*, 3 July, 1969; Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 2 July 1969, 10759.

languages and culture.”<sup>26</sup> Haidasz asserted that these communities had “the right to expect a statement of policy as far as their mother languages and cultures are concerned.”<sup>27</sup> The Conservatives suggested that Haidasz’s remarks indicated support for a Conservative amendment guaranteeing “the right to speak a language other than English or French.”<sup>28</sup> Raymond Breton argues that Trudeau’s Official Languages Act generated “a status anxiety,” and a “fear of being defined as second-class citizens.”<sup>29</sup> Trudeau’s multiculturalism policy was a response to these anxieties. Political Scientist Matt James argues that

early Canadian multiculturalism discourse was forged in part from a process of *de facto* political exchange between third-force groups seeing symbolic capital and the civic rebranding agenda of Trudeau-era nationalism.<sup>30</sup>

The Trudeau government was under pressure from ethnocultural communities “to substitute multiculturalism for biculturalism.”<sup>31</sup> The Liberals listened to the pronouncements from these communities and debated the basis of multiculturalism policy in cabinet. Kenneth McRoberts argues that it is unlikely the Liberals gave in to political pressure from “ethnic groups” to implement multiculturalism. Instead, McRoberts contends that multiculturalism policy came out of “Trudeau’s hostility towards biculturalism.”<sup>32</sup> As the Liberals framed multiculturalism policy and delivered it to cabinet in the September of 1971, the prime minister wondered “how ethnic groups would receive the proposed policy” in light of that the fact that “many ethnic groups were unhappy with the recommendations in the B & B Commission’s Book

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<sup>26</sup> Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 2 July 1969, 10759.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Lewis Seale, “Help save cultures of minority groups, Haidasz urges MPs,” *The Globe and Mail*, 3 July, 1969.

<sup>29</sup> Breton, “The Production and Allocation of Symbolic Resources: An Analysis of the Linguistic and Ethnocultural Fields in Canada,” 134.

<sup>30</sup> James, *Misrecognized Materialists*, 75.

<sup>31</sup> McRoberts, *Misconceiving Canada*, 123.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.

IV.”<sup>33</sup> Cabinet conclusions reveal that Trudeau and his ministers believed that multiculturalism would be viewed favourably by the majority of voters from ethnocultural communities and turn the corner for the B & B Commission:

Many ethnic groups felt that there was an implicit bias in favour of biculturalism in Book IV of the B & B Commission, that the B & B Commission was really recommending a policy of cultural absorption of ethnic groups into either the English or French culture. The multiculturalism policy now being proposed would be seen by the ethnic groups as a definite advance on that proposed in Book IV. Undoubtedly, there would be some particularly militant ethnic leaders who would argue that the multiculturalism policy did not go far enough, but the majority of ethnic group members would find the policy acceptable.<sup>34</sup>

In October 1971 Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced the policy of multiculturalism in the House of Commons.<sup>35</sup> Trudeau said that “there cannot be one cultural policy for Canadians of British and French origin, another for the original peoples and yet a third for all others,” and “although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic groups take precedence over any other.”<sup>36</sup> Trudeau’s multiculturalism policy paper made four federal policy objectives and announced six specific programs. The four objectives were: government funding for “ethnic groups” for community organizations; government funding for products outlining ethnocultural contributions to Canadian society; promotion of creative encounters between Canadians of different “ethnic groups”; and government assistance to immigrants to learn one of Canada’s Official Languages.<sup>37</sup> Trudeau’s multiculturalism policy functioned within a bilingual framework with the intent to support and encourage “various cultures and ethnic groups that give structure and vitality” to Canadian society.<sup>38</sup> John English suggests that

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<sup>33</sup> LAC, Cabinet Conclusions, RG2, Privy Council Office, Series A-5-a, Volume 6381, Canada - The Multicultural Society, a response to book IV of the B & B Commission, 23 September, 1971, page 4.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> James, *Misrecognized Materialists*, 74.

<sup>36</sup> Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 8 October 1971, 8545.

<sup>37</sup> Vianney Carriere, “Ottawa announces grants and incentives to assist immigrants and ethnic groups,” *The Globe and Mail*, 9 October, 1971.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

“Trudeau’s announcement reflected his liberal individualism.”<sup>39</sup> Trudeau was careful to shape the “statement in such a way that it was consistent with his carefully developed views on the role of an individual within society.”<sup>40</sup> The day after multiculturalism was announced in the House of Commons, Trudeau visited the UCC and expanded upon his remarks, further cementing his views on individualism and culture:

Uniformity is neither desirable nor possible in a country the size of Canada. We should not even be able to agree upon the kind of Canadian to choose as a model, let alone persuade most people to emulate it. There are few policies potentially more disastrous for Canada than to tell all Canadians that they must be alike. There is no such thing as a model or ideal Canadian. What could be more absurd than the concept of an ‘all Canadian’ boy or girl? A society which emphasizes uniformity is one which creates intolerance and hate. A society which eulogizes the average citizen is one which breeds mediocrity. What the world should be seeking, and what in Canada we must continue to cherish, are not concepts of uniformity but human values: compassion, love, and understanding.<sup>41</sup>

The announcement included that the government accepted all the recommendations of the B & B Commission contained in Volume IV which focused on “the contribution by other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution.”<sup>42</sup> The Opposition criticized the policy and argued that the government was merely bribing potential ethnocultural communities to vote for Liberal candidates at the polls. English observes that there is likely some justice to these claims.<sup>43</sup> The cabinet discussions that preceded the announcement shows that not only did the Liberals discuss whether the policy would be well-received by ethnocultural communities, but also made sure to temper expectations for multiculturalism. The Liberals expressed concern that the policy implied that the federal government would provide ethnocultural communities with substantial federal assistance. Trudeau and several other unnamed ministers argued that “more emphasis should be placed on

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<sup>39</sup> English, *Just Watch Me*, 146.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 142-146.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 146.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

self-help by ethnic groups.”<sup>44</sup> Trudeau also stressed that the policy was about cultural equality and that the government “should not give the impression” that they were “committed to achieving economic equality for all ethnic groups.”<sup>45</sup> In fact the principles that cabinet agreed upon included that funding was only going to be granted if “resources permit[ed]” and if the “groups” demonstrated “a clear need for assistance.”<sup>46</sup>

From the Liberal Party’s perspective, Trudeau’s statement on multiculturalism in 1971 answered criticism from Canadians of non-English and non-French backgrounds. While the government was preparing to deliberate multiculturalism in cabinet, Trudeau reassured ethnocultural communities and suggested to them that being Canadian could and should mean keeping your own cultural roots.<sup>47</sup> While the Trudeau government’s policies on China and the Soviet Union were not especially helpful to the Liberal Party’s appeal to ethnocultural communities, the Liberal Party made more use out of multiculturalism policy in its efforts to court voters from ethnocultural communities than any previous policy action taken by the Liberal Party. The Trudeau Liberals hoped multiculturalism would specifically appeal to voters from ethnocultural communities following the recommendations made in Book IV of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

### **Multiculturalism and the 1972 Federal Election**

The Liberal Party sought to build on the foundations of multiculturalism policy and strengthen their appeal to ethnocultural communities. For the first time, the Liberal Party had a centerpiece policy to win ethnocultural communities over at the polls and a prime minister who

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<sup>44</sup> LAC, Cabinet Conclusions, RG2, Privy Council Office, Series A-5-a, Volume 6381, Canada - The Multicultural Society, a response to book IV of the B & B Commission, 23 September, 1971, page 5.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Stanley McDowell, “Reviewing the tour of a middle-aged transient,” *The Globe and Mail*, 14 August, 1971.

was showing more than token interest in these communities. Though the Liberals had waffled between interest and indifference in their engagement of voters from ethnocultural communities, for the first time, the Trudeau Liberals were actually offering substantial gestures to these communities and their leaders. Unlike the Pearson government, the Trudeau government offered ethnocultural communities a substantial domestic policy initiative.

The Trudeau government encouraged stronger relationship between the Liberal Party and ethnocultural communities through the creation of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism (CCCM). It was O'Brien who revived the idea of forming an "Ethnic Advisory Council" comprised of Haidasz, Senator Thompson, Senator David Croll, Senator Arthur Roebuck, and Senator Stanbury, to offer political advice to the Liberal Party and the PMO on matters concerning ethnocultural communities.<sup>48</sup> The idea was shelved but reappeared several months after Trudeau's multiculturalism policy was announced in the fall of 1971. In the spring of 1972 Trudeau announced the formation of a Canadian Advisory Council on Multiculturalism. Though the council was presented as a non-partisan project, it embodied the same political agenda imagined by O'Brien, Haidasz, and Thompson. The Trudeau government signaled their intention to create a government advisory board that offered clout and status to ethnocultural community leaders across the country. Unquestionably this council offered the Liberal Party even more political leverage than any partisan mechanism could have.

From the outset, Senator Thompson envisioned that such a council could provide the Liberal Party with a tremendous opportunity and he stressed that the party "make some political mileage prior to the election from the formation of this council."<sup>49</sup> On 6 June 1972 the prime minister announced in Question Period that the Secretary of State was considering appointments

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<sup>48</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1111, ETHNIC Correspondence 1962-1969, Allan O'Brien, "Memorandum to File Re: Ethnic Affairs and New Canadians," 10 December 1968.

<sup>49</sup> Blanding, "Re-branding Canada: The Origins of Canadian Multiculturalism Policy, 1945-1974," 298.

to the council.<sup>50</sup> In the summer, Trudeau's cabinet discussed a council with 200 appointments representing various ethnocultural organizations.<sup>51</sup> Thompson advised the prime minister to consult the ethnic press editors, ethnocultural organizations, and immigrant-assistance organizations for advice on the council's formation.<sup>52</sup> In September of 1972 the prime minister asked ethnocultural communities for comments on what would become the CCCM. A letter sent to ethnocultural community organization leaders asked how they saw "the work of the Council in relation to the objectives" of their community organization. "The mandate," Trudeau wrote, "will depend very much on the response of your organization and the many others across the country."<sup>53</sup>

Shortly after these letters were sent, the Liberals called an election for the end of October 1972. The Liberals bet on the CCCM to court ethnocultural communities and their leaders. Gerard Pelletier told the CEPF that the council's mandate would be to "advise the government" on multiculturalism policy.<sup>54</sup> The CCCM had 100 appointed members reporting to the minister responsible for multiculturalism.<sup>55</sup>

Senator Davey tried to coordinate a relationship between the PMO and ethnocultural communities by setting up a meeting between Trudeau and Steve Roman as well as the representatives of the Canadian Slovak League and the Canadian Slovak Business Men's Association. In the past, Roman had been looked upon with skepticism, but the Liberal Party had

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<sup>50</sup> Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 6 October 1972, 3823.

