

ANALYSIS OF MEMBERSHIP EDUCATION:
A STUDY OF THE CCF PARTY IN B.C. 1933 - 1961

by

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ABSTRACT

A new Canadian political party arose out of the depression years as a protest to the economic, social and psychological conditions of that period. In 1932 the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) was established, and the founders of this new political movement believed that their ideology of democratic socialism was the solution for the problems facing Canada. The CCF, later renamed the New Democratic Party (NDP); was a movement that offered a critique of the prevailing society, and was committed to the principles of democratic socialism. The CCF was a reform movement and a political party that challenged the prevailing Canadian ideology of capitalism, and as a result, needed to educate people to its cause.

The CCF devoted a great deal of energy and volunteer time to education of party members. It was the only political party that organized correspondence courses, established study groups, provided lengthy and detailed reading lists, published study guides for recognized political books and had six separate party newspapers in simultaneous publication. In addition, the CCF encouraged book clubs, education clubs and ran summer schools and held educational conferences.

Political scientists and historians have acknowledged for some time that the CCF in its early years held a strong belief in the necessity to educate its membership (Avakumovic, 1978; Robin, 1973; Young, 1969b; Zakuta, 1964). However, there has never been an attempt by adult educationists to study the CCF and its educational programs. The present study is an examination of the educational programs conducted by the CCF in British Columbia from 1933 to 1961.

In addition, the study is an analysis of a shift in educational emphasis as a reform-political movement evolved into a competitive political party.

The CCF movement was avowedly educational in its early years, recognizing the need to explain democratic socialism to its new membership. Major political successes and advances during the war years swayed the CCF towards education for the general public. The post-war years were a time when the CCF evaluated its political goals and direction, as well as its commitment to education. With the "Cold-War" and the affluent fifties, the CCF swayed once again from its original ideological and educational emphasis. In the late fifties and early sixties an effort was directed to forming a new political party, which emerged in 1961 as the New Democratic Party.

This study on CCF membership education in British Columbia divides the evolution of the work into five periods. Economic and political concerns, a world war and national and provincial elections had a discernable effect on educational emphasis and programming.

The research concluded that in British Columbia the content and extent of various educational programs, activities and the literature changed during the CCF's 28 year history. The early movement years were marked by a great deal of creative activity occurring in numerous educational projects. The later years saw a political party replacing its educational emphasis with an organizational and campaign emphasis. The educational program of the CCF was very much influenced by the political concerns of the CCF as it met its political obligations, and as it responded to a changing world.

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INTRODUCTION

A new Canadian political movement arose out of the depression years as a protest to the economic, social and psychological conditions of that period. In 1932 the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) was established, and the founders of this new political movement believed that democratic socialism was the solution for the problems facing Canada. The CCF, later renamed the New Democratic Party (NDP), offered a critique of the prevailing society and was committed to the principles of their Manifesto. The CCF believed in the reforming of the social and economic institutions of the country, and the supplying of human needs rather than benefiting the profit needs of a few. The CCF was a reform movement and a political party that challenged the prevailing ideology of the nation, and as a result, needed to educate people to its cause.

The CCF was formed by a number of reform movements, and each of these movements held a common desire for major social, political and economic change, as well as a strong belief in educating people to the necessity of change. The CCF movement felt that it was ignorance that prevented people from accepting socialism, and that political education could overcome this problem. The CCF did not believe in revolution or major strikes as the means of achieving power. It held a dual socialist-liberal assumption as to the educability of people. The CCF had the socialist and reformist belief in the utility of edu-

cation as a means of awakening the uneducated proletariat; and the classic liberal belief in the essential rationality of humans. The report of a CCF conference held in Toronto in 1946 summarized the CCF's strong commitment to education in this way (MacInnis Collection, 23-10):

. . . A democratic movement such as ours can only function well and remain healthy when the membership has a thorough knowledge of what its program and policy involves. Because it is a movement of the 'common man', every member is asked questions and only when all members are able to answer these questions and can state their sound opinion in discussion on policy have we reached the true social democratic standard that can drive our movement forward and to victory.

The CCF was a reform movement that viewed membership education as the vehicle for achieving success, whereas the CCF as a political party recognized that organization and campaigning were essential if it was to achieve success. Therefore, as the CCF became more involved with political concerns in the later years, more emphasis was placed on organization and election campaigns and less on membership education. This marked the decline of the reform movement and the concentration on the practical tasks of the political party.

RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

Histories of Canadian adult education offer few examples of a socio-political approach to the subject. Most have concentrated their research to the rise and fall of institutions, and as a result there are numerous general histories of adult education institutions, as well as a variety of biographies on

pioneer adult educators. Historians and other researchers have tended to neglect studies on Canadian adult education in the context of its social, economic and political milieu.

However, studies by Faris (1975) and Selman (1981) examined the ideology and goals of the Canadian Association for Adult Education (C.A.A.E.) within the prevailing social and political environment of World War II. Selman (1971 and 1976) conducted two studies on British Columbia which examined the social, cultural and economic environment in which adult educational programs and institutions were established. Blenkinsop (1979) studied the growth of voluntary adult education programs in Saskatchewan, and offered a social, economic and political explanation. Lotz (1973) and Baum (1980) analyzed the growth of a co-operative adult education movement in relation to the socio-economic conditions of Nova Scotia.

There are a few major British studies of adult education which devoted attention to the social, political and economic conditions of nineteenth-century Britain. Harrison (1961), Simon (1972), Jepson (1973) and Silver (1975) have traced the growth of reform movements and their commitment to adult education as a means of establishing the reforms deemed necessary. There have been no comparable Canadian studies which have examined a reform-political movement and its commitment to adult education.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Political scientists and historians have acknowledged for some time that the CCF in its early years held a strong belief in the necessity to educate its membership (Avakumovic, 1978; Robin, 1973; Young, 1969b; Zakuta, 1964). However, there has never been an attempt by adult educationists to study the CCF and its commitment to adult education. The present study is designed as an examination of the educational programs conducted by the CCF in British Columbia from 1933 to 1961. It is an examination of the socio-economic-political conditions of Canada and the effect this had on membership education. It is an historical examination and documentation of a Canadian reform-political movement and its commitment to adult education as the means of achieving political change. Lastly, it is an analysis of a shift in educational emphasis as the CCF moved in the direction of becoming a competing political party.

This study is restricted to an examination of the CCF's educational efforts directed to its membership and does not include the programs offered to the youth movement, women's groups or programs aimed at the general public. Although the present study focusses on British Columbia, the provincial body was part of a national organization and national goals and directives are examined when they have impact on the provincial CCF organization.

It is important to acknowledge that the boundary line between education and propaganda is sometimes difficult to determine. Lambert (1938) defines propaganda in this way:

For it is of the essence of propaganda that it should influence persons to do or think things which they would not do or think if left to themselves (p.9).

The present study has examined education of a clientele that was comprised of members of a movement-political party, committed to a stated political philosophy, and who adhered to a Manifesto or Declaration of Principles. It can be concluded then, that education designed for a committed clientele, and a membership who are convinced of the correctness of their political ideology, should not be seen as propaganda. Therefore, for the purpose of the study, all efforts by the CCF to inform and educate its membership is considered to be education.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study was to examine the claim made by political scientists and historians that the CCF was a reform movement and a political party, and was committed to membership education. Secondly, it was an investigation of the claim that as the movement aspect of the CCF gave way to the political necessities of obtaining electoral victories, less emphasis was placed on membership education.

The present study will seek to answer the following questions:

1. Was the CCF committed to providing education for their membership?
 - a. Did CCF goals and directives reveal a commitment to membership education?

b. Did the CCF encourage educational programs within their organization?

2. When the CCF lost much of its early movement characteristics and became an organized political party in the later years, did it place less emphasis on membership education?

a. When the CCF turned its attention to political and election concerns were fewer educational programs offered to the membership?

b. Did the content of literature and educational programs change as the CCF changed?

3. Did social, economic and political shifts within Canada affect the direction of the CCF, and did this influence the content and extent of the educational programs offered to the membership?

a. Did the content of CCF literature and educational programs reflect the social, economic and political concerns that faced the CCF?

b. Was membership education and programming affected by political and electoral concerns?

METHODOLOGY

No previous study has been conducted on this subject and as a result most of the sources used are primary ones. The historical records of the CCF are catalogued in the Angus MacInnis Memorial Collection, Special Collections Library, the University of British Columbia. The research was conducted in the following way:

1. A search was conducted of CCF executive and provincial council minutes: 1933 to 1961. The minutes revealed reports submitted by the Education Committee, as well as the educational activities of other committees. Further, the minutes disclosed the direction and political goals of the provincial CCF.
2. The annual provincial convention reports were studied: 1934 to 1961. They fairly consistently summarized the year's activities of the Education Committee and various other CCF committees.
3. Personal papers and memos were read as a means of revealing the personal educational philosophy of various CCF leaders.
4. Personal interviews were conducted with a sample of influential people within the CCF. This sample included M.P.'s, M.L.A.'s, and a leader of the provincial CCF in the Legislature. The people interviewed included a President and Vice President of the provincial CCF, Education chairperson, provincial Campaign Organizer, and Provincial Secretary.
5. Bulletins, handbooks, study outlines, courses, brochures and various CCF newspapers were studied for content and educational emphasis.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

A number of terms which are central to an understanding of this study are defined below:

CCF CLUB

The provincial CCF Executive approved application for CCF club status if the proposed club met the required qualifications. It was determined in the CCF Constitution that a CCF club had to comprise ten or more members, and these members had to unanimously accept the CCF Constitution and By-laws.

CCF - CONSTITUENCY ASSOCIATION

A constituency Association is the formal and rigid grouping of CCF members into provincial and federal electoral districts.

CCF MEMBERSHIP

Anyone domiciled in British Columbia or the Yukon-Mackenzie federal electoral constituency could become a CCF member on a payment of an annual fee and the signing of the following statement: (CCF Constitution)

I, the undersigned, hereby apply for membership in the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and promise to support the program of the CCF as laid down by annual conventions, and to abide by the Constitution, and hereby state that I am not a member or supporter of any other political party.

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

Democratic socialism is a political philosophy which puts emphasis on social and co-operative means rather than on individualistic means. It is an ideology that holds the belief that social ownership and control of community resources is more beneficial than private ownership; and insists that the new social ordering of society will occur as a result of the democratic electoral process.

EXTENSION EDUCATION

This refers to all aspects of CCF educational programs that are conducted for non-CCF members.

PLAN OF THE STUDY

This study is presented in six chapters. Chapter one analyzes the relationship between reform movements and adult education and describes three reform movements of nineteenth-century Britain and three twentieth century Canadian movements, all of which shared a common belief in the value of adult education as a means of promoting social change. Chapter two is a social, economic and political analysis of the growth and decline of the national CCF. Chapter three describes the various provincial CCF committees and their contribution to membership education. Chapter four is a detailed study of the various educational methods, techniques and devices utilized in a vast number of CCF educational programs. Major trends in membership education, as grouped into five time periods are presented in chapter five. The final

chapter synthesizes material from the preceding chapters in order to summarize and suggest some conclusions.

CHAPTER I

REFORM MOVEMENTS AND ADULT EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

A new body of social-political theory emerged as a result of the social consequences of the industrial revolution. Thomas and Harries-Jenkins (1975) believe that the concept of reform is closely linked to an historical past and contains elements from early nineteenth-century theories of social revolution. Thomas and Harries-Jenkins (1975) and Simon (1972) contend that the relationship between adult education and reform owes a great deal to the widely-read writings of Thomas Paine. For Paine, reform aims at "a renovation of the natural order of things, a system of principles as universal as truth and the existence of man, and combining moral with political happiness and prosperity" (cited in Thomas and Harries-Jenkins, 1975, p.7). Allen (1973) suggests that "the history of reform movements is replete with the intimate association of religion and reform - and hence also with instances of the confusion of this religious dimension of reform and the immediate interest it serves" (p.353).

The Adult Education Committee of the British Ministry of Reconstruction published a lengthy report on adult education in Great Britain prior to 1919. This report, commonly referred to as The 1919 Report (cited in A Design For Democracy, 1956) claims that the new theories and social criticism of the

nineteenth century "found expression in movements in which political reform, economic reconstruction, and adult education were mingled as hardly distinguishable elements in the effort to prepare a new social order" (p.174). Simon (1972) contends that reform movements have profoundly influenced the development of adult education. He further suggests:

From the late eighteenth century each of these movements, which sometimes fused into one, had important political repercussions. And in each case, education was seen as of critical importance, not only in assisting political and economic change, but also in the effective functioning of the society of the future. The radical tradition in education is, then, that tradition which sees educational change as a key aspect (or component) of radical social change (p.9)

Thomas and Harries-Jenkins (1975) claim that the relationship between adult education and social change comes from the consensus and conflict theories of society. Consensus theorists maintain that adult education has no role to play in promoting social reform and social change. These theorists view adult education as a process of transmitting and maintaining the prevailing culture of the society, and not a process for agitating and promoting a particular group ideology or social concern. Conflict theorists, on the other hand, maintain that social change is a legitimate and central aim of adult education. These theorists focus on the social and economic inequalities in the society and believe it is the mission and goal of adult education to inform, educate and transform society. The concept of reform derives from the conflict theory of society and is attractive to reformers, among them

adult educationists, who reject the consensus theory of society, but are not prepared to accept the revolutionary model. Reform movements, according to Young (1969a) evolve slowly, in that they involve a break with traditional beliefs. He explains:

People do not lightly reject the institutions and norms of behaviour they have been raised and educated to respect. When people do seek to change or destroy previously accepted institutions it is usually because they have reached a position, for whatever reasons, where they can no longer continue to live as before; they have reached a point where their frustration, anger or suffering demand relief, and relief requires change (p.1).

Young claims that when a large percentage of people come together for the sole purpose of initiating changes in their society, they can be referred to as a "movement". He further claims that social movements invariably become involved in the political sector, and that political movements invariably become involved with social issues; therefore, Young contends that it is not necessary to make a distinction between them. Silver (1975) argues that the objectives of social reform and social change that many movements aim towards dictates new forms of action, and that, as a result, adult education becomes a political process. Harrison (1961) believes that "the educational value of popular movements lay in the process and methods of struggle, rather than in the end attained "(p.107).

Social movements, according to Crysdale (1975), arise "when large numbers of persons feel that some of the central values and structures of the prevailing social order are no longer reliable or appropriate to meet their essential needs and

they agree, more or less, upon a program of reform, revolution, or salvation"(p.268). Social movements set the goal of reforming or changing the social order, or some elements of it. These reform movements are dynamic rather than static, and adult education can often be seen to play a role in them. Thomas and Harries-Jenkins (1975) define reform movements as "those pressing for reforms in the prevailing society, and ones that use adult education programs as a social dynamic"(p.7). Faris (1975) views a social movement as an organization which attempts to bring about changes in thought and behaviour. A radical movement, according to Silver (1975), is one that presses for reforms and changes to the existing society. The radical, he claims, "can be seen as an agitator and as a subversive, or as an upholder of popular and even ancient traditions, according to one's view of the social order, and of the desirability of preserving or attending it - and to what extent"(p.4).

Reform movements, according to the 1919 Report, "hold the belief that a wider diffusion of knowledge will be a power working for the progress of society, and the ideal which it places before its students and members is less individual success or even personal culture than personal culture as a means to social improvement"(p.73). The emphasis is on social reform and social service, and not on individual advancement and progress. Reform movements encourage students and members to view education as a means of raising the general level of society, and ultimately as the vehicle of bringing about

Reform and social change. Harrison (1961) believes that, when reform movements become educational, the psychology of reform becomes relevant to adult education. Silver (1975) contends that the reform movements which advocated education were in themselves an education. He explains:

In countless ways men found education, educated themselves, educated one another. Radical politics were never far away from some form of adult education (p.70).

The nineteenth-century social reform movements held a firm belief in the necessity of an educated and informed citizenry as a precondition of social change. Their conviction has tended to give a missionary character to the adult education movement and identified the outlook of at least a major section of it with reform movements and "causes". Simon (1972) believes that twentieth-century socialist movements share this belief, and view adult education as the foundation of a "re-formed" society. They have a clear vision of the contribution that adult education can make in creating a just, more equitable, and more democratic society.

GREAT BRITAIN

The adult education movement of Great Britain was influenced by three major contributors. The first contribution was that of religion; the second, scientific-technical education; and the third, the social-reform movements. The nineteenth century in England, particularly the 1830's and 1840's, saw popular mass movements rise which were concerned with political, social and economic reforms, and were distinct from

movements concerned with self improvement. It was in the climate of nineteenth-century social unrest that voluntary social reform movements used adult education to spread their message of reform. Harrison (1961) argues that the 1840's in Britain witnessed the conception of utopian schemes which were necessary precursors for the beginnings of constructive democracy. He further claims:

The 'isms' which appear as fads and cranky ideas are the experiments of the social inventor. Unlike the unsuccessful experiments of the chemist or technologist, they are not kept private. . . . But the social inventor has to make his experiments in public and his ideas are constantly seen in the 'ism' stage (p.146).

The 1919 Report stated that the history of social and political education can be traced to the early idealism of Chartism, Co-operativism and Trade Unionism. The Report further contends that these movements "had as their motive what may be called, in the largest sense, political education"(p.173). Simon (1972) argues that these three movements took an active part in the political and social struggles of their time, and that all had a fundamentally similar outlook on the role and importance of education. Each of these movements affirmed the necessity of adult education, as well as the desirability of organizing practical educational endeavours. They viewed adult education as being necessary to prepare citizens for a new social order, and believed that knowledge would bring about needed social reforms. The 1919 Report states:

The enthusiasm for knowledge as a means of the right ordering of social life . . . found

expression in movements in which political reform, economic reconstruction and adult education were mingled as hardly distinguishable elements in the effort to prepare a new social order (p.174).

With general improvements in living and working conditions which occurred during the later years of the nineteenth century, the reform movements subsided or changed their emphasis. The Chartist movement died out; the co-operative societies reorganised and lost much of their socialist character; and the trade union movement involved itself with sectarian concerns and problems.

The British reform movements had a profound effect on the development of the educational and political institutions of twentieth century Britain. The nineteenth-century reform movements developed a close relationship between adult education and social reforms. Harrison (1961) believes that the British adult education movement received a "backbone of moral stiffening" which it could never have obtained from merely intellectual sources. The British reform movements of this period, and their commitment to adult education, made a contribution to the growth of a more equitable and participatory society.

THE CHARTIST MOVEMENT

Chartism arose in Britain in a climate of high unemployment, depression and social and economic inequity. It was mainly a working-class movement with a pioneer proletarian and radical spirit. It was a movement committed to education,

human suffrage and political reform. It saw education as a 'basic right' of all classes.

Established in 1837, the Chartist movement grew out of the London Working Men's Association (L.W.M.A.). The L.W.M.A. was committed to education and political reform; its philosophy stated (cited in Silver, 1975):

Poverty, inequality, and political injustice, are involved in giving to one portion of society the blessings of education, and leaving the other in ignorance . . . the working classes, who are in general the victims of this system of oppression and ignorance, have just cause of complaint against all partial systems of education (p.74).

The L.W.M.A. produced the People's Charter in 1837. It was a document which set out the principles of universal suffrage, equal representation, annual parliaments, no property qualification for the franchise, vote by ballot, and payment of members of Parliament (Silver, 1975, p.76). The Charter became the rallying point of the Chartist movement and for a decade brought together various working class, radical and reformist groups under Chartism's banner. Eric Glasgow (cited in Harrison, 1961) claims that, because Chartism encompassed practically every working-class aspiration, Chartists could indeed be the true pioneers in all the great movements of their time. Chartism became a mass movement, and in just over a decade aided in raising working-class consciousness to the necessity of various social and political reforms.

The Chartist movement was on the whole a secular movement. It was a movement that promoted self-education and improvement in addition to its concerns with social

reforms. A Chartist press was established to produce pamphlets and a Chartist newspaper. The newspaper was read, discussed and circulated in public meetings and public houses, as well as among small groups. It was estimated that by 1839 the Chartist newspaper had between 40,000 and 60,000 subscribers per week (Harrison, 1961, p.101). Discussion groups formed throughout Britain for the purpose of studying political philosophy, and mutual improvement classes were encouraged and promoted. Chartist schools were organized for adults in order to teach them basic skills in reading, writing and arithmetic. Sunday schools opened, and these classes often centered on reading, grammar and logic. The establishment of community schools was advocated by the Chartist leadership, schools that would be open in the daytime for primary and youth education, and in the evening for various adult educational activities. In addition, libraries, reading rooms, Chartist halls and Chartist churches were established throughout Great Britain. The Chartist churches were, according to Kelly (1962), formed for the purpose of furthering political, moral and general knowledge. He further states:

The most widespread and effective educational work accomplished by the Chartists was that carried out under the auspices of Christian Chartism, for the Chartist churches were everywhere associated with educational work (p.141).

