

A STUDY OF THE PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL WELFARE  
POLICY OF THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF  
BRITISH COLUMBIA

A Descriptive Study of the Origins and Basic Tenets  
of the New Democratic Party and of its significance in  
the Social Welfare Philosophy of the New Democratic  
Movement as it has emerged in British Columbia.

by

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ABSTRACT

The policy of a political party reflects its philosophy and historical background. Social welfare has become an integral part of our modern society and as a result a major concern of political parties. Therefore, specific political parties will have social welfare policies based on their philosophical views. The subject of this thesis is the philosophy of the New Democratic Party of British Columbia and its social welfare policies.

This thesis has examined the historical development of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation-New Democratic Party from its inception. In doing this the history of socialism has been explored from the early 19th century in Europe. The socialist movement began its development in Canada in the early 1900's and has evolved from a theoretical socialist base (emphasis on the class struggle) to an essentially welfare state focus. The methods used to obtain this information were drawn from a review of historical literature and interviews.

The resolutions which were examined from the convention proceedings did not demonstrate this movement to welfare statism so completely, since a large group in the Party gives a higher priority to economic reforms.

A questionnaire, sent to a sample of the New Democratic Party membership, indicated that there was a great deal of consistency among them in favor of the welfare state.

The thesis is, to our knowledge, the first attempt at providing a comprehensive review which links the philosophy of the New Democratic Party to their social welfare policy. Because political parties play a major role in the genesis and development of welfare programs, it is essential to the public, and to persons directly concerned with social welfare, that accurate descriptions of philosophy and policies of individual parties be available. This thesis has been an attempt to provide such a description with respect to the New Democratic Party.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION: HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL PERSPECTIVE

In this chapter an attempt will be made to trace the philosophical and historical development of the New Democratic Party. The purpose will be to distinguish changes in its general policy and program which have affected its philosophy. The contributions of the various significant theorists and protest groups will be reviewed briefly. Because the socialist movement is an international one, it has been necessary to go beyond the borders of Canada, especially for reference to theorists of other countries. Thus, our own indigenous Canadian movement was affected by writings, experiences and events both in and outside Canada. Moreover, it will be shown that the socialist movement in British Columbia played a vital role in the development of this distinct Canadian Social Democracy.

This chapter will also try to show the relationship of the evolving philosophy of Social Democracy to Social Welfare. Beginning with the philosophy of early socialist factions, and proceeding to that of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, and of the more recent New Democratic Party, it will be shown that the tendency of the socialist movement toward welfare statism is inevitably linked with a growing concern for social welfare policy and program.

## Theoretical Basis from the Nineteenth Century

During the years of forming a philosophy, changing its name, and struggling to establish a stronghold in the modern political sphere, Democratic Socialism, as we know it today, has had a very unique and actually quite confusing history. Perhaps the genesis of Democratic Socialism can be traced to Robert Owen (1771 - 1858), a British capitalist who was one of the first to work for economic and social reform. He believed that:

"the evils of his society were due to circumstances rather than to the depravity of man, and he was convinced that, just as crime and degradation were the result of specific social and economic conditions, education in a new environment could produce human beings endowed with rationality, habits of order, regularity, temperance, and industry."<sup>1</sup>

From his writings and reform activities, one can conclude that he saw unemployment as the cause of human misery and education as the key to solving the whole problem. However, Owen was very much against the working class rising to gain political power. He believed in the individualistic principle of 'self-help' -- primarily through the trade unions and co-operatives which he helped develop.<sup>2</sup> But this is only one of the first influences in the development of Democratic Socialism as it specifically exists today in B.C. Of even more significance was Marx's theoretical proposal for the complete ownership of the means of production. Marx's belief, though, was that this transformation could occur only by revolution. However, as political freedom in Germany was restricted by the Bismarck administration, Marx had to go to

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<sup>1</sup>William Ebenstein, Today's Isms, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1958, p. 198.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 199

England to have these views published. In 1848 he and Frederick Engels published the Communist Manifesto for the German Communist Party. By doing this Marx spread his party's theories and policies sooner than would ordinarily have occurred. In 1873 when two British protest groups had been formed, one, the Social Democratic Federation, supported Marx's revolutionary political program; the other, the Fabian Society, disagreed with Marx and tended to adopt a more reformist approach. However, the two groups were able to compromise and resolve their differences, the result being the Independent Labour Party. This party was the first to gain the outright support of many trade unions (especially those of the unskilled workers). Then in 1904 the Socialist Party of Britain was formed -- the party responsible for recruiting and educating many of B.C.'s pioneers of socialism.

Since the Communist Manifesto has had a continuing effect on socialism it would be of some value to describe some of its principles, as outlined by Marx. Marx saw the reform systems of Owen (England) Fourier (France) and others as arising primarily because they looked upon the working class "... as being the most suffering class. Only from the point of view of being the most suffering class does the proletariat exist for them."<sup>3</sup> He rejected their attempts as useless because they still retained the basic social order -- with its continuation of a capitalistic ruling class. They advocated change through peaceful rather than revolutionary means, and at a slow, gradual rate rather than sudden and complete. He felt their proposals were 'Utopian'<sup>4</sup>; he saw

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<sup>3</sup>Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party, edited and annotated by Frederick Engels, 1848, William Reeves, London, England, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 29

them as being doomed to failure because there remained a need to "...appeal to the feelings and purses of the bourgeois."<sup>5</sup> The Communists, for whom Marx was writing the Communist Manifesto, were advocating a method by which immediate aims could be attained. This was by revolution rather than by drawn-out peaceful steps. He outlined how the proletariat must, by revolution, become the ruling class. Then it "...will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e. of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible."<sup>6</sup> Thus his strongest and basic arguments centered around the fact that social conditions could only be effectively and immediately reformed by the forcible overthrow of the existing order.

#### Pre-World War I in British Columbia

For the first while after B.C. became a province in 1871 there was no clearly defined party system. This resulted in a number of disrupting changes in government until a party system was established in 1903. The beginning B.C. party system first reflected the federal pattern of power -- Liberal and Conservative strength and a few socialist and labour independents. "From its inception, the party system was characterized by a minor protest vote and third parties. These protest parties were small working-class organizations." Their beginnings and development have been

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<sup>5</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 21

<sup>7</sup>T.M. Stanford, The Politics of Protest: The CCF and Social Credit League of B.C., a thesis presented for the Doctor of Philosophy degree at the University of California, 1961, p. 76.

traced in extensive detail by Ronald Grantham in his thesis in 1942 titled Some Aspects of the Socialist Movement in B.C. -- 1898 to 1933, but this presentation will be more specifically concerned with the overall philosophy of this same socialist movement.

During the Pre-World War I period a number of socialist clubs were organized and disbanded in B.C. To name a few: Provincial Progressive Party (1902), United Socialist Labour Party (1900), Socialist Party of B.C. (1902), Socialist Party of Canada (1904), and Social Democratic Party (1907). For the first while, though, their concern centered mainly on federal issues. Philosophically, these factions were primarily based on Marxian ideology and drew many of their members from the lumber, mining and fishing trade unions as well as from many immigrant groups. However, their effectiveness was limited because they failed to produce enough practical proposals around current issues (old age pensions, employment, compensation, etc.). They were anti-capitalist and spent a great deal of time on theoretical attacks on the prevailing democratic system. Their efforts were centered on literary work which was made available in the Socialist Party of Canada's official organ, the Western Clarion.

"The Socialist Party of Canada ... was devoted to the Marxian philosophy of socialism. Their discussion proceeded on a very high scholastic plane. One has only to read a number of issues of their paper, the Western Clarion, to realize that the journalism there displayed could have been penned only by men who were truly Marxian scholars."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Douglas P. Clark, Some Aspects of the Development of the CCF in B.C., essay submitted for undergraduate credit in the Department of History, U.B.C., October 1, 1945, p. 5.



## Influence of World War I and the Russian Revolution

Labour aligned itself to the socialist movement during the Great War as it shared the socialist protest against conscription, and both movements had been involved in the strikes of 1912 - 1913. Together they saw the war as a new business proposition of the capitalists and were therefore most critical of Canada's support of it. This attitude did not draw members as most Canadians agreed with the war aims. Also, a great many supporters left the movement immediately after the war because of the Russian Revolution and the aftermath of propaganda against it. "The Russian Revolution and the resulting formation of communist groups in the United States and Canada caused a split in the Socialist Party from which it never recovered."<sup>9</sup> The socialists were at first jubilant that the Bolsheviks had crushed Czarism, and "...radicals everywhere saw the Russians as the pioneers of a new freedom, at least for a while... However, it was not many months before threads of doubt and disillusionment began to weave through the rosy-colored picture of the new society in the Soviet Union."<sup>10</sup> Warnings spread abroad regarding the dictatorship and its slavery overtones. Those in Canada, and especially in B.C., who were skeptical and critical of what the Russian Communist Party was doing, became alienated from those who wanted to publicly applaud the Russians for their political feats. This caused many splits, especially after the 1921 formation of the Workers' Party (B.C. branch in 1922). The main splits within the movement

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<sup>9</sup>Dorothy Steeves, The Compassionate Rebel, Evergreen Press Ltd., Vancouver, 1960, p. 71.

<sup>10</sup>Loc. Cit.

occurred during this period because some of the members considered themselves socialist but not communist; others were defecting to the more radical Communist Movement; and there were also many who, in the conflict and confusion, lost their political enthusiasm and merely dropped out.

### Post-World War I Period

As far as one can gather from the articles of the Western Clarion, the socialist program during the early 1920's was quite radical. Editorials were often emphatic attacks on capitalism and the existing social order. A very grim picture was painted of the Canadian worker who was being oppressed and enmeshed in the prevailing 'Class Struggle'. Oftentimes the cause was called the Marxian Socialist Movement and numerous articles were written on the biographies of Marx and Lenin and, respectively, on their theories and programs. During this time the Socialist Party of Canada (B.C. Section) continued to have a great deal of interest in the Russian scene. Also, the labour and socialist movements made further constructive attempts to unify. This goal was not to be accomplished for some years yet, but an important step was made in that general direction. In 1925 representatives from the Socialist Party of Canada and the Labour Parties (formed by Labour Councils) met at the request of the Federated Labour Party. This meeting resulted in the loose, unofficial establishment of the Independent Labour Party. It clarified the similarities between the participating groups and formulated a working arrangement for the next B.C. election. The I.L.P. rejected the existing capitalistic system, especially with regard to the natural resources (lands, forests, mines, fisheries) and their secondary industries (mills, factories). Its policy was definitely a worker's cause

as evidenced in its advocacy of collective ownership to eliminate exploitation and profiteering. In 1932 the I.L.P. adopted the title of its affiliate, the Socialist Party of Canada, and officially based its policy on Marxian doctrine. This party later appointed two delegates, Angus MacInnis and J.W. Hope to attend a July, 1932 conference in Calgary. This conference was the direct forerunner to the Regina Conference and the establishment of the National Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.