<sup>51</sup> Blanding, "Re-branding Canada: The Origins of Canadian Multiculturalism Policy, 1945-1974," 298.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> LAC, Stanley Haidasz fonds, R1273 vol. 3, Canadian Consultative Council 1973, Pierre Trudeau to George Haggart, 12 September 1972.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> William Johnson, "Hammers at PM's credibility: Stanfield promises a balanced budget," *The Globe and Mail*, 7 June, 1974.

a vested interest in making a relationship with Roman.<sup>56</sup> Wylie described Roman as a “very valuable ally” and credited him with having “a very high standing among the so-called ethnic community.”<sup>57</sup> Roman was perceived as a key player in strengthening the Liberal Party’s relationship with voters from ethnocultural communities. Ultimately Davey’s effort failed and Roman eventually followed through on his threat and joined the Progressive Conservatives. He ran against Liberal incumbent Barney Danson in York North unsuccessfully in 1972, reportedly spending over \$92,000 against his opponent in his losing bid.<sup>58</sup> When Danson beat Roman again in 1974, the Slovakian-Canadian businessman told reporters that “Mr. Danson is ... a despicable son of a bitch, and I want you to write that.”<sup>59</sup> Roman’s comments were made after a reporter asked him about a claim from the Danson campaign that said Roman had spent “\$250,000 to lose.”<sup>60</sup>

Under the direction of Senator Thompson, who oversaw the national ethnocultural outreach component of the 1972 Liberal campaign, the Liberal Party undertook several key projects aimed at courting voters from ethnocultural communities.<sup>61</sup> George Ben was appointed the ethnocultural co-ordinator in charge of Ontario.<sup>62</sup> Nonetheless, while these projects were national in scope, they were certainly targeted and designed at the prospect of making an impact in the Toronto region during the campaign. Thompson pushed for the PMO to have capable

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<sup>56</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1091, Ethnic Correspondence 1966-1969, Keith Davey to Gordon Gibson, 29 July 1969.

<sup>57</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1091, Ethnic Correspondence 1966-1969, Torrance Wylie to Gordon Gibson, 8 August 1969; *Ibid*, Gordon Gibson to Torrance J. Wylie, 31 July 1969.

<sup>58</sup> Robert McKeown, “From The People Who Gave You The 1972 Election: ... plus a couple who wish you’d given them it,” *The Globe and Mail*, 6 July, 1972.

<sup>59</sup> Christie Blatchford, “Angry Tory explodes at Danson: Roman not exactly a graceful loser,” *The Globe and Mail*, 9 July, 1974.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>61</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1088, Ethnic Affairs, Andrew Thompson to Torrance Wylie, 18 May 1972.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid*, Andrew Thompson to George Ben, 21 September 1972.

ministers record short foreign-language radio spots during ethnic radio programs.<sup>63</sup> The Liberal Party ran short radio spots in Toronto that featured Prime Minister Trudeau in Spanish, Italian, German, and Portuguese. Other radio spots included cabinet ministers Mitchell Sharp in Portuguese; Jean-Eudes Dubé in Spanish; Edgar Benson in Dutch; and Charles Drury in Polish.<sup>64</sup> He said:

We Canadians have confidence in our ability to achieve whatever we set out to achieve. We are determined that our families, our neighbours and neighbourhoods, our lands and other lands will be secure, better off than before, at peace with one another—all in the delicate balance of economic growth and a healthy environment. No great nation in the world has so much within its grasp. Together, let us protect it, nourish it, grow great on it.<sup>65</sup>

The Liberals continued to focus on building connections with communities that had large Roman Catholic roots. Thompson also developed a newspaper column submission to eighty-five ethnic press publications across the country in twenty-four different languages.<sup>66</sup> The Liberal Party translated columns written by Prime Minister Trudeau and cabinet ministers Sharp, Bryce McKasey, Martin O’Connell, and John Munro.<sup>67</sup> The articles focused on multiculturalism, foreign policy, and the Just Society, among other themes.<sup>68</sup> The ministers used the discretion of their department to provide the themes directed towards ethnocultural communities.<sup>69</sup> Thompson stressed to the editors of ethnic press publications that “these are not paid advertisements but are a service” that “the Liberal Party provides.”<sup>70</sup> Another project that Thompson oversaw was the

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid, Andrew Thompson to Mitchell Sharp, 24 July 1972; Ibid, Torrance Wylie to Edgar Benson, 28 July 1972.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, Wylie to Thompson, 23 August 1972.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, Pierre-Elliott Trudeau, "Pierre-Elliott Trudeau Ethnic Radio Broadcast Scripts for 1972 General Election," 22 September 1972.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid, Robin Milward to Provincial Campaign Chairmen and Communications Chairmen, 12 September 1972.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, Thompson to Peter Roberts, 31 July 1972.

<sup>68</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1148, Ethnic Group Publications, Carl Redhead, "Translations of Trudeau's Speech Into Various Languages," 26 September 1972; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1148, Ethnic Group Publications, Carl Redhead, "Translations of Mitchell Sharp's Speech Into Various Languages," 26 September 1972.

Trudeau told *The Globe and Mail* that a Just Society was “a society in which each individual Canadian was put in a position where he can develop himself to the utmost.” (Pierre Trudeau, cited in Litt, *Trudeaumania*, 240.

<sup>69</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1088, Ethnic Affairs, Andrew Thompson to John, 21 August 1972.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid, Thompson to Ethnic Publication Editor, 7 September 1972.

design of a brochure published in six foreign-languages: Ukrainian, Dutch, Portuguese, Italian, Polish, and Greek.<sup>71</sup> The brochure focused on the government's multiculturalism policy.<sup>72</sup>

Originally, Trudeau's campaign team envisioned that the 1972 campaign would be fought differently than any election before it. In April 1972 Haidasz complained to Robert Andras, who was campaign co-chair with Jean Marchand, that the campaign preparation meeting in Toronto provided delegates with no instruction on courting voters from ethnocultural communities.<sup>73</sup> Moreover Haidasz also complained that a decision had been made not to allocate funds for advertising the Liberal Party in the ethnic press.<sup>74</sup> Thompson echoed Haidasz's concerns.<sup>75</sup> Bill McAfee, the campaign's Director of Communications, explained that the decision not to advertise in the ethnic press was made in concert with a decision to avoid advertising in the print media, regardless of whether the press was English, French or a part of the CEPF. Instead, the campaign's strategy was to leave press advertisements to the provincial and constituency campaigns and focus national advertising in the broadcast media, particularly on television.<sup>76</sup> The complaints from those like Haidasz and Thompson with friends in the ethnic press were unsurprising. At the time, the ethnic presses were struggling with declining advertising revenues.<sup>77</sup> At the outset of the election, for example, Haidasz complained to Wylie that the ethnic press were grumbling about declining government advertising revenues and increased costs in mailing, paper and labour.<sup>78</sup> Ultimately the campaign relented and placed ads in ethnic

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid, Robin Milward to Provincial Campaign Chairmen and Communications Chairmen, 12 September 1972.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, Bill McAfee to Torrance Wylie, 18 April 1972.

<sup>73</sup> English, *Just Watch Me*, 175, 180.

<sup>74</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1088, Ethnic Affairs, Stanley Haidasz to Robert Andras, 10 April 1972.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, Thompson to Richard Stanbury, 14 April 1972.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid, McAfee to Wylie, 18 April 1972.

<sup>77</sup> John Picton, "The Advertising World: Ethnic audience misses ad itches for case goods and corn flakes," *The Globe and Mail*, 20 November, 1968; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1088, Ethnic Affairs, Stanley Haidasz to Torrance Wylie, 10 April 1972.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid, Haidasz to Wylie, 28 August 1972.

press publications across the country in the final week of the election.<sup>79</sup> The Liberals were also concerned making sure first-time voters from ethnocultural communities knew how to vote. The Liberal campaign ensured that the Chief Electoral Officer ran advertisements in ethnic press publications and explained how to vote in a Canadian election.<sup>80</sup>

The 1972 federal election was a significant blow to the Trudeau Liberals. The final Gallup poll of the campaign indicated that the race was close in the final week: Liberals, 39 percent; Conservatives, 33; and the NDP, 21.<sup>81</sup> Trudeau's Liberals suffered from their clumsy management of economic issues.<sup>82</sup> The Liberals campaigned across the country and made "the integrity of Canada"<sup>83</sup> the central issue. Liberal strategists expected some losses, but hoped to hold those losses to between seven and twelve seats. Campaigners abandoned the large rallies and made the prime minister available to Canadians in small gatherings that emphasized personal contact. "Trudeaumania" was a thing of the past.<sup>84</sup> The Liberals won 38.42 percent and the Progressive Conservatives, 35.02 percent of the vote.<sup>85</sup> Though they won the election, Trudeau's victory was bittersweet. The Liberals won a slim minority government and maintained a mere two-seat lead over Robert Stanfield's Progressive Conservatives. The Liberals captured 109 seats to the Progressive Conservatives 107, the New Democratic Party's 31, and the Social Credit's 15.<sup>86</sup> The Liberal campaign's performance in Ontario was the root cause of their election night

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid, Thompson to Paul Goulet, 22 September 1972.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, Wylie to Thompson, 27 September 1972.

<sup>81</sup> English, *Just Watch Me*, 185.

<sup>82</sup> Stephen Clarkson and Christina McCall, *Trudeau and Our Times*, volume 2, 107. For detailed accounts of the 1972 federal election also see: Stephen Clarkson and Christina McCall, *Trudeau and Our Times, Volume 1: The Magnificent Obsession*, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1990); English, *Just Watch Me*; and Wearing, *The L-Shaped Party*.

<sup>83</sup> Paul Stevens and John Saywell, "Parliament and Politics," in *Canadian Annual Review of Politics and Public Affairs*, edited by John T. Saywell, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 46.

<sup>84</sup> Stevens and Saywell, "Parliament and Politics," 47, 50.

<sup>85</sup> English, *Just Watch Me*, 187.

<sup>86</sup> Parliament of Canada, History of Federal Ridings Since 1867, 29<sup>th</sup> Parliament, accessed on 15 February, 2017, <http://www.lop.parl.gc.ca/About/Parliament/FederalRidingsHistory/hfer.asp?Language=E&Search=Gres&genElecti on=29&ridProvince=0&submit1=Search>.

issues. The Liberals lost twenty-seven seats in Ontario and won just thirty-six. The Conservatives won forty seats.<sup>87</sup>

Despite the heavy losses in Ontario, the Liberals performed reasonably well amongst ethnocultural communities. Two days before election day, an opinion survey conducted and published by *The Globe and Mail* showed that while “the Liberals probably will lose votes to the Conservatives and the New Democrats,” they would likely make up those losses with first-time voters.<sup>88</sup> The Progressive Conservatives victories in Metro Toronto were limited to just six ridings: High Park—Humber Valley, Scarborough East, St. Paul’s, Trinity, York East and York Simcoe.<sup>89</sup> The Liberals held onto ten seats in Metro Toronto.<sup>90</sup> The Trudeau government’s declaration of multiculturalism armed the Liberals with a considerable policy to influence ethnocultural communities. The policy promised more than federal funding, it promised cultural preservation for those Canadians who did not identify with the English and French charter communities.

### **Influencing Ethnocultural Communities in Minority Government**

The Trudeau Liberals set out to entice ethnocultural communities to remain loyal to the Liberal Party during their minority government term. They built on the Liberal Party’s history of using the ethnic press to influence voters and used radio broadcasts on ethnic radio stations to sell the Liberal government to listeners. The creation of the ethnic radio programming was

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<sup>87</sup> Parliament of Canada, History of Federal Ridings Since 1867, 29<sup>th</sup> Parliament, accessed on 21 February, 2017, <http://www.lop.parl.gc.ca/About/Parliament/FederalRidingsHistory/hfer.asp?Language=E&Search=Gres&genElecti on=29&ridProvince=9&submit1=Search>. Comparing the 1972 results with the 1968 results: Parliament of Canada, History of Federal Ridings Since 1867, 28<sup>th</sup> Parliament, accessed on 21 February, 2017, <http://www.lop.parl.gc.ca/About/Parliament/FederalRidingsHistory/hfer.asp?Language=E&Search=Gres&genElecti on=28&ridProvince=9&submit1=Search>.

<sup>88</sup> Hugh Winsor, “Little change in popular vote indicated: Survey shows support for Liberals from first-time voters,” *The Globe and Mail*, 28 October, 1972.