Chartism was a social reform and adult education movement that gave birth to radical political thinking, and encouraged the British working-class to engage in critical examination of their social, political and educational systems.

It declined as a mass popular movement by 1848, but it

laid the foundation for later social-political movements and prepared the ground for the development of Christian socialism. Its belief in and agitation for universal education paved the way for and contributed to the education reform laws that emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

Influenced by Robert Owen, the British co-operative movement of the first half of the nineteenth-century placed great emphasis on the necessity for adult education. Owen's philosophy stressed the important role that the social environment played in shaping human behaviour. In later years the co-operative movement went beyond the original teachings of Owen, producing a wave of new social reform proposals.

Founded by Owen in the early years of the nineteenth century, the co-operative movement viewed ignorance as the enemy of man. Owen's central and consistent message, according to Silver (1975), was that human character is formed for, and not by him. The belief that people's characters are determined by their environment and circumstances led Owen to deny that their natures were predetermined by heredity. Owen held great faith in the natural abilities of people, and in education as the means of bringing about a more rational and equitable society. He believed that once the restrictive environment and human conditions were improved, the capabilities of the working class would increase. The co-operative movement saw education and not political action as the vehicle to bring about important social reforms. Silver (1975) points

out that Owen and his followers rapidly established an ideal of education which, in range and intensity, surpassed anything previously witnessed. He further claims:

They were concerned with the education of children and of adults, and with the content of education; they placed enormous emphasis on the rational power of knowledge and truth, and on social contact; they lectured, debated, published and organized; they looked to education and to their own educational efforts to transform society (p.61).

As a social-economic reform movement, co-operativism was committed to the reorganizing of post-industrial Britain into co-operative communities. Formed in various areas of England, these communities adhered to co-operativism and brotherhood, rather than competition and individualism. The co-operative movement established its own press; published newspapers, pamphlets and journals on co-operativism; formed co-operatives; opened regular and adult schools; and established their own libraries. After 1860, the co-operative movement achieved a considerable amount of economic success, a development that helped alter the idealistic and volunteer thrust of the movement. The 1919 Report describes the co-operative movement and its educational impact:

On its economic side the movement was an attempt to organize society, disintegrated by the competitive forces of the new industrialism, on the basis of mutual service. On its educational side it was an attempt to create by training the personal, qualities and social habits which might make such an organisation possible (pp.182-183)

The co-operative movement believed that needed social and political reforms could not be accomplished through

compromise with capitalism, but through a social order based on co-operation. The middle-class co-operative leaders were opposed to revolution as well as to gradual political reforms, believing instead in co-operative communities as the means of transforming the whole of society. They held that, through education and the practical application of co-operative communities, the moral and economic benefits of co-operativism, as an alternative to capitalism, would be proven.

THE SOCIALIST-UNION MOVEMENT

The National Union of the Working Classes (N.U.W.C) was formed in 1831 for the purpose of protecting the working class and bringing about parliamentary reform. The N.U.W.C. was organized into districts and local branches, which held weekly meetings for political education. These classes focused on civil and political rights and proved to be an important means of raising working-class political consciousness in post industrial England. Although radical in the political proposals it advocated, the N.U.W.C. did not view itself as a viable independent political force or alternative.

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed rising wages and increased economic security, and the revolutionary ardor of the early union movements had, by the 1850's, cooled into that of self-help groups. However, by the 1880's, the established unions began to reorganize and a radical Socialist-Union movement emerged. This new movement educated its membership to socialism and aided in establishing a new

political party.

The Social Democratic Federation (S.D.F.) and various Socialist Leagues were formed in the latter half of the nineteenth century, but remained small in number until in the 1880's, when they allied with the trade unions. The S.D.F. and the Socialist Leagues helped to organize the union movement in the majority of trades and among the unskilled workers. A number of major strikes occurred during this period with the unions winning many gains and concessions. Feuding caused the Socialist Leagues to collapse, to be replaced by Socialist or Labour clubs, and the Fabian Societies. By the 1890's a new wave of labour enthusiasm arose, and, as Friedrich Engels wrote in 1890: (cited in Harrison, 1961, p.253), "the grand-children of the old Chartists are entering the line of battle". In 1893 the trade union movement and the various socialist associations and clubs established the British Independent Labour Party.

Many socialist pioneers viewed socialism as a religion, a movement that was part of a new "crusade" (Silver, 1975). The new socialist-labour movement organized and educated its members to socialism through Sunday schools, labour churches, and adult schools as well as by means of the union and labour clubs. The growth of socialism and the new Labour Party were aided by the use of socialist pamphlets and journals which stimulated political discussions and debates. The Fabian societies, the Independent Labour Party and the S.D.F. produced pamphlets for a growing literate population, and the newspapers and journals of this period printed numerous articles by socialist leaders.

The nineteenth-century in Britain produced radical political ideas and a socialist-labour consciousness. The union movement assisted in paving the way for socialism and a major political party which was to emerge in the twentieth century. The movement relied heavily on education to promote the growth of a new ideology and political awareness. Harrison (1961) points out that, as the socialist-labour movements began to achieve success, they lost their educational zeal and entered a second phase, becoming institutionalized organizations which called for a political rather than an educational approach.

CANADA

The twentieth century produced in Canada various secular and religious protest and reform movements that were critical of the economic and political institutions of the new country. From the 1890's through to the Second World War, various reform movements committed themselves to reshaping Canadian society. These movements held a common belief in the benefits of co-operation and fellowship, a belief that was at odds with the traditional value of private enterprise and competition. It was during this period that many Canadians developed a new social, political and economic consciousness.

During the early years of the twentieth century an influx of people from the United States and Great Britain settled in the West. The American and British settlers brought with them ideas and knowledge of protest movements from their respective countries. Many of the American settlers had first-hand experience with various populist and pro-socialist movements in

the United States. Many of the British immigrants had been exposed to the ideologies of Christian Socialism, Fabian Socialism and Co-operativism. Avakumovic (1978) claims that British immigrants played an important role in the early reform movements in Canada. He argues that:

These immigrants from the British Isles displayed a greater propensity to join socialist groups or agrarian protest movements in the Prairies than did native Canadians. Their knowledge of the outside world enabled them to make comparisons. What they saw did not please them . . . they were invariably more critical of the status quo and more eager for change (p.14).

By the mid-1920's there were numerous rural and urban social movements in Canada, and movements that believed that through education and co-operative ventures social and economic inequities would be greatly reduced. Faris (1975) believes that despite differences, the rural social movements had many common characteristics. He claims that "all groups had an English-speaking base and viewed adult education as a means of furthering their aims"(p.19). Kidd (1975) claims that foreign observers have alleged that Canadian adult education was characterized by a sense of social commitment, a concern with social content and practices associated with social change.

Young (1969a) identifies the most significant factors that contributed to the growth of the Canadian protest movements as geography, economics, and politics. He explains that these factors "affected not only how people lived, how they earned - or failed to earn - their living, but how they thought and reacted to each other and to the rest of Canada"(p.1). Western farmers and British Columbian labourers "found their world hostile, they seemed to be aliens in their own land, not

achieving the fulfillment of the promises they had seen when they first emigrated" (Young, 1969a, p.7). They became disillusioned with the political economic system and sought solutions based on their prior knowledge and experiences.

Christian and Campbell (1974) contend that the early movements "provided perspectives on what was happening that absolved the individual working man of the blame for his plight"(p.130). Young (1969b) believes that the farmers and urban workers felt alienated by a system in which the cards appeared stacked against them and found in the protest movements an identity and an explanation. He further contends that:

They were united with others who shared the disabilities of poverty and political impotence. In a purportedly classless society created a kind of class. This class provided with a doctrine by the protest movements that explained the causes of the common affliction, allocated responsibility for the condition, and offered a cure that did not do too much violence to the prevailing value system (p.35).

The early Canadian reform movements put great faith in the doctrines of co-operativism and brotherhood, and were committed to reforming the competitive and capitalist aspects of the nation. The social gospel movement appealed to urban workers and farmers as it seemed to have answers and solutions for the problems they shared. The farmers' movement in Saskatchewan organized co-operative ventures and adopted a co-operative philosophy to cope with the hardships of their situation. The Antigonish movement in the Maritimes sought to remedy the depressed economic situation by collective action

and the establishment of co-operatives. The labourers in British Columbia became militant in their search for solutions to their vulnerable economic situation. A class-conscious ideology rather than a co-operative movement evolved and trade unionism and socialist parties became avenues for their protest.

THE SOCIAL GOSPEL MOVEMENT

The social gospel movement in Canada did not originate as a challenge to Canadian social and economic conditions, but was the Canadian expression of the new social Christian ideology emerging from post-industrial Europe. A Protestant movement, it interpreted the Scriptures as a call to social action and co-operativism rather than to the individualism of the older theologies. The Canadian social gospel movement had a brief history, but one that left its impact on the social and political institutions of the nation. The movement paved the way for a new social-political awareness which later evolved into a new political ideology for Canada.

The social gospel movement can be seen as a national search, during the first three decades of the twentieth century, for a new ideology to meet the growing social problems facing Canada. Intolerable working conditions, rising unemployment, poor housing, and poor health and social-service facilities gave impetus to a growing dissatisfaction with the traditional ideologies of conservatism and liberalism. The social gospel rejected the communist ideology of dialectical materialism and the class struggle, proposing instead, a modern and modified

form of secular-religious socialism. It was a movement that believed in retaining the rights of individuals and adhering to constitutional and parliamentary democracy. Its reformism, Allen (1973) and Crysdale (1975) contend, sought, not to destroy the old order, but to build a new one within it.

It was a religio-political and intellectual movement, one which assumed that theology and secular thinking should be combined. Smillie (1975) believes its main concern was to relate the Christian gospel to the social questions of life. Baum (1980) refers to the social gospel as a Christian movement that heard in the gospel a message of justice addressed to society. The movement, he further claims, "heard in the preaching of Jesus and the prophets a judgment on the present social order and a summons to build a more just society" (p.48). Crysdale (1975) explains the social gospel as:

. . . a term that can be applied to a wide variety of individuals and groups in western societies who emphasized one aspect of Christian belief -- the responsibility of each person for his neighbours and for the formation of just social and political institutions. But in each country the social gospel . . . assumed somewhat different aspects. It gathered sufficient form and momentum in Canada in the 1910's and 1920's to comprise a distinctive social movement (p.268).

Handy (1966) states that the leaders within the social gospel movement believed that men could be educated to choose the good, and that, through education, men could be led to prefer social good to private advantage. He further states, "its leaders were not so much activists as they were preachers, proclaimers, and educators, and that they sought to change men's views and attitudes, to win them to a new religio-social

faith" (pp.10-11). Gordon (1975) claims that the social gospel "was comprised of an active group of committed and socially conscious men and women who knew one another, who met informally to study and discuss the maladies of a sick society, who drafted resolutions, worked out strategy, and established themselves as radical cells in the Christian community" (p.136). Duckworth (cited in Kidd, 1975) contends that the social gospel laid "the foundations in our society of social theories on which have been built family welfare and social welfare programs as well as retirement allowances, pensions, medicare and old age security laws" (p.255).

The influence of the social gospel in the first three decades of this century created a social awareness and a criticism of classical liberal ideology. It was a social Christian movement that proposed to reform social and economic conditions in the nation. It sought to improve the conditions of a large segment of Canada in a manner consistent with Christian theology. It played a major role in influencing the two traditional political parties to adopt social welfare policies and legislation. Finally, it was an adult educational movement that aided in establishing a new political ideology and political party: the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.

THE ANTIGONISH MOVEMENT

The Antigonish Movement was a rural co-operative movement which developed in Canada during the 1920's in response to economic and social conditions in the Maritimes. The Antigonish Movement of Nova Scotia was an adult education

movement that sought to inform farmers and fishermen concerning the social and economic realities of their region. It was a grassroots self-help movement that used adult-education principles and techniques to help people identify their problems, and to creatively and co-operatively solve them. MacDonald (1979) claims that the Antigonish Movement possesses all the characteristics of a reform social movement in that it was a deliberate collective effort. The movement had two objectives: to increase socio-economic welfare, and to enhance individual capabilities. From its base in the extension department of St. Francis Xavier University at Antigonish, the movement grew to become internationally recognized as a successful adult education movement for social action and reform.

A Catholic priest, Father J. J. Tompkins, created the philosophy of the movement on English and Scandinavian models of co-operativism and adult education. Tompkins believed that adult education needed to focus its attention on real problems and issues, and could be the means for tackling poverty and injustice. Tompkins had a strong and sincere belief in people, and held that adult education would make them aware of their problems and help them search for a better way of life. Baum (1980) and Lotz (1973) liken Tompkins' philosophy to that of the South American adult educator Paulo Freire. Freire's concept, "conscientization", held that, once people are educated to an understanding of their social, political and economic realities, they can find solutions and take action. Tompkins and his successor, Father M. Coady, took the university to the people. Lotz (1973) contends that Tompkins was the thinker of

the movement while Coady was the prophet and propagandist. Baum (1980) credits Coady, the first director of St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department, with spreading and expanding the Antigonish Movement. It was under Coady's directorship that co-operative experiments and ventures were organized.

The Antigonish Movement was radical because it was an early critique of capitalism. Faris (1975) claims that the movement was non-ideological in its attempts to redress economic and social grievances. Lotz (1973) argues that the people involved in the movement were bound by a common ideology. He believes that the movement viewed the government neither as villain nor as saviour, and that people working together could define and solve their common problems. Gordon (1979) argued that the movement "was against the system of economic organization and distribution and power over men's and women's lives, not just because it perpetuated the poverty of the people, but because it denied the true nature of man as a child of God, as a member of the human family, as one capable of a free, useful and creative life in the society of his fellows" (p.165). According to Baum (1980), the Antigonish movement stood for a form of social reform that in the terminology of contemporary political science is called "system-transcending". He further stated:

since the movement tried to insert new principles into the present social and economic order, it was reformist; but since these principles were based on an alternate vision of society, they in some significant way transcended the present order, undermined it and

prepared people for a more radical reconstruction of society (p.201).

There are definite contradictions in the ideology of the movement. Baum (1980), Faris (1975) and Lotz (1973) are in agreement that the Antigonish Movement lost its radical character in the postwar years. Frank Miffin (cited in Baum, 1980) claims that the movement ceased to challenge the social order and he cites several reasons why:

In part it was because the movement had been successful in changing the conditions of life for a great many people, and in part because the leaders had been willing, for the sake of greater institutional support, to soften their critical stance. The war alleviated some of the dire social need in the province. As well, the growth of the stores and credit unions demanded ever greater commercial and technical expertise, tending to exclude the ordinary people from directing their own enterprises (pp.193-194).

Faris (1975) argues that the Antigonish Movement reached a plateau in the postwar years as its earlier missionary zeal gave way to increasing concern about administrative and organizational matters. MacDonald (1979) contends that the many co-operative enterprises of the Antigonish Movement gradually ceased because of a lack of managerial and technical expertise, as well as their failure to adapt to the changing social and economic conditions of the postwar period.

Laidlaw (cited in Lotz, 1973) sums up the achievements of the movement as:

economic uplift of the poor; the implementation of a philosophy of adult education that focused on ordinary people in group action; helping labour to get organized; making the university relevant to everyday life; and supporting the social teachings of the Catholic Church (p.108).

The movement organized and established study clubs and numerous co-operative enterprises for the disadvantaged in various Nova Scotian communities. The people in these communities learned the skills necessary to establish and operate co-operative stores, factories, mills and credit unions.

The Antigonish Movement was a grassroots co-operative movement oriented towards social and economic reforms within the prevailing political system. It was a unique, Canadian adult-educational movement which gained international recognition, and a movement which promoted the democratic idea of equality and community.

FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS IN SASKATCHEWAN

The farmers and settlers in the province of Saskatchewan in the early years of the twentieth century faced many natural, economic, and political circumstances that fostered the growth of unique and varied agrarian educational programs. Two distinct forms of adult education emerged during this period, the first under the control of the provincial and federal governments, and the second an independent reform movement with co-operation as a major component. The provincial, and to some extent the federal government, supported extension education for the Saskatchewan farmers because it promoted the larger goal of higher agricultural production. The government-sponsored agricultural societies did not meet the need for economic security which constantly plagued the Prairie farmers. As a result, independent farmers' movements emerged, giving

rise to a very different form of education. From this unique period, co-operative enterprises and political parties formed, and, according to Blenkinsop (1979), in the stream of ideas and viewpoints that resulted, a distinct Saskatchewan consciousness emerged.

Lipset (1971) and Blenkinsop (1979) claim that tariffs favouring Eastern interests, private business monopolies such as the C.P.R., private grain elevators, the Grain Exchange and the national banks helped make agricultural Saskatchewan dependent on the commercial and business interests of central Canada. In addition, the farmers' interests were not adequately protected or represented in the provincial and federal governments. In 1901, the Territorial Grain Growers' Association (T.G.G.A.), later renamed the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association (S.G.G.A.), was organized to tackle the grain companies and the C.P.R. This association gave voice to the farmers' grievances. The T.G.G.A. became a radical protest movement which identified the source of the problems facing the Saskatchewan farmers as the competitive, capitalist system in Canada. The T.G.G.A. evolved into a lobby and educational movement and the ideas of co-operation and brotherhood began to permeate the Association. Blenkinsop (1979) identifies three main channels for public education which were utilized by the farmers' movement from 1904 to 1911. He identified the weekly newspaper Grain Growers' Guide, the annual convention and the local associations as the vehicles for educating Prairie farmers to a new political and social awareness. From 1919 to 1924 the

T.G.G.A., now renamed the S.G.G.A., lost much of the populist and reform spirit which characterized its early years. Provincial members of parliament became involved on the S.G.G.A. board of directors and contributed to the loss of its political independence. Blenkinsop (1979) claims that, as the S.G.G.A. left behind much of its social gospel and co-operative zeal, it also placed less emphasis on educational programming. A rival organization known as the Farmers Union of Canada (F.U.C.) emerged in 1921 to respond to the social-political demands of the farmers. The constitution accepted at the first convention of the F.U.C. was based on a socialist and co-operative philosophy. The F.U.C. successfully pressed for the establishment of a co-operative Wheat Pool, and the immediate success of the Wheat Pool demonstrated for the farmers the advantages of co-operation over capitalism.

Education became a priority of the Wheat Pool and the educational programs concentrated on maintaining an informed membership and a viable organization. Education, organized around the principle of co-operation, was seen as contributing to the management of an efficient Pool and the preparation of leaders for the future. In 1928, the Wheat Pool organized the first co-operative schools on a trial basis, and the experiment, according to Blenkinsop (1979), was so successful that 157 schools were operational in 1929 (p.300).

The two rival farmers' organizations, the F.U.C. and the S.G.G.A., found it advantageous to merge; in 1926, the new organization became known as the United Farmers of Canada,

Saskatchewan Section (U.F.C., S.S.). The central theme of this new farmers' organization was one of co-operation and socialism, and an editorial in the Guide summed up the goal of the U.F.C. (cited in Blenkinsop, 1979):

Looking forward it is being pointed out that the hope of the future is in the development of the co-operative commonwealth. The man or woman who is a true co-operator is unalterably opposed to the idea that the competitive system with a code of business ethics. The ultimate goal of the co-operator is the substitution of the co-operative for the competitive system (p.313).

The U.F.C. stressed political education. By 1929 there were nearly a thousand lodges in the U.F.C. Education at the local level and in the co-operative schools addressed the problem of raising the political awareness of the Saskatchewan farmers concerning the desirability of a third political party, one that represented the farmers of Canada. The Farmers' Education League (F.E.L.) of the U.F.C., avowedly socialist, was organized in Saskatchewan in 1926 to press for radical policies within the farmers' movement. The F.E.L. divided society along class lines; its goal was the creation of a co-operative commonwealth. The manifesto of the F.E.L. stated (Blenkinsop, 1979):

The Farmers' Education League is an educational and agitational organization which bases its activities in the realities of the class struggle and endeavours to educate and organize the farmer to change the existing system of exploitation into one that will produce for use and not for profit (p.321).