### The Development of Socialist Parties on the Prairies

Meanwhile across the Rockies and onto the prairies all was not peaceful politically. With the help of federal M.P., J.S. Woodsworth (Independent Labour Party), the foundation of the CCF Party was also being laid in Alberta and Saskatchewan. In 1924 Woodsworth gained the support of fourteen Progressive Party M.P.'s and formed the so-called 'Ginger Group'. The majority of this group represented Alberta farmers and one of their goals was to achieve more co-operation with organized labour. This effort developed to the point that agriculture and labour supported each other's candidates in the 1926 general election. J.S. Woodsworth was trying to rally the prairie farmers to think socialistically, especially regarding the control of wheat marketing. At the provincial level, in 1929, M.J. Coldwell and a number of other Englishmen who had belonged to the labour movement in England, organized the Saskatchewan I.L.P. This was an urban socialist movement but being only a small group it needed the support of the farmers in order to gain strength and become effective. Together the Saskatchewan branches of the United Farmers of Canada and the I.L.P. worked out a program designed to protect the workers and farmers against creditors. Because their proposals were ignored

by the Saskatchewan Conservative government, and since the two organizations philosophically had much in common, they undertook to work together for the political movement leading to the establishment of the CCF. Also, in Alberta, by 1932 the Labour Parties and the United Farmers of Alberta were in general agreement and had pledged their support to join forces.<sup>11</sup> Thus, by 1932 the time was definitely ripe in all three provinces for the socialist factions to unite. All groups who believed that capitalism should be overthrown, and that a new social order be based on production for use and not for profit, were invited to Calgary, Alberta in August, 1932 by the United Farmers of Alberta. "J.S. Woodsworth and the Labour-Farmer caucus (Ginger Group) prepared to give leadership to such a meeting."<sup>12</sup> "The conference was attended by the Ginger Group, the representatives of the United Farmers' organizations of Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan, and delegates from the Labour and Socialist Parties of the three prairie provinces and B.C."<sup>13</sup> S.M. Lipset summarized the assembly as agrarian radicals from the prairies and Marxian socialists from B.C., (men raised in the traditions of the British labour movement). It marked the first time in Canadian history that such a group gathered together.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>George Hougham, Minor Parties in Canadian National Politics, 1867 - 1940, University of Pennsylvania, 1954.

<sup>12</sup>Grace MacInnis, "How the CCF Began," Understanding the CCF, published by the Provincial Education Committee; CCF (B.C.-Yukon Section, Vancouver, B.C., 1953, p. 5.

<sup>13</sup>S.M. Lipset, Agrarian Socialism, University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 1950, p. 86.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 87

## The League for Social Reconstruction

Before going on to the Calgary and Regina Conferences, it is necessary that another significant influence be mentioned as it has a direct bearing to the developing of CCF philosophy. It is the League for Social Reconstruction. This organization was formed by a group of dissenters in eastern Canada who could be referred to as the 'intelligencia' of the socialist movement. It was mainly composed of lecturers from the Universities of Toronto and McGill. Rather than an active political party, it was intended to be a Canadian Fabian Society which would assist a political socialist party by fulfilling a research and educational function. One of its most significant undertakings was a book published in 1935 titled Social Planning for Canada. Some of the League's members, such as F.H. Underhill, were consulted, and its Manifesto\* was referred to by those who were drafting the principles and program of the new CCF party. For comparative purposes see Appendices A and C.

## The Calgary Conference

The move towards a joint political party by the labour and farmer organizations\* came at the beginning of a critical period -- the Great Depression of the 1930's. The hardships it caused

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\*See Appendix A for the nine clauses of the Manifesto drawn up by the League for Social Reconstruction.

\*Organizations represented at the Calgary Conference in 1932:

- The United Farmers of Alberta
- The United Farmers of Saskatchewan
- The Canadian Labour Party (Alberta Section)
- The Independent Labour Party (Saskatchewan)
- The Co-operative Labour Party (Saskatchewan)
- The Independent Labour Party (Manitoba)
- The Socialist Party of Canada (B.C.)
- The Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees
- The League for Social Reconstruction

sharpened the need for these organizations to unite and at the same time provided motivation to the representatives they sent to the Calgary Conference to formulate a plan for a more effective social order. The Conference, held in the Calgary Labour Temple, accomplished three primary objectives. The first was the decision to form and name a new party. After much discussion over the many and varied suggestions, 'Co-operative Commonwealth Federation' was agreed upon with the words 'Farmer - Labour - Socialist' following. The second objective was strong leadership, and this was attained by the choice of politically prominent J.S. Woodsworth. The third goal was to define the party's philosophy and formulate its political program. This was partially accomplished by the delegates who defined and adopted an eight-point provisional program\* which was to be further worked upon by a Resolutions Committee. The committee, chaired by M.J. Coldwell, was to expand this into a draft of the party's constitution which would be presented for approval and modification at the scheduled July, 1933 national convention in Regina.

\* \* \* \* \*

Thus we have briefly traced the development of the socialist movement from Owen's humanistic approach, Marx's revolutionary theory, and the British socialist parties' contributions, to the tentative union of the various socialist groups in Canada, with the B.C. Faction as an active participant. Having been primarily based on Marx's theories set forth in the Communist Manifesto, the B.C. socialist movement had been characteristically leftist in philosophy as evidenced by its advocacy of almost total

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\*For the Eight Clauses of the Calgary Conference see Appendix B.

nationalization, of the need for a complete new social order, of its concern with the 'Class Struggle', of its attacks against the capitalists, and most controversially, its proposal to effect change by revolution. The various groups which supported this philosophy to varying degrees were not unified and so were hampered in their attempts to instigate a strong, effective movement. After much effort which brought only weak political recognition, these splinter parties initiated a number of moves to unite. The first occurred in B.C. soon after World War I when the Federated Labour Party and the Social-Democratic Party joined forces. However, the greatest impetus towards unification was provided by the Bolshevik Revolution. In B.C. it caused the socialist factions to draw together because (1) the majority of them were not as revolutionary as the Communists and thus needed to distinguish themselves as an entity apart from the Communist Party; (2) the Communist Revolution had touched off a wave of outright hostility and condemnation against all socialist groups which was most harmful in the democratic countries. This propaganda heightened the need for the factions to band together and establish an official policy.

In these early stages the socialist factions did not have any specific policies dealing with areas like welfare. Issues such as unemployment, poverty, mental illness, crime, etc., were tolerated as natural results of the existing evil capitalist-run economy which could only be dispelled by a new socialist order. Thus, their welfare policy consisted mainly of providing adequate housing, and eliminating exploitation and unemployment and thereby creating an environment in which every individual would have an equal opportunity to contribute to, and in turn, receive the benefits from the society.

## The Regina Manifesto and the Formation of the B.C. Branch of the CCF

Thus the date was set and across Canada numerous protest and socialist groups prepared to meet in Regina to approve a unifying program which would enable them to be more effective in Canadian politics. One hundred and thirty-one delegates attended; B.C. sending sixteen delegates representing the Socialist Party of Canada (B.C.) and the Reconstruction Party.\* F.C. Engelmann stated that these two B.C. groups provided about the strongest socialist elements to the Regina Convention because "these and other socialist groups had an experience of carrying on ideological and policy discussions in clubs, with the participation of virtually all of the members."<sup>15</sup> The prime purpose of this meeting was the formulation and acceptance of a foundation document, the Regina Manifesto. It was an expansion of the Calgary Conference eight-point program to a fourteen-point program\*\* for a new social order with the addition of a preamble which outlined the basic philosophy of the movement, and a concluding paragraph stating the purpose.

The Great Depression which was giving tremendous impetus to the socialist cause was at its worst and the attendance saw the present order as:

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\*In March, 1933 the B.C. League for Social Reconstruction became the Reconstruction Party (B.C.) and after the Regina Convention affiliated itself with the CCF. The Reconstructionists were later primarily responsible for organizing the Associated B.C. CCF Clubs.

<sup>15</sup>F.C. Engelmann, The CCF of Canada: A Study of Membership Participation in Party Policy-Making, thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of Yale University, 1954, p. 146.

\*\*Appendix C: The Regina Manifesto.



"...marked by glaring inequalities of wealth and opportunity, by chaotic waste and instability; and in an age of plenty it condemns the great mass of the people to poverty and insecurity."<sup>16</sup>

It strongly denounced private profit as the basis to the economic system and felt its evils could be "removed only in a planned and socialized economy in which our natural resources and the principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled and operated by the people."<sup>17</sup> The dominant theme of the Regina Manifesto was socialization. It outlined its plans for the socialization of all financial machinery (banking, currency, credit, insurance); of transportation, communication, electric power; for socialized health services; and the encouragement of consumers' co-operative institutions. Because of the Depression the Regina Manifesto was most concerned with putting the economy back on its feet. The employment situation was seen as the most crucial issue of the time and the fourteenth point of the Constitution outlined an emergency programme which entailed public expenditure on "...housing, slum clearance, hospitals, libraries, schools, community halls, parks, recreational projects, reforestation, rural electrification..."<sup>18</sup> to provide work and purchasing power for those unemployed. This, and socialized health services, is the first official evidence of welfare policy. Naturally there would be much speculation as to how such a program could be implemented. The answer given was 'social planning' to replace the "ruthless monopoly or equally ruthless competition practiced

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<sup>16</sup>The Regina Manifesto, program of the CCF, adopted at First National Convention held at Regina, Saskatchewan, July 1933, p. 1.

<sup>17</sup>loc. cit.

<sup>18</sup>Regina Manifesto, program of the CCF, adopted at First National Convention held at Regina Sask., July, 1933, p. 1.

under Capitalism."<sup>19</sup> To accomplish this there would have to be a 'brief transition period' during which time a National Planning Commission would mastermind the program and get it under way.

"The task of the Commission will be to plan for the production, distribution and exchange of all goods and services necessary to the efficient functioning of the economy; to co-ordinate the activities of the socialized industries; to provide for a satisfactory balance between the producing and consuming power; and to carry on continuous research into all branches of the national economy in order to acquire the detailed information necessary to efficient planning.

The Commission will be responsible to the Cabinet and will work in co-operation with the Managing Boards of the Socialized Industries."<sup>20</sup>

The leadership of J.S. Woodsworth in 1933, and in the following years did much to influence the policy of the party. He did not work his way up through the ranks of the party being a political theorist or labour reformist, but rather as a Methodist clergyman with religious and humanitarian motivations. He would illustrate his political purpose by fighting for such things as old age pension legislation (1926). When under his leadership, the CCF party gradually moved away from philosophizing and instead gave greater stress to humanitarian goals and practical means to attain them.

From its birth the CCF Party was approached to join forces with the more leftist Communist groups. To emphasize that its policy advocated resistance against this move, the following clause was included in the Regina Manifesto:

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<sup>19</sup>Towards the Dawn, The CCF Federal Platform explained, National Office of the CCF, 172 Wellington St., Ottawa, (late 1930's), p. 5.

<sup>20</sup>Regina Manifesto, op. cit. p. 1

"The social and economic transformation can be brought about by political action, through the election of a government inspired by the ideal of a co-operative commonwealth and supported by a majority of the people. We do not believe in change by violence."<sup>21</sup>

In his Presidential Speech J.S. Woodsworth said:

"I am convinced that we may develop in Canada a distinctive type of Socialism.... The CCF advocates peaceful and orderly methods. In this we distinguish ourselves sharply from the Communist Party which envisages the new social order as being ushered in by violent upheaval and the establishment of a dictatorship."<sup>22</sup>

He meant 'distinctive' in that he did not want to model the CCF specifically after the British and/or Russian socialist movements.