<sup>89</sup> Appendix 2.

<sup>90</sup> See Appendix 2.

facilitated by a more diverse Liberal caucus that had a vested interest in courting voters from ethnocultural communities. The ethnic radio broadcasting programme also indicates the keen interest of Parkdale MP Stanley Haidasz in ethnocultural communities as whole. Haidasz was an avid participant in yet another effort by the Liberal Party to draw support from ethnocultural voters. After years of requests from Polish-Canadians to prime ministers Pearson and Trudeau, Haidasz was asked to join Cabinet after the 1972 federal election to manage the multiculturalism portfolio.

A few months after the election, Casimir Stanczykowski, Executive Director of CFMB radio station in Montreal, approached Bill McAfee with the offer of recording and distributing short tapes from non-English and non-French Liberal MPs in Italian, Ukrainian, and Polish. The Liberal Party was keen to participate.<sup>91</sup> The scripts were provided by the Liberal Party and cover the work of parliament during the preceding week. The broadcasts were played every weekend and distributed to ethnic radio stations across the country.<sup>92</sup> Liberal MPs Charles Caccia, Stan Smerchanski, and Haidasz all agreed to participate and recorded the broadcasts in their Parliament Hill offices.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1149, Ethnic Tapes 1968, Michel Vennat, "Memorandum to File," 8 August 1968; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1147, Correspondence - Bill McAfee 1968-69, Casimir Stanczykowski to Allan O'Brien, 11 September 1968.

<sup>92</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1147, Correspondence - Bill McAfee 1968-69, Casimir Stanczykowski to Allan O'Brien, 11 September 1968.

<sup>93</sup> Letter from Bill McAfee to Charles Caccia regarding the Ethnic radio broadcasts, confirming the details sent to O'Brien. (LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1147, Correspondence - Bill McAfee 1968-69, Bill McAfee to Charles Caccia, 23 September 1968; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1147, Correspondence - Bill McAfee 1968-69, Bill McAfee to Stanley Haidasz, 23 September 1968; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1147, Correspondence - Bill McAfee 1968-69, Bill McAfee to Mark Smerchanski, 23 September 1968; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1149, Ethnic Tapes 1968, Casimir Stanczykowski to Stanley Haidasz, 27 September 1968; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1149, Ethnic Tapes 1968, Casimir Stanczykowski to Mark Smerchanski, 27 September 1968; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1149, Ethnic Tapes 1968, Casimir Stanczykowski to Charles Caccia, 27 September 1968; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1149, Ethnic Tapes 1968, Casimir Stanczykowski to Charles Caccia, 27 September 1968; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1149, Ethnic Tapes 1968, Allan O'Brien to Charles Caccia, Stanley Haidasz and Mark Smerchanski, October 1968; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1111, ETHNIC Correspondence 1962-1969, Casimir Stanczykowski to Allan O'Brien, 28 October 1968; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1149, Ethnic Tapes 1968, Casimir Stanczykowski to Stanley Haidasz, 22 October 1969; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1149, Ethnic Tapes 1968, Casimir Stanczykowski to Mark Smerchanski, 22 October 1969; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1149, Ethnic Tapes 1968, Casimir Stanczykowski to Charles Caccia, 22 October 1969; LAC, LPC fonds, MG

The Liberal Party caught the attention of Caccia's work in the Toronto Italian community. Since the 1968 federal election Caccia had been sending a column to six weekly Italian-language newspapers across the country.<sup>94</sup> He used the columns to update Italian-speaking Canadians about the decisions made by the Trudeau government, its ministers and the Liberal Party. On occasion, he sent translated government white papers or ministry reports which were published in pieces. Caccia developed a closer relationship with these ethnocultural publications and was successful in getting much of the material published. The translations were done by either Caccia himself or the Foreign Language Division, Translation Office of the Secretary of State Department.<sup>95</sup> Torrance Wylie noticed the success of Caccia's endeavors with the Italian newspapers and decided to expand on his efforts. In January 1971 the Liberal Party took excerpts from a speech given by Finance Minister Edgar Benson, translated them into Italian and distributed the translated article to its caucus members who have sizeable Italian populations in their constituencies. The material was distributed to Italian-Canadian voters in three ways: as a newsletter to identified constituents on members' mailing lists, as a submission to local Italian newspapers, and as an enclosure with another mailing piece in constituencies with significant Italian-Canadian populations.<sup>96</sup> The program was used by the Liberal Party "as a trial balloon to determine how much interest there [was] in this type of service."<sup>97</sup> This program was

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28 IV 3, vol. 1149, Ethnic Tapes 1968, Casimir Stanczykowski to Michel Vennat, 22 October 1969. There was a dispute about where the recordings would be done. Initially Stanczykowski requested that they be done at CKOY in Ottawa. Haidasz agreed immediately. As the first recording date approached both Caccia and Smerchanski cancelled and complained to Stanczykowski and the Liberal Party that the station was too far from Parliament Hill. In the end Stanczykowski relented and agreed to record in their offices. Details in preceding footnote.

<sup>94</sup> Caccia sent columns to: *Il Giornale di Toronto*, Toronto; *La Tribuna Italiana*, Montreal; *L'Ora di Ottawa*, Ottawa; *Messaggero Italo Canadese*, Winnipeg; *Il Mondo*, Edmonton; and *L'Eco d'Italia*, Vancouver (LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1149, ETHNIC - Suggestions correspond 1970-71, Charles Caccia to Torrance J. Wylie, 4 December 1969; LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1149, ETHNIC - Suggestions correspond 1970-71, Charles Caccia, "Report from Ottawa by Charles L. Caccia, MP December 1969 to 1970," 16 July 1970).

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1149, Ethnic - Italian Documents 1971, Bill McAfee, "Memorandum to Group, 2 February 1971.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

introduced to caucus more broadly as a subscription service to Liberal caucus members to identify their names with their local “Italian electors.”<sup>98</sup> After drawing considerable interest in the Italian programme, the Liberal Party introduced a similar program targeting Ukrainian-Canadians the following year.<sup>99</sup>

After the Liberal Party’s slim victory at the polls in 1972 Haidasz was finally rewarded with a cabinet appointment. Perhaps the victories in the ethnocultural centric Metro Toronto region convinced the prime minister to remain loyal to voters from ethnocultural communities. Haidasz became Minister Without Portfolio with special responsibilities for implementing the government’s policies on multiculturalism. The role, though barely a raise, meant a great deal to individuals within ethnocultural communities who viewed Haidasz as an important symbol in the Liberal government. The *Globe and Mail* explained that:

These new responsibilities would seem to accord well with a number of Dr. Haidasz’s activities. He has been in the news time and again in recent years as a special pleader for various ethnic causes and for his efforts to reunite residents of Iron Curtain countries with their Canadian relatives.<sup>100</sup>

Thompson, who had advocated for Haidasz’s inclusion in cabinet since 1965, also welcomed the news as a positive sign while cautioning that the PMO would have to be pressured to keep its dialogue with ethnocultural communities active. “I think Dr. Haidasz’ appointment was excellent but he is going to need support from all of us,” remarked Thompson, “particularly in the next few months it is important that the P.M.’s office become sensitive and concerned about its communication with ethnic groups.”<sup>101</sup>

In his task as Minister Without Portfolio Responsible for Multiculturalism, Haidasz was in charge of administering federal government grants for multiculturalism as well as selling the

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid, Richard Stanbury, "Italian Newsletter," 14 December 1971.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid, Richard Stanbury, "RE: Ukrainian Newsletter," 13 April 1972.

<sup>100</sup> “Haidasz: booster of ethnic causes, multiculturalism,” *The Globe and Mail*, 28 November, 1972.

<sup>101</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1088, Ethnic Affairs, Andrew Thompson to Martin O’Connell, 6 December 1972.

merits of multiculturalism to Canadians. The Secretary of State announced in January 1972 that the department was offering “more than \$1 million ... in the form of grants for various projects proposed by cultural and ethnic groups.”<sup>102</sup> In the spring of 1973 the federal government was offering more than \$3 million in grants.<sup>103</sup> Though most of the money was being spent on “studies and multiculturalism programming in the National Film Board, the National Archives, and other federal cultural agencies,” there were grants being spent at the community level.<sup>104</sup> On 30 May 1973, Haidasz announced \$127,545 in grant funding for thirty-two projects.<sup>105</sup> In addition to the grants, Haidasz used the ethnic press to promote multiculturalism to readers in ethnocultural communities. Haidasz arranged for \$230,745 in advertising to publicize the Trudeau government’s multiculturalism policy in the ethnic press. He proposed a four-page spread in 128 different ethnic press publications, in thirty-one different languages. Haidasz referred to the advertisement as an information bulletin on the policy for ethnocultural communities across the country. Haidasz took considerable heat for the advertisements that the Opposition referred to as “Liberal propaganda” in the Commons Committee on Broadcasting, Films and Assistance to the Arts.<sup>106</sup> They took particular concern with the fact that the advertisements were adorned with pictures of Trudeau and Haidasz. Progressive Conservative MP Dr. Paul Yewchuck complained at the committee that the advertisements went “beyond the simple provision of information.”<sup>107</sup>

Part of the Trudeau government’s commitment to ethnocultural communities was seen in the formation of the CCCM. Though the PMO that controlled the creation of the CCCM, formal

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<sup>102</sup> LAC, Stanley Haidasz fonds, R1273 vol. 3, Multiculturalism Ministry 1972-1974, Secretary of State, "News Release No. 1-1272E: Funds Now Available To Support Federal Multicultural Policy," 12 January 1972.

<sup>103</sup> Blanding, “Re-branding Canada; the Origins of Canadian Multiculturalism Policy, 1945-1974,” 300.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, 308.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid, 307.

<sup>106</sup> “Trudeau featured in layouts: Multicultural ads called Liberal propaganda,” *The Globe and Mail*, 14 April, 1973.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

control of the CCCM was transferred to Haidasz, now recognized as the Minister of State Responsible for Multiculturalism.<sup>108</sup> The CCCM reported to Haidasz and the prime minister's Principal Secretary Martin O'Connell encouraged Haidasz to establish himself as the CCCM's principal point of contact with the government.<sup>109</sup> The CCCM was comprised of 100 appointees, that included a national chairman, two vice-chairmen, five regional chairmen, and appointed members from across the country.<sup>110</sup> Its regional breakdown was seven appointees from the Atlantic provinces, twelve from Québec, forty-three from Ontario, twenty-six from the Prairies and the Northwest Territories, as well as seventeen from British Columbia and the Yukon.<sup>111</sup> Of the forty-three from Ontario, twelve members of the CCCM were from Toronto.<sup>112</sup> Of the 100 members of the CCCM, eighty were from "the minority ethnocultural groups," and twenty were "from the native, French and English communities."<sup>113</sup> One-third of the terms of each regional body were set to expire each year (some members were appointed to one-year, two-year, or three-year terms).<sup>114</sup> The CCCM's purpose was to provide the minister responsible for multiculturalism on all matters relevant to multiculturalism. The minister had the mandate to convene a national meeting once a year and regional meetings to "review policy, evaluate programmes, interpret situations and make suggestions with respect to multicultural

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<sup>108</sup> Haidasz's legal authority over multiculturalism was blurred. Hugh Faulkner, the Minister for State, was technically in charge of the multiculturalism portfolio. Haidasz, as Minister Without Portfolio, was responsible for it. (Blanding, "Re-branding Canada; the Origins of Canadian Multiculturalism Policy, 1945-1974," 300).

<sup>109</sup> LAC, Stanley Haidasz fonds, R1273 vol. 3, Canadian Consultative Council 1973, Martin O'Connell to Stanley Haidasz, 25 April 1973.