The depression of 1929 and the agricultural drought that followed shattered the Saskatchewan economy. These two events convinced many of the Prairie farmers that the end of

capitalism was imminent. The past three decades of co-operative and political education by the various farmers' organizations paved the way for the emergence of a third political party, one that promoted the ideology of co-operativism and socialism.

CHAPTER II

THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION

INTRODUCTION

Canadian socialism had a thirty-year incubation period, before various Socialist-Labour parties and pro-socialist movements united in 1932 and became known as the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. The formative growth period of the various socialist movements in Canada was the first three decades of the twentieth century. It was in this period that various socialist parties, labour parties and social protest movements evolved, succeeded, attracted and educated followers, and then withered. Members of these early socialist movements, on the whole, operated on the fringe of society (with the exception of members of the Saskatchewan farmers' movements), had little formal education, came from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, and were scattered across a wide geographic region. Avakumovic (1978) credits their success in overcoming obstacles and forming a federation, and an established political party to "their desire for collectivist solutions to the problems posed by urbanization, the rapid settlement of the West, the uneven performance of the Canadian economy, and the highly uneven distribution of income in a free enterprise system"(p.281).

Socialism, like other social reform movements and ideologies, was imported from Europe. Given the great influx of

British immigrants into Canada during the latter years of the nineteenth century, it is not surprising that British ideas of Owenite co-operativism, Christian socialism and Fabian socialism played an important role in the evolution of a Canadian socialist ideology. Many Canadians were searching for an ideology to replace capitalism, one that was based on co-operation and public ownership. Crysedale (1975) explains:

the old ideology of the inherent benevolence of nature and human history, based on notions of classical liberalism and on a closed system of religious belief, which in the mid-nineteenth century was expressed in economic terms in the doctrine of laissez-faire, was no longer tenable in the view of many people in a wide variety of social positions (p.263).

The reception of a political idea, according to Christian and Campbell (1974) "depends not only on its inherent ideal characteristics, but also on contemporary social and economic circumstances"(p.19). Democratic socialism, as the CCF embodied it, survived in Canada in one form or another because it adapted and altered its original ideology and principles throughout its twenty-nine year history.

POLITICAL MOVEMENT AND POLITICAL PARTY

Young (1969b) contends that in the 1930's the leaders and members of the CCF viewed it as a movement, rather than a party, even though it was forced to compete in the electoral process. The CCF associated itself with a "cause" and the goal of social reform, and this placed it in a different class than the traditional party whose goal is to obtain power to control the government. The traditional political party seeks electoral

victories, while a movement usually has goals that are not associated with electoral success, but with social reform and social change. Wendell King (cited in Young, 1969b, p.4) explains that a movement is a "group venture extending beyond a local community or a single event and involving a systematic effort to inaugurate changes in thought, behaviour and social relationships."

The confederation of movements which formed the CCF did so in order to become a stronger force, with a broader base from which to bring about the social reforms they deemed necessary. The route they chose was through the parliamentary system; by choosing this route, they began to take on some of the characteristics of a political party. Avakumovic (1978), Young (1969b) and Zakuta (1964) agree that the CCF was a movement and a political party, and that the goals of the movement and the goals of the political party often clashed.

The federation of the various reform movements caused many organizational problems for the newly-formed CCF. In 1935 the National Secretary of the CCF, M.J. Coldwell, wrote (cited in Zakuta, 1964):

My year's experience as Secretary-Treasurer leads me to believe that if we are to conduct our educational and political campaign efficiently, our affiliated bodies will have to cooperate more closely with the National Office. I realize, of course, that is to some extent due to the fact that we are a Federation rather than an organized party (p.50).

Young (1969b) and Zakuta (1964) both believe that the movement aspect of the CCF both hindered and helped the federation. The CCF was helped by the fact that its members

were loyal and had a strong commitment to their "cause", an unbending faith in their ideology of reform, and a belief in the need to convert and educate others to their point of view. This faith in one's original principles and the righteousness of one's cause can hamper a political party obliged to adapt and change according to the needs of the wider society. Political parties, according to Engleman and Schwartz (1967), are aggregative in that they "seek to form the largest possible interest group coalition by offering acceptable choices of political personnel and public policy"(p.93). To compete, the political party must present an acceptable and non-threatening platform to the majority within the society, with whom rests its achievement of electoral victory. Zakuta (1964) contends that, because the CCF's "character and position were moving in opposite directions, it did not belong wholly in either category"(p.151). A CCF study outline, entitled "Socialism Today", lesson 2, claimed the CCF was both a movement and a political party. It further defined these two opposing concepts (MacInnis Collection, 30 D-17):

The CCF is a movement among the people, a crusade for a new social order. Its progress therefore requires members to make themselves fit representatives of their cause in word and deed. It requires that they convert the minds of others to a philosophy and program quite different from those of the older parties.

The CCF is also a political party. The best cause in the world rarely wins support unless victory is organized. That is one of the main functions of our party. It is a democratic political organization through which policy is formulated and votes won.

During the thirties, the CCF was more movement than

political party. Its leadership believed that by becoming a political party and entering and winning in the electoral system it would be able to achieve its social-reform goals. The early emphasis was not on power but on change. However, by competing in the electoral process the CCF began to adopt the techniques and strategies of its competitors in order to survive. Zakuta (1964) identified three distinct periods in the history of the CCF. The first was that of the political movement: 1932-1941. In this period, the CCF had the greatest ideological distinctiveness; its organization was mainly informal; and involvement by party members was intensive but not extensive. The second period was that of the major party: 1942-1949. This period saw less ideological distinctiveness, a growth in the party's formal organization, and intensive and extensive involvement by party members. The third period was that of a minor party: 1950-1961. This period saw further loss of ideological distinctiveness, a formal and centralized organization, and less intensive and extensive involvement of party members.

Christian and Campbell (1974) contend that for society to change from a prevailing ideology to a new one "involves a fundamental change in the understanding of society, and how it should be organized" (p.71). An ideology, they claim:

will seek either to justify an existing state of affairs, and hence preserve it from change; or else it will seek to reveal inadequacies in the arrangements and consequently sketch the details of the new political system which will replace the old one (p.7).

The early CCF movement was convinced that it was

necessary to educate and convert Canadians to the new ideology of democratic socialism; as a result the early years were often referred to as "a great educational crusade." An early, undated CCF pamphlet, How The CCF Began, made the claim that "if our movement is to be successful it must bear - as we think it does - something of the character of a religious crusade" (MacInnis Collection, 30A-3B).

The early leaders of the CCF believed that a wide-scale ideological conversion would result from their vigorous adult educational activities. The CCF argued that the attainment of a socialist society would occur only after the majority of Canadians were educated to the correctness of this ideology. However, as the CCF took on more of the characteristics of a political party, it became more absorbed with electoral and organizational concerns than with its earlier zeal for socialist education.

ORIGINS OF THE CCF

The impetus to build a federal political movement advocating the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a Co-operative Commonwealth came from Western Canada. The CCF became a political movement when various urban and rural social reform movements, which shared a common desire to change the political systems, formed a confederation in 1932. The social reform movements that combined forces in the depression years were the various socialist-labour movements and parties, the social gospel movement, the Saskatchewan

farmers' movement, and a small group of radical Eastern intellectuals.

Avakumovic (1978), Morton (1977) and Young (1969) contend that socialism in British Columbia was militant and inspired by class-conscious Marxism, while socialism in the three prairie provinces was tinged with co-operativism. Morton explains that the socialism preached in the company towns of British Columbia and in the major urban centers across Canada tended to be dogmatic Marxism, attracting few converts but educating a generation of union leaders and organizers.

Three radical socialist parties as well as two urban labour parties had short-lived political histories in Canada. The Social Democratic Party of Canada (SDPC) and the Socialist Party of Canada (SPC) were the two recognized and radical socialist parties in Canada on the eve of the First World War; and they had over 300 branches from Vancouver to Montreal. These two socialist parties felt it was necessary to teach the essentials of Marxism in order to bring about the necessary social revolution. Geographical distance was a particular problem in educating their memberships and co-ordinating their activities. Avakumovic (1978) contends:

. . .they made a valiant effort to understand the intricacies of Marxism through self study. Often they explained the rudiments of scientific socialism in a way that was well above the heads of the audience. Organization weaknesses prevented them from mobilizing to the full energies of those who were prepared to join a socialist party (p.25).

The SDPC and the SPC published two newspapers which documented the various socialist activities in Canada and devoted articles to socialist theory and developments in the

international socialist and communist movement. Sunday schools and Labour churches sprang up; socialist literature proliferated; and socialist leaders lectured in various urban centers and mining towns. The 1918 Manifesto of the Socialist Party of Canada stated (MacInnis Collection, 30A-2B):

The policy of the Socialist Party of Canada is to educate the slaves of Canada to an understanding of their position and organize them for concerted political action. Realizing, furthermore, that no "step-at-a-time" policy, no remedial legislation or political quackery can be substituted for working class knowledge, its propaganda, therefore, is one of enlightenment and education.

During the 1920's, Canada had two labour parties: the Independent Labour Party of Manitoba (ILP) and the Canadian Labour Party (CLP). The ILP and the CLP were convinced that labour agitation and mass general strikes would not bring about a socialist society, but that it would occur through the parliamentary system. Many of the leaders of these two parties were influenced by the recent successes of the British Labour Party and, to a lesser extent, by European social democratic movements. However, by the mid- to late 1920's, support for the various socialist and labour parties was declining. Their publications had a shrinking circulation; trade-union membership was down; fewer socialist and labour candidates were put forth in 1927-29 than in 1917-21; and, most importantly, fewer votes and seats were won (Avakumovic, 1978, p.48).

The second major social protest movement that contributed to democratic socialism in Canada was the social gospel. This was a protestant movement which embraced the leading religious denominations of the period and was inspired by the teachings

of Christian socialists in England. It attracted a group of protestant ministers and lay leaders who were concerned with social problems in the rapidly-growing urban centers, and who were examining and questioning the existing political system. The social gospel disagreed with the radical socialist theory of the class struggle and Marxist economics, and proposed instead a Canadian society based on co-operation and Christian brotherhood. Avakumovic (1978) claims:

the similes they used on the platform and the way they expounded their socialist views helped to make democratic socialism understandable and acceptable to thousands of Canadians who were put off by shrill agitators and turgid Marxist propagandists (p.30).

The third protest movement to challenge the existing political system was the farmers' movement and the various farmers' organizations in Saskatchewan. The farmers' movement, greatly influenced by the social gospel, began as a reaction to economic inequities that were sanctioned by the federal government. Prairie farmers, in the first three decades of the century, felt alienated by and at a distinct economic disadvantage under the existing capitalist system in Canada. As a result, they formed co-operatives and self-help organizations, searched for their place in Canadian society, and explored various solutions for their economic problems. Blenkinsop (1979) notes that in the process of self-education and in their search for solutions, they generated a wealth of ideas and proposals. It was in the farmers' organizations, and not in the government, that the future of Saskatchewan was being created (p.525). Co-operation and brotherhood became the dominant ideology of the farmers' movement. Co-operation was seen as

the solution for the economic woes engendered by the competitive individualism of the capitalist political system.

In Eastern Canada, in 1932, a group of radical intellectuals and educators formed the League for Social Reconstruction (LSR), hoping to become the intellectual wing of a Canadian socialist party. Familiar with the theories of democratic socialism of the British Fabian Society, they formed the LSR as an association devoted to the search for socialist solutions for Canada. The purpose of the League was (cited in McNaught, 1959):

to be a nucleus around which might gather 'unattached critical spirits' who could accept neither of the old parties and whose circumstances do not make it possible for them to join labour or farmer political movements; it would publish pamphlets, sponsor discussion and study groups, and build up a body of information on such questions as public ownership, planning, and the social services (p.257).

The League shared the Fabians' belief in gradual reform through educational means rather than by agitation or violence. The LSR described itself in its inaugural manifesto as (cited in Young, 1969b):

. . .an association of men and women who are working for the establishment in Canada of a social order in which the basic principle regulating production, distribution and service will be the common good rather than private profit (p.31).

The LSR had studied the situation in Canada, discussed the socialist solution and had come to the conclusion that a job of social education had to be carried out in Canada. They established study groups, particularly in university circles in Montreal and Toronto, published pamphlets and articles, and

participated in lectures in which the benefits of democratic socialism were advocated. The LSR provided the CCF with an intellectual analysis of the economic and social problems of Canada and was referred to as the "brain trust" of the CCF. The LSR as an organization had a short seven year history, but individuals who were identified with it continued to propose socialist solutions for Canada and to have an influence on the CCF.

THE DEPRESSION

The Great Depression acted as a catalyst to unite these various protest movements. Young (1969a) states that, by 1933, over half a million Canadians were out of work. The effects of the Depression were particularly felt in the West. It severely affected British Columbia, and, in particular, the labouring population. A census taken in 1931 showed that 25.06 per cent of wage earners in British Columbia were unemployed, a higher figure than in any other province and one that doubled by 1933, at the Depression's depth (Selman, 1976, p.3). The prairie farmers, already disillusioned by the existing political system and facing massive farm bankruptcies, were hit harder than the middle class, or the skilled workers in the East. The length and severity of the Depression gave new impetus to those who criticized the existing political system and who were now speaking to larger audiences than in the 1920's. Both farmers and workers, according to Young (1969a), found their world hostile, they seemed aliens in their own land, failing to achieve

the promise they had seen in the land when they first emigrated. Depression revealed the flaws in the political system to many unemployed and disadvantaged Canadians. In this economic climate, a new national political movement-party was able to establish itself.

During the depression, a group of Labour politicians, referred to in Parliament as the Ginger Group, recognized the need to co-ordinate the various socialist parties and pro-socialist groups across the country. They were convinced that strike action, mass agitation and revolution could not change the capitalist system. They believed that the road towards building a socialist society would have to be built within the parliamentary process, and through a concerted period of socialist education. They realized that the main vehicle for social change in Canada would have to be a national political party that cut across provincial borders and incorporated the various labour, farmer and socialist movements under one recognized and accepted political umbrella. This small group of independent Labour politicians are recognized as the architects and founding fathers of the CCF.

THE CALGARY CONFERENCE: 1932

The labour groups, socialists, farm groups and a small group of intellectuals gathered in Calgary in 1932 to launch a third national political party. This small but diverse group of socialists were now ready in the midst of the depression to co-operate to establish a political movement in accordance with

doctrines of the social gospel and the ideology of Fabian socialism. The delegates to the Calgary conference agreed to establish a national political party: the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, with the subtitle, Farmer, Labour, Socialist. Caplan (1973) argues that the new movement was a federation of the various protest groups, and that the founders did not intend building a centralized and conventional party on the model of the Liberals and Conservatives. Each affiliating group was to retain its own identity and autonomy, while coordinating their political activities to achieve commonly-held goals.

An eight-point provisional program was adopted by the federation of organizations, which advocated (MacInnis Collection, 30A-2B):

that the CCF is a federation of organizations whose purpose is the establishment in Canada of a Co-operative Commonwealth, in which the basic principle regulating production, distribution and exchange will be the supplying of human needs instead of the making of profits.

The provisional program of the CCF had a definite socialist orientation in that it advocated a "planned system of social economy for the production, distribution and exchange of all goods and services" and for the "socialization of the banking, credit, and financial system, together with the social ownership, development, operation and control of utilities and natural resources" (Avakumovic, 1978, p.57).

THE REGINA MANIFESTO

The provisional committee of the CCF delegated the task of writing a political manifesto to the research committee of the LSR. In 1933 a second convention was held in Regina to officially endorse this document and launch the CCF. In Regina the original eight-point Calgary program was replaced by a lengthy fourteen-point manifesto, and the Regina Manifesto became the recognized platform of the CCF. The socialism in the Regina Manifesto is, according to Young (1969b), a mixture of Christian, Fabian, and Marxian socialism, shot through with progressive reformism (p.45). It emphasized economic planning, nationalization of financial institutions, public utilities and natural resources, security of tenure for farmers, a national labour code, socialized health services and greatly increased economic powers for the central government (Morton, 1977). The manifesto concluded (cited in McNaught, 1959):

No CCF Government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full programme of socialized planning which will lead to the establishment in Canada of the Co-operative Commonwealth (p.330).

THE CCF AND ADULT EDUCATION

The CCF's approach to education was that of a movement; it assumed that once ignorance towards socialism was dispelled Canadians would be attracted to its ideology. The CCF preached that belief in capitalism was due to ignorance and "false consciousness", and that a period of socialist education would remedy this situation. The task then was to educate

rational, but ignorant people to the evils of capitalism and the realities of capitalist economics. The CCF needed an intellectual commitment from its members and, as a result, spent a great deal of effort in educating party members to a new and radical ideology. An election pamphlet published in the early years of the party referred to the CCF as "a great educational crusade"; and many leaders as well as the rank-and-file viewed the new movement as an educational campaign. The CCF had great faith in its ability to convert people to socialism through its various educational programs. It immediately established CCF educational clubs, published pamphlets and newspapers, and produced a variety of socialist books.

Since it challenged the prevailing ideology of the nation, the CCF needed to convince people of the correctness of democratic socialism. Young (1969b) claims that "the ideological party - that is, the one with a manifesto - is usually an agency for expressing dissatisfaction with the status quo and is therefore directed toward change not maintenance." He further states:

It is almost invariably a movement as well as a party and can only attract people to its ranks by convincing them of the validity of its particular wellanschauung, something the 'old line parties' do not need to do because they express the prevailing wellanschauung. To achieve its ends the ideological party must not only campaign, it must educate through whatever means are available to it (p.297).

The CCF devoted a great deal of energy and volunteer time to education of party members. It was, according to Young (1969b), the only party that organized correspondence

courses, established study groups, provided lengthy and detailed reading lists, published study guides for important socialist books and had six separate party newspapers in simultaneous publication. In addition they had book clubs, educational clubs, and educational records, and ran summer schools. M.J. Coldwell, David Lewis and members of both the LSR and the CCF wrote several books and pamphlets advocating the benefits of democratic socialism. The articles and the books written during the 1930s did a great deal to shape party policy and provide direction for the CCF. Avakumovic (1978) claims that neither the old parties nor Social Credit made a comparable intellectual effort to convert Canadians, and Young (1969b) contends that the CCF produced more publications in both variety and volume than any other Canadian party.

Perhaps because a majority of the early leaders of the CCF were clergymen, teachers and academics, education was seen as an important aspect of the CCF. These early leaders had a profound and abiding belief in the rationality of man, and, according to Young (1969b), held that the people of Canada could be educated to accept and understand socialism.

The first national leader and the acknowledged founder of the CCF was James Shaver Woodsworth, an ex-school teacher, retired Methodist minister, social activist and an active adult educator. MacInnis (1953) claims that Woodsworth was a born teacher, and as party leader remained essentially the "prophet and teacher". Prior to entering politics in 1921, Woodsworth spent the first two decades of the century organizing various

adult education endeavours from Montreal to British Columbia. He established the Winnipeg People's Forum and helped to found the Montreal People's Forum. He was instrumental in establishing the first training class for social workers at the University of Manitoba as well as preparing a handbook, Studies in Rural Citizenship, intended for study by farm groups. He taught in the Labour Church, was involved in union education in Vancouver, political education in Winnipeg and gave the first extension lectures at McGill University.

In 1922 Woodsworth wrote a book, Re-Construction from the Viewpoint of Labour. In this small volume, he outlined his thesis for social democracy in Canada: "Our ultimate object must be a complete turnover in the present economic and social system." He laid out how this would come about (Woodsworth, 1922):

Such a change, we hope will be accomplished in this country by means of education, organization and the securing by the workers of the machinery of government But physical force provokes reaction. It is negative in character. It is an attempted short cut that delays rather than hastens permanent reform. We believe that moral ends can be attained only by use of moral means. Hence we emphasize the education of the people and the banding them together for political action (p.4).

In his presidential address to the delegates attending the founding Regina Conference in 1933, he stated (cited in MacInnis, 1953):

Thanks to the pioneers in the Socialist and Co-operative movements, we have at least the fundamental principles on which we may base our teaching with regard to the Co-operative Commonwealth Undoubtedly we should profit by the experience of other nations and other

times, but personally I believe we in Canada must work out our own salvation in our own way I am convinced that we may develop in Canada a distinctive type of socialism (pp.274-275).

Woodsworth expressed similar views two years later in a letter to a CCF colleague (cited in Young, 1969b):

My experience in politics has shown me that at election time one has a splendid chance for carrying on educational propaganda. I believe that at this stage of the development this should be one of the main reasons for entering candidates. We must get away from the old idea of winning at any cost and by any method, and steadily build up a convinced and educated constituency (p.50).