Provincially, the CCF Party was not an official identity. Being a federation its provincial branches were not necessarily CCF though they associated themselves with the national CCF organization. These groups had retained some of their fine distinctions after the Regina Convention, and it was only through time that they were resolved. The B.C. delegates had been disappointed that the name 'Socialist Party' had not been adopted but they were pleased with the Conference and returned to Vancouver to help build the new party. The Socialist Party of Canada (B.C.) established itself in an old house in Vancouver as headquarters where its meetings were held and where classes on socialist and Marxian theory were conducted. Ernest Winch, Provincial Secretary of the party, had resisted affiliation with the CCF as it was less

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<sup>21</sup>Regina Manifesto, op. cit.

<sup>22</sup>Grace MacInnis, "How the CCF Began", Understanding the CCF, Booklet No. 1, Issued by the Provincial Education Committee, CCF (B.C. - Yukon Section), 1953, p. 8.

radical than his party's leanings. But there were some desirable advantages, and his party and the Reconstruction Party in March of 1933 decided to co-operate for the coming election. On August 25, 1933, the Reconstruction Party branches and the unaffiliated CCF Clubs formed the Associated Co-operative Commonwealth Federation Clubs. Thus, three executives existed in B.C. -- "...that of the Socialist Party of Canada; that of the Associated CCF Clubs; and the executive of the B.C. section of the CCF Party."<sup>23</sup> The loose, unstructured arrangement was far from efficient, stable and satisfactory as there remained much diversity within the organization -- ranging from quite extreme left to moderate left. The membership, too, was quite varied and could be distinguished from the national organization. "Where the national CCF was based on agrarian and labour elements, the B.C. CCF was supported mainly by labour and white-collar reformist elements."<sup>24</sup> However, the two factions had been successful when they combined their efforts in the last election. They had won seven seats, thirty-one per cent of the popular vote, and were then the official Opposition to the Liberal Government. The socialist groups had for the first time broken the stronghold of the Liberals and Conservatives in the B.C. Legislature. After this they held their first Provincial Convention in Victoria in September of 1933. Based on the preceding Regina Manifesto, they drew up a provincial platform and Manifesto. Headquarters were set up at 828 Hornby Street, Vancouver. The Provincial Manifesto stipulated that it would

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<sup>23</sup>Douglas P. Clark, Some Aspects of the Development of the CCF in B.C., essay submitted for undergraduate credit in the Department of History, U.B.C., Oct. 1, 1945, p. 18.

<sup>24</sup>Thomas M. Sanford, The Politics of Protest: The CCF and Social Credit League in B.C., thesis for Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science from the University of California, 1961, p. 102.

establish a Provincial Planning Commission to work with the national one. It, too, would consist of economists, engineers, and statisticians and their work would be to "...co-ordinate the activities of the socialized industries..."<sup>25</sup> But amalgamation was still the predominant topic even though the Socialist Party of Canada continued to resist. Both groups had their own papers -- the CCF had the Commonwealth and the Socialist Party of Canada had the B.C. Clarion. The seven socialists in the Legislature were led by Rev. Robert Connell of the CCF Party. In early 1935 the annual conventions of the split socialists agreed to a joint meeting of the two executives where a satisfactory arrangement was worked out. The union formed the official CCF Party of B.C. But the union was premature in that the socialist and reformist factions had not really worked out all their differences. The dissension came to a head in the legislative group, being the representatives of the two internal factions which had the most contact with, and influence on, the significant issues of that time. Rev. Connell, the Opposition Leader and a reformist, was clashing with Harold Winch, a staunch socialist. Connell accused other members of the executive of being pro-communist and he openly objected to parts of the party platform and some of the Convention decisions. He had attended the 1936 Convention but had untactfully chosen to voice his views at a later and more unfeasible time. The executive had no choice but to expel the unrelenting leader and two of his supporters. Another member left the party at this time on his own accord, thus bringing the total to four. This left just three of the seven original CCF

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<sup>25</sup>CCF (B.C.) 1933 Provincial Program and Manifesto, Provincial Executive of CCF (B.C.) 828 Hornby St., Vancouver, 1933

MLA's -- the two Winches and Dorothy Steeves. This reduction was a blow to the party which caused doubts as to whether it was strong enough to ever recover. However, the CCF survived the crises, thanks to a unified and strong Executive Committee, which kept calm and rational and did not allow itself to be drawn into the public battle of accusations and condemnation. Instead it handled the split peaceably, expressing regret that Connell had not aired his views at the 1936 Convention when many of the issues could have been cleared up internally.

"As it turned out, the party was consolidated rather than weakened by the events of 1936... The final endorsement of the executive, ...was made by the 1937 Convention.... This Convention ...was in all probability the most important the CCF has ever held, for its results ensured the CCF Party the place it holds today in B.C. politics."<sup>26</sup>

#### Depression Years in B.C. and the 1937 CCF Platform

During the 1930's the CCF MLA's struggled for recognition and support by doing extensive field research and then confronting the House with their findings. Most significant were Ernest Winch's visits to B.C.'s institutions, especially the mental hospitals, jails, and relief camps. He revealed the need for improvement of the primitive working conditions the nurses at Tranquille (T.B. sanitarium) had to endure. He also gathered statistics which illustrated the high rate of industrial accidents and proposed that this was an area for government intervention. As labour reform was a prominent CCF goal, and labour support was being encouraged, many policies and bills were directed for its benefit; e.g. -- broaden rights to form unions, to picket, to

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<sup>26</sup>Douglas P. Clark, op. cit., p. 31.

bargain collectively. Quite an issue was made to gain a wider range of accident and disease coverage under the Workman's Compensation Act, with specific reference to silicosis. The pensioners, too, were given much attention in that the CCF felt the government should give them free medical aid. To impress upon the government that these needs were existing, Ernest Winch encouraged the MLA's to go and see what he had observed. He went so far as to conduct guided tours whenever he had the chance. While gaining some benefits for the people, he also attracted much attention to the CCF Party and won the respect of a large proportion of the population.

This increased emphasis on welfare needs caused the party to be less concerned about economic matters -- with nationalization suffering the greatest neglect. The extensive plans for a new social order as stipulated in the Regina Manifesto were now of secondary concern. Even less emphasis was given to replacing the old social order after the party split in 1936. The split left the loyal socialists in the CCF Party, but it left them a bit apprehensive about their future. The effect this event had on the party is reflected in the 1937 election platform. This was probably one of the most significant platforms ever to be adopted because of its extensive departure from the Regina Manifesto, drawn up just four years previously. The program still condemned the capitalistic system and re-emphasized the need for a new social order. However, there was a gaping absence of the former policies of socializing industry, finance, and health services. The word 'socialization' had been dropped altogether. Section 1, which dealt with planning, reworded the 1933 statement about a

"...socialized economic plan...."<sup>27</sup> to a "...new provincial economy...."<sup>28</sup> In 1933, the Section on Finance had read:

"Co-operation with the other Provinces to obtain a complete Socialization of all the financial machinery of the country, -- Banking, Currency, Credit and Insurance, -- and, if compelled by a situation of Provincial emergency, to develop purely Provincial Credit, based on Provincial Resources."<sup>29</sup>

In 1937 there was a complete revision and the Finance section then read:

"Consolidation of provincial government debt by conversion to nonmaturing, fixed-interest bearing bonds, callable at option of the Government after a limited term of years. Government support to municipalities in their efforts to reduce their debt loads. Careful redistribution of the tax burden to give greater relief to those in the lower income brackets; higher income and inheritance taxes in the upper brackets. Tax increases on monopolistic business, speculative landholdings and alienated natural resources. Taxation of corporation surpluses."<sup>30</sup>

Also in 1933 the platform had called for socialization of all health services; in 1937 this provision had changed to "Establishment of all-inclusive Health Insurance, contribution to be based on a sliding scale in accordance with income received ..."<sup>31</sup> The rationale behind this change can be traced to three things: (1) the split between the seven MLA's in 1936; (2) the people of B.C. were not responding to the CCF's offer of

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<sup>27</sup>CCF(B.C.) 1933 Provincial Platform and Manifesto, published by the Provincial Executive of CCF(B.C.), 828 Hornby St., Vancouver, 1933

<sup>28</sup>1937 Provincial Programme -- CCF (B.C. Section), published by the Provincial Executive, Vancouver, B.C., 1937, p. 1.

<sup>29</sup>CCF(B.C.) 1933 Provincial Platform and Manifesto, op. cit. p.1

<sup>30</sup>1937 Provincial Programme -- CCF (B.C. Section, op. cit. p.1

<sup>31</sup>loc. cit.



'socialism' -- partly because they did not want this and partly because of the suspicion and fear which opposing parties had instilled in them. To resolve this the CCF had dropped socialist terms. Total social ownership and nationalization were made secondary to government planning. Government interference in industry would now be to ensure against exploitation only;

(3) there was a growing awareness that for practical reasons less emphasis had to be placed on establishing a new social order based on socialistic principles, and more emphasis on specific, crucial issues. This was the depression; people needed jobs, relief, hospitals, medical care, better institutions, and were not thinking in the broader context of a new social order. Socialism was too vague to many people; they saw it as something that required many years for fulfillment; and they doubted the CCF's ability to achieve such a major undertaking. Again it must be pointed out that E. Winch's work probably contributed the most in helping others achieve this awareness. His investigating, statistic gathering, and condemning of the conditions in public institutions in B.C., had made a deep impression in the minds of party members. The voters, too, applauded his efforts; they respected him; and many probably, decided to support him. Actually what Ernest Winch was doing was advocating social reform -- reform of the operation of public institutions, reform of working conditions, and reform of the health and welfare services. Socialism, which had unified the many factions across Canada to form the CCF was now, in B.C., taking on more of a welfare character.

The Depression also produced a change in party membership. It had dealt the working class the harshest blow but at the same time it jolted the middle class. For the first time the middle

class was threatened economically and so it took a closer look at the social and economic order. Most still concluded that conservative legislation could solve these problems, but others became somewhat more radical and were attracted to the CCF program. Thus more of the highly trained and educated classes joined the movement and brought with them their influence and contributions. Members of the middle class were also unemployed, especially the younger generation just entering the labour force. Because of the hardships the atmosphere was conducive to demonstrations, relief camp strikes, and treks. People were increasingly responsive to reform, with a growing number supporting radical reform. For these reasons did the Depression help the CCF draw support from the skilled, professional, intellectual, and business groups.

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From this brief history of the Canadian and B.C. socialist movements, it is evident that significant philosophical changes occurred. The Regina Manifesto marked the departure from one of Marx's basic principles -- that of change by means of revolution; and the Canadian CCF'ers established quite a distinct type of socialism -- of a reformist rather than revolutionary nature. Due respect for this must be given to its early leaders -- J.S. Woodsworth, M.J. Coldwell, Ernest and Harold Winch. Economic and social conditions of the early twentieth century, too, made a great impact on the movement. War, prosperity, depression, and the Russian Revolution are all reflected in the policies of the CCF. Old members and new members and an increased class representation brought old and new ideas and beliefs together to form a

modified party. The introduction of reform measures by some detracted the Executive and party leaders from theoretical thoughts, and brought them in closer contact with the immediate needs of the people. The MLA's can claim a great deal of credit for directing the Government towards enacting new, progressive legislation and expanding the services of health, welfare and labour. All these change processes will continue for many years yet, and the foregoing sections will trace them, and thus illustrate the shift from the original philosophy.