<sup>110</sup> LAC, Stanley Haidasz fonds, R1273 vol. 3, Canadian Consultative Council 1973, "Canadian Consultative Council On Multiculturalism," 1973.

<sup>111</sup> LAC, Stanley Haidasz fonds, R1273 vol. 3, Canadian Consultative Council 1973, "Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism (Breakdown)," 1973.

<sup>112</sup> LAC, Stanley Haidasz fonds, R1273 vol. 3, Canadian Consultative Council 1973, "Canadian Consultative Council On Multiculturalism," 1973.

<sup>113</sup> LAC, Stanley Haidasz fonds, R1273 vol. 3, National Advisory Council on Multiculturalism 1973, "Memorandum On National Advisory Council on Multiculturalism," 1973.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

programmes.”<sup>115</sup> Members of the CCCM were chosen because of their ethnocultural background and “on the basis of their ability to draw upon their own experience, interest and wisdom in the ethno-cultural field.”<sup>116</sup> The governing Liberals now possessed an institutionalized reward system for influential ethnocultural community leaders. In fact Haidasz sought feedback from both cabinet ministers and the wider Liberal caucus for suggestions on who should be appointed to the CCCM.<sup>117</sup>

Despite the controversy with Haidasz in the multiculturalism portfolio, the Trudeau government and the Liberal Party maintained their commitment to voters from ethnocultural communities after the 1972 federal election. Between the ethnic radio broadcasts, multiculturalism grants, ethnic advertising and the creation of the CCCM, the Liberals were well-positioned for the next election. The Liberals had every reason to be confident that ethnocultural communities would stand by them at the polls.

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<sup>115</sup> LAC, Stanley Haidasz fonds, R1273 vol. 3, Canadian Consultative Council 1973, "Terms of Reference: Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism," 1973.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> LAC, Stanley Haidasz fonds, R1273 vol. 3, National Advisory Council on Multiculturalism 1973, Stanley Haidasz to Jean-Eudes Dubé, 7 March 1973; LAC, Stanley Haidasz fonds, R1273 vol. 3, National Advisory Council on Multiculturalism 1973, Stanley Haidasz to Allan J. MacEachen, 7 March 1973; LAC, Stanley Haidasz fonds, R1273 vol. 3, National Advisory Council on Multiculturalism 1973, Stanley Haidasz to James Jerome, 7 March 1973; LAC, Stanley Haidasz fonds, R1273 vol. 3, National Advisory Council on Multiculturalism 1973, Jean Haidasz, "Letter to Jean Chrétien," 7 March 1973; LAC, Stanley Haidasz fonds, R1273 vol. 3, National Advisory Council on Multiculturalism 1973, Stanley Haidasz to Jack Davis, 7 March 1973; LAC, Stanley Haidasz fonds, R1273 vol. 3, National Advisory Council on Multiculturalism 1973, Stanley Haidasz to R.S. Basford, 7 March 1973; LAC, Stanley Haidasz fonds, R1273 vol. 3, National Advisory Council on Multiculturalism 1973, Charles Caccia to Stanley Haidasz, 22 March 1973; LAC, Stanley Haidasz fonds, R1273 vol. 3, National Advisory Council on Multiculturalism 1973, Stanley Haidasz to Charles Caccia, 23 March 1973; and LAC, Stanley Haidasz fonds, R1273 vol. 3, National Advisory Council on Multiculturalism 1973, Donald Macdonald to Stanley Haidasz, 2 April 1973.

Freda Hawkins argues that the CCCM revolving Chairmen contributes toward a “turbulent history” of multiculturalism in Canada. The CCCM collapsed in the early 1980s, “due to its impossibly unwieldy structure, the government’s lack of confidence in it, and its use by the Liberal party as a convenient vehicle for patronage.” Hawkins, *Canada and Immigration*, 390.

## The 1974 Federal Election and After

The Trudeau government was posed to use multiculturalism policy in the summer of 1974. Though Stanfield's Tories ran on an effective multiculturalism platform of their own, the Liberals were the pioneers of multiculturalism policy. The Liberals performed well in Metro Toronto, winning back a substantial number of the constituencies they lost in 1972. Returned to power with a majority government, the Trudeau Liberals considered a wider range of policies to appeal to voters from ethnocultural communities.

Political scientist Stephen Clarkson argued that "if the 1972 election results were a warning that Trudeau did not know his own party, the 1974 campaign was to show that this unpolitical politician had mastered new skills."<sup>118</sup> In the aftermath of the 1972 minority win, Trudeau brought back Senator Keith Davey to lead the Liberal campaign for an election date that was dependent on his government's support from the NDP.<sup>119</sup> A Gallup Poll done in April 1974 suggested that the campaign would be close once again. The Liberals led thirty-nine percent to the Progressive Conservative's thirty-four percent and the NDP's eighteen percent.<sup>120</sup> When the Opposition united to defeat Trudeau's budget in May 1974 the Liberals were ready for an election. While the opposition believed that they could capitalize on the government's failure to control inflation, the Liberals sensed that Canadians admired Trudeau's intelligence and toughness and framed the campaign on a question of leadership.<sup>121</sup> During the campaign Trudeau was advised by Davey and Jim Coutts, a lawyer and veteran of the Pearson PMO. Together the three exercised firmer control over the campaign and the Liberal Party than Trudeau had been

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<sup>118</sup> Clarkson, *The Big Red Machine*, 31.

<sup>119</sup> Clarkson and McCall, *Trudeau And Our Times*, volume 2, 116; Robert McKeown, "From The People Who Gave You The 1972 Election: ... plus a couple who wish you'd given them it," *The Globe and Mail*, 6 July, 1974.

<sup>120</sup> Clarkson, *The Big Red Machine*, 34.

<sup>121</sup> Wearing, *The L-Shaped Party*, 202-203.

able to do in either 1968 or 1972.<sup>122</sup> The Liberals had reason for optimism, especially amongst ethnocultural communities whom the Liberals had continued to engage, with Stanley Haidasz and the multiculturalism portfolio front and centre.

The Conservatives made their own efforts to build on their gains from 1972 and win over ethnocultural communities. Despite the Liberals' poor performance in 1972, Trudeau managed to keep a significant number of voters from ethnocultural communities loyal to the Liberal Party.<sup>123</sup> This is exemplified by their performance in Metro Toronto. Stanfield took the matter of courting ethnocultural communities to the policy convention of the Progressive Conservatives. He attacked the Liberals for their policy on multiculturalism and said that "we believe in two official languages and many cultures."<sup>124</sup> The next year Stanfield unveiled his Party's multiculturalism election platform in Metro Toronto where almost half of the population is of ethnic origin.<sup>125</sup> Stanfield committed to convening a federal-provincial conference on multicultural education; offered federal money to local schools for multicultural programs; funding for the training of language teachers and student grants for cultural and language programs; funding for multicultural centres; tax incentives for donations to third-language training facilities. Stanfield also promised some policies aimed at the CEPF such as a reduction in postal rates on newspapers and magazines; and the establishment of an Ethnic Press Bureau in Ottawa, including a reporter to join the parliamentary press gallery with translation services provided.<sup>126</sup> Stanfield committed to implementing these policies after a Conservative government resolved the inflation issue. Stanfield's multiculturalism policies were not entirely popular within his own party. For

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid, 205.

<sup>123</sup> Appendix 4.

<sup>124</sup> William Johnson, "Ethnic mix on federal boards should be policy, Stanfield says," *The Globe and Mail*, 18 March, 1974.

<sup>125</sup> In Metro Toronto 902,505 people are of ethnic origin out of a total population of 2,086,015. (William Johnson, "Hammers at PM's credibility: Stanfield promises a balanced budget," *The Globe and Mail*, 7 June, 1974).

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

example, several of the multiculturalism policies proposed by Stanfield were voted down by grassroots Progressive Conservatives at the policy conference a year earlier.<sup>127</sup>

The Liberals targeted several ethnocultural-influenced ridings won by their opponents in the previous election. In the final days of the election Trudeau made an appearance at an ethnocultural community picnic in Toronto. This non-partisan picnic was sponsored by the Toronto ethnic programming radio station CHIN. The prime minister's speech to the crowd was non-political but he urged the crowd of ethnocultural communities that on election day to keep Canada "a good place to be, let's keep it a good place together."<sup>128</sup> He championed Canada as a place where all Canadians find freedom and security.<sup>129</sup> High Park-Humber Valley was a key riding where about half of the population was made up of European immigrants from Ukraine, Poland, Germany and Lithuania. Moreover, more than half of the Canada's entire Maltese population lived in the riding. In 1972, the riding was won by Progressive Conservative candidate Otto Jelinek.<sup>130</sup> In 1974 the Liberals lost the riding to Jelinek by just 255 votes.<sup>131</sup> Another riding key for the Liberals was Hellyer's riding of Trinity. The riding had a substantial Italian population but housed a larger collection of other ethnocultural communities.<sup>132</sup> In 1972 Hellyer retained the riding from Liberal challenger Aideen Nicholson by just 182 votes.<sup>133</sup> In

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> "4 leaders fire parting shots, head home to await the voters' verdict," *The Globe and Mail*, 8 July, 1974.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Jelinek won the riding by 1,903 votes. LAC, James Coutts fonds, R13437 vol. 32, POL: Fed Camp 74 090 - Briefing - Ridings and Candidates, Office of the Prime Minister, "Profile of High Park-Humber Valley (Murray McBride)," 13 June 1974; See Appendix 3.

<sup>131</sup> Parliament of Canada, History of Federal Ridings Since 1867, 30<sup>th</sup> Parliament, accessed on 17 February, 2017, <http://www.lop.parl.gc.ca/About/Parliament/FederalRidingsHistory/hfer.asp?Language=E&Search=Gres&genElecti on=30&ridProvince=9&submit1=Search>.

<sup>132</sup> Appendix 3.

<sup>133</sup> Parliament of Canada, History of Federal Ridings Since 1867, 29<sup>th</sup> Parliament, accessed on 17 February, 2017, <http://www.lop.parl.gc.ca/About/Parliament/FederalRidingsHistory/hfer.asp?Language=E&Search=Gres&genElecti on=29&ridProvince=9&submit1=Search>.

1974 the two squared off again and Nicholson won the riding by a wide margin.<sup>134</sup> The third key riding the Liberals sought to recapture from the Progressive Conservatives was St. Paul's. About half of the population of the constituency was of British origin. However, the riding had a large Jewish population, making up about twenty percent of the riding.<sup>135</sup> The Liberals lost the riding in 1972 by just over a thousand votes.<sup>136</sup> In 1974 the Liberals won the riding by similar margins.<sup>137</sup> The Liberals performed well in Metro Toronto. They retained all of their Metro Toronto ridings and won back seven of the region's eleven non-Liberal seats.<sup>138</sup> According to survey results from the 1974 Federal Election Study, fifty-five percent of voters from ethnocultural communities supported the Liberals, compared to just thirty percent for the Tories.<sup>139</sup> The role of ethnic voters in the 1974 federal election is substantiated by John Wood. Wood analyzed ridings impacted by "ethnic groups" and asserted that after the 1974 election, the Liberals held thirty-six unsafe seats which "had minority concentrations."<sup>140</sup> Though Wood's

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<sup>134</sup> Nicholson beat Hellyer by 4,146. Found in: Parliament of Canada, History of Federal Ridings Since 1867, 30<sup>th</sup> Parliament, accessed on 17 February, 2017, <http://www.lop.parl.gc.ca/About/Parliament/FederalRidingsHistory/hfer.asp?Language=E&Search=Gres&genElecti on=30&ridProvince=9&submit1=Search>.