In 1940 M.J. Coldwell became the second national leader of the CCF. He was an ex-school principal and a veteran political organizer. Like Woodsworth he held a strong belief in education and in the educability of man. Prior to becoming a member of parliament, Coldwell produced a radio discussion group, "Citizens Forum," in Regina. In 1935, he urged "a meeting to lay plans for a new educational campaign aimed at establishing a group of CCF supporters studying the economic and social situation in every community in Canada" (Young, 1969b, p. 51). However, for Coldwell educational campaigning had to take second place to political campaigning when he took over the leadership of the CCF. Under his leadership and the direction of national party secretary, David Lewis, more emphasis was placed on electoral victories and political organization, and less on the earlier "missionary zeal" to educate and convert. It is this shift of emphasis from education to that of "getting votes" that marks the decline of

movement aspect of the CCF and ushers in the political party (Avakumovic, 1978; Young, 1969b; Zakuta, 1964).

THE EARLY YEARS: 1933-1945

The first political tests for the new CCF movement came in the fall of 1933, and the summer of 1934. The results of these elections were highly promising. A provincial election in British Columbia in 1933 resulted in the CCF becoming the official opposition, with seven seats and 31 per cent of the popular vote; in Saskatchewan in 1934 the CCF became the official opposition with five seats and 25 per cent of the vote (MacInnis, 1953, p.286). In the 1941 provincial election in British Columbia the CCF received the largest share of the popular vote. The results of this election forced the Liberals and Conservatives to form a coalition government, which retained power for ten years. In 1943, an Ontario provincial election boosted the party's share of the vote from 5 to 31 per cent, and the CCF narrowly missed forming the government (Morton, 1977, p.14). The federal elections prior to and during World War II saw the CCF gaining national support. In 1944, Saskatchewan voters elected the first socialist government in Canada.

A Gallup Poll in 1943 revealed that the national CCF had more support than either the national Liberals or Conservatives. During this period the CCF could point to more than 2,000 local clubs, constituency associations, and study groups, as well as six CCF newspapers (Young, 1969b, p.111). It appeared in 1944 to 1945 that the CCF was on the threshold of victory, and that

democratic socialism was a distinct political force. Young (1969b) suggests that the dramatic growth in the CCF during the war years was a result of the abnormal conditions of this period. In less than a decade, the CCF had achieved major-party status and was conceived as a major political threat by the Liberals and Conservatives.

THE POST-WAR PERIOD: 1946-1955

Beginning in the latter stage of the war years, the Liberals, threatened with possible defeat and massive political defections, enacted numerous social welfare measures and moved "leftward" under the leadership of Mackenzie King. The Conservatives became known as "Progressive" Conservatives and promised new social welfare policies. The small Communist party aligned itself with the Liberal party in order to diminish the socialist vote. The press, the business community and the two traditional parties mounted a massive and costly anti-CCF campaign in 1944 to 1945, one which often compared the CCF with German National Socialism (Avakumovic, 1978; Morton, 1977; Young, 1969b).

The CCF's dramatic growth and its political advance were halted in 1945. The federal election of that year brought a decrease in the percentage of popular vote and in the number of candidates elected (Table I). Membership and funding dramatically declined. In the first post-war Ontario provincial election, the CCF's popular support slipped to 22 per cent, and its legislative representation fell from thirty-four members to eight (Morton, 1977, p.14). The CCF would never regain the

momentum or repeat the federal electoral successes it achieved during the war years.

TABLE I

CCF POPULAR SUPPORT IN CANADA: 1940-1945*

	Bloc				
	<u>CCF</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>Cons.</u>	<u>Populaire</u>	<u>Others</u>
1940 Mar.(Election)	9%	55%	31%	-	5%
1942 Jan.	10%	55	30	-	5
Sept.	21	39	23	-	17
1943 Feb.	23	32	27	7	11
Sept.	<u>29</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>28</u>	9	6
1944 Jan.	24	30	29	9	8
Sept.	24	36	27	5	8
1945 Jan.	22	36	28	6	8
Apr.	20	36	29	6	9
May	19	38	29	6	8
June 2	19	40	27	5	9
June 9	17	39	29	5	10
June 11(Election)	16	41	38	3	12

* Gallup Poll

(cited in Zakuta, 1964, p.156).

The CCF claimed to have the answer in democratic planning, however, the Canadian voter was skeptical of a

political party which had never achieved national success. The CCF's "preaching" of impending depression and economic disasters, within an environment of expanding social and economic benefits, did not appeal to a majority of Canadians in the post-war period.

Democracy, the protestant work-ethic and a "rags to riches" mentality were part of the Canadian mosaic and ethic. Middle-class Canadians were not attracted to a party which criticized economic profits and competition, particularly during the post-war and prosperous fifties. The CCF claimed to be the party of the farmer and the worker, but in reality many farmers and industrial workers aspired to be part of the middle-class. The upwardly mobile electorate was resistant to a political party lecturing on class-consciousness and co-operativism. Finally, the CCF and its goal of socialism appeared somewhat anachronistic to Canadians during the "Cold-War" period with the Soviet Union.

During this period research and educational activity within the CCF continued. Young (1969b) notes that, from 1945 to 1950, the party mounted its most ambitious educational campaign. He further states that:

The national office had both a director of research and a director of education In the year ending June 30, 1948, literature sales from the national office were over \$5,000, compared with \$1,000 the previous year There was no shortage of propaganda, nor indeed of study outlines for such books as "Planning for Freedom," Coldwell's "Left Turn Canada", and Lewis' and Scott's "Make This Your Canada" (p.125).

However, adult education programs within the CCF party

enjoyed less popularity in the 1950's than in the 1930's and 1940's. The CCF's educational programs now found themselves competing with the universities and voluntary agencies as a provider of adult education and competing with television as a provider of entertainment. There was less willingness in the "Cold-War" period to study and debate issues; particularly, the class struggle, the abolition of capitalism, and the salvation of mankind. The CCF clubs began to merge into political constituency associations, devoting more time to election concerns and strategies. The CCF began to resemble the "old parties", and educational programming began to center on election platforms and policy statements.

In the early post-war years the party leadership took a second look at their British model - the British Labour Party. It was recognized that democratic socialism was successful in countries only after it had established strong ties with the trade union movement. In 1946 the CCF established a national trade union committee as well as four provincial trade union committees. In the succeeding years, the CCF placed members on the executives of various trade unions, and, in many instances, slowly replaced communist leaders (Avakumovic, 1978). Courting the unions proved successful in securing financial support, but election results remained disappointing and by the early 1950's, the CCF appeared destined to be a perennial third choice. In 1954 the Trades and Labour Congress (TLC) and the Canadian Congress of Labour (CCL) began negotiations to merge. Two years later, in 1956, the Canadian

Labour Congress (CLC) came into existence after agreeing upon policy in consultation with the CCF leadership. The Political Action Committee and the Political Education Committee of the CLC were made up largely of pro-CCF unionists. The resolution on political education and action passed at the founding convention of the CLC stated (Young, 1969b):

The Political Education Committee be authorized to initiate discussions with free trade unions not affiliated with the Congress, with the principal farm organizations in Canada, with the co-operative movement, and with the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation or other political parties pledged to support the legislative program of the Canadian Labour Congress, excluding communist and fascist dominated parties, and to explore and develop co-ordination of action in the legislative and political field (p.131).

NEW DIRECTIONS: 1956-1961

The national party membership hit a record low in 1954, falling to 18,273, with one third of the membership concentrated in the province of Saskatchewan (Avakumovic, 1978, p.143). The CCF could no longer attract members with their earlier anti-capitalist rhetoric and cries of Armageddon. The leadership of the CCF recognized that the Regina Manifesto contained principles that were no longer realistic or popular. It became evident that to attract a larger percentage of the electorate it would be necessary to change the basis of the party's appeal. Therefore, to appeal to the growing middle-class it would be necessary to redraft the Regina Manifesto. In 1956, after much discussion, and with objections and protests from the CCF fundamentalists, the membership adopted a new

manifesto - the Winnipeg Declaration of Principles. The "right wing" of the CCF argued that the Winnipeg Declaration was a modernization of the Regina Manifesto. It was a much shorter and less radical document than the Regina Manifesto and, according to Engleman and Schwartz (1967), was a de-ideolization of the CCF. Its opening statement read like the Regina Manifesto's: its aim was the "establishment in Canada by democratic means of a co-operative commonwealth in which the supplying of human needs and the enrichment of human life shall be the primary purpose of our society." It concluded not with the original Manifesto's call to eradicate capitalism, but rather with the universally-acceptable statement: "The CCF will not rest content until every person in this land and in all other lands is able to enjoy equality and freedom, a sense of human dignity, and an opportunity to live a rich and meaningful life as a citizen of a free and peaceful world" (Young, 1969b, pp.313-317).

The strong ties and affiliation with the new CLC and the prose of the new and less radical Winnipeg Declaration made little difference in the 1958 federal election (Table II). The CCF's share of the popular vote fell slightly and it lost seventeen seats, including that of national party leader M.J. Coldwell. The CCF appeared to be on the brink of disappearing as a national political force, unless more dramatic changes were made. As Morton (1977) explains: "It was not simply the Regina Manifesto which tied the CCF to the thirties; it was the name, the faces, the utterances, the ever-present righteousness - the entire image of the party" (p.20).

TABLE II

NATIONAL ELECTIONS - 1935-1958: PERCENTAGE OF POPULAR VOTE, BY PARTIES

	<u>1935</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1945</u>	<u>1949</u>	<u>1953</u>	<u>1957</u>	<u>1958</u>
Liberal	44	55	41	50	49	40	33
Conservative	30	31	28	30	31	40	54
CCF	9	9	16	13	11	11	10
Social Credit	4	3	4	2	5	6	2
Others	<u>13</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	99	100	100	100	100

(cited in Zakuta, 1964, p.156)

Following the traumatic defeat of 1958, the executive council of the CLC and the leadership of the CCF combined forces for the task of building a new party. A joint CLC - CCF committee was formed and became known as the National Committee for the New Party (NCNP). For three years the NCNP conducted an educational campaign for the purpose of enlightening the membership to the need for a new political party, one that appealed to a broader segment of the population and contained less of the movement's dogma and political righteousness. The CCF established "New Party" Clubs, con-

ducted numerous seminars, produced "New Party" pamphlets, published regular "New Party" articles in the various CCF newspapers, and a book entitled Social Purpose for Canada was published. By the summer of 1961 there were 8,500 members in 300 New Party clubs, and a party newspaper later claimed: "It was the longest, largest nation-wide teach-in in our history" (Morton, 1977, p.21). The three year New Party educational campaign culminated in August, 1961, with over 2,000 delegates spending five days drafting the direction the New Party would take. A new leader, T.C. Douglas, was chosen, and the CCF became a part of Canadian history, its place to be taken by what was now called the New Democratic Party.

CONCLUSION

The twenty-nine year history of the CCF was a history of a political movement which grew into a centralized political party. In the process of evolution much of its early movement - educational zeal was replaced by political determination to win elections as the means to usher in a socialist society. Zakuta (1964) suggests that the progress of the CCF from movement to party was one of an organization coming to terms with the world, and that the CCF went the way of all organizations and became institutionalized. The various protest movements that united to form the CCF in 1932 changed and adapted over the decades, but the CCF never lost sight of its ultimate goal, to establish democratic socialism in Canada.

CHAPTER III

ADMINISTRATION OF CCF MEMBERSHIP EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

The leadership of the British Columbia CCF in the early years strongly believed in the need to educate the membership concerning the principles and applications of democratic socialism. An educated membership, it was thought, could in turn inform and convert others to the cause of socialism. Angus MacInnis, M.P., summed up the CCF's educational philosophy in 1941 in a personal letter (letter to Mr. Holmes, February 16th, 1941: MacInnis Personal Papers, 54A-14):

. . . You ask the question 'Is it possible to so educate the masses (for social change) in the present environment, and is it possible to change the environment without educating the masses?'

My answer to that question must be a yes and a no. It all depends on what is meant by 'education'. If by 'education' you mean to educate the masses to an understanding of abstract economics and social philosophy the answer is no. When the seers and the prophets do not agree, and we have a new 'interpretation' each week, what hope is there for the education of the masses. If by 'education' we mean working together in all those constructive activities which form our lives - trade unions, producers and consumers, co-operatives, adult educational circles where man's relations to his fellows in a social world is explained, the answers yes

The administrative structure of the educational activities of the British Columbia CCF movement were firmly established by 1933. Membership education was considered an important aspect of the new movement, and various provincial committees

were established to provide educational services for the new and growing membership. In 1933, the Constitution of the Associated CCF clubs (B.C.) stated "that there shall be the following standing committees, which shall be subject to the direction of the Executive: a) Membership and Credentials; b) Ways and Means; c) Extension; d) Speakers and Radio; e) Education." Over the years, some of these standing committees were changed or deleted, and new committees added. For twenty-eight-years the Education Committee and a number of other specialized committees played an active role in providing education for the CCF membership.

The educational programs for CCF members were carried out by a dedicated corps of volunteer workers. At no time in the history of the provincial CCF was a salaried educational agent employed. The volunteer educators designed correspondence courses; planned and organized lectures and seminars; operated a successful summer school; produced radio programs and films; published pamphlets and books; and published a provincial CCF newspaper. The volunteer educators, working on various committees, produced a great wealth and variety of adult education programs.

PROVINCIAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE: 1933-1961

The role played by the provincial Education Committee was seen to be of prime importance to the CCF. In 1949 the National Education Committee stated (MacInnis Collection, 26-12):

There are no more important educational bodies than the provincial committees. If they do not function, two results follow: local groups fail to get the necessary inspiration and assistance and therefore languish or disappear; and it is almost impossible for the national office to make an effective contribution.

The chairperson of the Education Committee was appointed annually by the provincial executive; and committee members had to be approved by the executive before taking up their duties. The committee submitted progress reports to the provincial council and provincial executive meetings, and reported annually to the provincial convention on its various educational programs. The provincial Education Committee encouraged the CCF clubs and riding associations to elect a local education chairperson or secretary, and to submit education reports to the provincial committee. The provincial Committee conducted numerous needs assessments in an effort to determine the educational needs for the subsequent years. These were carried out in 1935, 1939, 1945, 1947, 1950, 1953 and 1958.

The task of the provincial Education Committee was never fully defined. Each new education chairperson and committee had to define their objectives for the year. Over the years the Committee designed and produced correspondence courses and study outlines, and published books and pamphlets on socialism, current affairs, international affairs, CCF policy, and campaign skills. The committee submitted articles to the CCF provincial newspaper, assisted the Literature Committee in promoting socialist publications, and aided the Speakers Committee by producing pamphlets on public speaking and organizing seminars

on speech-making. The Education Committee conducted seminars, lectures, weekend schools, and winter schools. In general, it was responsible for the adult education of the CCF membership, and assisted other committees in their educational endeavours.

The Education Committee was a separate committee during the early years, assumed responsibility for other committees during the middle years, and came under the jurisdiction of the Administration or Organization Committees in the later years. Its work, orientation, and emphasis changed as circumstances dictated. In election years, a great deal of time was spent on campaign matters. During this period such election activities infringed on educational concerns, plans and programs. Because a new education chairperson was usually appointed annually, chairpersons and committee members had different levels of expertise and divergent orientations, and the educational programs varied considerably from year to year in their objectives and orientations. The first chairperson of the Education Committee, Mildred Osterhout, stated (MacInnis Collection, 45-12):

although generally concerned with the educational work of the various parts of the movement, this committee has been primarily interested in encouraging clubs to develop a regular method of study through the reading and discussion of pamphlets, books, and papers presenting the Socialist philosophy and program.

In 1940 the Education Committee made a recommendation to the provincial executive that "education within the movement be made part of the CCF policy, with agreement to undertake study

as a condition of membership" (MacInnis Collection, 46-5). The 1954 Education Committee saw its role as informing the membership about the party's history, philosophy, and program; training members as CCF spokesmen, administrators and campaign workers; and conducting extension education or propaganda (MacInnis Collection, 49-2).

LITERATURE COMMITTEE: 1933-1961

The provincial CCF established a Literature Committee in 1933 to be responsible for the promotion and circulation of socialist literature. In 1934 space was made available at provincial headquarters in Vancouver to develop a literature department for party members. For twenty-eight years the Literature Committee promoted socialist books and CCF pamphlets, contributed regular articles to the provincial CCF newspaper on various socialist books, and assisted other committees to produce educational literature.

Literature, according to the 1948 CCF Handbook, was essential for all CCF educational activities because reading was still the most common method by which opinions were formed and minds influenced. The Handbook further stated that "in all educational work literature is the raw material without which little constructive result can be achieved."

The CCF was convinced that if it was to build a socialist movement and to form a socialist government, it must produce and distribute CCF and socialist literature to party members and the general public. The CCF leadership believed that the

victory of the British Labour Party in 1945 was in part due to the publications produced by the British Fabian Society, the Labour Book Club, and the Labour Party itself (CCF Handbook, 1948). In the early years of the CCF, the LSR produced materials on the CCF platform and policy. After 1941, socialist books, pamphlets, handbooks and study courses were produced by CCF organizers, politicians and a large group of volunteers.

A Literature Committee was appointed annually. Working in close co-operation with the provincial executive, it was responsible for promoting and distributing socialist literature within the CCF. This committee was responsible for encouraging and assisting local Literature Committees. The provincial literature committee was further encouraged to develop a flow of literature from provincial headquarters to the local CCF clubs. A literature conference in Toronto in 1946 summed up the responsibilities of the Literature Committee in this way (MacInnis Collection, 23-10):

The first concern of the Provincial Literature Committee is to stimulate interest and understanding of socialism and of the ways and means of carrying out our program, within our own movement as well as the general public.

Each CCF club was encouraged to appoint a literature secretary or committee, whose task was to order literature for sale in the club, to see that there was always a literature display at every CCF club meeting in their area, and to stimulate the use of CCF literature. The club executive was encouraged to vote a certain sum of money to the Literature Committee to purchase a stock of CCF pamphlets and socialist

books, and the proceeds from the sales were to be used for additional purchases. The Literature Committee was also encouraged to work in co-operation with the Membership and Organization Committees, particularly during campaign periods. The Literature Committee co-operated with the Education Committee to produce literature for study groups, discussions, debates and seminars; it also assisted the club in formulating policy.

WOODSWORTH BOOK CLUB: 1953-1961

The Woodsworth Book Club was established in 1953 by the Ontario Woodsworth Memorial Foundation. Its goal was to supply party members with books on social and political subjects, and its work was deemed particularly important for rural members who did not have the advantages of large libraries or book stores. The books offered to the membership by the Woodsworth Book Club were on:

1. Social and political affairs
2. International affairs
3. Canadian affairs
4. History
5. Biographies
6. Fiction

The Woodworth Book Club operated in a similar fashion to commercial book clubs. A 1954 brochure stated (MacInnis Collection, 2A-37):

There is no membership fee to enrol in this Book Club. You simply order those books which you wish to purchase. Books are mailed post-paid. After purchase of four books over any period you will receive a free premium book.

NEWSPAPER COMMITTEE: 1933-1961

A committee was formed in 1933 to produce a provincial CCF newspaper for the membership. It was recognized that the CCF would need its own press for socialist information and education. The first newspaper, published the same year, was the Commonwealth. The name was changed to the Federationist in 1936, and in 1943, to the CCF News. An article in a 1943 edition of the CCF News claimed the paper was "an essential instrument in helping the membership to democratically formulate the movement's policies on a sound basis of fact," and later in the same year, it was referred to as "a valuable educational and propaganda weapon." It went on to claim that (MacInnis Collection, 30E-11A):

1. It provides information about problems, situations and activities of the CCF, nationally and locally.
2. It provides information as to what clubs, riding associations, district councils and executives are doing.
3. It provides a means of communication between all members and sections of the movement.

The CCF News Committee reported to the delegates attending the 1954 provincial convention (MacInnis Collection 49-2):

. . . The CCF News must be essentially the official organ of a responsible political party, interpreting that party's policies to the public and in a secondary way fulfill the role of a journal dedicated to the publication of experimental theories in social-economic problems.

The CCF newspaper was dependent on a number of volunteer writers, proof-readers and designers. The Newspaper Committee was habitually plagued with financial problems, but

continued to publish for twenty-eight years on either a weekly or monthly basis, depending on finances and the amount of volunteer support. The newspaper provided national and international news of the labour, socialist and co-operative movements, published CCF platforms and policies, supplied regular book reviews on socialist books, provided study outlines for group discussions, and a letters-to-the-editor column for sharing membership concerns.