#### World War II and the 1940's

The previous section revealed the beginning of a new trend in socialist thinking -- that of a decreasing degree of Marxian ideology regarding a new social order based on nationalization. This trend was to continue during and especially after the Second World War when economic conditions were markedly different from those of the dirty thirties.

A significant feature of World War II was that it revealed the influence of leadership. At the federal level, where J.S. Woodsworth was a strong, highly respected leader, the CCF Party advocated a pacifist policy. Some of the lesser federal party members wanted to at least send aid but not men. In B.C., however, no agreement could be arrived at regarding a wartime policy. Instead of pressing for a decision on this issue, the B.C. CCF chose to concentrate on local domestic issues. This concern and effort for local affairs seems to have been one of the reasons the CCF doubled its legislative representation in the 1941 provincial election. They had certainly not changed their 1937 party platform. As before, their mainstay of strength came from the Vancouver urban area, but for the first time two seats were won in the

Interior. This can partially be attributed to the people's dissatisfaction with the poor showing of the Liberal administration during the Depression years. The Conservatives, too, gained at the Liberals' expense winning twelve seats; the CCF increased their strength to fourteen; and there was one Independent thus giving the Liberals the remaining twenty-one. The Conservative leader, Mr. R.L. Maitland, had proposed that all parties unite to form an all-party union government. Harold Winch, CCF leader, refused this on the grounds that the CCF policies were significantly different and especially on the leading issue -- the war. The Liberals, and certainly the Conservatives, supported the war and welcomed the industrial boom it created, whereas the CCF, though taking no definite stand regarding war involvement, condemned the profit motive of the war effort.

In addition to the election results there was other evidence of increased CCF support. "Membership rose from 3523 in 1938 to 7609 in 1945. At provincial elections, the CCF in B.C. increased its share of the vote from 28% in 1937 to 33% in 1941 to 37% in 1945."<sup>32</sup> Sanford described one of the factors responsible for this increase in support as due to the growth of trade union strength during this time. In 1938 the newly formed Canadian Congress of Labour seriously began to strive for political involvement and chose to ally itself with the CCF. The other large labour union, the Trades and Labour Congress, would not give the CCF the same support and held out until 1965 when the CCL and the

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<sup>32</sup>B.C. CCF office records cited in T.M. Sanford, The Politics of Protest: The CCF and Social Credit League in B.C., thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science at the University of California, 1961, p. 138.

TLC merged to form the Canadian Labour Congress.<sup>33</sup> This will be discussed in the last section which traces the events leading to the formation of the New Party.

A jubilant day for CCF'ers across Canada was June 15, 1944 when the Saskatchewan provincial party gained for the CCF its first political victory. But to the dismay of many strong B.C. socialists this event began the gradual watering-down of policy that occurs when a party is no longer just the Opposition but the party in power. The Saskatchewan CCF government did not plan its program with strict adherence to the Regina Manifesto -- which had been drawn up just eleven years previously. Some nationalization of industries was enacted when the CCF took office, but more significant was its drive to pass welfare measures.

"The CCF did not return to its advocacy of widespread public ownership after the 1938 elections (Saskatchewan). The provincial platform of 1944, the one upon which the party won power, urged government ownership only for natural resources and public utilities."<sup>34</sup>

"While modifying its goal of total socialization, the CCF has continued its emphasis on the extension of the social services rendered by the state, such as social security, health, and education.... These social security aspects of the party's program gradually assumed greater importance in its propaganda as the stress in socialism declined, until today (1950) it is the most important part of the provincial program."<sup>35</sup>

This change can partially be attributed to leadership. The

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<sup>33</sup>Paul Fox. "Origins of the CCF and NDP," Politics: Canada, ed. Paul Fox, McGraw - Hill Co. of Canada Ltd., Toronto, Ontario, 1962, p. 300.

<sup>34</sup>Seymour Lipset, Agrarian Socialism: The CCF in Saskatchewan, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1950, p. 132.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 133

Premier, T.C. Douglas, was from a similar background as Woodsworth -- that of the ministry. Like Woodsworth he was concerned in a more direct manner with the needs of the people rather than with restructuring the social order. Under his leadership one of the first programs the CCF in Saskatchewan strove to legislate was socialized health. This was done in gradual steps, and the measures were acclaimed as firsts in all of Canada:

"Saskatchewan became the first province to provide complete free diagnosis and treatment of cancer, including surgery; the first province to provide free penicillin to clinics and private doctors for the treatment of V.D., and the first province to provide entirely free care and treatment for mentally ill and defectives in government institutions."<sup>36</sup>

The success of the Saskatchewan CCF was instrumental in instilling high hope and increased drive to the B.C. Party as the 1945 elections drew near. The Liberal-Conservative Coalition had not operated efficiently and co-operatively, leading the CCF to believe that this would be their big chance. They put all their efforts in this post-war campaign. The platform was changed from that of a wartime policy to one proposing and extending peacetime measures. Some were: helping the federal government re-establish servicemen; greater co-operation with industrial and agricultural organizations, and labour groups; expansion of social services and education.<sup>37</sup> The most significant change from the 1937 platform was regarding finance:

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<sup>36</sup>The Toronto Daily Star Reports on the Saskatchewan Government, published by the Bureau of Publications, Legislative Building, Regina, Second revised edition, August 1946, p. 4.

<sup>37</sup>CCF Program of B.C., 1945, published by the CCF (B.C. - Yukon Section), 712 Holden Building, Vancouver, pp. 7 - 29.

1937 - "Redistribution of tax burden to give relief to lower income brackets; higher income and inheritance taxes in the upper brackets. Tax increases on monopolistic business, ..."38

1945 - "Taxation policies will be designed to achieve redistribution of income on a more equitable basis through provision of social services."39

However, the outcome was most unexpected and quite shattering to the CCF. They lost 11 of their 16 seats and gained only 5, thus making a total of 10. Their attractive program for full employment, planning and housing developments, social services and education was not drawing votes. What was most disconcerting, too, was the fact that the old traditional parties were adopting many of the CCF measures -- within the context of the 'free enterprise system'. Thus, to the extent that the Liberal-Conservative Coalition government implemented these measures, they received the credit.

As the 1949 election had produced little change, the CCF members began to question their policies to find out why they were losing their support in B.C. The issue was centered on the degree of allegiance to socialist doctrine. "It is true that advocacy of social ownership of the means of production has been at the heart of socialist doctrine. Yet many CCF'ers believe that the socialist cause can be maintained and furthered without rigid adherence to the strategy of widespread public ownership."40

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<sup>38</sup>CCF Programme of B.C., 1937, published by the CCF (B.C. Section) Provincial Executive, Vancouver, B.C., p. 3.

<sup>39</sup>CCF Programme of B.C., 1945, op. cit., p. 30.

<sup>40</sup>Thomas M. Sanford. The Politics of Protest: The CCF and Social Credit League in B.C., thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science at the University of California, 1961, p. 144.

Many members were questioning whether public ownership of all means of production would actually bring about freedom, equality and security for all, along with an increased standard of living. There was still a group of left-wing CCF'ers who retained their socialist beliefs but these were not shared by many of the newer, younger members. These later recruits were not ideologically and sentimentally attached to the Regina Manifesto and the struggles which the original party-builders had gone through. A figure who quite significantly influenced this change was Ernest Winch. As formerly pointed out, his greatest concern had always been the people in need, and his attempts to help them were at the very practical, down-to-earth level. Rather than a theorist he had always been an active worker and in the process had moved away from preaching the basic Marxian ideology. Although he still supported socialist theories and belonged to the more-leftist faction of the B.C. CCF party, Ernest Winch was more renowned as an active worker for reforms. This, too, had occurred in Saskatchewan where T.C. Douglas was spreading a Christian, humanistic socialism rather than Marxian Socialism. Other significant influences, too, were the economic conditions of the 1940's. "Prosperity weakened the appeal of socialism, and the socialist study clubs of the CCF lost ground accordingly. Generally, the affluent society robs ideologies of their meaningfulness and attractiveness, for people are caught up in the web of material things and lack the desperation needed for commitment to a web of ideas."<sup>41</sup> To

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<sup>41</sup>Thomas M. Sanford. The Politics of Protest: The CCF and Social Credit League in B.C., thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science at the University of California, 1961, p. 267.



deal with this situation we see the party de-emphasizing its goal for a new socialist society and instead stressing the need for social security and reform. Though still retained, nationalization was restricted to public utilities and a few specific industries. Even terminology was changed -- 'socialist society' was replaced by a 'new social order' or the 'co-operative commonwealth'. And most significantly, the 1940's marked the beginning of labour influence within the CCF ranks; an influence that reached greater heights in the 1950's and led directly to the formation of the 'New Party' in 1961.

#### The 1950's and The Winnipeg Declaration

The Liberal - Conservative Coalition had by this time run its course. In 1952 the House was dissolved and an election called for June 12; an election few attempted to predict. The CCF was optimistic; the Liberals and Conservatives could hope for no more than a minority government; and the new party, the Social Credit, was discounted as a force. The outcome was unbelievable. The CCF emerged from the election with eighteen seats, one less than the Social Credit; the Liberals and Conservatives had fallen well behind the two protest parties, winning just ten seats between them. T.M. Sanford explained the surprising outcome:

"A key explanation is that many voters were alienated from the traditional parties, at the same time were unwilling to support the socialist CCF, and thus moved toward and vented their protest for the only remaining free-enterprise alternative -- Social Credit."<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>T.M. Sanford, The Politics of Protest: The CCF and Social Credit League in B.C., thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science at the University of California, 1961, p. 162.

It was not just their own supporters that rejected the traditional parties, the socialists did likewise. In the majority of cases the CCF voters gave their second-choice votes to the Social Credit. For a more extensive breakdown of the 1952 results, consult T.M. Sanford, The Politics of Protest: The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and Social Credit League in British Columbia, Chapter VI.

Soon after the House opened, the Social Creditors hoped for and were granted a vote of non-confidence in their government. This provided them with the opportunity to appeal to the people once more; this time for stronger support. Opposition leader, Harold Winch, hoping to prevent another election, appealed to the Lieutenant-Governor for a chance to form a CCF minority government. He felt he could make this work providing that he did not introduce legislation which could be taken as pro-socialist.<sup>43</sup> However, this was not granted and because he had proposed this without the knowledge and approval from the CCF caucus, discontent resulted. It was not long after that Harold Winch resigned as party leader and turned to federal politics. The subsequent election was favorable to the Social Credit who won twenty-eight seats (45% of the popular vote), the CCF dropping to fourteen seats (29% of the popular vote).

Another prominent figure, Ernest Winch, was also coming to the end of his political career. Before he died, though (1957), he succeeded in establishing his last welfare drive -- housing for pensioners and arthritics. Through his efforts the low-rental New Vista Homes for Senior Citizens were planned, built, and

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<sup>43</sup>Dorothy Steeves, The Compassionate Rebel, Evergreen Press Ltd., Vancouver, B.C., 1960, (copywrite, Boag Foundation, Vancouver), p. 182

inhabited under the directorship of the New Vista Society. The Society was non-profit and received provincial grants amounting to one third of its capital cost. "In 1953 he introduced a bill in the Legislature to guarantee the permanence of the New Vista project for senior citizens and to preserve its purpose under a Board of Trustees,..."<sup>44</sup> The bill was unanimously approved. For his efforts in previous projects, and especially in this one, Ernest Winch had considerable criticism directed at him by the far left-wing factions of the party. They felt such projects should, in their entirety, be a government responsibility. However, once more Ernest Winch indicated that he was pragmatic and that his concern was for the people.