<sup>135</sup> LAC, James Coutts fonds, R13437 vol. 32, POL: Fed Camp 74 090 - Briefing - Ridings and Candidates, Office of the Prime Minister, "Profile of St. Paul's (John Roberts)," 13 June 1974.) Article in *the Globe and Mail* Confirms this information. (Geoffrey Stevens, "Mirror, mirror in St. Paul's...", *The Globe and Mail*, 1 July, 1974.

<sup>136</sup> Liberals lost by 1,192 votes to the Progressive Conservatives. Found in: Parliament of Canada, History of Federal Ridings Since 1867, 29<sup>th</sup> Parliament, accessed on 17 February, 2017, <http://www.lop.parl.gc.ca/About/Parliament/FederalRidingsHistory/hfer.asp?Language=E&Search=Gres&genElecti on=29&ridProvince=9&submit1=Search>; Appendix 3.

<sup>137</sup> Liberals won the riding by 1,114 votes. Found in: Parliament of Canada, History of Federal Ridings Since 1867, 30<sup>th</sup> Parliament, accessed on 17 February, 2017, <http://www.lop.parl.gc.ca/About/Parliament/FederalRidingsHistory/hfer.asp?Language=E&Search=Gres&genElecti on=30&ridProvince=9&submit1=Search>.

<sup>138</sup> Appendix 2.

<sup>139</sup> Appendix 4.

<sup>140</sup> Wood explains that: "The concentration of minority ethnic population, and therefore presumably of the minority ethnic vote, has been calculated by selecting all constituencies where the foreign-born population was above the national mean of 14.13 per cent and the non-charter population above the national mean of 25.81 percent. There were ninety-eight constituencies in Canada in 1976 where both these conditions were met: fifty-two of them were Liberal, thirty-six Conservative, and ten NDP." (Wood, "East Indians and Canada's New Immigration Population," 561).

discussion concerns immigration and the support of politicians for immigration, similar logic could be applied to support for multiculturalism policy. Wood concludes that “it is highly probable, that in unsafe constituencies, MPs would think twice before alienating a significantly large chunk of their electorate.”<sup>141</sup> If Wood’s conclusions are to be accepted, it stands to reason that, multiculturalism held sway in over ethnocultural communities, thereby impacting results in an electoral constituency.

On election night the Liberals recaptured a majority government but as Stephen Clarkson remarks, “their victory was not a landslide.”<sup>142</sup> The Liberals made marginal gains in Atlantic Canada and in the Province of Québec. The Tories continued their supremacy in Western Canada, except for British Columbia where the Liberals doubled their seats to eight. In Ontario, however, the Liberals made considerable gains, adding nineteen new seats.<sup>143</sup> Though the party won a smaller majority government than in 1968, they had a comfortable 32-seat margin.<sup>144</sup>

Despite the fact that voters from ethnocultural communities supported the governing Liberals in 1974, the prime minister was clearly not beholden to them when he formed his second majority government. Trudeau relegated Haidasz to the backbenches of the Liberal caucus. Some suggested that Haidasz’s work in the multiculturalism portfolio was a failed experiment and “an insulting political bone thrown at Canada’s ethnic communities and it has achieved next to nothing.”<sup>145</sup> Yet Trudeau’s victory in 1974 was seen by at least one Toronto voter as a betrayal to his commitment to multiculturalism. Henry Radecki complained that:

Many of the voters will remember the Prime Minister appearing publicly at an ethnic picnic on his last day of electioneering and a month later relegating the minister responsible for multiculturalism to the back benches. Many of them will remember that time and time again the Progressive Conservative candidates ascribed their defeat to the heavy ethnic vote for the

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<sup>141</sup> Wood, “East Indians and Canada’s New Immigration Population,” 561.

<sup>142</sup> Clarkson, *The Big Red Machine*, 47.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Wearing, *The L-Shaped Party*, 203.

<sup>145</sup> “The new Cabinet: a portfolio puzzle,” *The Globe and Mail*, 9 August, 1974.

Liberals. Many will be puzzled over the Liberal campaign promises and the stated policy of multiculturalism and will ponder the relegation of this policy to the backwaters of the Ministry of Labor.<sup>146</sup>

It is conceivable that individuals within ethnocultural communities in Toronto, especially amongst Haidasz's own Polish community, were disappointed and betrayed by the prime minister's demotion of Haidasz. Trudeau received a letter from Dr. Orest Talpash, the National Secretary of the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation, to express concern about Trudeau's decision to transfer the multiculturalism portfolio to John Munro, the Minister of Labour. Talpash described the move as an "apparent liquidation of the Multiculturalism portfolio."<sup>147</sup> Trudeau's staff expressed "puzzlement at the negative interpretation ... to this transfer."<sup>148</sup>

After the 1974 federal election the Liberal Party continued to use multiculturalism as a policy tool to influence voters from ethnocultural communities. In the summer of 1976 Munro proposed the creation of a separate cabinet portfolio for multiculturalism to take on his department's program and policy responsibilities.<sup>149</sup> At the same time a stand-alone ministry for multiculturalism was being considered, the Liberal cabinet considered the question of how to engage with ethnocultural communities.<sup>150</sup> This strategy document contained a number of facets that underscore the Trudeau government's intention to court ethnocultural communities through

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<sup>146</sup> Henry Radecki, "Multiculturalism," *The Globe and Mail*, 22 August, 1974.

<sup>147</sup> LAC, James Coumts fonds, R13437 vol. 60, Multiculturalism, Minister of State For 1974-1975, J. Austin to Pierre Elliott Trudeau, 14 October 1974.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid, Pierre Trudeau to Dr. Orest Talpash, 15 October 1974.

<sup>149</sup> During the Trudeau era the portfolio stayed with the Department of the Secretary of State for Canada until 1991 when Progressive Conservative Prime Minister Brian Mulroney created the Ministry of Multiculturalism and Citizenship. The Chrétien government rolled the portfolio into the Ministry of Canadian Heritage in 1996. LAC, Alastair Gillespie fonds, R1526 vol. 370, Ontario Ministers File - Ethnic Multi-cultural Relations-Fundraising Strategy-Riding Material-AntiInflation 1976, "Memorandum on the Creation of a Ministry of Multiculturalism and Citizenship," June 1976; LAC, Alastair Gillespie fonds, R1526 vol. 370, Ontario Ministers File - Ethnic Multi-cultural Relations-Fundraising Strategy-Riding Material-AntiInflation 1976, G.S.S., "Memorandum for Mr. Kenny from GSS Re: Multiculturalism," 5 July 1976.

<sup>150</sup> LAC, Alastair Gillespie fonds, R1526 vol. 370, Ontario Ministers File - Ethnic Multi-cultural Relations-Fundraising Strategy-Riding Material-AntiInflation 1976, "Ontario Cabinet 8:30AM, Wednesday July 21, 1976," 21 July 1976.

both policy and traditional organizational practices. These categories included foreign policy and immigration decisions, labour policy, as well as cultural and multicultural policies. The cabinet considered how foreign policy decisions could improve the government and the Liberal Party's relationship with ethnocultural communities. These ideas included: making fast and publicized responses to human rights issues within the Communist bloc countries; providing prompt responses to political upheavals and natural disasters by aiding with financial aid, technical experience, manpower, and by accepting refugees; publicizing financial aid programs and their results with developing nations; holding discussions with Communist bloc states to ease cultural exchanges and the granting of exit visas; as well as providing more flexible consideration to immigration policy on compassionate grounds.<sup>151</sup> Cabinet also debated how labour policy could become fairer for new Canadians by adjusting health and safety regulations and providing job protection and the right to redress workplace discrimination for industries employing large numbers of immigrants. The Liberals also considered more support for questions of culture and multiculturalism including: ensuring that the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation provided better responses for multicultural and multilingual broadcasting requests; more advertising in the ethnic press; publicizing government information in unofficial languages; and funding programs for third language teaching. In addition to discussing these policy initiatives, the cabinet also considered traditional political decisions to court voters from ethnocultural communities such as: public forums with "ethnic groups" hosted by MPs and Ministers; high profile speeches by Prime Minister Trudeau renewing the government's commitment to multiculturalism; the appointment

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<sup>151</sup> Ibid, "Ethnic Strategy Document Main Recommendations," 21 July 1976.

of Italians and Ukrainians to the Senate; and tracking the government's progress amongst "ethnic groups" through public surveys.<sup>152</sup>

After Trudeau made the declaration of multiculturalism in the fall of 1971, the politics of courting voters from ethnocultural communities changed substantially. Both the Liberals and the Conservatives embraced multiculturalism to appeal to these voters through policies. The Liberals, already in government, took credit for Canada's multiculturalism policy. The electoral success of the Liberal Party in Metro Toronto shows that the Trudeau government had succeeded in appealing to these voters in the region.

### **The CCCM as Group-making**

Even after Trudeau came to lead the Liberal Party, Liberals still saw "ethnic groups" as a collective that could *do something* for the party. In their effort to reify groupings, the Liberal Party built on the conception of an Ethnic Advisory Council and converted it into a broader, bi-partisan, government advisory committee. The Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism (CCCM) is an example of how the Liberals homogenized "ethnic groups" and made ethnicity into an event.

Polish-Canadian Liberal MP Stanley Haidasz and Allan O'Brien met in December of 1968 and revived the idea of forming an Ethnic Advisory Council. In this sense, Haidasz and O'Brien sought to create a grouping with categories. O'Brien used the conception of "ethnic groups," formed from the Liberal Party's now longstanding singular understanding of ethnocultural communities, to reify groups for the benefit of the party. O'Brien believed that the party "should seriously consider establishing an ad hoc committee on ethnic affairs" and that

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<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

“this committee might consist of all ethnic MPs” and Liberal Senators Andrew Thompson, David Croll, A.W. Roebuck, and Richard Stanbury.<sup>153</sup> This committee would advise “both the Prime Minister’s office and the National Party office on matters relating to various ethnic communities.”<sup>154</sup> O’Brien explained that the time had come for the Liberal Party to “pay particular attention to the ethnic communities and involve the ethnic Members in decisions relating to ethnic strategy.”<sup>155</sup> By suggesting that an Ethnic Advisory Council report on matters relating to ethnocultural communities, O’Brien and Haidasz classified “ethnic MPs” and the ethnocultural communities they were targeting, as *doing being ethnic*. In doing so O’Brien and Haidasz attempted the homogenization of “ethnic groups.” Both hoped that by creating an Ethnic Advisory Council grouping, they could fulfill the needs of the Liberal Party, the prime minister’s office, and the needs of “ethnic groups.” Yet the Ethnic Advisory Council, as it was conceived by Haidasz and O’Brien, never formed, the council may have homogenized its participants as members of the Liberal Party and as members of the construction of “ethnic groups.” Though a grouping failed to emerge, the suggestion of the Liberal Party’s Ethnic Advisory Council propelled the happening of ethnicity in another fashion.