SPEAKERS COMMITTEE: 1933-1961

A Speakers Committee was established in 1933; later that year, a Speakers Bureau was in operation. The Speakers Committee set itself the task of organizing a Subject-Speakers List and co-ordinating speaking engagements for the CCF clubs. In 1934 a comprehensive list of speakers and their subject areas was drawn up and made available to the clubs. The subject areas included in the list were (MacInnis Collection, 24-5):

CCF SPEAKERS LIST: 1934

A) GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF THE NATIONAL PLATFORM

1. Economic Planning	3 speakers
2. Socialization of Finance	5 speakers
3. Social Ownership	4 speakers
4. Agriculture	1 speaker
5. External Trade	2 speakers
6. Co-operative Institutions	4 speakers
7. Labour Code	2 speakers
8. Socialized Health	1 speaker
9. B.N.A. Act	3 speakers
10. International Relations	4 speakers
11. Taxation and Public Relations	2 speakers
12. Freedom of Speech	4 speakers
13. Social Justice	4 speakers
14. An Emergency Program	3 speakers

B) OTHER SUBJECTS

1. Education	6 speakers
2. Social Services	1 speaker "and others"
3. Marxian Economics	1 speaker
4. Materialist Conception of History	1 speaker "and others"
5. Russia	3 speakers
6. The Church and the CCF	3 speakers
7. The Youth and the CCF	4 speakers
8. The Press and the CCF	2 speakers
9. Technocracy	1 speaker
10. Municipal Finance	1 speaker
11. Douglas System of Social Credit	1 speaker
12. Gessell System of Currency	2 speakers
13. Women under the New Social Order	All women speakers
14. Birth Control	All women speakers

C) OTHER SUBJECTS NOT RELATED TO THE CCF PLATFORM

1. Japan, Austria, Holland and Scandinavian countries	3 speakers
2. Juvenile Delinquency and the Depression	1 speaker
3. Democracy and the World Crisis	1 speaker
4. The New Educational Psychology	1 speaker
5. Contemporary Literature and the World Crisis	1 speaker
6. Modern Drama and the Labour Problem	1 speaker
7. Has the League of Nations Justified its Existence	1 speaker

In 1936 the provincial Speakers Committee outlined its areas of responsibility (MacInnis Collection, 45-14):

1. All speakers shall be under the control of the Speakers Committee.
2. All speakers, including M.L.A.'s and M.P.'s, shall attend the Speakers' Conferences held at Headquarters or be subject to reprisals.
3. No speakers, including M.L.A.'s and M.P.'s, shall make arrangements for tours, itineraries, or meetings, without consent of the Speakers' Committee and co-operation with same.
4. Forms shall be furnished the clubs upon which they must report to the Speakers' Committee concerning the presentation, effect, and nature of the addresses made by our official speakers. Failure to comply will automatically bar a club from obtaining further services of the Committee.

In 1938 a Speakers Conference was conducted by the Speakers Committee with speakers classes being held on a fairly regular basis, usually sponsored by the Education Committee. In 1939 the provincial Education Committee published a six page booklet entitled Hints on Making a Speech and the national office produced a booklet, Speakers Notes. The ambitious plans of the early years of the Speakers Committee failed to materialize. Much of the responsibility for co-ordinating speakers devolved upon the office staff at provincial headquarters and the local organizations. M.P.'s and M.L.A.'s were required to devote a fair amount of their time to speaking engagements for local clubs and constituency associations, and speaking engagements in the middle and later years increasingly became the responsibility of the elected members.

SUMMER SCHOOL COMMITTEE: 1934-1954

A Summer School Committee was established in 1934 for the purpose of planning, organizing and implementing an annual summer school for CCF members and their families. The goal of the CCF summer school was twofold: to offer educational programs in socialist education, and to provide a recreational site. A 1948 brochure on the CCF summer school stated that (MacInnis Collection, 24-7):

- it's a place for recreation for adult, youth and child.
- it's a place to learn of Socialism in a most pleasant fashion.
- it's a place to air problems to folk from the rest of the province and get their help.
- it's a place to get a wider vision of the CCF.

The first CCF summer school was held in 1934, and it operated annually for twenty-one years, until declining participation and financial problems forced the committee to abandon the project. The summer school had many moves in its early years until a permanent site was purchased. The first summer schools were held at Fulford Harbour and St. Mary's Lake on Salt Spring Island, and at Fisherman's Cove in West Vancouver. In 1943 property was purchased on Taylor Bay, Gabriola Island, the property being named Camp Woodsworth. Permanent cabins and oceanfront tents were used to accommodate the school's participants. A 1946 Summer School Committee report stated that (MacInnis Collection, 24-7):

Lectures and consequent discussions are usually held in the open air on a grassy plot by the beach with an exquisite panorama of ocean, forest and mountain ranges. Morning sessions usually last about ninety minutes; afternoons about an hour; evening sessions about the same, occasionally shortened to admit an entertainment period ending up with campfire singsongs.

The summer school consisted of a two-week educational-recreational program from 1934 to 1944. From 1945 until 1954 it operated for four weeks, with one week usually allocated for educational and recreational programs for the youth. A survey of summer school programs and Summer School Committee Reports from 1945 to 1954 reveals that the day was divided into three sessions. The morning session, usually held from 10 a.m. to 12 noon, centered on subjects like socialist ideology, national and international affairs, trade unionism, and CCF policy and programs. Prominent M.P.'s, M.L.A.'s, union and CCF leaders served as guest lecturers and group leaders. The

afternoon was usually free for "hiking, swimming and fishing." The evening session featured a general or group discussion followed by social activities.

In the 1950's enrollment of summer-school participants began to decline (Information extracted and compiled from the MacInnis Collection, folders 2a-30 to 49-10). (Table III)

TABLE III

ATTENDANCE CCF SUMMER SCHOOL 1941 - 1955

<u>1941</u>	<u>1942</u>	<u>1943</u>	<u>1944</u>	<u>1945</u>	<u>1946</u>	<u>1947</u>	<u>1948</u>	<u>1949</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1952</u>	<u>1953</u>	<u>1954</u>	<u>1955</u>
93	105	177	199	212	141	184	+	*	220	133	120	116	116	76

+ Summer School Committee Report for year 1948 did not list attendance, but stated "a record number of participants."

* No attendance mentioned for the year 1949.

The Summer School Committee reported to the 1956 Provincial Convention that "there has been a noticeable trend or change during recent years in the pattern of our members' habits in the use of their available holiday time during the summer months and there appears to be no longer a desire to attend such a camp" (MacInnis Collection 49-10).

The Committee recommended that the CCF summer school cease to operate and the Gabriola property be sold. The report stated (MacInnis Collection, 24-7):

The Camp Committee feels that the Camp as it has functioned in the last few years has not fulfilled the purpose for which the camp was established, that is, to further education in CCF aims and policies. The Camp program provided has not failed, but too few people have attended to take advantage of the opportunities Another disturbing fact has been the age group. In 1955, 55% of the campers were over 60 or under 16 years of age. The financial statement shows that on camp operation this year, we lost money for the first time in several years The Committee appreciates very much the services and the loyalty of the many outstanding speakers who have given of their time and money, but we feel we can no longer call upon them to speak again to the small audiences we have had in the past few years.

TRADE UNION COMMITTEE: 1944-1954

In 1938 the national CCF Convention recommended that every effort should be made, nationally and provincially, to establish the necessary mechanism for maintaining a harmonious relationship between the CCF and the trade union movement. This Convention also recommended to provincial Councils that they establish Trade Union Committees with the following functions (MacInnis Collection, 24-8):

1. To act as the official contact between the CCF and the Trade Union Movement.
2. To foster harmonious relations between the CCF and organized Labor by a careful presentation to the unions of CCF policy regarding unionism and labour legislation.
3. To act as a research committee on all matters pertaining to unionism.
4. To disseminate among the CCF membership a knowledge of the history and principles of unionism; and the relationship between economic and political activities.

The provincial Trade Union Committee (T.U.C.) came into existence in 1944, and was engaged in educational programming

for a decade. The goal of the T.U.C. was to promote political education in the trade union movement, to raise the political consciousness of trade unionists, and to equip CCF union members with leadership skills. The T.U.C. conducted seminars, lectures, and conferences, and contributed to the summer school programs. Classes and seminars were held on trade-union structure, collective bargaining, labour legislation, socialist economics, CCF policy, public speaking and leadership. The T.U.C. contributed a regular column to the CCF News and also published a monthly Trade Union Bulletin, which it distributed monthly to CCF trade unionists and the executives of a number of trade unions. The Trade Union Bulletin published educational articles and news of developments within the trade union movement. The Education Committee of the T.U.C. produced numerous pamphlets on CCF policy and labour legislation. These pamphlets were:

The C.P.R. Pension Plan
The Trade Union Act in Saskatchewan
Can Organized Labor Keep out of Politics
The Right to Strike
Can a Trade Unionist Live and Learn
Political Action with CCF

INDUSTRIAL CLUBS: 1943-1947

In 1943 the provincial executive proposed the development of CCF industrial clubs. These clubs were maintained for the ensuing four years. The rationale for the new clubs was that workers' lives revolved around their place of employment, rather than the communities in which they lived. An industrial club, according to the CCF Executive Committee, was made up

of CCF members who had a common place of work. The CCF'ers on the job were to band together and agree to abide by the constitution and platform of the CCF.

The functions of the CCF industrial club were education, business activities and social events. There were two parts to the educational activities: first, the members were to educate themselves; second, they were to introduce their fellow workers to democratic socialism. The activities recommended for industrial club members were (MacInnis Collection, 24-8):

1. Study the CCF program and philosophy.
2. Educate fellow workers in CCF program and philosophy.
3. Build democratic unions.
4. Study the political problems of trade unions.
5. Help to determine CCF policy on political concerns of organized labor.
6. Help to determine union policy on political concerns of organized labor.

THE SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP: 1950-1951

Following the 1950 National Convention, a group of Vancouver-based CCF members formed the Socialist Fellowship. Acknowledged left-wing socialists, the group formed a separate organization within the CCF to develop and promote socialism from the international socialist position.. The Fellowship defined itself in volume 11 of their monthly bulletin, Socialist Thought:

The Socialist Fellowship is composed of CCF members who believe that Socialism can only be achieved by the application of scientific socialist methods. Its purpose is to create an effective educational group who can have complete freedom in the expression of their ideas. It believes that the policies pursued by the CCF,

both domestic and foreign, should rest on Socialist Principles.

The Fellowship was concerned with CCF policies and what they acknowledged as a direction towards liberal reform. They were further concerned that the new recruits to the CCF were not educated in socialist principles; they feared that these new and uninformed recruits would become a majority. The purpose of the Fellowship was further defined as follows (MacInnis Collection, 30D-23):

. . . to return to the basic principles of Socialism, to spread an understanding of them and to urge their adaptation in day to day policy and to co-ordinate all activities of the Left Wing across Canada and draft a common policy of activities, including educational activities.

Organized in 1950, the short-lived Fellowship patterned itself after a left-wing organization in the British Labour Party. Members of the Fellowship were required to be members of the CCF, or the youth movement, and they attempted to form other groups outside the Vancouver area. Fearing reprisals, they attempted to preserve their anonymity by leaving names off the minutes and had correspondence sent to a Vancouver post-office box. They organized study groups, produced a monthly bulletin, formed an Education Committee and organized a program of study (MacInnis Collection, 30D-23) (Table IV).

TABLE IV

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME PROPOSED BY THE SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP

1. Evolutionary Logic (Dialectical Reasoning) 3-5 lessons
 2. Outlines of History (Primitive Man to Modern Nationalism) 10 lessons
 3. Outlines of Marxian Economics (Bartering to Modern Wager Systems) 6-8 lessons
 4. Replacement of Capitalism by Non Socialist Systems (Social Credit, Technocracy and Welfare State) 2 lessons
 5. Current Provincial and National Problems
-

The national Council of the CCF issued a statement on March 21, 1951, that "the activities of a group called the Socialist Fellowship will not be tolerated." The provincial executive, acting on instructions from Ottawa, called an emergency meeting on the same day as the Fellowship's two-day conference, instructing party members to quit the Fellowship or face expulsion from the CCF. The Fellowship Conference concluded with a majority vote to disband.

THE JOINT-LIAISON COMMITTEE: 1957-1960

In 1957 the B.C. Federation of Labour convention declared: "that the CCF at this time warrants the support of organized Labour as the best method of accomplishing its legislative aims" (MacInnis Collection, 32-9A). A Joint-Liaison Committee, representing the executive of the Federation and the executive of the provincial CCF, was formed. From 1958 to 1960, the Joint-Liaison Committee conducted numerous campaign seminars and policy conferences.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE NEW PARTY: 1958-1961

In 1958 the Canadian Labor Congress (C.L.C.) proposed "a broadly based people's movement which embraced the CCF" (Morton, 1977, p.20). The CCF accepted the CLC proposal and, later that same year, the CCF and the CLC established in Ottawa a National Committee for the New Party (N.C.N.P.). For three years, the CLC, the provincial Labour Councils, and CCF organizations held seminars and meetings to discuss the feasibility, program, and constitution of a proposed New Party. Personal notes of provincial secretary H. Thayer summed up the goal of the CLC and CCF liaison (personal notes, H. Thayer, MacInnis Collection, 30E-1):

We are not talking about a united front. We are talking about a New Party with the best features of the CCF and the Trade Union movement (p.8).

The N.C.N.P. encouraged the development of New Party Clubs to increase recruitment of non-CCF members. The Committee published a monthly newsletter, produced six New Party pamphlets and organized a national conference as well as two regional conferences. In January 1960, the N.C.N.P. published two study guides outlining the program and constitution of the proposed New Party. These study guides were used as discussion papers for numerous seminars and meetings.

In British Columbia CCF clubs, New Party clubs and the trade union movement took advantage of the national New Party newspaper, and the literature produced by the CLC and N.C.N.P. The clubs utilized the two N.C.N.P. study guides and CCF delegates from B.C. attended a Western regional conference on

the desirability of forming a New Party.

THE BRITISH COLUMBIA COMMITTEE FOR THE NEW PARTY:

1960-1961

In December, 1960, the B.C. Federation of Labour and the provincial CCF established the British Columbia Committee for the New Party. The Committee conducted eight regional seminars in the spring of 1961 on the feasibility of establishing a New Party.

EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS: 1943-1961

The Woodsworth Memorial Foundation in Toronto, and the Boag Foundation in Vancouver, were affiliated with the CCF but were separate from the movement. Committed to providing funds for socialist education, the two foundations contributed to a variety of CCF educational activities.

The Ontario Woodsworth Memorial Foundation was incorporated in October, 1944, for the purpose of establishing an educational institution to teach courses and undertake research in the social sciences, economics and philosophy. It established Woodsworth House and the Woodsworth House Publishers, and contributed to a variety of educational activities. Woodsworth House Publishers produced pamphlets, brochures, and booklets for political education for use within and outside the CCF.

The Boag Foundation, founded in 1943, was committed to providing socialist education for British Columbians, regardless of political affiliations of membership. Over the years the CCF

received numerous grants from the Foundation in support of a variety of educational programs and activities. In 1943 property in Vancouver belonging to Mr. Alan Boag was offered in trust to establish a Center for socialist education. It was hoped that a Labour College similar to the Labour Colleges in Britain would be established on the Vancouver site. The Center was used by the CCF for a variety of educational programs, but the Center was plagued with economic problems and the vision of a Labour College was never realized.

CHAPTER IV

METHODS, TECHNIQUES AND DEVICES

INTRODUCTION

During the late thirties and early forties the CCF searched for the most suitable and expedient adult education techniques for their programs. The CCF recognized the need to train members in using a variety of adult education techniques, as well as in choosing the most appropriate methods for a variety of settings. In 1936 a provincial Education Conference was held for education convenors and representatives. The purpose of the conference was to familiarize the participants with a range of adult education techniques. The Education Report to the Provincial Council, November 28th, 1936, stated:

In an afternoon and evening session, methods of carrying on educational work in the clubs, through study groups, centralized classes, debates, dramatics, singing and visual education were discussed. The value of the radio, the literature department, and co-operative projects were also considered.

In 1939, the provincial Education Committee held two classes for the purpose of training members "as educators and propagandists both in material and in teaching methods" (MacInnis Collection, 46-3). During this period the national CCF memoranda, bulletins, handbooks and correspondence courses stressed the need to understand the principles and methods of adult education (MacInnis Collection, 1-1, 23-5, 30D-18, 46-3). In 1948 the national Education Committee stated (MacInnis

Collection, 30D-18):

At first the idea that there are educational techniques which have to be studied and utilized may seem unfamiliar. Why not just go out and preach socialism? We now realize how much we learn indirectly by doing things, by visual aids, by dialogue and drama, by entertainment, by sheer collective fellowship. Thus, we must consider both the direct approach by books and study groups and the indirect methods less familiar to us.

HOUSE MEETINGS

The national and provincial executives issued numerous directives on the recommended format for CCF meetings. Those organizing the home meetings were encouraged to conduct their constituency or club business during the first part of the meeting, and to devote the second part to an education program. The education chairperson or secretary usually took responsibility for the planning of the educational program. The national Education Committee stated that "education should be the motive underlying all our work, and should be the primary concern in planning every club meeting" (MacInnis Collection, 30D-18)

GROUP DISCUSSION

The group discussion was the adult education technique most commonly encouraged by the national and provincial Education Committees. Group discussions were held following business meetings, and at special meetings organized around Farm Forum and Citizen's Forum broadcasts. Group discussions were encouraged after the introduction of CCF gramophone discs and films. The provincial Education Committee conducted

classes and seminars on holding group discussions, produced and circulated instruction sheets to the clubs, and published a series of discussion outlines which supplied group-discussion topics and questions.

STUDY GROUPS

The national and provincial Education Committees also encouraged CCF clubs to establish study groups as a regular club activity. The provincial CCF defined study groups as either formal or informal. Formal study groups followed a written study outline, while informal study groups followed a particular book or looked at a specific subject area without the use of a written study guide or outline. Study groups were encouraged to examine a specific book or subject, a community concern or an aspect of CCF policy. The study groups were aided by publications and book reviews supplied by the Literature Committee and Woodsworth Foundation, and by book reviews and educational articles from the CCF newspaper. The provincial Education Committees periodically sent information to the clubs on how to organize study groups, on study outlines which were available, and also circulated lists of books and pamphlets suitable for study groups. Study outlines were produced at various periods of time by the national and provincial Education Committees (Information extracted and compiled from the MacInnis Collection, folders 23-5 to 49a-12) (Table V).

TABLE V
STUDY OUTLINES: 1934 - 1960

1934 - 1939

<u>AUTHOR</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TITLE</u>
Prov.Educ.Comm.	1934	The Case for Socialism 6 Lessons
Prov.Educ.Comm.	1934	Letters to Judd 19 Lessons
Prov.Educ.Comm.	1935	Chairmanship at Public Meetings
Prov.Educ.Comm.	1935	Chairmanship at Business Meetings
	1935	Socialism and the Farmer
	1935	Industrial Economics
Prov.Educ.Comm.	1935	Public Speaking
	1935	Economics for Beginners
	1936	Proletarian Lessons
Prov.Educ.Comm.	1939	Regina Manifesto
Prov.Educ.Comm.	1939	History (printed in CCF News)
Prov.Educ.Comm.	1939	Elementary Economics 14 Lessons

1940 - 1945

<u>AUTHOR</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TITLE</u>
Prov.Educ.Comm.	1940	History (revised)
Burrard Club	1941	War by Revolution(printed in Federationist)
Prov.Educ.Comm.	1942	Victory and Reconstruction 14 Lessons

1946-1951

<u>AUTHOR</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TITLE</u>
Prov.Educ.Comm.	1946	Information Period 3 Lessons
Prov.Educ.Comm.	1946	What Labor Governments are Doing:
Prov.Educ.Comm.	1948	Study Kits on Provincial Program 6 Lessons
Prov.Educ.Comm.	1949	Essentials in Economics 6 Lessons
Nat.Educ.Comm.	1950	The National Programme 4 Lessons
Nat.Educ.Comm.	1951	Domestic Issues 4 Lessons
Nat.Educ.Comm.	1951	International Issues 4 Lessons
Nat.Educ.Comm.	1951	Socialism Today 4 Lessons

 1952 - 1957

<u>AUTHOR</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TITLE</u>	
Prov.Educ.Comm.	1953	Understanding the CCF	6 Lessons
Prov.Educ.Comm.	1954	Understanding Government	6 Lessons
Prov.Educ.Comm.	1955	Understanding Our Economy	6 Lessons
Prov.Educ.Comm.	1957	CCF Study Outline	4 parts

1958 - 1961

<u>AUTHOR</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TITLE</u>	
N.C.N.P.	1960	Study Paper on Constitution of New Party	
N.C.N.P.	1960	New Party for Canada: Study Paper on Programme.	