Also of some significance is the fact that at their 1950 National Convention in Vancouver, the CCF voted in favor of sending a Canadian contingent to fight in the Korean War. During the two World Wars the CCF had objected to sending military aid to other countries fighting a war. This same Convention, too, discussed whether a new statement of basic principles should be formulated to replace the Regina Manifesto. This issue was met with strong opposition by the old die-hard socialists (especially those from B.C.), but enough were in favor to necessitate further discussion on the matter. "Delegates compromised on a proposal to have regional CCF sections work at formulating a new declaration of principles under the guidance of a national committee."<sup>45</sup> At stake were the strong socialist ideals of the Regina Manifesto principles. Many CCF'ers had realized that though they preferred

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 195

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 203

socialism, it was not, in their view, a practical goal for Canada. They felt the possibility of forming a Welfare State in its stead more promising. This, however, would involve the revision or replacement of the Regina Manifesto. In 1956 the National CCF Council presented a draft to the National Convention in Winnipeg. It was adopted as The Winnipeg Declaration of Principles of the CCF\*, leaving the Regina Manifesto as a historic document. "Its chief claim to fame was the emphasis on a new CCF objective of a 'mixed economy' in which publicly owned industries and free enterprise were to live together happily, although not ever after."<sup>46</sup>

The Winnipeg Declaration of Principles reflected the reformist welfare philosophy which the CCF had come to practice. While the CCF still claimed concern with the inequalities produced by capitalism, this document went a step further than the Regina Manifesto and delineated these inequalities. All, dealt with welfare issues -- 'want, insecurity, slums, old age, ill-health, and education.'<sup>47</sup> But no longer was a 'new social order' the answer; 'social planning' was the key, with "...public, private and co-operative enterprise working together in the people's interest."<sup>48</sup>

Events leading to the Founding of the New Democratic Party

From April 21st to 25th, 1958, the Canadian Labour Congress held its Second Constitution Convention at Winnipeg. One of the issues discussed at the Convention was political involvement. It

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<sup>46</sup>Dorothy Steeves, The Compassionate Rebel, Evergreen Press Ltd., Vancouver, B.C., 1960, (copyright, Boag Foundation), p. 208.

<sup>47</sup>Winnipeg Declaration, op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 2

\*See Appendix F. 1956 Winnipeg Declaration of Principles of the CCF, (Parti Social Democratique du Canada)

was decided that within two years time there would be formed a "...broadly based people's political movement which embraces the CCF, the labour movement, farm organizations, professional people and other liberally-minded persons interested in basic social reform and reconstruction through our parliamentary system of government."<sup>49</sup>

The CCF National Council was advised of this resolution and asked to name representatives to a CLC - CCF Joint National Committee which would lay the ground-work for the new movement. The CCF National Council met in May of 1958 and expressed its support in a resolution\* to be submitted to the July 23-25 CCF National Convention in Montreal for approval. Having received the sanction from both the CLC and CCF, the Joint National Committee proceeded to make plans and co-ordinate the related activities taking place across Canada. "Since the latter part of 1958 a number of New Party Conferences organized by Provincial Federations of Labour, District Labour Councils, CCF organizations, the CLC Political Education Department and Joint CLC - CCF Committees, have been held in the various provinces."<sup>50</sup> The majority were held in Ontario and B.C. and the participants included trade unionists, CCF'ers, farmers, businessmen, and professionals. The Joint CLC - CCF Commission was predominantly instrumental in setting up study and discussion groups with the purpose of encouraging rank

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<sup>49</sup>A New Political Party for Canada, published by the CLC - CCF Joint Committee, Ottawa, Nov., 1958, p. 5.

\*Appendix G - for the complete Resolution adopted at the CLC Convention held at Winnipeg, April 21 - 25, 1958.

Appendix H.- for complete Resolution adopted at the CCF National Convention held at Montreal, July 23 - 25, 1958.

<sup>50</sup>CCF - CLC Joint Meeting in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Papers distributed at the meeting, August, 1959, p. ii.

and file CCF and union members to participate and exchange ideas.

The proposals for a new political party based on the principles and ideals of the CCF were met with enthusiasm by many people. They indicated interest and willingness to participate in helping the New Party to become a reality. Stanley Knowles, executive president of the CLC and national vice-president of the CCF explained it in this way:

"The setback suffered by that party at the federal election of 1958 and the realization in the public mind that the existence of the CCF was threatened, focussed the attention of a great many Canadians on the fact that what the CCF stood for was something this country did not want to disappear."<sup>51</sup>

To work out some of the differences and tentative policies, a National CCF - CLC Seminar was held in Winnipeg from August 28 - 30, 1959. Three hundred delegates attended -- 119 from trade unions; 116 from the CCF; 33 farmers; and 36 others. Grace MacInnis, one of the attendants, said of the proposed New Party: "Its program and philosophy will be almost indistinguishable from the program and philosophy of the CCF."<sup>52</sup>

Just before the Founding Convention the National Committee circulated two pamphlets, one containing the Draft Constitution\*; the other the Draft Program\*. With some modifications, these

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<sup>51</sup> Stanley Knowles, The New Party, McLelland and Stewart Ltd., 1961, p. 48.

<sup>52</sup> Grace MacInnis, "CCF-CLC Winnipeg Seminar a Success", CCF News, for B.C. and the Yukon, Vol.23, No.9, September , 1959, p.3.

\*Draft Constitution, published by the National Committee for the New Party in March, 1961.

\*Draft Program, published by the National Committee for the New Party, in May, 1961.

were later endorsed by the Founding Convention. The program is divided into four sections; the second, titled 'Security and Freedom', dealing with welfare measures which fall under federal jurisdiction. The major concern is security.

"The New Party will establish a program of social security -- a program to ensure a standard of living which will enable every Canadian to live in health and self-respect."<sup>53</sup>

Briefly outlined is a national health plan, a national retirement plan, an assistance plan for those who are unemployed due to an illness or accident not covered by Workman's Compensation (including maternity benefits), a life insurance plan, and increases in veterans', family, and blind and disabled persons' allowances. The New Party also proposed to combat disease by establishing a national centre for research. Increased housing accommodation, town and community planning, urban re-development, and slum clearance would also be undertaken. Canadian labourers and consumers also stand to benefit from the New Party's proposals. Included in this category, too, was an expanded program in education and the arts.

The Founding Convention itself was a successful and memorable occasion. Held in Ottawa, it drew two thousand and two hundred attendants. T.C. Douglas was chosen as national leader and Michael Oliver, as NDP President.

Although the sixteen B.C. NDP - CCF MLA's were unable to attend the National Founding Convention due to a special session of the B.C. Legislature, they had the opportunity to participate

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

at the Provincial Convention held October 27 to 29, 1961. A social welfare program on matters of provincial jurisdiction was passed as an "Offensive against Social Neglect":

"The NDP will have as its primary interest the needs of people at all levels of society. It recognizes that human beings are our greatest resources and that welfare services must be focussed on individual needs and individual problems.

"A new Department of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation will make a complete study of all welfare needs and services. It will remove the financial burden of social services from the municipalities. Social Assistance allowances will be raised. Services and pensions for the aged must be increased and there will be an immediate speedup in senior citizens' housing.

"There will be an enlargement of services to mentally disturbed and retarded children and an expansion of juvenile and family court services. There must be a preventive approach to delinquency, drug addiction, alcoholism and mental illness.

"An aggressive program for recruiting suitable skilled staff to the government social welfare service will be undertaken. Assistance to the University School of Social Work and bursaries to social welfare staff for further education will be provided. It will be the policy of the government to raise educational qualifications and practice standards of social workers generally, throughout the province."<sup>54</sup>

The detail and clarity of this program is considerable when compared to those of previous years. Much of the credit for this goes to Mr. David Barrett, the MLA entrusted to be the welfare spokesman for the B.C. New Democratic Party. Since his election in 1960 he has made emphatic bids to establish social welfare as the primary NDP program. He has gone to great lengths in defining and interpreting the specific conditions and needs in this field

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<sup>54</sup>"B.C. Program and Constitution", CCF News, vol. 25, no. 9, 19 September, 1961, p. 5.



as evidenced in the NDP paper, The Democrat. For a more detailed examination of his views, see Chapter IV of this thesis.

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The B.C. socialist movement has undergone considerable philosophical change since 1933 when it emerged as the CCF, Canada's first 'third' party. It was mainly composed of labourers and was based on strong Marxian tradition -- with both membership and philosophy drawn primarily from the Socialist Party of Canada (B.C.). The main distinguishing feature lay in its policy to completely abolish the existing social order and replacing it with a socialist one. It was a 'people's' party but its programs were geared more towards the economy and social order, with the people benefiting as a consequence of these being implemented. However, the CCF was not given the opportunity to govern and so to retain and increase its support, it began introducing programs which were more specific in terms of people's needs. These were the labour and welfare programs, starting with Ernest Winch's drive to alleviate the plight of the mentally ill, the aged, the criminal, the poor, and the overworked (or exploited). About this same period, late depression and early World War II years, the party was taking on quite a marked reformist position. At times this met with considerable resistance from those within the party who recognized and feared the watering-down process which gradually did occur. Actually what was happening was a growing awareness of the needs of the people in relation to the circumstances of the society. The party became more flexible and this was reflected in the policy changes. These changes in policy were not fully acknowledged until 1956 when the Winnipeg Declaration of Principles was signed.

Public ownership was de-emphasized and social welfare was included as one of the top priorities. Thus did the CCF enter a new phase, one which can be best described by the words 'welfare statism'.

M.J. Coldwell gave full expression to this in 1949 when he said:

"When economic and social injustice has been uprooted; when unemployment has been banished; when decent housing replaces all our slums; when all the resources of medical science are available to even the poorest urchin in the land; when the flames of religious and racial hatreds have been stamped out; when the fear of glutted markets, starvation prices and crop failures has been removed; when our old folks are no longer shut away in bare, lonely rooms to await their end on a starvation pension; when every child in the land has all the milk it can drink and all the food it can eat, and when the only limit to its education will be its own ability -- when all these things have come to pass, then the need for the CCF will have disappeared. Its task will have been done. But not till then."<sup>55</sup>

The history of the social democratic movement in B.C. is full of twists and turns both organizationally as well as philosophically. The main trends in terms of philosophy can be summarized as follows:

- (a) Before the official formation of the CCF in 1933 the social democratic movement was concerned with welfare matters only to the extent of recognizing them; their solution was predicted as a natural result of the new social order which the party was proposing.
- (b) The depression and World War II years created a new CCF outlook on the needs of the people. Less energy

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<sup>55</sup>M.J. Coldwell, part of a speech given in 1949; quoted in a paper titled History of the CCF; Boag Foundation Collection, Special Collections, U.B.C. Library.

was spent expounding on the evils of capitalism and more was being directed to identifying and alleviating welfare problems. It was during these years that the CCF gained prominence and respect for the reformist welfare measures which its Legislative representatives introduced.

- (c) Although the reformist element of the party (NDP-CCF) gradually replaced the original (1933, Regina Manifesto) goal to establish a new social order, this was not given official recognition until 1956 when the Winnipeg Declaration of Principles was adopted. This document advocates a less radical form of Democratic Socialism with greater emphasis on welfare matters, and as pointed out in this chapter, a more accurate description of the present party philosophy is reflected in the term 'welfare statism'.