The Trudeau government took the idea of an Ethnic Advisory Council and created the CCCM. However, before the council was created, they propagated the idea of the council before the 1972 federal election in order to gain favour with ethnocultural communities. The Liberal government was *doing things* with categories. Though they based their conception of the CCCM from their understanding of “ethnic groups” and “ethnic voters,” the Trudeau government conceived of the bi-partisan, 100 member committee, first, as a breakdown of Canadian

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<sup>153</sup> LAC, LPC fonds, MG 28 IV 3, vol. 1111, ETHNIC Correspondence 1962-1969, Allan O'Brien, "Memorandum from Allan R. O'Brien Re: Ethnic Affairs and New Canadians," 10 December 1968.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

geographic regions and second as a weighted representation between “the minority ethnocultural groups” and the “native, French and English communities.”<sup>156</sup> The prime minister’s office was concerned with which regions committee members were coming from and less concerned about which ethnocultural groups they represented. By limiting the membership of the CCCM by geographic regions the Trudeau government “limited access to ... particular domains of activity by excluding categorically distinguished outsiders.”<sup>157</sup> In other words, only those selected by the prime minister’s office were given the opportunity to participate in the CCCM and provide advice to the government on its multiculturalism policy. This meant that only elites from ethnocultural communities had a chance of participating on the body. Furthermore, the restriction of activity was “institutionalized and entrenched in routines” as the council was formalized as a government body that was limited by term lengths. The members were then “chosen because of their representativeness of certain cultural groups and on the basis of their ability to draw upon their own experience, interest and wisdom in the overall ethno-cultural field.”<sup>158</sup> Though members were selected based on their own specific ethnicity, the government prioritized their understanding of ethnocultural communities in the broader sense.

The Trudeau government put an extraordinary amount of effort into their group-making of the CCCM. In creating the CCCM as a composition of various “ethnic groups” and the charter groups, while using it as a tool for patronage, the Liberals homogenized the CCCM. In embracing multiculturalism, the Liberal Party made the groupness of the CCCM take place. The council came together at the behest of Stanley Haidasz, the minister responsible for it, to advise the Liberal government on its multiculturalism policy. The Liberals were flush with potential

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<sup>156</sup> LAC, Stanley Haidasz fonds, R1273 vol. 3, National Advisory Council on Multiculturalism 1973, "Memorandum On National Advisory Council on Multiculturalism," 1973.

<sup>157</sup> Brubaker, “Ethnicity Without Groups,” 169.

<sup>158</sup> LAC, Stanley Haidasz fonds, R1273 vol. 3, Canadian Consultative Council 1973, "Terms of Reference: Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism," 1973.

members for the council and it survived until the early 1980s, when it was disbanded, according to Freda Hawkins, “due to its impossibly unwieldy structure, the government’s lack of confidence in it, and its use by the Liberal party as a convenient vehicle for patronage.”<sup>159</sup> While the CCCM may have eventually turned into a “failed [effort] at ethnopolitical mobilization,” the Liberals used its early formations to their benefit.<sup>160</sup>

The Liberals continued to believe the concept that “ethnic groups” acted to help the Liberal Party. This reification of groups is an established pattern by the party and those that served it. The Liberal Party created the CCCM from the earlier concept of a partisan Ethnic Advisory Council, making ethnicity into something that occurred. The prime minister’s office institutionalized the ethnicity through the creation of the CCCM as a government advisory body and limited access to its influence by geographic region.

## **Conclusion**

The Trudeau government and the Liberal Party enticed voters from ethnocultural communities to cast their ballots for Liberal candidates in 1972 and 1974 with multiculturalism policy. Even when the Liberal Party was reduced to a minority in the 1972 election, polling indicates that they received broader support from ethnocultural communities than the Tories. This is also evidenced by the election results in Metro Toronto, which were favourable for the Liberals. Outside of the election results, Haidasz’s appointment to cabinet and the Trudeau government’s use of multiculturalism policy, indicated that the Liberal Party had prioritized ethnocultural communities. Though Haidasz was demoted after the 1974 federal election, the prime minister had already set the table with multiculturalism policy. Multiculturalism brought

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<sup>159</sup> Hawkins, *Canada and Immigration*, 390.

<sup>160</sup> Brubaker, “Ethnicity Without Groups,” 169.

more constituents from ethnocultural communities to the table than any previous effort by the Liberal Party to influence voters from non-English and non-French communities.

Multiculturalism policy also gave the prime minister's office an opportunity to *do something* with "ethnic groups." In forming the CCCM the Liberals also homogenized "ethnic groups" and made ethnicity into something that took place. Trudeau's success with multiculturalism policy inside ethnocultural communities forced the Tories to accept the policy as the minimum standard. Trudeau used multiculturalism policy to change Liberal Party politics.

## Chapter 8: Conclusion

The defeat of Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent in the 1957 federal election against John Diefenbaker's Progressive Conservatives set the Liberal Party on a course to recognize the important role ethnocultural communities played in the party's competitiveness. Though St. Laurent's successor Lester Pearson did not fully embrace Canada's growing non-English and non-French communities that had first or third generational connections to Europe, the former diplomat oversaw the beginning of the Liberal Party's efforts to engage ethnocultural communities. Defeated even more handily in the 1958 federal election, the Liberal Party hired Andrew Thompson, the Liberal MPP from Dovercourt in Toronto, Ontario. Thompson advised the Liberals that the party's defeats were influenced by their failure to retain the loyalties of Canada's ethnocultural communities. Thompson, like many other Liberals, believed that his party was the default party of choice for New Canadians.

Thompson's tenure with the Liberal Party included a return to power in 1963, but his ideas and efforts were never fully embraced by the broad organization and parliamentary caucus. Thompson advised senior officials at the National Liberal Federation of how to court ethnocultural communities, ostensibly assuring that he was chosen as the party's new Ethnic Liaison Officer. Not only did Thompson sell himself to the Liberals – he also sold his idea that the Liberal Party should focus some of its organizational efforts at non-English and non-French ethnocultural communities. Now employed by the party and working out of a Toronto office, Thompson organized on behalf of the party in advance of the 1962 federal election. Thompson's efforts to engage ethnocultural communities was just one aspect of the reforms that Pearson's

new team sought to implement to bring the party out of the Mackenzie King and St. Laurent era. In doing things, Thompson attempted to change to change the way that the Liberal Party perceived of politics within the dualism of their English and French coalition. While Thompson's vision included ethnocultural communities as a third pillar of the party's coalition, the Liberal Party itself struggled to adapt to the Ethnic Liaison Officer's ideas. The Liberal campaign sheltered Thompson's efforts from the rest of the organization, secluding his efforts. While the party performed well in 1962 amongst voters from ethnocultural communities, Thompson's hiring clearly did not indicate that a shift occurred over how the party pursued politics.

When the Liberals returned to power, their relationship with ethnocultural communities worsened as the Pearson government and the Liberal Party, deflected requests from ethnocultural communities. After successfully advocating pan-Canadian policies that promoted a national pension plan and a medical care plan, the Liberals found themselves an abundance of tasks to perform while they adjusted to governing. Ethnocultural communities lost their main Liberal ally when Thompson left the NLF to become the leader of the Ontario Liberal Party. Instead of offering patronage to qualified leaders from the various ethnocultural communities, the Liberal government excluded them from appointments to the judiciary, the Senate, and cabinet. Though Davey sought to make the Liberal Party an influence on the Pearson government's dolling of patronage, he failed. Davey turned almost exclusively to the ethnic press in his effort to influence ethnocultural communities on behalf of the Liberal Party and the Pearson government. The Liberal Party's relationship with ethnocultural communities during Pearson's tenure as prime minister was a failure of triumph. Though polling indicates that the Liberal Party was the dominant choice of voters from ethnocultural communities during the 1960s, the Liberals never welcomed those communities as important members of their electoral coalition. Yet despite how

poor many of the Liberal Party's efforts were to organize ethnocultural communities during the decade, the party never quit on the notion, and they persisted on including those communities within the political discourse of federal elections.

Pierre Trudeau transformed the Liberal Party's electoral coalition on the back of multiculturalism policy. Whereas the Pearson Liberals appealed to all voters across the country with pan-Canadian policies like medicare and a national pension plan, the Trudeau Liberals officially recognized Canada as a bilingual and multicultural state. Trudeau's policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework was supported by several ethnocultural community organizations. Though the Liberals performed poorly in the 1972 federal election, many voters from ethnocultural communities still supported them. In forming his first minority government, Trudeau invited Polish-Canadian Stanley Haidasz into the Liberal cabinet as minister responsible for multiculturalism. Though Haidasz's tenure was broiled in an advertising scandal, he and the Prime Minister's Office oversaw the creation of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism (CCCM). The CCCM was an officially bi-partisan government body established to advise the minister responsible for multiculturalism. The council was inspired by the notion of having an Ethnic Advisory Council advise the Liberal Party and the leader on issues affecting ethnocultural communities. Undoubtedly the CCCM also provided the Liberal Party an opportunity to dole out government patronage to leaders from ethnocultural communities. The immigration points system, established by the Pearson government in 1967, and multiculturalism, expanded the Liberal Party's electoral coalition to include ethnocultural communities.

Thompson, the Liberal Party, and others used categories of ethnocultural communities to create groupings of "ethnic groups" and "ethnic voters." Thompson and others imagined these

concepts in order to simplify diverse collections of ethnocultural communities that they did not understand. The Liberals also created groupings of peoples in lower orders of aggregation, often hyphenating Canadians, to simplify these diverse and unbounded peoples they also did not understand. Yet in creating these groupings, they did at times, bring these homogenizations to life. Trudeau's creation of the CCCM, for example, which was a grouping of individually diverse peoples from a variety ethnocultural communities created to advise the Minister responsible for multiculturalism on its multiculturalism policy, homogenized these groups by creating moments of transcending, dependent connections for the purpose that Trudeau and the Liberals intended. This dissertation also examined ways in which ethnicity and groupism occurred in moments, outside the boundaries of a static, ever-existing construct. This dissertation has shown that the Liberal Party's tendency to appeal to ethnocultural communities during elections and stop in between them, is an example of how the Liberals used ethnicity as an event. Lastly, this dissertation examined ethnicity and groupings in terms of ethnic conflict. At times, the Liberals provoked conflict between "ethnic groups" but also between themselves and other "ethnic groups" to justify decisions that affected ethnocultural communities. For example, the debate Keith Davey and Thompson had about appointing a Senator from the Polish-Canadian community invoked conflict between the Polish-Canadian community and the Ukrainian-Canadian community, as well as between the Liberal Party and the Ukrainian-Canadian community.

This dissertation has contributed to a plethora of historical scholarship on federal elections. Unlike much of the literature, this dissertation is not about election results; rather, it examines elections to understand the Liberal Party within their process. This dissertation has shown that the Liberal Party engaged ethnocultural communities to win elections. During the

1960s, the Liberal Party had the opportunity expanded their electoral coalition and include ethnocultural communities, by making them participants within their party system, as they had done with English- and French-speaking Canadians. In avoiding such a commitment to ethnocultural communities and focusing on them almost entirely during federal elections, the party made their motives entirely clear. Under Pearson's leadership, the Liberal Party was not interested in any notion of diversity. For Pearson's Liberal Party, what mattered more than anything, was winning the next election. Under Trudeau, the Liberal Party continued their efforts to win elections. However, the Liberals were willing to make concessions and include ethnocultural communities in Liberal Party politics, patronage, and government.

In the 1957 and 1958 federal elections ethnocultural voters temporarily shifted loyalties to the Diefenbaker-led Progressive Conservative Party. Though polling from the Canadian Election Survey indicates that this shift was quite minimal and that the Liberals still performed strongly amongst voters from ethnocultural communities, the Liberals believed that this was the beginning of a permanent shift. In hiring Thompson as their Ethnic Liaison Officer, the Liberal Party acknowledged this shift and emphasized that they had an interest in reversing it. This dissertation also posited that Thompson sought to make this reversal a permanent one, by emphasizing opportunities for making bonds between the party and ethnocultural communities. In a broader sense, this dissertation has emphasized the how the Liberal Party sought support from voters from ethnocultural communities between 1962 and 1974. Interestingly, according to polling from the Canadian Election Survey shifts of trends of voters from ethnocultural communities tended to move with overall totals from the popular vote. However, despite the movement, there is always a persistent slant of support towards the Liberals, despite how positive or negative the outcome was in context of an election. While at times the analysis has

deliberated on election results, the primary focus of this dissertation is to bring to light the ways in which the Liberal Party appealed to ethnocultural communities.