CORRESPONDENCE COURSES

Numerous correspondence courses were produced for the membership. It was recognized that members who lived in isolated areas, who had conflicting work schedules, or who enjoyed self-directed learning could make use of correspondence courses. Woodsworth House offered in 1947 a selection of five formal correspondence courses for individual members and groups. These particular courses were organized for a term of approximately three months, were structured into eight to ten lessons, were marked or critiqued, and the CCF participant was awarded a certificate upon completion of the course (MacInnis Collection, 23-5) (Table VI).

TABLE VI

CCF CORRESPONDENCE COURSES: 1947

COURSE I	CCF Group Activities Within a Community
COURSE II	Educational Techniques In CCF Group Activities
COURSE III	History And Function Of Trade Unions In Canada
COURSE IV	Agriculture - Before, During And After The War
COURSE V	Socialism With Freedom

EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING

The CCF clubs were encouraged to participate in experiential learning or co-operative activities. Study groups were also encouraged to apply theories and knowledge to practical projects. Credit Unions, Buying Clubs, Co-operative Libraries and Co-operative Nurseries were encouraged as a means of fulfilling individual and group needs, while at the same time being educative. The 1948 CCF Handbook stated:

While a study group is important to provide the basis of information, information in itself will never produce a co-operative commonwealth. Thus the education committee must devote at least part of its time to furthering more active types of educational projects through which CCF members can begin to put their ideas into practice and gain experience in democratic techniques.

At the 1948 provincial Education Conference the nature and purpose of Study-Action Groups was outlined. Study-Action Groups were recommended as part of the provincial education program. The purpose was to have the membership study relevant social and community problems and then take appropriate action on them. The provincial CCF clubs were encouraged to become involved in experiential projects, but little activity actually resulted.

DRAMA

Both the national and provincial CCF considered drama to be a valuable aid in promoting social-educational activities. The theater, according to the 1948 CCF Handbook, "has always been an instrument for criticizing society, championing the cause of the oppressed, and pleading for justice." The Handbook further stated: "As a good novel makes more appeal to the emotions than a non-fiction book, so a good play has a stronger appeal than a speech." The national CCF suggested two types of dramatic activity in which the CCF clubs could participate; play-reading and play-production of socialist material. Both activities were considered good techniques to use, particularly when followed by a group discussion. Play-reading was viewed as a useful way of aiding members who had limited experience in public speaking, or who were hesitant to participate in group discussion. Play-production and drama groups were considered to be useful for educational purposes, as well as being a medium to attract new members and raise funds.

The provincial CCF had an active and enthusiastic Drama Committee from 1934 to 1937, with a slight resurgence in the post-war period. Drama groups at this time were being promoted and encouraged in British Columbia. In 1937 the provincial Department of Education created a School and Community Drama Branch, and by 1939, the province was divided into 15 drama districts and each of these districts conducted their own drama festival (Selman, 1976, p.31).

The provincial Education report of 1936 stated that they

"felt the importance not only of encouraging the study of socialist economics, but also using the medium of art, drama, music, etc., to express the socialist viewpoint" (MacInnis Collection, 45-12). CCF clubs wrote and produced a number of short socialist plays. A CCF Drama Festival was held in 1936 with four clubs participating. Table VII lists the plays presented (Arthur Turner Papers 1-15):

TABLE VII

CCF DRAMA FESTIVAL: 1936

<u>The Giant Killer</u>	- Kitsilano Beach CCF Dramatic Group
<u>The Great Money Trick</u>	- South Hill CCF Dramatic Group
<u>Citizen No. 3</u>	- Advance CCF Dramatic Group
<u>Underground</u>	- PAC Play-reading Group

In 1935 the Education Committee circulated a letter to CCF clubs promoting drama groups. This letter sums up the activities of the Dramatic Section of the Education Committee during the mid 1930's (MacInnis Collection 23-5):

Comrades:

Those who have read or seen the performance of any of the newer social plays will appreciate the immense power of the drama as a factor in the development of progressive thinking.

The Education Committee is extending its work to include all forms of dramatic presentation and its associated cultural activities.

Many inquiries have been sent to Headquarters during the last few months regarding the possibilities of developing this branch.

A number of isolated groups have been nobly struggling to find some form, other than the regular speech making, for presenting our conceptions and ideas

Education Committee
(Dramatic Section)

RADIO

The national and provincial CCF recognized the potential of radio as a campaign and educational medium. The national executive in 1948 stated (MacInnis Collection, 30D-18):

. . . . There has been a steady decline in the effectiveness of printed propaganda and meetings, both public and private. The CCF must therefore make increasing use of radio: 1) to make known its views and policies to the public; 2) to educate its membership and supporters; 3) to keep informed of the opinions of others.

A provincial Radio Committee was established in 1933-1934 and was responsible for raising funds for regular radio programs, encouraging members to form listening groups, contributing articles to the CCF newspapers, and assisting the Education Committee in the promotion of gramophone discs.

A. RADIO PROGRAMS

In 1947 and 1948 the provincial Radio Committee, with financial assistance from the Boag Foundation, produced a weekly Vancouver radio program, "Make This Your Canada". At the end of 1948 financial problems forced it off the air. M.L.A.'s and CCF members contributed by writing the scripts and producing the programs. A memorandum was sent to Lower Mainland clubs asking them to publicize the broadcasts and establish listening groups. Rural clubs were encouraged to establish local radio programs similar to Vancouver's, with one or two clubs producing radio programs for a short while. In

1953, the provincial Radio Committee once again produced a short-lived radio program on a Vancouver radio station, with M.L.A.'s taping the sessions. Once again the show succumbed to financial pressures.

B. LISTENING GROUPS

In 1935 the provincial Education Committee recommended (MacInnis Collection, 23-5):

For supplementary material it is suggested that clubs financially able, could instal a radio in the club room, and invite all interested to be present when educational talks are being broadcast; each one should take notes and take part in the resulting discussion.

The national and provincial Education Committee urged CCF clubs to form listening groups around CCF radio programs, local current-affairs programs, Citizens' Forum, Farm Forum and the CBC political program, "The Nation's Business." The Citizens' Forum was recognized as an excellent basis for CCF listening groups. A 1949 national Education Committee report stated (MacInnis Collection, 26-12):

Citizens' Forum broadcasts provide a useful medium for building local group discussions. They have the further merit of providing a regular opportunity of bringing people outside the movement into contact with our work by inviting them into Citizens' Forums organized by CCF'ers. Furthermore the C.A.A.E. (Canadian Association for Adult Education) is anxious that our people should make as full use of the broadcasts as possible, and are willing to provide for any mailing program we might suggest.

GRAMOPHONE RECORDINGS

The national and provincial Education Committees produced gramophone recordings (discs) to be used by listening and discussion groups. In 1943, the national Education Committee recorded a number of discussions with M.J. Coldwell and Stanley Knowles. In 1946 and 1948 five-minute discs were made available to provincial clubs of M.J. Coldwell's taped broadcasts. For these discs, local clubs were charged a small production fee. In 1950 and 1951, the Boag Foundation underwrote the cost of producing gramophone discs for use by the British Columbia clubs. The provincial discs produced were (MacInnis Collection, 48-10):

International Policy
Labor Theory of Value
CCF and Trade Unions
CCF Policy In Respect to Agriculture
CCF Policy

FILM

The CCF recognized the value of visual aids, particularly films, for educating party members and as a technique for attracting new members. A CCF circular entitled "Let Us Use Films" (no date) made the following statement (MacInnis Collection 24-2):

- Visual aids are essential to quick learning
- Films attract people from all walks of life and of all shades of political opinion
- Films impress because of their ability to focus the attention upon the subject
- Films are a proven means of inducing discussion, thought and action
- A militant socialist movement cannot afford to be too far behind the times

During the early 1940's, a newly-established provincial Film Committee conducted a number of practical experiments with film, producing two films and establishing a short-lived camera crew. "During the spring months, on a very slender allowance, this committee proceeded to make working class history by recording in pictures, activities of the working class of B.C." (MacInnis Collection, 23-8) The committee felt that film was a medium of great political potential and stated further:

. . . no longer will we have to rely on faulty memory, or someone else's story of it. Pictures will take you right to the scene of action and in the future, now that the Movement is securing more and more equipment, we shall be Johnny on the Spot to record working class history as it happens.

The first film produced was a slide/tape production entitled "First Canadian Working Class Newsreel." An accompanying ten-page commentary on the film described scenes of the Worker's May Day in Vancouver, scenes of a CCF sports day, and a pictorial history of Vancouver's "Bloody Sunday." The second film was also a slide/tape production, entitled "Heart of Vancouver." An accompanying five-page commentary described the socio-economic conditions of the city.

From 1948 to 1951, the Film Committee promoted films for the clubs, trained projectionists, and conducted classes in group-leadership skills. In 1948, the Film Committee joined the Vancouver Film Council, compiled a list of Film Councils throughout B.C., previewed films, and established a policy for the committee which was followed for the next three years

(MacInnis Collection, 47-16):

Policy of The Film Committee: 1948

1. Build up a card index of films suitable for showing by the CCF, and disseminate this information to CCF units
2. Begin operations in Greater Vancouver in order to gain experience and, if possible raise funds, then expand
3. Encourage CCF units to join local Film Councils and make use of films as a medium of education and propaganda.

In 1949, the committee circulated a questionnaire to determine the extent to which films were being used. Eight clubs responded, and, by 1951, the Film Committee reported (MacInnis Collection, 48-10):

. . . there seems to be little evidence that the main purpose of this committee, the use of films for socialist education and organization, is being fulfilled. Although a few films are utilized for discussions with socialist objectives, far more are used merely for entertainment and as a means of getting people to attend meetings.

The Film Committee gave considerable time and effort to film promotion from 1948 to 1951, without apparent success. In 1953 the committee disbanded.

CHAPTER V

CCF MEMBERSHIP EDUCATION: 1933-1961

For the purpose of this study, membership education of the provincial CCF is described as falling into five periods. A world war, national and provincial elections, the economy and political concerns had a definite effect on educational programming. Each of the five educational periods corresponds with the goals, direction and political realities of the CCF.

In the early and formative years of the CCF, educational programs were aimed at educating the new members to the principles of democratic socialism. In 1940 and throughout the war years political realities and concerns had an effect on the choice of educational programs offered to the membership. With a decline in political popularity in the post-war and early 1950's, the CCF evaluated their future political course. Organizational plans were introduced during this period, and the CCF was pulled in two directions; to place a greater emphasis on membership education, or to become an efficient and organized political party. From 1952 to 1957 membership education became less important, and political concerns dominated. In 1958 the CCF once again evaluated its decline in political popularity. From 1958 to 1961 the CCF planned education programs and educational material for the purpose of establishing a New Party.

I - FORMATIVE PERIOD: 1933-1939

This period in the history of the CCF in British Columbia was marked by a growing interest in democratic socialism and a rapid growth in CCF membership and clubs. The years 1933 to 1939 saw the formation of several standing committees for educational work; the establishment and experimentation with adult education methods and techniques; and the development of educational material to be studied by the growing number of CCF clubs.

In 1933, several provincial committees were formed to provide educational programs for the new movement. The Education, Speakers, Literature, Newspaper, and Summer School Committees and the Drama Group all developed programs for the newly-established CCF clubs.

In 1933 the Speakers Committee compiled a comprehensive list of speakers and subject areas, circulating it to the CCF clubs. In addition, the committee drew up an outline of subject areas recommended for study by the CCF study groups (Table VIII).

Study groups on Marxist economics were encouraged, with the Workers' Educational League of Vancouver (an educational association for working men) sending correspondence courses on dialectical materialism to interested CCF clubs. The report of the Speakers' Committee dated December 1933, summed up the educational philosophy of the movement during its first year (MacInnis Collection, 24-5):

Many of the CCF club members are prejudiced against Marxian economics, without exact know-

ledge of what they are. As the old Socialist groups, out of which the CCF has evolved, based their ideas on the philosophy of Karl Marx, and we have a strong group of Marxians affiliated with us today, it is essential that the CCF club members should inform themselves of this subject, in order that they may be able to come to a clear vision of the whole matter, retain those fundamental principles which are of value and reject the ideas and the terms which are no longer applicable in our modern civilization.

TABLE VIII

RECOMMENDED TOPICS FOR STUDY: 1933

1. Socialist Economics
 2. A Planned System of Social Economy for Canada
 3. Monetary Reform
 4. Socialization of Industries, Public Utilities and Natural Resources
 5. Co-operative Enterprises
 6. Democratic Methods of Gaining Control of the Economic Life of the Country
 7. Education
 8. The Outlook for Peace and War under Capitalism and Socialism
 9. Current Events: Particularly with regard to present day National Efforts toward Social Reconstruction.
-

There was a growing interest in democratic socialism and the CCF, and by 1934 there were 185 CCF clubs throughout British Columbia. In that year a course outline on public speaking was distributed to clubs; speakers's classes were organized; an outline was produced on "Why Join the CCF"; the first Summer School was held; and the Education Committee assisted the Speakers Committee in preparing material on the CCF national manifesto.

In 1935 the provincial CCF continued to grow, reaching 232 clubs by the end of the year. The chairperson of the 1934

- 1935 Education Committee delivered over 200 lectures and addresses to clubs and public meetings in approximately 30 constituency associations (MacInnis Collection, 45-12). The Education Committee carried on its work promoting socialist study groups, with sixty-six clubs reporting educational activities along the lines suggested by the committee. In that year the Education Committee produced two short study courses, attempted to establish a Labour College in Vancouver, and supplied the membership with a recommended reading list (Table IX).

TABLE IX

RECOMMENDED READING LIST: 1935

1.	<u>Shop Talks on Economics.</u>	Mercey
2.	<u>Wage, Labor and Capital.</u>	Marx
	<u>Proletarian Lessons.</u>	Keracher
3.	<u>Economics for Beginners.</u>	Keracher
	<u>The Case for Socialism</u>	Henderson
4.	<u>Value, Price and Profit.</u>	Marx
	<u>Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.</u>	Engels
5.	<u>Teachings of Karl Marx</u>	Lenin
	<u>Communist Manifesto.</u>	Marx

Two major problems faced the Education Committee in 1935. The first was the absence of a definite CCF policy on current issues. Many of the clubs were asking for study outlines and material, but the provincial CCF policy was still being formulated. The second problem was financial. The Education Report to the 1935 provincial convention stated:

There is no stenographer, no typewriter, and no equipment other than a desk. During the winter

months work has to cease before dusk, owing to bad lighting and equipment. And as regards finance, requests were sent into the Finance and Ways and Means Committee for attention to lighting, for required supplies, and for carfare for a stenographer who would donate her services if transportation were paid.

In 1936, the Education Committee reported that thirty study classes were in progress, and that the committee was continuing the educational programs established by prior committees. They also reported three new educational projects:

1. Winter School. A two-week Winter School was held in the fall of 1936. Attendance was disappointing.
2. Centralized Classes. Centralized classes in public speaking and dramatics were held, and clubs and districts were encouraged to organize centralized classes, if feasible.
3. Education Conference. An Education Conference was held on October 3rd, with 65 educational convenors and representatives from the Greater Vancouver area attending.

In 1937, the Education Committee continued the preparation of study outlines and the distribution of literature, conducted an essay contest, and continued the Winter School experiment. A conference for education chairpersons was held in late 1937 to encourage the establishment and continuation of study groups.

In January 1938, an education conference was held which looked at the upcoming Summer School, the accomplishments of the Winter School and educational problems facing the CCF clubs. In 1938 a debating team was established, Winter School continued, a Speakers Conference held, and a pamphlet produced on "How to Organize and Conduct Discussions Groups." The Education Committee circulated a letter to all clubs listing

material available for study groups, and plans were made to establish a film library.

In 1939 the Education Committee concerned itself with a growing disinterest in the available educational programs. The committee sent a questionnaire on educational needs to the Vancouver CCF clubs. The minutes of an executive meeting held on February 24, 1939, reveal the concern of the Education Committee:

It is possible that our methods of approach and methods of education are no longer suitable to the needs of the Movement. To discover whether this is so, and what other steps might be tried, a joint meeting of district council delegates was held this week, as a result of which a questionnaire is to be sent to all clubs in Vancouver.

The results of the questionnaire suggested that the discussion group was the most favoured educational medium. The subjects considered most important were economics, history, and analysis of the Regina Manifesto. Encouraged by these results, the committee made plans to hold training classes on educational techniques, designed a study outline on the Regina Manifesto, held classes on history and economics, and operated a Winter School on a nightly basis for two weeks. The expectation of an autumn federal election and the outbreak of the war curtailed further educational work during the later months of 1939.

II - EXTENSION PERIOD: 1940-1945

Two federal and two provincial elections during a period of international war marked a turning point in the content and delivery of CCF membership education. The ideological programs that characterized the first period of membership education dramatically decreased. Instead, education during this period extended its function. Membership education concerned itself with electioneering, introducing the general population to CCF policy, and preparing election platforms.

The outbreak of World War II and the federal election of 1940 limited educational activities in that program year. The lack of enthusiasm for the available programs was disappointing. Only one club used the study outline on the Regina Manifesto, classes had to be cancelled for lack of support, and Summer School attendance fell. Educational programs were slow in recommencing after the federal election, and the likelihood of an upcoming provincial election had a profound impact on the Education Committee and its plans for the future. The minutes of April 27, 1940, further reveal:

For future educational work, the Committee is of the opinion that the immediate problem is to impress upon the membership the seriousness of the existing situation in Canada, and the necessity for an after-the-war program that will avert disaster and chaos, and that will afford a foundation for a co-operative society. The Committee also has in mind the probability of an early provincial election, with the possibility that the CCF may be the next provincial government. The implications of such a possibility are far-reaching, and the Committee would stress the urgency of education along the lines of provincial administration.

The Education Committee also examined the desirability of

becoming involved in public education as well as membership education. The committee reported to the provincial executive, December 14, 1940, that "there exists a need for taking our education to the outside public in addition to our membership - something along the lines of the U.B.C. extension courses." The committee produced numerous pamphlets in 1941 (MacInnis Collection, 46-5):

Information on the CCF
Hints on Practical Politics
Highlights of the CCF in the Provincial Legislature
Highlights of the CCF in the Dominion House
Discussion Groups
Skeleton Outline of the Rowell-Sirois Report
Readers' Guide

In 1941 the Education Committee identified and defined its responsibilities as intensive education (i.e., study done by members and clubs) and extensive (i.e., carrying the CCF idea out to non-members). Membership education in 1941 continued along the lines of the programs adopted by the previous committee. The Education Committee recommended five major topics of study:

The Rowell-Sirois Report
Canada -- America's Problem
The Progressive Movements in Great Britain
Lessons on Economics
Platform of the Provincial CCF

During 1942 the Education Committee concentrated its attention on three areas: leadership training, preparing a study outline on "Victory and Reconstruction" and the production of pamphlets.

1. Leadership Training Classes

These classes included matters covering club organization, discussion group work, publicity, chairmanship and the

preparation and delivery of talks.

2. Victory and Reconstruction Study Outline

The national Convention 1941 policy statement was broken into 14 sections, for each of which a discussion outline lesson was prepared.

3. Pamphlets Produced: 1942

1. Economics for Workers
2. Meet the CCF
3. Canada on the March
4. CCF Literature Committee Catalogue
5. Agriculture

In 1943, the Education Committee became a responsibility of the Administration Committee and no longer reported directly to the provincial Executive. The Education Committee divided itself into sub-committees, and made an attempt to have CCF union members conduct educational work in their respective unions. Few educational programs were conducted in the first half of 1943, because, once again a federal election appeared imminent.

In 1944, the CCF and the Education Committee prepared for the anticipated federal election, the majority of educational work being extension education, the latter task now shared with a number of new committees. The Organization, Civic Elections, Victory Campaign, the Trade Union Committee and the Research Department, taken together, saw to the party's membership and extension education needs. Training classes were arranged, post-war pamphlets were produced, a members' Handbook was prepared and speaking classes were held. The Education Committee, in conjunction with the Victory Campaign and Literature Committees, produced several campaign and

general education pamphlets. (MacInnis Collection, 47-6, 47-3):

1. A CCF Quiz
2. I Wouldn't Talk About the Japanese
3. A Woman's Leaflet
4. Action on the Home Front
5. Cook Book
6. Marching Home to What?