## CHAPTER II

### INTRODUCTION: SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY RESOLUTIONS AND POLICY STATEMENTS FROM ANNUAL PROVINCIAL CONVENTIONS

#### (a) Purpose

The major objective of this chapter will be to assess the New Democratic Party's opinion on social welfare policy and philosophy as seen by the rank and file and to correlate these views with the official views of the party as expressed through formal policy statements.

Official views as expressed by the party leadership will be examined in the fourth chapter and the third chapter will examine the individual views of members, at all levels, gathered through the use of a questionnaire. This chapter will therefore be confined mainly to aggregate opinions of the rank and file expressed through resolutions and official views as expressed through policy statements.

In this chapter three areas are examined.

- (a) The party structure and organization is examined in order to evaluate the importance that rank and file resolutions play in formation of party policy. This includes an examination of the similarities and differences between the NDP and the CCF insofar as the importance of rank and file resolutions are concerned.
- (b) Resolutions of a philosophical nature are examined and correlated to the general philosophical views as developed in Chapter I.

- (c) The resolutions are classified according to specific areas of social welfare and tested against official party policy on social welfare.

(b) The Material

The material examined includes the following:

1. Transcripts of the resolutions presented to the annual conventions of the CCF and the NDP for the years 1953 to 1965.
2. The Regina Manifesto
3. The Winnipeg Declaration
4. A program statement adopted by the Provincial Council of the CCF in 1954.
5. "The Task Before Us." An appraisal of CCF policy and philosophy presented to the 1956 Convention by the executive.
6. Official Policy Statements from the CCF News and the NDP organ The Democrat.
7. A statement of NDP policy endorsed by the 1965 convention.
8. An interview with Mr. Ernest Hall, Secretary of the NDP.
9. The NDP Constitution.

The chief limitations of the material are found in the records of the convention proceedings. The records for the years 1954, 1955, 1957, 1958, 1959 and 1960 list all of the resolutions submitted by constituency organizations but do not include a record of the disposition of the resolutions. The proceedings for 1964 and 1965 contain the disposition of all resolutions and those resolutions carried are recorded. There is no record, however, of the resolutions submitted by constituency associations. In general there is no record of any discussion of the resolutions

nor is the rationale for acceptance or rejection given.

A second major limitation concerning resolutions is the fact that there were no records available for the years 1962 and 1964, nor was the NDP able to provide a copy of the minutes of the founding convention. This is most unfortunate, particularly the lack of the minutes of the founding convention of the NDP which was a major development in the history of the CCF - NDP movement.

In addition to the recording of resolutions, the official proceedings of the annual conventions often contain official policy statements which along with official statements published in the CCF News and The Democrat, are used as a basis for examining the relationship between rank and file resolutions and official policy.

In order to examine the nature of the party organization and structure (which affects the relationship between official policy and rank and file resolutions), the constitution of the NDP was examined and an interview was held with Mr. Ernest Hall, present Secretary of the NDP.

### Party Organization and Structure

It is of great significance that in addition to the fact that socialist parties differ from the long established parties in terms of philosophy, they also differ in terms of party organization. This difference is significant because it vitally affects the relationship between rank and file and the official leadership. Perhaps it is necessary first of all to outline the major characteristics of the organization of long established parties and then to examine how socialist parties are different and thirdly to assess to what degree the NDP conforms to the model of socialist party organization.

According to Maurice Duverger, long established parties

"survive in the shape of Conservative and Liberal parties... They are based on caucuses which are narrowly recruited, rather independent of one another and generally decentralized; their aim is not so much to increase their membership or to enlist the masses as to recruit outstanding people."<sup>1</sup>

These traditional parties tend to direct their activities entirely towards elections and consequently have a somewhat irregular rhythm to their activities, tending only to be very active during elections; party administration tends to be minimal and the leadership largely in the hands of elected parliamentary representatives and revolves around personalities (the party leader and his cabinet) rather than ideology. Indeed, these parties are usually concerned with political questions rather than ideological ones. Membership "...is generally based on interest or habit."<sup>2</sup>

Duverger describes socialist party organization as....

"being directed to organizing as large a proportion of the masses as possible...in which the political education of members assumes considerable importance alongside the purely electoral activity. The personal aspect in leadership becomes less important... doctrine plays a much more important part within the party; rivalries, instead of being struggles between personalities, take on the character of conflicts between opinion."<sup>3</sup>

These parties are dependent on individual members for their finances and consequently have a rigid system of individual

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<sup>1</sup>Maurice Duverger, Political Parties; Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State. Methuen and Co. Ltd. London. 1959. p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Duverger, op.cit. p. 1.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. p. 1.

subscriptions (rather than receiving large donations from relatively few wealthy supporters). In these socialist parties there tends to be a definite organizational structure for the general membership composed of 'branches'. Political education as well as electoral activity assumes great importance. All this inevitably leads to the formation of a considerable administrative organization.

The most important characteristic of socialist parties in terms of this thesis is the fact that socialist parties exercise control over their parliamentary representatives, i.e. they utilize various procedures to ensure that party ideology is manifested in parliament by party members sitting in parliament. Our first task in this chapter is to examine the extent to which the NDP exercises this type of control over its legislative representatives.

According to Corry and Hodgetts the CCF did exercise control over the leadership.

"The Provincial and National organizations built on the constituency associations have careful constitutional provisions for ensuring that the rank and file of party members will be heard. The party leadership, whether provincial or national is formally subject to control and detailed direction by their respective party associations. ... Annual provincial and biennial national party conventions, which are widely representative, insist on the leaders giving a full account of their stewardship... Many matters which in the older parties would be settled in caucus...are dealt with in the CCF party by the representative associations and conventions."<sup>4</sup>

In the New Democratic Party in B.C. this practice has been modified due to the affiliation of labour union groups. The

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<sup>4</sup>J.A. Corry and J.E. Hodgetts. Democratic Government and Politics, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 1958. p. 262.



opinions of the rank and file are still important although labour wields a considerable influence because of its financial contributions which will be examined later. The 1965 proceedings of the annual B.C. NDP convention contains, for example, a comprehensive policy statement which incorporated a large number of the rank and file resolutions passed at the convention. More important the policy statement itself which represents the official view of the NDP was, to quote the introduction to the statement "endorsed Section by Section at the Provincial Convention and Provincial Council."<sup>5</sup>

Resolutions originate at the constituency level including those which are proposed by affiliated clubs and labour organizations. A general meeting of the constituency association votes on resolutions proposed and forwards those accepted to a resolutions committee (which is ratified by the party convention) which in turn amalgamates similar resolutions and clarifies conflicting resolutions. The resolutions are then voted on by the convention and those accepted become party policy. Those resolutions which are not dealt with by the convention due to lack of time are referred to the executive and council and if endorsed by the executive and/or council become party policy. According to Provincial Secretary, Ernest Hall, most of these resolutions are actually never dealt with.

Theoretically all party policy, including both resolutions and policy statements endorsed by the convention are binding on legislative members. There is however no direct way of immediately disciplining elected representatives who fail to adhere to party policy, although ultimately the party does have methods of control which are vested in the annual convention and the

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<sup>5</sup>Proceedings, 1965 Convention.

constituency associations.

The constituency associations can refuse to renominate a rebellious legislative member and therefore withdraw party support. The annual convention can exercise its control by failing to approve the annual report of the leader of the party which again is, in effect, withdrawal of support.

In between annual conventions which are held within a minimum of eighteen months of each other, there is an attempt at informal control through joint meetings of the party executive and the parliamentary caucus. These meetings are held often although not regularly and the degree of control exercised by the party executive often depends on the personalities of the various groups involved at any given time.

Since the influence of trade and labour union affiliates will be discussed in a later chapter it is perhaps appropriate to conclude this presentation of the structure and organization of the NDP with some comments on the role of labour in the NDP.

Under Article III<sup>6</sup> of the Constitution of the NDP unions may affiliate themselves with the NDP. At present affiliation is made to constituency associations and affiliated groups are subject to the controls of the constituency organizations. Union affiliates could wield a large amount of influence in the party if the NDP became dependent on union financial contributions. The threat of withdrawal of such support would become a powerful tool for influencing party policy.

If financial contributions are used as a measure of union influence, dues paid by union affiliates would indicate a small

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<sup>6</sup>Constitution. p. 4.

influence. The convention proceedings for 1965, for instance, indicate that union affiliates contributed \$732.56 for the six months ended April 30, 1964. The total income for this period was \$15,580.91 the bulk of which is derived from individual contributions. The unions do however, according to Ernest Hall, contribute substantial donations during election times in the form of cash and direct services (e.g. labour, materials, office space etc.). The total amount of these contributions was not divulged, except for the indication that they are much larger than the total dues paid through affiliates. There is therefore the likelihood that the labour union movement does exert a considerable influence in the NDP.

#### Philosophy and Principles

From the early 1950's to the present time the socialist movement has undergone a considerable modification of its organizational structure. With the introduction of labour as a participating group in the CCF - NDP the controls by the party convention over parliamentary leadership have been relaxed and made less formal. In addition, the NDP no longer has a formal statement of principles equal to documents such as the Regina Manifesto (1933) or the Winnipeg Declaration (1956). Convention resolutions seem to have replaced these documents and consequently have become more thorough and thoughtful.

The more recent evolution of the party to its present state can be traced back to 1953 when the CCF still adhered to the Regina Manifesto. By 1956 the Winnipeg Declaration was being considered and in 1959 the idea of a new party began to appear, ultimately resulting in the formation of the New Democratic Party in 1961.

In 1953, the provincial convention passed only one resolution dealing with philosophical matters.

"Resolved that this convention reiterate its belief in the Regina Manifesto and urge the national council to continue its efforts to complete the statement of principles of the CCF and to prepare a handbook outlining in abbreviated form the fundamental policies of the CCF for the use of CCF members and the public."<sup>8</sup>

This resolution was an amendment of the original submitted by the Commonwealth Club which contained in its introduction an indication that the party was becoming dissatisfied with the manner in which its general aims might be implemented. The Commonwealth Club resolution stated that

"WHEREAS there is a pronounced feeling of uncertainty among the general public as to the true moral and economic aims and policies of the CCF and  
WHEREAS the rank and file of the party should have a written policy of CCF philosophy  
BE IT RESOLVED that all urgency be attached to the completion of the statement of Principles of the CCF (redraft of the Regina Manifesto) and to the preparation of a handbook outlining in abbreviated form the said principles for distribution to each member and to be available to the general public."<sup>9</sup>

By 1955 a restatement of the Regina Manifesto had not been drafted, however, a program adopted by the provincial council in 1954 was presented to the convention. Essentially, there was very little difference between this program and the Regina Manifesto. The main reason for its presentation seems to have been

a) A reassurance to the public that the CCF if elected would

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<sup>8</sup>Convention Proceedings, 1953, Resolution #101, p. 70.

<sup>9</sup>Convention Proceedings, 1953, Resolution #101, p. 26, Commonwealth Club.

govern constitutionally.