This dissertation contributes to the understanding of the politics behind multiculturalism. In doing so, it does not challenge the importance of Québec in the formation of the policy. Rather it focuses on other aspects that are underexplored in the literature. Trudeau's multiculturalism policy emerged out of more than a decade of the Liberal Party engaging ethnocultural communities. The Liberals came to understand, above all else, that voters from ethnocultural communities required special attention. During the 1960s the party targeted ethnocultural communities with campaign literature in their mother tongues, with advertisements in ethnic press publications, and during ethnic radio programming. In the early 1970s the Liberals expanded on their efforts and ran television commercials with sub-titles during ethnic television programmes. Over time, the total collection of these efforts pushed the Liberals towards the recognition of ethnocultural communities as a part of their electoral coalition. That recognition grew out of electoral expediency and came in the form of multiculturalism policy.

Building on the literature of immigration and belonging, this dissertation argues that while the Pearson-led Liberals understood the influential role voters from ethnocultural communities could play in elections, his party failed to integrate them into their intra-party system. While scholars such as Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilock as well as Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos have argued that the Liberals catered to ethnocultural communities during the 1960s, this dissertation shows that the Liberals looked upon these communities with relative indifference outside of election writ periods. In fact, the Liberals were emboldened enough to restrict access to party patronage to these communities while simultaneously asking them for their electoral support. During the 1960s the Liberal Party found it difficult to situate

ethnocultural communities within their own understanding of English-speaking Canada in Ontario. This dissertation builds on the arguments of Franca Iacovetta and asserts that the party sought to change the way ethnocultural communities perceived politics while refusing to accommodate them by adjusting their broader organizational and campaign structures. In other words, to engage these groups, the Liberal Party added Andrew Thompson and asked him to report directly to the Executive Director instead of integrating Thompson's vision into the broader functions of the NLF. Thompson engaged ethnocultural communities and operated the party's efforts to organize and communicate with them while the party had the capacity to do all those things within their existing structure and made the decision not to.

The story of the Liberal Party of Canada's historical relationship with ethnocultural communities is not one that celebrates diversity or champions change. The truth is that at times the Liberal Party resembled an old institution, stagnant, in a decade that Bryan Palmer argues opened "in the shadows of what had gone before."<sup>1</sup> This dissertation examines the Liberal Party's efforts to engage ethnocultural communities in an effort to win their support in elections. In the 1960s the Pearson Liberals were lukewarm to the idea of welcoming ethnocultural communities into their electoral coalition while concurrently they plastered the pages of the ethnic press with advertisements during federal elections. The Pearson Liberals wanted voters from ethnocultural communities to support them but refused to appoint any of their qualified members to the Senate or the cabinet. While the Pearson government imposed the immigration points system in 1967 and ultimately was at least partially responsible for the diversified Canada that grew out of those changes, the Liberal Party's relationship with New Canadians needs to be considered for what came before it. This dissertation also shows how multiculturalism emerged in the early 1970s out of electoral expediency at the behest of Liberal Prime Minister Pierre

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<sup>1</sup> Palmer, *Canada's 1960s*, 5.

Trudeau. Multiculturalism brought about the inclusion of ethnocultural communities in the Liberal Party and the government bureaucracy on a scale that had never been included before. Multiculturalism ushered in the promise of progress and party reform after a decade of disappointment and marginalization. Despite how rough the Liberal Party's process to multiculturalism was, the policy and the changes to the immigration points system undoubtedly led to changes in how the Liberal Party perceived their imagining of "ethnic groups." This dissertation has shown that despite being marginalized during the 1960s, ethnocultural communities from eastern and southern Europe were eventually recognized for their symbolic arrival into Canadian society. At the end of this process of political courtship by the Liberals and other mainstream political parties, individuals from white ethnocultural communities established themselves into Canadian political culture as active and equal participants. Parallel studies of the efforts within the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada and New Democratic Party to engage with ethnocultural voters during this period would reveal interesting conclusions about the evolution of Canadian identity during this period. Furthermore, future studies also have the opportunity to shed light on the visible minorities who ultimately formed the next class of targeted "ethnic groups" during the 1970s and 1980s. The Liberal Party has been relatively unexplored by scholars during this period and this study probes at fresh avenues of analysis that brings new understandings to its history. This dissertation contributes to a growing genre of new political histories that examine the processes behind the functions of political parties.

## Appendices

### Appendix 1

Federal Electoral Districts	Federal Election Years								
	1925	1926	1930	1935	1940	1945	1949	1953	
Broadview	Riding created in 1933 <sup>1</sup>			Thomas Church	Thomas Church	Thomas Church	Thomas Church	George Hees	
Danforth	Riding created in 1933 <sup>2</sup>			Joseph Harris	Joseph Harris	Joseph Harris	Joseph Harris	Robert Small	
Davenport	Riding created in 1933 <sup>3</sup>			John MacNicol	John MacNicol	John MacNicol	Paul Hellyer	Paul Hellyer	
Eglinton	Riding created in 1933 <sup>4</sup>			Richard Baker	Frederick Hoblitzell	Donald Fleming	Donald Fleming	Donald Fleming	
Greenwood	Riding created in 1933 <sup>5</sup>			Denton Massey	Denton Massey	Denton Massey	John McMillin	James Macdonald	
High Park	Riding created in 1933 <sup>6</sup>			Alexander Anderson	Alexander Anderson	William McMaster	Pat Cameron	Pat Cameron	
Parkdale	David Spence	David Spence	David Spence	David Spence	Herbert Bruce	Herbert Bruce	John Hunter	John Hunter	
Rosedale	Riding created in 1933 <sup>7</sup>			Harry Clarke	Harry Jackman	Harry Jackman	Charles Henry	Charles Henry	
St. Paul's	Riding created in 1933 <sup>8</sup>			Douglas Ross	Douglas Ross	Douglas Ross	James Rooney	Roland Michener	
Spadina	Riding created in 1933 <sup>9</sup>			Samuel Factor	Samuel Factor	David Croll	David Croll	David Croll	
Trinity	Riding created in 1933 <sup>10</sup>			Hugh Plaxton	Arthur Roebuck	Larry Skey	Lionel Conacher	Lionel Conacher	
Toronto East	Edmond Ryckman	Edmond Ryckman	Edmond Ryckman	Riding abolished in 1933					
Toronto East Centre	Edmund Bristol	Robert Matthews	Robert Matthews	Riding abolished in 1933					
Toronto—High Park	Alexander Anderson	Alexander Anderson	Alexander Anderson	Riding abolished in 1933					
Toronto Northeast	Richard Baker	Newton Young	Richard Baker	Riding abolished in 1933					
Toronto Northwest	Thomas Church	Thomas Church	John MacNicol	Riding abolished in 1933					
Toronto—Scarborough	Joseph Harris	Joseph Harris	Joseph Harris	Riding abolished in 1933					
Toronto South	George Geary	George Geary	George Geary	Riding abolished in 1933					
Toronto West Centre	Horatio Hocken	Horatio Hocken	Samuel Factor	Riding abolished in 1933					
York East	Riding created in 1933 <sup>11</sup>			Robert McGregor	Robert McGregor	Robert McGregor	Robert McGregor	Robert McGregor	
York North	Thomas Lennox	Thomas Lennox	Thomas Lennox	William Mulock	William Mulock	Jack Smith	Jack Smith	Jack Smith	

<sup>1</sup> Riding created in 1933 from parts of Toronto East and Toronto-Scarborough ridings. (Parliament of Canada, History of Federal Ridings Since 1867, Cities Towns or Districts Toronto, accessed on 1 May, 2017, <http://www.loppar.gc.ca/About/Parliament/FederalRidingsHistory/hfer.asp?Language=E&Search=Tres&txtComm ents=Toronto&ridProvince=9&submit1=Search>).

<sup>2</sup> Riding created in 1933 from parts of Toronto-Scarborough riding (Ibid).

<sup>3</sup> Riding created in 1933 from parts of Toronto-Scarborough riding (Ibid).

<sup>4</sup> Riding created in 1933 from parts of Parkdale and Toronto Northwest ridings (Ibid).

<sup>5</sup> Riding created in 1933 from parts of Toronto East and Toronto-Scarborough ridings (Ibid).

<sup>6</sup> Riding created in 1933 from parts of Toronto-High Park riding (Ibid).

<sup>7</sup> Riding created in 1933 from parts of Toronto East Centre, Toronto West Centre, and Toronto South ridings (Ibid).

<sup>8</sup> Riding created in 1933 from parts of Toronto East Centre, Toronto Northeast, Toronto South, and Toronto West Centre ridings (Ibid).

<sup>9</sup> Riding created in 1933 from parts of Toronto Northeast, Toronto Northwest, Toronto West Centre, and Toronto South ridings (Ibid).

<sup>10</sup> Riding created in 1933 from parts of Toronto Northwest, Toronto West Centre, and Toronto South ridings (Ibid).

<sup>11</sup> Riding created in 1933 from parts of York North and York South ridings (Ibid).

York South	William Maclean	Robert McGregor	Robert McGregor	Earl Lawson	Alan Cockeram	Alan Cockeram	Joseph Noseworthy	Joseph Noseworthy
York West	Henry Drayton	Henry Drayton	James Lawson	John Streight	Agar Adamson	Agar Adamson	Agar Adamson	Agar Adamson

## Appendix 2

Federal Electoral Districts	Federal Election Years							
	1957	1958	1962	1963	1965	1968	1972	1974
Broadview	George Hees	George Hees	George Hees	David Hahn	John Gilbert	John Gilbert	John Gilbert	John Gilbert
Danforth	Robert Small	Robert Small	Reid Scott	Reid Scott	Reid Scott	Redistributed <sup>1</sup>		
Davenport	Douglas Morton	Douglas Morton	Walter Gordon	Walter Gordon	Walter Gordon	Charles Caccia	Charles Caccia	Charles Caccia
Eglinton	Donald Fleming	Donald Fleming	Donald Fleming	Mitchell Sharp	Mitchell Sharp	Mitchell Sharp	Mitchell Sharp	Mitchell Sharp
Etobicoke	Riding created in 1968					Alastair Gillespie	Alastair Gillespie	Alastair Gillespie
Greenwood	James Macdonald	James Macdonald	Andrew Brewin	Andrew Brewin	Andrew Brewin	Andrew Brewin	Andrew Brewin	Andrew Brewin
High Park (High Park—Humber Valley after 1972)	John Kucherepa	John Kucherepa	Pat Cameron	Pat Cameron	Pat Cameron	Walter Deakon	Otto Jelinek	Otto Jelinek
Lakeshore	Riding created in 1968 <sup>2</sup>					Ken Robinson	Tony Grier	Ken Robinson
Parkdale	Arthur Maloney	Arthur Maloney	Stanley Haidasz	Stanley Haidasz	Stanley Haidasz	Stanley Haidasz	Stanley Haidasz	Stanley Haidasz
Rosedale	David Walker	David Walker	Donald Macdonald	Donald Macdonald	Donald Macdonald	Donald Macdonald	Donald Macdonald	Donald Macdonald
Scarborough East	Riding created in 1968 <sup>3</sup>					Martin O'Connell	Reg Stackhouse	Martin O'Connell
Scarborough West	Riding created in 1968 <sup>4</sup>					David Weatherhead	John Harney	Alan Martin
St. Paul's	Roland Michener	Roland Michener	Ian Wahn	Ian Wahn	Ian Wahn	Ian Wahn	Ron Atkey	John Roberts
Spadina	Charles Rea	Charles Rea	Perry Ryan	Perry Ryan	Perry Ryan	Perry Ryan	Peter Stollery	Peter Stollery
Trinity	Stanley Haidasz	Edward Lockyer	Paul Hellyer	Paul Hellyer	Paul Hellyer	Paul Hellyer	Paul Hellyer	Aideen Nicholson
York Centre	Fred Stinson	Fred Stinson	James Walker	James Walker	James Walker	James Walker	James Walker	Bob Kaplan
York East	Robert McGregor	Robert McGregor	Steven Otto	Steven Otto	Steven Otto	Steve Otto	Ian Arrol	David Collette
York—Humber	Margaret Aitken	Margaret Aitken	Ralph Cowan	Ralph Cowan	Ralph Cowan	Redistributed <sup>5</sup>		
York North	Cecil Cathers	Cecil Cathers	John Addison	John Addison	John Addison	John Addison	Barney Danson	Barney Danson
York-Scarborough	Frank McGee	Frank McGee	Frank McGee	Maurice Moreau	Robert Stanbury	Robert Stanbury	Robert Stanbury	Robert Stanbury
York Simcoe	Riding created in 1968 <sup>6</sup>					John Roberts	Sinclair Stevens	Sinclair Stevens
York South	William Beech	William Beech	David Lewis	Marvin Gelber	David Lewis	David Lewis	David Lewis	Ursula Appolloni
York West	John Hamilton	John Hamilton	"Red" Kelly	"Red" Kelly	Robert Winters	Robert Winters	James Fleming	James Fleming