In 1945, the majority of CCF members were busy working in federal, provincial, and civic elections. As a result, the regular activities of the Education Committee were greatly reduced. However, the committee continued to work with the Victory Campaign Committee in the production of pamphlets. The committee also sent a questionnaire to each CCF club and constituency association to determine the amount and extent of educational work being carried out. Nineteen clubs responded. After examining the results, the Education Committee reported to the 1945 provincial convention:

. . . we might as well face the fact that our CCF clubs and riding associations as a whole have not developed well rounded educational programs. They are slow to use the modern methods, radio listening groups, films, discussion groups, dramatics and cultural groups, and participation in a wide range of community projects. We have yet to learn that if the CCF is to attain full success, it must become much more than an effective political organization. It must learn to reach all kinds of people in all kinds of ways.

III - POLARIZED PERIOD: 1946-1951

From 1946 to 1951 the provincial CCF was polarized in two directions; to remain a political movement committed to socialist education, or to become an organized political party. This period saw the national and provincial CCF prepare two

major plans for education and organization. The provincial Education Committees from 1949 through 1951 were committed to returning to fundamental socialist education, an activity that went on against the backdrop of activities aimed at transforming the CCF into a successful and well organized political party.

A Three Year Plan was initiated by the provincial CCF for the years 1946, 1947 and 1948. Its objectives were outlined in the N.B. bulletin, April 1946, p.11 (MacInnis Collection, 47-7):

1. Double Membership.
2. Triple CCF News subscriptions.
3. Maintain an enlarged and sustained program of education of the public.
4. Maintain an enlarged and sustained program of education within our organization.

On September 21, 1946, at a provincial conference held to discuss the proposed Three Year Plan, the official report of the conference explained that:

. . . the solution or the answer to the question as to why at this time we have some 15,000 ex members, is the fact that they can not have been properly educated in terms of socialist education, otherwise there would simply be no question about their adhering to the workers' party. But the educational program has been based upon the selection of what was personally agreed to be the minimum necessary, to make it interesting for new members.

In this post-election, post-war year, the Education Committee conducted an evaluation of literature within the movement; published a pamphlet on educational films; produced a three-session course on CCF functions and philosophy entitled "Information Period"; held a Speakers Workshop; and conducted an Education Conference. The Conference recommended that

the Education Committee provide educational material on socialist knowledge (economics and philosophy), explanatory material on the CCF, and current affairs information.

The Education Committee in 1947 once again reported directly to the provincial Executive, and ceased to be responsible to the Administration Committee. The Education Committee continued the programs of the preceding year and attempted to determine current educational needs, and to to recommend the directions to be followed by future committees.

In June 1947, the Education Committee sent a questionnaire to all CCF clubs in the province. Twenty-three responded, listing subjects they considered of most interest to the membership (MacInnis Collection, 47-12, 47-17) (Table X).

TABLE X

1947 EDUCATION SURVEY: TOPIC-INTERESTS

1. History and Purpose of the CCF
 2. Topics of Current Interest
 3. Basic Socialism
 4. World Affairs
 5. Provincial Natural Resources
-

The Education Committee of 1948 concerned itself with preparations for an election which seemed likely for later that year. The Education Committee reported to the 1949 provincial Convention that its first educational objective was to provide an explanation of CCF policy to the membership (MacInnis Collection, 48-3). As a result the Education Committee and the Literature Committee produced a series of pamphlets and study

guides on current affairs and CCF policy. The Education Report to the provincial Council on November 13, 1948, expressed the educational emphasis for that year:

With two elections in the next year, those people who will be doing the campaign work, CCF members, must be fully conversant with the CCF aims and Program. With this in mind, we are preparing a series of study kits based on the Provincial Program. The topics are: Health, Monopolies and Cartels, Co-operatives, Agriculture, Natural Resources and Labor.

A provincial and a federal election in the first half of 1949 prevented the Education Committee from conducting educational activities for the first eight months of the year. The year 1949 was also marked by a great deal of concern about the direction the CCF was following. Bitter defeats in the federal election of that year set the national and provincial Executives on a path of analyzing political direction and future party organization.

In October, 1949, the National Expansion Drive (N.E.D.) came into existence. The national Executive felt it was necessary to create a three-year plan that would prepare the CCF for the next federal election, and N.E.D. stressed the idea of organizational growth along with educational development. The national Executive issued an Education Report in October, 1949, which stated:

Your committee is of the opinion that the proposed three year plan offers an admirable opportunity for building an organization specifically to promote educational activity, and to build it as an integrated part of the overall work of the movement. In fact it is more than an opportunity; it is a necessity which we can no longer ignore. For without a greatly intensified educational program we shall never be

able to build soundly, and our educational efforts will not remain effective even until the next election.

The National Expansion Drive recommended that part-time CCF organizers be hired to commence organization-education work throughout the provinces. It was felt that "in this way educational activities will be integrated in practice, as well as in theory, with other organization activity" (Education Report to the National Council, August 26, 1949, p.3). In 1949 the provincial Organization Committee recommended to the provincial convention that the Education Committee produce campaign and current affairs pamphlets, as well as literature for canvassers.

The 1949 Education Committee was convinced, however, that there was an urgent need for socialist education. The committee reintroduced pamphlets and books that they referred to as "Socialist Classics," and the Literature Department began promoting them to the membership. A six-lesson study course on socialist economics was produced and distributed. Twenty-seven study groups undertook the course. Open Forums were promoted, speakers classes held, and the committee wrote a regular column in the CCF News devoted to socialist theory. The Education Report to the 1950 provincial convention reflected the Education Committee's concern for socialist education:

When your Committee was formed, last August, controversy on the causes of the electoral defeats was profoundly agitating the movement. A general desire for a new approach was obvious. By many statements and comments of fellow members a revival of Socialist Education seemed virtually necessary.

The direction and policy that the 1949 provincial Education Committee took in promoting socialist education came under attack, as being opposed to the work deemed essential by the Organization Committee. The Education Report to the 1950 convention claimed that "disapproval of this policy by influential persons in the CCF has been evident even before we commenced doing anything and has continued without interruption to the present date."

A questionnaire designed to survey the educational activities of the CCF clubs was circulated in early 1950. The small number of returns was disappointing, and the provincial Council minutes of February 11, 1950 state: "it is difficult to draw any province-wide conclusions from a few reports . . . but there is a lack of educational activity." The Education Committee set itself the task of an education program grounded in the "fundamentals" of socialism. The task accomplished by the committee was the production of five gramophone discs on CCF policy. The Education Committee acknowledged to the 1951 provincial convention that "from an educational point of view the past year has not been an outstanding success."

The Education Committee of 1951 was committed to the study of basic socialism and they spent a great deal of time in planning sessions. The minutes of November 10, 1951, reveal, however, that "the only project that has gone beyond the discussion stage is the preparation of panel discussions for circulation among the clubs." The CCF in 1951 was preparing for two general elections; and organization, fundraising and

pre-election planning occupied much of the activities of the year. It was in this atmosphere that a new and unofficial organization developed within the CCF. The Socialist Fellowship was concerned with the direction that the movement was taking, and this group of acknowledged "left wing" socialists wanted CCF policy and educational programs returned to the basic principles of socialism. The Fellowship was committed to education, and believed it was necessary to establish programs on the principles of Marxist economics. However, the national and provincial Executives ordered the Fellowship to disband, and in the spring of 1951 it ceased to function.

IV - ORGANIZATION PERIOD: 1952-1957

In the period 1952 to 1957 the Education Committee became a vehicle for the Organization Committee and these two committees formed a working liaison. Elections and by-elections intruded on educational activities and were, by the latter years, beginning to dominate the selection of literature and educational activities. The party felt its first priority was to educate and inform the membership about current CCF policy and platforms and to equip the members with organization and campaign skills. The educational programs that were offered tended to focus on organization and campaign preparations and the majority of literature produced was an explanation of CCF policy for extension programs.

In 1952 the provincial CCF became involved in campaign planning, strategy and activities. Two general elections con-

sumed the attention of the membership, with educational work being set aside. The report of the provincial president to the 1953 provincial convention revealed the state of the educational activities of 1952:

. . . our activities of the past year were very inadequate in many ways. While we did well on the organizing front we did not parallel that activity with an education program. This will have serious consequences if we are not able to meet this need in the very near future. Our greatest need is more people to do more jobs. We experienced great difficulty in getting workers for our various committees. As a result, little work was done about education, literature and other phases of our work.

A letter was sent in 1953 to the membership concerning education in the CCF. Approximately fifty members responded to an enclosed questionnaire, with almost 100 per cent supporting the educational work being carried on. The chairperson of the Education Committee reported in the CCF News, November 25, 1953:

. . . we had around fifty letters. Only one of them said 'In my opinion you are wasting your time.' The rest said 'Go ahead.' And they suggested that we prepare material on a hundred and one things, from the Cameron Report to cartels. We feel the CCF wants an Education Department, not an Education Committee.

The Education Committee of 1953, inspired by the questionnaire responses, undertook two projects during the year. It worked with the Organization Committee to conduct a series of leadership training conferences and it produced six booklets under the title "Understanding the CCF." This series was written by well known CCF members and was designed for use by study groups. The response to this series was encouraging.

Orders were filled for over 1200 sets and plans were laid to follow with a series of six booklets called Understanding our Economy. The Education Committee was not wholly satisfied with their activities, however, and made the recommendation that the CCF establish a Canadian Fabian Society. The committee saw the need within the CCF for a body committed to the development of creative and intellectual activity.

The Education Committee in 1954 attempted to carry on with the plans of the previous committee and once again worked with the Organization Committee to hold regional organization and education conferences. The provincial Executive wished to organize activities within the various poll districts and to have the membership involved in extension and campaign education. The 1954 provincial Council unanimously adopted a planning and organization report known as the CCF Program for Action. This Report stated (MacInnis Collection, 49-1):

. . . CCF success in Saskatchewan has demonstrated that our organization today must be built in terms of the election fight. That is it must be poll organization. What we must have is a nucleus of members in every poll in the riding, members who will carry on the year round jobs of collecting membership dues and CCF News subscriptions, who will canvass and distribute literature, and in general, act as CCF agents in their particular area We come to the question of education It means, in short, keeping up-to-date on socialist trends and ideas all over the world and spreading them to as wide a circle as we can reach (p.6,7).

Two provincial by-elections in 1955 consumed a great deal of the time and efforts of committee personnel. The Education Committee undertook three projects for the year. They completed the study guide series Understanding Our Economy,

worked with the Organization Committee in conducting various regional Conferences, and produced a manual for use at the regional conferences.

In 1956 the Education Committee promoted the use of study guides and prepared material on agriculture and on educational finances. Eight regional conferences were held during the year, but they were now the sole responsibility of the Organization Committee. These conferences dealt with organization, finance and federal election plans.

The educational activities during 1957 were interrupted by three by-elections and a federal election. The committee organized a workshop which dealt with organizing and financing the campaign, and with federal policy and platforms. The committee assisted the election campaigns by producing four election pamphlets:

The CCF National Program
Illustrated Tabloid
Share Canada's Wealth
Can You Do Any Better

V: NEW PARTY PERIOD: 1958-1961

The period 1958 to 1961 was characterized by a growing working relationship between the CCF and the B.C. Federation of Labor and the Canadian Labour Congress. The culmination of this period was the establishment of the New Democratic Party. The Education Committee during this period functioned mainly as an advisory board at this time, reflecting the fact that it had become a minor committee with minimal programming. The majority of educational programs and seminars were conducted

by the Joint-Liaison Committee, Campaign Committees and the B.C. Committee for the New Party.

In 1958 the Canadian Labor Congress and the national CCF established a joint CCF-CLC Liaison Committee known as the National Committee for the New Party. The N.C.N.P. established a national Education Department for political education, its goal being to establish a co-operative working relationship between labour and the CCF. In British Columbia, a Joint-Liaison Committee comprised of the B.C. Federation of Labour and the CCF held meetings and conferences to formulate policy for future election platforms, and policy that would be acceptable to both organizations.

The Education Committee of 1958 saw its primary objective as the establishment of study and discussion groups throughout the province. The committee further urged that the various clubs and associations commence a program of study on socialist principles and policies. A questionnaire regarding membership education was circulated to 182 CCF clubs and constituency associations. Only nine organizations took the time to reply, and the 1958 Education Committee concluded that educational programs within the CCF were minimal at this time.

The Education and Organization Committees conducted a weekend workshop in 1958 to study the problems of education and organization. Later that year, the Education Committee produced leaflets on CCF principles for the use of canvassers, and assisted the Organization Committee with regional Conferences.

In 1959, continued liaison with the unions dominated the attention of the CCF. The Joint-Liaison Committee became actively involved in building a strong provincial campaign organization. The Joint-Liaison Committee held seven regional conferences. These conferences were set up on a multi-constituency basis, the pattern favoured at previous CCF regional conferences. The Education Committee of this period urged local organizations to form regional Education Committees, and to submit requests for assistance to the provincial committee. The Education report to the 1960 provincial Conference stated that: "In view of the fact that no letters were received from any local Education Committee, it is reasonable to assume that no local committees were formed."

The provincial general election of 1960 dominated the concerns of the CCF and the B.C. Federation of Labour. The members of both of these organizations were urged to promote combined programs of political education. The Joint-Liaison Committee sponsored a School for Candidates and produced a leaflet Together We Win. A Joint-Provincial Election Campaign Committee was formed, and this committee commenced work on the upcoming election.

The National Committee for the New Party (N.C.N.P.) held three national seminars; encouraged the formation of New Party clubs; produced a monthly newspaper; and produced two study guides and numerous pamphlets (Table XI).

TABLE XI

N.C.N.P. PRINTED MATERIAL: 1960

National Leaflet	"Canada Needs a New Party"
Mimeographed Article	"A Case For New Party Clubs"
Study Booklet	"Study Paper On Constitution Of The Proposed New Political Party For Canada"
Study Booklet	"New Party For Canada: Study Paper On Program"
New Party Monthly Newspaper	Jan.1960 - June-July 1961

The provincial CCF, caught up in a provincial election campaign, was unable to give its attention to the N.C.N.P. time-table of study. In the last month of 1960, a British Columbia Committee for the New Party was struck to prepare the CCF membership for the establishment of the new political force.

The year 1961 was devoted largely to establishing the New Party. The B.C. Committee for the New Party met almost weekly, and the business of the clubs and constituency associations was dominated by discussions of the New Party, the formation of New Party resolutions and the nomination of delegates to the founding convention. Education within the CCF focused on the proposed New Party. An Education Committee of two was formed by the B.C. Committee for the New Party, and this committee conducted eight seminars in the Spring of 1961. These seminars were held throughout the province for the purpose of studying the proposed program and constitution of the New Party. It was also recognized that these seminars would be a way of bringing the membership up to date on

developments concerning the New Party. The eight seminars held in March and April 1961 were neither particularly successful, nor well attended. A letter from the Provincial Secretary to a Prince George organizer, dated April 28, 1961, stated (MacInnis Collection, 30E-4):

. . . The shortcomings (of the seminar) which you point out certainly show the importance of staff work. Basically, it is a matter of money. We just don't have the necessary administrative facilities. I frankly admit we are not doing the job which should be done.

Another letter of that same month from the Provincial Secretary to a Victoria CCF member said (MacInnis Collection, 30E-4):

. . . Your criticism regarding lack of information are well founded. We are up against the old story of so many things to be done with so few hands.

From July 31st to August 4th CCF delegates from across Canada adopted a new Constitution, image and name for the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. The combined organizational and educational effort of organized labour and the national CCF was successful, and in 1961 the New Democratic Party emerged.

CHAPTER VI

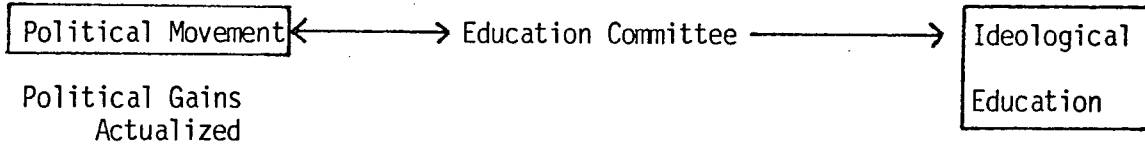
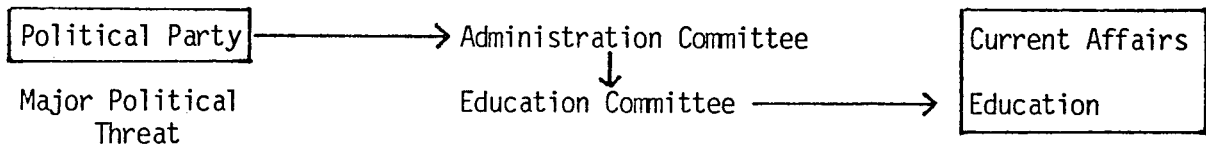
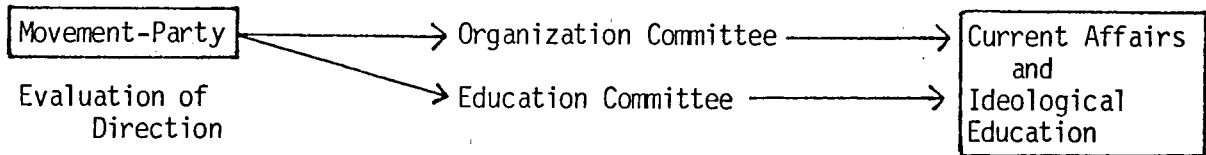
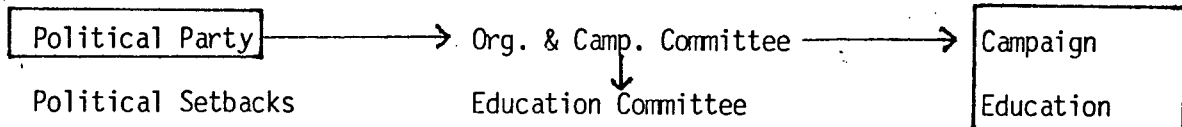
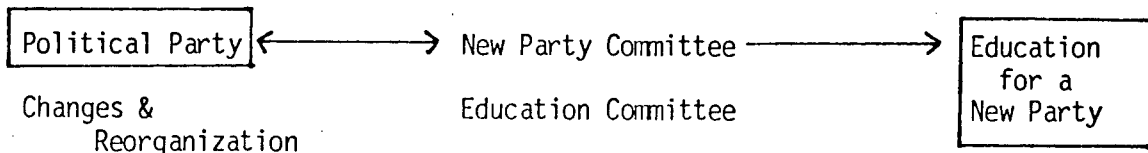
CONCLUSION

The present study has focussed on membership education of the CCF in British Columbia. The research has examined a change in CCF educational content and emphasis, and a decline in the number of educational programs offered. The study has in addition traced the evolution of a reform-political movement into an organized and competitive political party. Fundamental to this study has been an examination of the goals and direction of the national and provincial CCF as they adjusted to the changing social, economic and political milieu of Canada. The questions raised by the study are questions concerning the decline in educational emphasis as a reform-political movement evolved into an efficient and organized political party.

CCF EDUCATIONAL EMPHASIS: 1933 - 1961

The study concluded that the content and emphasis on membership education within the provincial CCF changed from 1933 to 1961. The early CCF movement years in British Columbia were marked by a great deal of creative activity occurring in a vast number of educational projects for the membership. The later years saw a political party replacing the educational emphasis with an organization and campaign emphasis. It was in the later years that the needs of the Organization, Campaign and New Party Committees dominated (Figure 1).

FIGURE 1

EDUCATIONAL EMPHASIS: 1933-1961I Formative Period: 1933-1939II Extension Period: 1940-1945III Polarized Period: 1946-1951IV Organization Period: 1952-1957V New Party Period: 1958-1961

The question now must be raised as to why CCF membership education became less of a priority in the later years? The explanation is that the content and emphasis on membership education was very much influenced by the political concerns of the CCF movement-party as it met its political obligations, and as it responded to a constantly changing environment.