"We find...that the voters need assurance that the CCF will uphold the constitutional practices of our government -- both before and after taking power."<sup>10</sup>

b) The policy on nationalization was restated. The party executive at this point seemed to want to satisfy two groups -- the rank and file and the electorate. This program used the term "mixed economy" in its statement on socialization. The Regina Manifesto had clearly outlined what would be socialized and what would not. The new provincial program simply said the CCF would

"administer a mixed economy containing both private and public enterprise. Within the limitations of provincial authority and finance a CCF government would proceed to widen the area of social ownership in those industries and services indispensable to the life of the people."<sup>11</sup>

The CCF continued to undergo reexamination of its goals and philosophy until 1956 when the Winnipeg Declaration was introduced. It may be that the reexamination in B.C. could be partially due to the defeat suffered at the polls in 1952 and 1953. Party records show that after their narrow defeat in 1952 there were expectations that in 1953 the CCF would win. Defeat appears to have come as a shock and the CCF became concerned with its image. It seemed particularly concerned with the possibility of being associated with totalitarian government and therefore stated this position in its 1956 program.

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<sup>10</sup>Convention Proceedings, 1955, p. 38.

<sup>11</sup>Convention Proceedings, 1955, p. 38.

"...the public...is deeply suspicious about our real attitudes on a number of vital matters. We have yet to obtain the support of people who are not socialists.... They need to be convinced that we believe in the parliamentary system...that we are genuinely opposed to all forms of totalitarian control."<sup>12</sup>

During the period 1953-1956 the left wing of the party remained strangely quiet. New programs and approaches were discussed and some reformulation of policy was taking place with little opposition. In 1956 however with the introduction of the Winnipeg Declaration evidence of a struggle becomes apparent.

The Regina Manifesto differs from the Winnipeg Declaration in one major way.

The Regina Manifesto is specific where the Winnipeg Declaration is broad and general. The Manifesto states specifically that "banking, currency, credit and insurance, transportation, communications, and electrical power"<sup>13</sup> will be socialized. It also states that "natural resources and the principal means of production will be socialized."<sup>14</sup> The Winnipeg Declaration states that

"The CCF has always recognized public ownership as the most effective means of breaking the stranglehold of private monopolies on the life of the nation and of facilitating the social planning necessary for economic security and advance. The CCF will, therefore, extend public ownership wherever it is necessary."<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup>Convention Proceedings, 1955, p. 38.

<sup>13</sup>Regina Manifesto, p. 2.

<sup>14</sup>Regina Manifesto, p. 3.

<sup>15</sup>Winnipeg Declaration, p. 3.

The Winnipeg Declaration broadens its scope even further by recognizing that

"in many fields there will be a need for private enterprise which can make a useful contribution to our economy. The cooperative commonwealth will therefore provide appropriate opportunities for private business as well as publicly owned industry."<sup>16</sup>

Insofar as social welfare is concerned both the Regina Manifesto and the Winnipeg Declaration saw their economic programs as answering the needs in the social welfare field. The introductory statement in the Regina Manifesto for example states that

"...the principle regulating production, distribution and exchange will be the supplying of human needs and not the making of profits."<sup>17</sup>

It further states that

"The present order is marked by glaring inequalities of wealth and opportunity, by chaotic waste and instability; in an age of plenty it condemns the great mass of the people to poverty and insecurity.... We believe that these evils can be removed only in a planned and socialized economy..."<sup>18</sup>

The introductory statement of the Winnipeg Declaration states that

"The aim of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation is the establishment by democratic means of a co-operative commonwealth in which the supplying of human needs and enrichment of human life shall be the primary purpose of our society."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Winnipeg Declaration, p. 3.

<sup>17</sup>Regina Manifesto, p. 1.

<sup>18</sup>Regina Manifesto, p. 1

<sup>19</sup>Winnipeg Declaration, p. 1

Social welfare in the broadest sense is therefore the cornerstone on which CCF philosophy has been built. The main concern of both the Regina Manifesto and the Winnipeg Declaration was economic deprivation. The remedies offered consisted in the main, of socialization of certain sectors of the economy, particularly finance and banking, monopolies, communication and transport and certain other essential areas. It was felt that on the whole such a reorganization of the society and the economy would lead to a lessening of social inequality and deprivation. In addition socialized health services were seen as a complement to economic planning. ○

Other areas of social welfare concern -- delinquency, child care etc. were not dealt with by the Winnipeg Declaration. The Regina Manifesto however did have a brief section entitled "Social Justice."

"While the removal of economic inequality will do much to overcome the most glaring injustices in the treatment of those who come into conflict with the law, our present archaic system must be changed and brought into accordance with a modern concept of human relationships. The new system must not be based, as is the present one, upon vengeance and fear, but upon an understanding of human behaviour."<sup>20</sup>

When the Winnipeg Declaration was introduced to the B.C. Provincial Convention in 1958, there were fifteen resolutions submitted from clubs and associations; ten against it, one for it and three expressing concern over the way the Declaration had been introduced to the convention.

The points made by those resolutions disapproving the

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<sup>20</sup>Regina Manifesto, p. 7.



Winnipeg Declaration can be best summarized by the following resolution.

"BE IT RESOLVED that the theme of the Winnipeg Declaration that there is room for an extensive development of private capital in the Co-operative Commonwealth be rejected."<sup>21</sup>

The theme of the ten resolutions stressed the rejection of accepting private enterprise as having a role in a socialist state. In this respect the resolutions went further than the Regina Manifesto itself, for while strong words were used to define 'capitalism' there was never any clear suggestion that private enterprise should be eliminated. All ten resolutions were rejected by the convention and the simple resolution in favor of the Declaration was passed. It stated

"BE IT RESOLVED that this CCF Provincial Convention welcomes the Winnipeg Declaration as a modern statement of CCF principles."<sup>22</sup>

The matter did not rest at the passing of that resolution however. A composite resolution was drawn up by delegates to the convention and replaced those resolutions opposing the Winnipeg Declaration. This resolution recognized the Winnipeg Declaration but contained within it two statements which symbolized the struggle between two factions in the party.

"We cannot foresee the circumstances in which the next statement will be made, but we know they will be different. This convention believes that the way to prepare for the next such statement is

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<sup>21</sup>Resolution #78, Hillcrest CCF Club 1958.

<sup>22</sup>Resolution #137, Vancouver East Constituency Association 1958, p. 34.

by disavowing and rejecting any concept or declaration that a modified and controlled capitalism is the ultimate goal of the CCF."

and later

"We urge the CCF National Convention give the lead by making provision for a continuing study of socialist principles, so that the thinking of our movement may keep pace with the development of our fast changing world."<sup>23</sup>

This resolution was also passed by the 1958 Convention in contradiction to the Vancouver East resolution already passed.

By 1959, the struggle for redirection and redefinition had taken a new turn. At the 1959 Convention the idea of a 'new party' composed of an alliance between trade unions and the CCF was proposed. A controversy arose and continued into 1960. A number of resolutions were proposed for and against a new party, most of those against showing a cherished loyalty to the name CCF and a fear that the entrance of labour into the party in an official way would further dilute the principles of socialization of industry.

The new party became a fact when the New Democratic Party was founded in B.C. in 1961. There are no complete records of the founding convention available. It is significant to note however that the party does not have a 'manifesto' in the form of an official statement of principles and philosophy such as the Winnipeg Declaration or Regina Manifesto. The 1963 Provincial Convention did however pass a resolution which was entitled "Statement of Principles." This resolution enunciates principles

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<sup>23</sup>Resolution #146, Statement of Principles 1958.

similar to the Regina Manifesto and the Winnipeg Declaration.

Its importance for social welfare is found in the opening statement,

"The New Democratic Party is pledged to bring about in Canada a society in which the material and cultural needs of humanity will be fulfilled, in order that each individual will be able to live a meaningful and satisfying life."<sup>24</sup>

The statement reaffirms the party's belief in a system based on human rights over 'a drive for profit.' The statement on socialization of industry however is even more tempered than the Winnipeg Declaration stating that the NDP will work to elect a government which is

"pledged to the development of democratically administered institutions in order to bring under public ownership or control, our natural resources and our basic industries."<sup>25</sup>

During the period 1953-1965, the CCF - NDP has undergone considerable change in its structure and this has been accompanied by a change in approach to its philosophical values.

Structurally the change had occurred by the broadening of its membership to include the affiliation of labour groups. The addition of labour to the CCF - NDP movement is likely to affect that organization profoundly.

Philosophically the NDP still adheres to the maxim that society and the economy should be planned to meet human needs rather than to leave the economy to the exigencies of the 'free market.' The emphasis on socialization or nationalization of

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<sup>24</sup>Resolutions C1, 1963.

<sup>25</sup>Resolution C1, 1963.

industry remains although not to the same degree. There is greater consideration for the role of private industry in the economy while still retaining the emphasis on planning and/or control.

### Socialization (36 resolutions)

The basis for CCF - NDP philosophy as a political movement has been primarily the elimination of gross economic inequalities. One of the major means of obtaining this goal consists of a program of nationalizing or socializing various areas of the economy. As a practical political program nationalization is seen as an important tool in the diffusion of economic and political power to a larger proportion of the population and hence the emphasis on nationalization of key industries, public utilities, monopolies and finance. These are the areas in which the greatest economic power lies. There appears to be a large group within the NDP who view socialization primarily as an economic and political tool to achieve greater equalization of wealth and lessening of economic deprivation. This group does not see private enterprise or capitalism as inherently immoral but rather sees the misuse of capital and the consequent concentration of political and economic power into the hands of a few as immoral. Their primary goal is economic equalization rather than socialization for socialization sake.

There is however another group within the NDP whose ideas are based on the writings of Marx and who tend to view private enterprise and capitalism as basically immoral. This concept of immorality seems to be based on the premise that private enterprise inevitably leads to exploitation of wage earners. The contention is that wage earners who produce the goods do not obtain benefits

in the form of profit while the investor whose only contribution to the productive system is his money or capital enjoys the profits without contributing substantially in physical effort to the productive process. In this there is an element of the idea that labour is morally good.

Both the Regina Manifesto and the Winnipeg Declaration seem to take a 'middle ground' stance in this issue by declaring capitalism to be immoral but neither call for its complete elimination but rather its subjection to a system based on human needs rather than the profit motive.

The two views mentioned above overlap between various groups within the party. In addition there is a third view which holds that it is inherently desirable for the citizens of a democracy to maintain the same type of control over their economic destiny as they theoretically do over their political destiny. This goal is best achieved, some argue, through the common ownership (i.e. state ownership) and/or control of the means of production by the population of the state.

An examination of 36 resolutions on socialization from the years 1953 to 1965 indicate that a large proportion of the provincial CCF viewed nationalization primarily as a tool for achieving economic equalization rather than as a basic philosophical premise. Most of the resolutions (26 in all) up to 1958 called for socialization of public utilities (hydro and telephone), natural resources, particularly in the forestry industry and car insurance.

The introduction to these resolutions contain such statements as

1. "Whereas the power rates in the province are high in

comparison with Provinces that do not have this abundance (B.C.'s) of electrical potential;

Therefore be it resolved that we take over the B.C.E.R....."26

2. "Whereas the forests are rapidly being depleted,  
BE IT RESOLVED that the CCF upon being elected  
will immediately socialize the forest lands of B.C.  
in the name of the people."27

Most of the resolutions from this period are similar. The basic idea of the 'immorality' of capitalism of course was expressed in the Regina Manifesto and the Winnipeg Declaration. The fact however that the resolutions dealt mainly with public utilities and their failure to meet public need in specific areas indicates a trend away from the view that capitalism per se, is immoral.