<sup>1</sup> Redistributed in 1966 between Greenwood, Scarborough West, and York East ridings (Ibid).

<sup>2</sup> Riding created in 1966 from parts of York—Humber riding (Ibid).

<sup>3</sup> Riding created in 1966 from parts of York—Scarborough riding (Ibid).

<sup>4</sup> Riding created in 1966 from parts of Danforth and York—Scarborough ridings (Ibid).

<sup>5</sup> Redistributed in 1966 between Etobicoke, High Park, Lakeshore, York South, and York West ridings (Ibid).

<sup>6</sup> Riding created in 1966 from parts of Dufferin—Simcoe and York—Humber ridings (Ibid).

### Appendix 3

#### Mother Tongue by Federal Electoral District<sup>1</sup>

	English	French	German	Italian	Ukrainian	Other	Not Stated	Ethnic Total <sup>2</sup>
Beaches <sup>3</sup>	59,520	1,365	1,225	5,405	495	9,165	2,840	16,290
Broadview-Greenwood <sup>4</sup>	49,490	1,230	850	3,635	385	19,470	4,555	24,338
Davenport	30,655	645	525	30,055	985	11,550	2,825	43,115
Don Valley East <sup>5</sup>	88,685	2,105	2,115	1,585	355	12,315	2,815	18,475
Don Valley West <sup>6</sup>	74,015	1,245	1,480	540	455	8,465	2,730	10,940
Eglinton-Lawrence <sup>7</sup>	59,700	1,190	1,435	12,220	645	11,735	3,035	26,035
Etobicoke Centre <sup>8</sup>	81,710	1,010	2,285	4,195	3,045	9,495	1,725	20,370
Etobicoke—Lakeshore <sup>9</sup>	63,035	1,625	1,570	5,330	3,405	10,845	2,475	21,150
Etobicoke North <sup>10</sup>	78,890	1,285	2,565	9,590	1,425	9,370	2,240	22,950
Parkdale-High Park <sup>11</sup>	49,155	1,405	2,380	735	5,340	20,620	3,690	29,075
Rosedale	62,485	2,285	1,220	475	495	10,360	3,705	12,550
Scarborough Centre <sup>12</sup>	71,185	1,180	2,045	3,060	480	8,430	2,620	14,015
Scarborough East	79,720	1,155	2,610	1,475	510	6,200	1,890	10,795
Scarborough West	69,830	1,350	1,650	4,055	475	7,800	2,145	13,980
Spadina	36,055	1,130	1,040	5,700	1,930	28,520	3,680	37,190
St. Paul's	60,775	1,150	1,400	4,130	760	10,020	2,875	16,310
Trinity	28,080	740	595	13,665	2,085	33,030	4,095	49,375
Willowdale <sup>13</sup>	66,815	1,315	1,905	3,035	535	12,260	2,380	17,735
York Centre	65,425	1,430	1,595	19,710	405	11,355	2,680	33,065
York East	74,585	1,520	1,795	3,270	490	15,855	3,815	21,410
York North	91,115	1,065	2,400	5,515	525	5,530	2,515	13,970
York—Peel	89,130	830	2,385	1,630	490	3,195	1,490	7,700
York—Scarborough	115,210	2,100	2,925	6,000	570	17,465	4,000	26,960
York South--Weston	54,825	1,045	1,670	12,075	2,345	13,640	2,870	29,730
York West	57,300	1,145	1,605	26,760	610	7,665	1,800	36,640

<sup>1</sup> Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1976 - Population: Geographic Distributions - Federal Electoral Districts - Population and Housing Characteristics, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1976), 34-60.

<sup>2</sup> Total from German, Italian, Ukrainian and Other columns.

<sup>3</sup> Riding was created in 1976 from parts of Broadview, Greenwood, and York East ridings (Parliament of Canada, History of Federal Ridings Since 1867, Cities Towns or Districts Toronto, accessed on 1 May, 2017, <http://www.lop.parl.gc.ca/About/Parliament/FederalRidingsHistory/hfer.asp?Language=E&Search=Tres&txtComments=Toronto&ridProvince=9&submit1=Search>).

<sup>4</sup> Riding was created in 1976 from parts of Broadview and York East ridings (Ibid).

<sup>5</sup> Riding was created in 1976 from parts of Willowdale, York East, York North, and York—Scarborough ridings (Ibid).

<sup>6</sup> Riding was created in 1976 from the Don Valley riding (Ibid).

<sup>7</sup> Riding was created in 1976 from parts of Eglinton, York Centre, York South, and York West ridings (Ibid).

<sup>8</sup> Riding was created in 1976 from the Etobicoke riding (Ibid).

<sup>9</sup> Riding was created in 1976 from parts of Etobicoke and York West ridings (Ibid).

<sup>10</sup> Riding was created in 1976 from parts of Etobicoke and York West ridings (Ibid).

<sup>11</sup> Riding was created in 1976 from parts of Parkdale, High Park—Humber Valley, Davenport, and Spadina ridings (Ibid).

<sup>12</sup> Riding was created in 1976 from parts of Scarborough East, Scarborough West, and York—Scarborough (Ibid).

<sup>13</sup> Riding was created in 1976 from parts of Eglinton, York North, and York Centre ridings (Ibid).

## Appendix 4

<b>Voters From Ethnocultural Communities</b>						
What Party did you vote for?	1958 <sup>1</sup>	1963 <sup>2</sup>	1965 <sup>3</sup>	1968 <sup>4</sup>	1972 <sup>5</sup>	1974 <sup>6</sup>
Liberal Party of Canada	43%	45%	51%	59%	45%	55%
Progressive Conservative Party of Canada	48%	37%	27%	21%	37%	30%
New	10%	15%	21%	16%	15%	12%

<sup>1</sup> Canadian Election Studies began in 1965. Gallup Polls issued before then did not account for the ethnicity of the respondent. These results are found in the 1968 Canadian Election Study where the respondents were asked who they voted for in 1958. Ethnocultural communities defined their ancestor's country of origin as: China, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Holland, Poland, Scandinavia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Roumania, Switzerland, Estonia, Lithuania, Iceland, Spain/Portugal, Greece, Lebanon, India/Pakistan. Weighted with national sample and by those who voted in 1958. 1968 Canadian Election Study, accessed 3 May, 2017, <http://search2.odesi.ca/#/details?uri=%2Fodesi%2FCES-E-1968.xml>. These results have a margin of error, plus or minus 9.1%, 95 times out of a 100.

<sup>2</sup> Ethnocultural communities defined their ethnic origin as: Germany, Netherlands, Scandinavia, Hungary, Poland, Ukraine, Italy, Other European, Asiatic, and All Others. Weighted with national sample and by those who voted in 1963. 1965 Canadian Election Study, accessed 3 May, 2017, <http://search2.odesi.ca/#/details?uri=%2Fodesi%2FCES-E-1965.xml>. These results have a margin of error, plus or minus 7.2%, 95 times out of a 100.

<sup>3</sup> Ethnocultural communities defined their ethnic origin as: Germany, Netherlands, Scandinavia, Hungary, Poland, Ukraine, Italy, Other European, Asiatic, and All Others. Weighted with national sample and by those who voted in 1965. 1965 Canadian Election Study, accessed 3 May, 2017, <http://search2.odesi.ca/#/details?uri=%2Fodesi%2FCES-E-1965.xml>. These results have a margin of error, plus or minus 8.7%, 95 times out of a 100.

<sup>4</sup> Ethnocultural communities defined their ancestor's country of origin as: China, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Holland, Poland, Scandinavia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Romania, Switzerland, Estonia, Lithuania, Iceland, Spain/Portugal, Greece, Lebanon, India/Pakistan. Weighted with national sample and by those who voted in 1968. 1968 Canadian Election Study, accessed 3 May, 2017, <http://search2.odesi.ca/#/details?uri=%2Fodesi%2FCES-E-1968.xml>. These results have a margin of error, plus or minus 8.8%, 95 times out of a 100.

<sup>5</sup> Ethnocultural communities defined their ethnicity as: Czechoslovakian/Slovakian, Chinese/Japanese/Other Oriental, Finnish/Estonian, German/Austrian, Greek/Maltese, Hungarian, Italian, Jewish/Hebrew, Latvian/Lithuanian, Dutch/Belgian, Polish, Scandinavian (Danish/Icelandic/Norwegian/Swedish), Russian, Ukrainian, Yugoslavian, Spanish/Portuguese, , West Indian, Other European (One Country), and Other Asian (One Country). Weighted with national sample and by those who voted in 1972. 1974 Canadian Election Study, accessed 3 May, 2017, <http://search2.odesi.ca/#/details?uri=%2Fodesi%2FCES-E-1974-1980.xml>. These results have a margin of error, plus or minus 11%, 95 times out of a 100.

<sup>6</sup> Ethnocultural communities defined their ethnicity as: Czechoslovakian/Slovakian, Chinese/Japanese/Other Oriental, Finnish/Estonian, German/Austrian, Greek/Maltese, Hungarian, Italian, Jewish/Hebrew, Latvian/Lithuanian, Dutch/Belgian, Polish, Scandinavian (Danish/Icelandic/Norwegian/Swedish), Russian, Ukrainian, Yugoslavian, Spanish/Portuguese, , West Indian, Other European (One Country), and Other Asian (One Country). Weighted with national sample and by those who voted in 1974. 1974 Canadian Election Study, accessed 3 May, 2017, <http://search2.odesi.ca/#/details?uri=%2Fodesi%2FCES-E-1974-1980.xml>. These results have a margin of error, plus or minus 10.2%, 95 times out of a 100.

Democratic Party/CCF						
Social Credit	3%	2%	0%	3%	2%	1%
Other	N/A	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

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*Montreal-Martin*  
*Montreal Star*  
*New York Times*  
*Newfoundland Daily News*  
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## **Interviews**

Lorna Marsden, 11 December 2015