REFORM MOVEMENT - POLITICAL PARTY DILEMMA

A dilemma that faced the CCF was that it was both a reform-political movement and a political party. A reform movement seeks to reform and change the prevailing society. The political party, on the other hand, seeks electoral victory. A reform movement needs to educate people to the necessity of change, whereas a political party concerns itself with appealing to the majority. The method a non-revolutionary movement chooses to enact change is through education, and a political party achieves its desired results through campaigning and propaganda. A movement adheres to a stated ideology or Weltanschauung; in comparison, a political party will make adaptations and changes to its goals if it feels it is politically expedient to do so. Therefore, a major distinction between a movement and a political party is that a reform movement has a commitment to a stated ideology, and a belief in education as the vehicle to enact change.

The CCF was a reform movement that opposed the prevailing social and economic structures of Canada. The CCF was also a political party that was committed to the process of pursuing and winning votes. For the CCF to enact the legislation it deemed necessary, it had to have support from the majority of the population. The CCF movement found it was necessary for political survival to adapt and change over the years; and with change, it lost its educational emphasis adopting instead, the characteristics of a political party.

The present study analyzed and traced CCF membership education in British Columbia from 1933 to 1961. The study examined the educational emphasis and content of the provincial CCF, and concluded that the CCF deviated from their early concerns with education. The research identified five distinct chronological periods with respect to CCF membership education and CCF political needs. It was concluded that a definite de-emphasis and decline of educational programming occurred by 1952. The CCF at that time diminished the movement characteristic to educate; choosing instead to turn its attention to campaign and political concerns. In 1956 the CCF made another change and altered its original ideological Manifesto in order to appeal to a larger segment of the voting population.

The history of the CCF is the history of a reform-political movement coming to grips with the political reality of the electoral system. In facing this reality it altered its ideological statement or Manifesto, and ceased to rely on education as a major aspect of the movement. The de-emphasis on

education by 1952, and the popularizing of the Regina Manifesto in 1956, mark a turning point for the CCF as a movement. The CCF was by this time a political party having altered to a great extent both its educative and ideological components.

INTERNAL FACTORS AFFECTING MEMBERSHIP EDUCATION

It is important to examine in this study whether factors within the provincial CCF played a part in the decline of its educational programming and emphasis.

A. Volunteer Aspect

Membership education within the provincial CCF was conducted by a corps of volunteer workers. Over the years, these dedicated and hardworking party members, with various levels of educational expertise, handled their tasks and responsibilities in a creative and industrious manner. It must be noted, however, that a hazard of volunteer work is the fact that many volunteers hold full time jobs elsewhere. As a result, a commitment to the volunteer job often becomes secondary to other responsibilities. Further, the demands of election campaigns, particularly in the later years, limited the time and energy available for other tasks.

B. Turnover of Education Committee

A serious drawback affecting the educational programming of the CCF was the turnover of committee volunteers, in particular the education chairperson. A new education chairperson was appointed each year (with one exception during the war years), and this had a deleterious effect on program

planning and continuity. Each year the new education chairperson and committee attempted to assess what had been accomplished by the previous committee, what needed to be done, and how to go about it. The education chairperson for 1953- 54 summed up the problem in her report to the 1954 Provincial Convention:

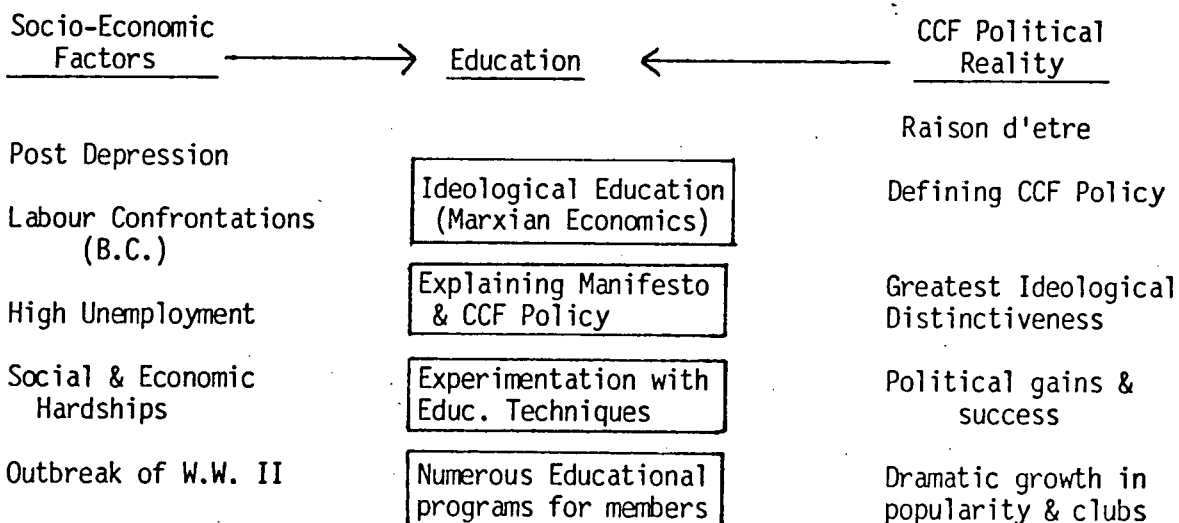
First, you find out what has been done before. You hunt through files and shelves. You ask. A great deal has been done before. The CCF has always thought that education was important . . . But on the shelves of the Provincial Office all that is left is a heap of mimeographed sheets on assorted subjects. Some of it is out of date. Some of it is very obtruse and difficult to read. We read through it all, to see whether we could or should re-issue. Finally we put it back in the files and started all over again.

EXTERNAL FACTORS AFFECTING MEMBERSHIP EDUCATION

The CCF came into existence during an international depression, a period of high unemployment and social and economic hardships. Dissatisfaction with the two traditional political parties was growing, and many Canadians were questioning the future of capitalist democracy. Within this environment, various reform movements came together to form a political party to challenge capitalism. Politically active farmers' groups, labour and socialist parties, radical eastern intellectuals and adherents of the social gospel adopted a common Manifesto and goal. The goal was to establish a Co-operative Commonwealth for Canada.

I - FORMATIVE PERIOD: 1933-1939IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

A great number of disenchanted Canadians, unhappy with the social and economic policies of the two traditional parties, were attracted to the ideology of democratic socialism. The CCF responded with an economic and ideological analysis of capitalism. Numerous CCF clubs formed in the 1930's, and these clubs provided a wide range of educational programs. These early members were anxious to understand the economic and philosophical roots of socialism, to have knowledge of the Regina Manifesto, and to have an explanation of democratic socialism as it translated into CCF policy. As a result, the content of education during the Formative Period very much revolved around socialist ideology, in particular Marxian economics; explanation of the Regina Manifesto; and on CCF policies (Figure 2).

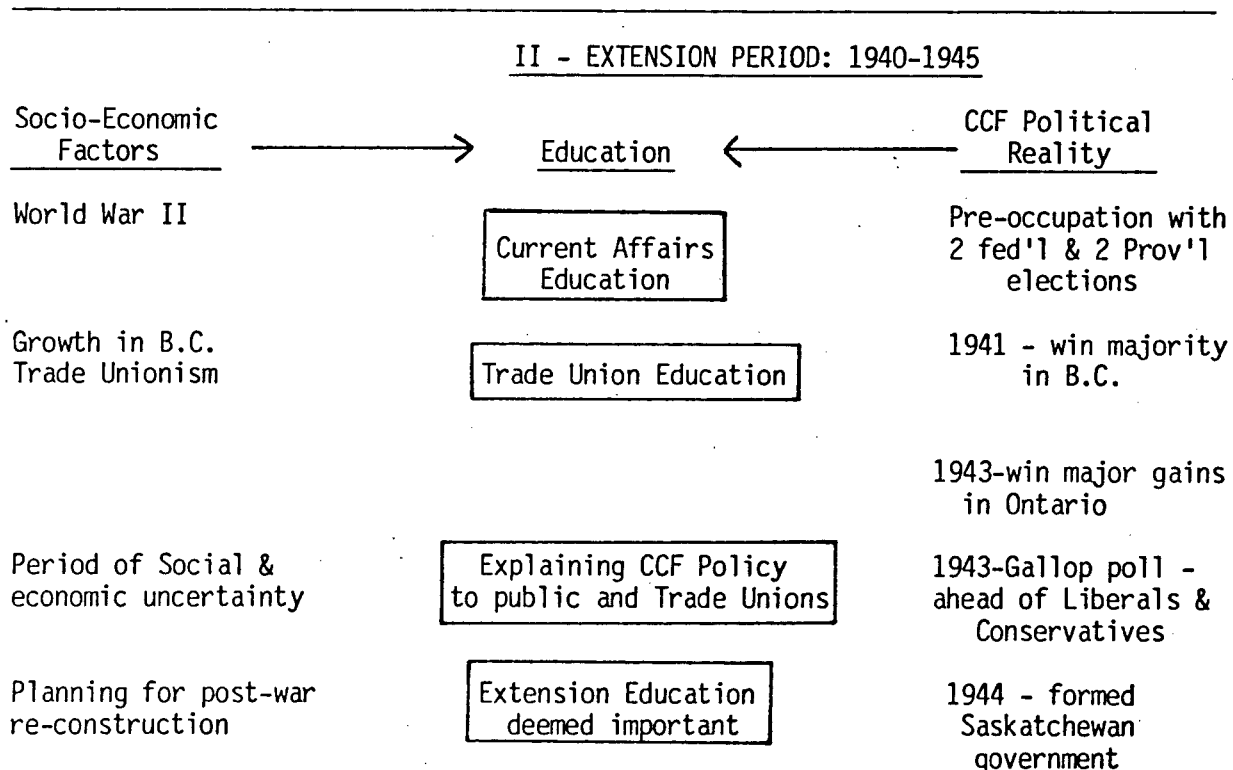
FIGURE 2EXTERNAL FACTORS AFFECTING MEMBERSHIP EDUCATIONI - FORMATIVE PERIOD: 1933-1939

II - EXTENSION PERIOD: 1940-1945

CURRENT AFFAIRS EDUCATION

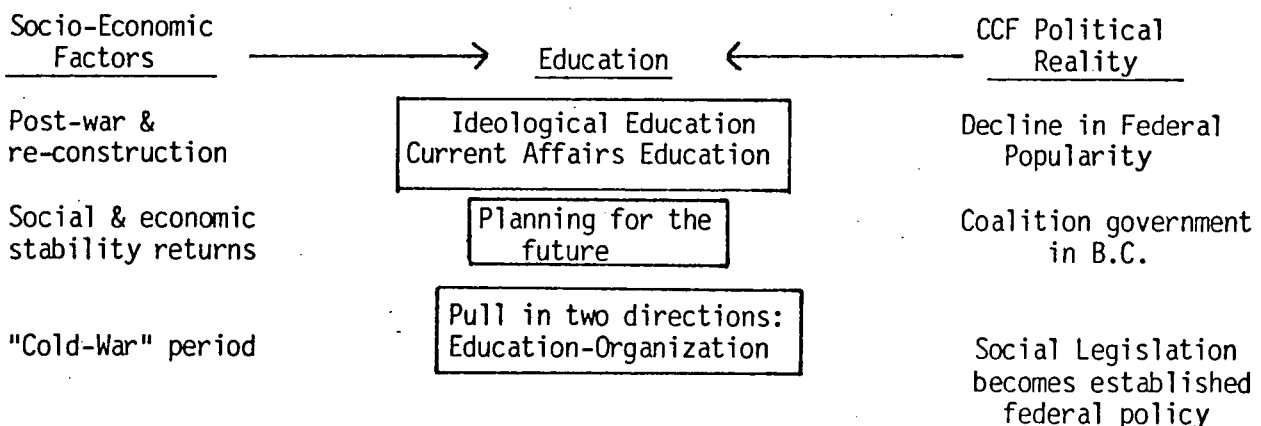
The ideological content of the educational programs of the first period was dramatically changed during World War II. Two federal and two provincial elections during a five year period created a need to explain what the CCF stood for, particularly for a post-war world. It was during this period of rising CCF popularity that the CCF realized it was a major political force in three provinces, as well as nationally. As a result, extension education was deemed a necessity, and educational programs and literature centered on current affairs and post-war reconstruction. Literature with few exceptions dealt with CCF policy and platforms, and was produced for the membership, CCF candidates, and for the general public. Extension education was recognized during this period to be a political necessity if the CCF was to be successful (Figure 3).

FIGURE 3



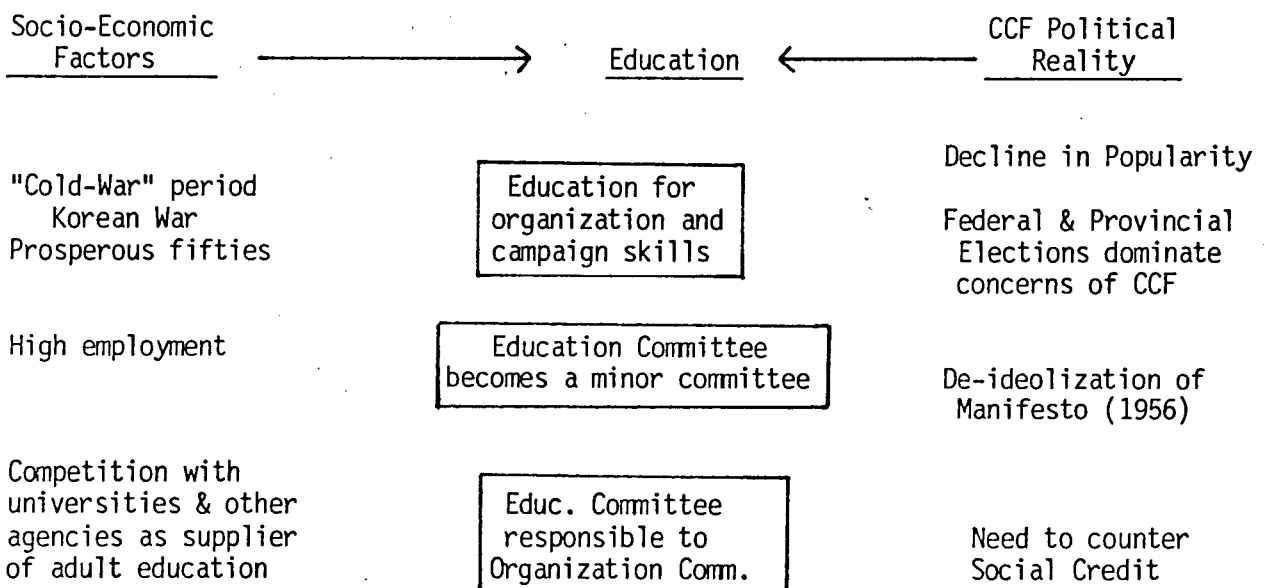
III - POLARIZED PERIOD: 1946-1951IDEOLOGICAL-CURRENT AFFAIRS EDUCATION

The post-war and reconstruction period brought a decline in national and provincial CCF popularity. This period in the history of CCF educational programming marks an important turning point. Would the CCF remain a political movement and concentrate on membership education; or become a competitive political party with expertise and skills for election campaigns? It was during this period that the CCF attempted to be both a movement and a political party. This is very much reflected in its educational projects. As a result, ideological education and current affairs education distinguish this period. This movement-party conflict resulted in a polarization developing within the CCF. The provincial Education Committee was committed to providing ideological education for the membership, while the national and provincial CCF executive were committed to developing an efficient and organized political party (Figure 4).

FIGURE 4III - POLARIZED PERIOD: 1946-1951

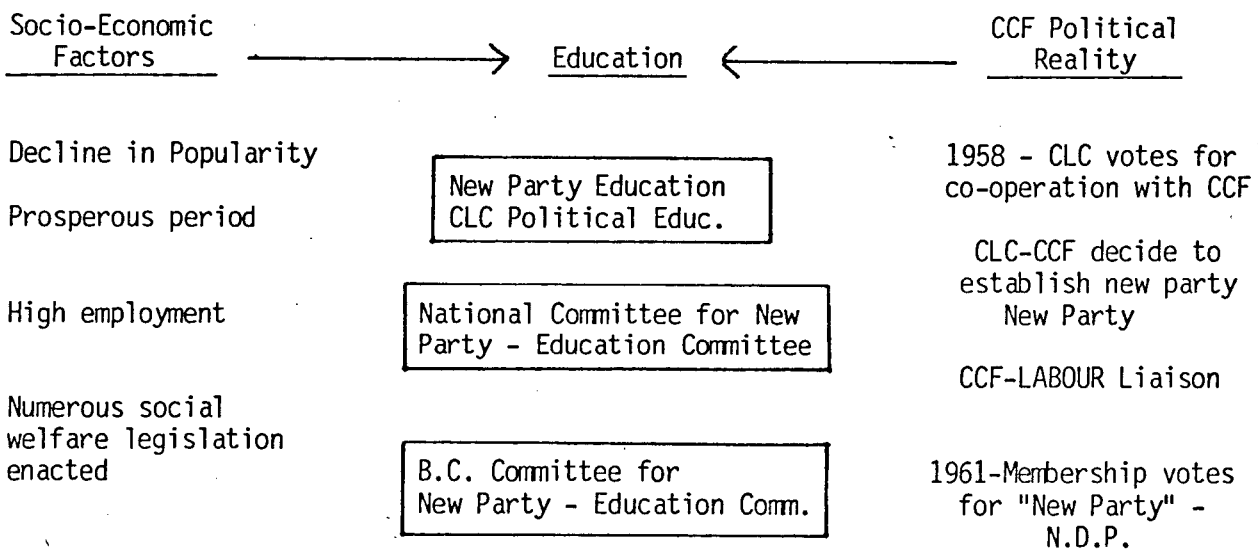
IV - ORGANIZATION PERIOD: 1952-1957CAMPAIGN EDUCATION

The emphasis and content of membership education during this period became concerned with campaign skills and organization. Election periods were a time when education programs ceased to exist, with election duties and concerns dominating the work and time of the membership. The format of programs changed, and area conferences became the popular method of conducting educational programs. These conferences were organized for policy development, and for organization and campaign planning (Figure 5).

FIGURE 5IV - ORGANIZATION PERIOD; 1952-1957

V - NEW PARTY PERIOD: 1958-1961EDUCATION FOR CHANGE

The educational programs offered during this period centered on change and reorganization of the CCF. Very few educational programs were organized by the Education Committee, and the function and activities of this committee steadily declined. Various Liaison and New Party Committees were established from 1958 to 1961. Their goal and educational objective was to convince and educate the membership and the labour movement to the necessity of establishing a new image and a New Party. Education during this period was dominated by New Party seminars, New Party literature, New Party study outlines and a New Party newspaper (Figure 6).

FIGURE 6V - NEW PARTY PERIOD: 1958-1961

The CCF movement was avowedly educational in its early years, recognizing the need to explain social democracy to its membership. Major political successes and gains during the war years swayed the CCF towards extension education, and the post-war years were a time when thinking was polarized as to CCF political direction and its commitment to education. With the "Cold-War" and the affluent fifties, the CCF swayed once again from its original ideological and educational emphasis. In the late fifties and early sixties a major organizational effort was successful, and a New Party emerged in 1961.

In British Columbia, the CCF was the official political opposition from 1933 to 1937, and from 1941 to 1961. With each provincial election they faced the very real possibility of forming the provincial government. In coming so close to victory, the CCF was increasingly encouraged to improve its electioneering tactics. This in turn led to downgrading other aspects of its educational work. Emphasis was placed on canvassing, campaigning and the winning of enough votes to form the government. The CCF leadership, in analyzing their national and provincial defeats, came to the conclusion that if democratic socialism were to survive, they must shed their old co-operative image. In 1956, the Regina Manifesto was "modernized" or updated, and the Winnipeg Declaration of Principles was produced. The CCF shifted from a platform which promised nationalization and the eradication of capitalism, into the more popular and vague platform of equality and freedom. From 1958 to 1961 a concerted and well planned

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effort was successful, and the membership voted for the adoption of a New Party.

The research on CCF membership education in British Columbia traces and parallels the evolution of a movement into a political party. The CCF did not consciously decrease its emphasis on membership education. The decrease in educational emphasis occurred as a result of a political party coming to terms with the competitive nature of the electoral process. It had the choice of remaining a political movement with a major emphasis on reform and education; or of adopting the major characteristics of a political party. In choosing the latter, it lost much of its educational component, adopting a political identity in order to reach its goal of establishing democratic socialism in Canada.

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 30a-2a,2b Socialist Party of Canada

Printed Material: CCF

Box-Folder No:

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 30a-4a Introductory pamphlets
 30b-4b,4c Introductory pamphlets
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