In 1958-59 the philosophical aspect received brief attention with the introduction of the Winnipeg Declaration. The controversy over this change has already been discussed however the conflict over socialization will be examined further. The resolutions opposing the Winnipeg Declaration were defeated but the following quote illustrates the traditional approach to socialization with its emphasis on the immorality of capitalism.

1. "... 'Our aim is a classless society' and 'we will not mistake the form of social ownership for the substance of socialism' and WHEREAS the Winnipeg Declaration, in its support of private enterprise, departs from the fundamental principle of socialism, ... The Winnipeg Declaration cannot be accepted as a Declaration of Socialist Principles."28

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<sup>26</sup>Resolution #125, Victoria-Oak Bay Constituency Association, 1955.

<sup>27</sup>Resolution #83, North Burnaby, 1956.

<sup>28</sup>Resolution #143, Vancouver Centre Association, 1958.

The most recent records of the New Democratic Party emphasize public ownership as a form of democratic popular control and appears to give equal status to the idea of control as opposed to public ownership.

"The New Democratic Party proposes to implement its objective by democratic and evolutionary means. It will work to elect a government pledged to the development of democratically administered institutions in order to bring under public ownership or control our natural resources and our basic industries."<sup>29</sup>

This resolution is reflected in an official policy statement endorsed by the Provincial Convention in 1965. The 1965 policy statement proposes steps to place under public ownership, "for the benefit and protection of the public, all remaining private power companies, natural gas production, ...and the British Columbia Telephone System."<sup>30</sup>

The 1965 policy statement also proposes that a NDP government would

"...modify and control the operations of large corporate organizations and where necessary, develop new institutions, public, joint public, private and cooperative organizations to balance the market and to ensure both productivity and quality at the highest possible level."<sup>31</sup>

Also for the first time in the records examined, the idea of public-private ownership of a bank is proposed, the government having a substantial share of ownership.

From the records of the last four years it would appear that

<sup>29</sup>Resolution C1, 1963.

<sup>30</sup>Policy Statement, Convention Proceedings, 1965.

<sup>31</sup>Policy Statement, Convention Proceedings, 1965.

the NDP has moved a considerable distance from the concept of a 'classless society' and views public ownership along with control as a vehicle for achieving a degree of income equalization. Broad democratic control of the economy through government seems to have become a firm ideal.

Social Security -- Public Assistance and Income Maintenance Programs (22 resolutions)

The main emphasis of the CCF was on economic reconstruction. It was felt that by socialization and economic planning, economic inequality would be eliminated. Perhaps this is one reason why social security programs are not given emphasis by the Winnipeg Declaration nor the Regina Manifesto. The Regina Manifesto in section 14 entitled "An Emergency Programme" proposed increased relief measures to the unemployed and public works programs as a method of temporarily dealing with the crisis of unemployment during the depression years. It stated emphatically however that these emergency measures were "...only of temporary value, for the present depression is a sign of the mortal sickness of the whole capitalist system and this sickness cannot be cured by the application of salves."<sup>32</sup>

Since the Regina Manifesto, the rank and file have moved closer to what might be called an economic reform philosophy. As well, there has been an increasing trend by the party as a whole away from the strict adherence to socialization and increasing emphasis on social security measures, particularly in the program of the B.C. NDP. For a more complete discussion of this trend see chapter one. There is a paucity of resolutions on social

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<sup>32</sup>Regina Manifesto, p. 8.



security and most of the impetus for change seems to come from the leadership level (see chapter four).

There are for the period 1953-56

- 3 resolutions on Social Allowance
- 3 Old Age Assistance
- 1 Social Service Tax exemption
- 3 Debt Moratorium
- 8 Workmen's Compensation Board
- 1 Cost of Living Bonus
- 1 Widow's Pension
- 2 Unemployment Insurance

The three resolutions on social allowances are proposals to increase the rate of social allowance to a more adequate standard of living. The 1965 resolution on social allowance indicates the desire to raise social allowance incomes to a more adequate standard but at the same time indicates the preference for the provision of employment rather than public assistance.

"WHERRAS the cost of living has gone up sky-high, and those receiving social assistance have an extra hard time to exist on \$66 per month  
BE IT RESOLVED that the NDP support a policy of:

- a) Raising the allowance given to those on social assistance immediately to an interim level (pending raising it to a more realistic level after further study of the problem) comparable with that given Old Age Pensioners.
- b) Giving the employable unemployed work at union rates, until such time as work can be found for them in industry, and retraining them; and that such trainees be given, while retraining, an allowance comparable to that given an Old Age Pensioner."<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>Resolution #57, 1965

At the same convention a policy statement expanding on the social allowance resolution was approved.

"The New Democratic Party recognizes that society must make an adequate provision for persons unable to care for themselves by reason of unemployment, loss of the breadwinner, physical and other disabilities. All must have this as a right without loss of civil liberties or self-respect. At the same time through education and special training, persons able to do so must have an opportunity to make a contribution within their means to the general welfare."<sup>34</sup>

A similar approach is taken to questions such as Old Age Pensions, Widow's Pensions, Workman's Compensation etc. The party evidently feels that these services must be provided without loss of dignity or self respect and as a right. These allowances should, according to resolutions, ensure a minimum standard of living, however this latter comment is not defined.

It would appear from resolutions records, that the rank and file of the party are still largely concerned with restructuring the economy and that social security measures while seen as important by certain leadership levels of the party are not a matter of urgent concern to the rank and file at least as evidenced by the few resolutions at party conventions.

### Automation

During the period 1953-1963 there were no resolutions dealing specifically with automation however the first section of the 1965 policy statement is entitled "The New Dimension in Government." This statement attaches a great deal of significance to the problems of technological change and automation. The main contention

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<sup>34</sup>Policy Statement, Convention Proceedings, 1965.

is that this "modern industrial revolution" is creating a situation where "the individual is no longer able to meet the demands such rapid change makes upon him without adequate direction, re-training and adjustment."<sup>35</sup>

There is also an indication in this section that the NDP favors the implementation of a guaranteed annual income although the policy statement does not elaborate on this matter.

"We must restore a dignity to labour and provide through rational planning, a guaranteed income to all which will ensure a standard of living commensurate with the productive capacity of the province."<sup>36</sup>

#### Child Welfare (1 resolution)

A resolution entitled "Child Care"<sup>37</sup> was introduced to the 1965 convention and passed. This resolution deals specifically with Foster Day-Care Homes, Day Care Centres, Nurseries and Kindergartens. The main purpose of the resolution is to support the provision of these services at reasonable cost under government auspices.

The issues of protection, foster home services, adoption and family services are not dealt with either by resolutions or recent policy statements arising out of convention proceedings.

#### Conclusion

There are a few resolutions supporting less punitive measures in corrections services and a paragraph in the 1965 policy statement

<sup>35</sup>Policy Statement, Convention Proceedings, 1965

<sup>36</sup>Resolution 60, 1965

<sup>37</sup>Policy Statement, Convention Proceedings, 1965.

supporting larger and better trained social welfare staff for government social service agencies. Rank and file resolutions in these specific areas however are few. The 1965 proceedings may indicate a trend to greater consideration of specific social welfare issues since there tend to be a few more resolutions on specific issues and these resolutions tend to be more thorough.\*

The rank and file are clearly more interested in economic reorganization than social security measures as a method of dealing with poverty and unemployment. Some party leaders, as will be shown in Chapter Four had quite extensive views on specific social welfare matters.

Chapter I has shown that the CCF - NDP has moved from a theoretical socialist basis to a welfare state basis. The present NDP places less emphasis on socialization of the economy and more emphasis on social security programs such as Unemployment Insurance and Old Age Security.

While the emphasis on welfare state measures is true for the party as a whole it is not generally true for the B.C. section of the rank and file, especially in the matter of provincial affairs.

There are three major reasons for this.

According to Chapter I the B.C. wing of the CCF - NDP has always been more left wing than its equivalent organizations in other provinces. It is therefore not surprising that the B.C. movement is slower than the federal and other provincial organizations in adopting welfare state measures. The recent statement on automation (see page 64) indicates that the present NDP is seriously endorsing a major welfare state policy by giving support

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\*see Appendix I

to the idea of a guaranteed annual income.

A second major reason for the lack of emphasis on welfare state measures by the B.C. section of the NDP is the fact that many of the measures are considered to be federal areas of jurisdiction. This is particularly true of Unemployment Insurance, Old Age Security and Medicare. Consequently, the B.C. NDP has a considerably larger number of welfare state oriented resolutions when dealing with national affairs at their party conventions.

Thirdly, the rank and file seem to leave much of the specific policy formulation surrounding welfare measures to their leadership (see Chapter Four). The Regina Manifesto saw the immediate alleviation of social problems through specific measures such as public works and Unemployment Insurance as interim measures only. Parliamentary leaders such as J.S. Woodsworth in the federal sphere and E.E. Winch in B.C. spent a great deal of effort in bringing about social welfare reforms. While E.E. Winch did contribute much to social welfare reform as a legislative member, he was always a theoretical socialist and at party conventions maintained a concern that the CCF retain its socialist orientation (see Chapter One).

To summarize, it is evident that the rank and file have moved from a theoretical socialist basis to an economic reform basis. There is no longer a strict adherence to the concept of socialization and the establishment of a new order. There remains however, the concept that public ownership of the means of production are necessary in certain areas of the economy. Economic planning continues to play a large role in NDP policies.

Specific welfare measures also play a large part in NDP policies, however the origination of these policies is at the

leadership level in provincial affairs. The rank and file tend to view social security (Unemployment Insurance, Old Age Security etc.) as federal areas of jurisdiction.

Legislative representatives remain responsible to the rank and file and it can therefore be assumed that rank and file members support the activities of legislative members in specific areas of social welfare.

## CHAPTER III

### THE QUESTIONNAIRE

#### INTRODUCTION

##### Purpose:

The purpose and aim of the present chapter is to construct with the help of a questionnaire (see Appendix J), the general trends of a sample of the New Democratic Party members (herewith to be called NDP). As well, where there is statistical validity, to outline characteristics for the party as a whole. What is the consistency of welfare views held by party members? What issues are considered by them to be most relevant? Where should the greatest concentration of services be placed in the welfare field? Should the community become more involved in the detection and resolution of social problems? Is it primarily a governmental, community, or individual responsibility to outline areas of need? All these are important areas of concern and should be examined to determine the NDP welfare policy.

The NDP has throughout its history, undergone a great deal of change. It has moved through various stages of development beginning with an emphasis on theoretical socialism to a present focus toward the welfare-state ideal. The stages of evolution have been described in detail in Chapter I.

How can we account for the variety of opinions held by individual members about the purpose and focus of this party? The

change can be partly attributed to the large numbers of younger and/or more labour-oriented people joining the party in the 1950's and 1960's bringing with them a new focus. Their ideals and background were not steeped in Marxian socialism. Whereas some of the older members will be influenced by such a change, many will still adhere to the theoretical philosophy found in the old CCF party, at the time of its founding convention in 1933. These changes in attitude were examined in greater detail in Chapter II under NDP policies.

Because any party is influenced by its leaders, especially in certain areas of legislation where some form of expert knowledge or skill is necessary, the fourth chapter examines opinions held by these leaders about issues in the welfare field in depth. In the present chapter trends in feelings, attitudes, and opinions, of a sample population about key areas in welfare today, will be examined.

In Chapter I the changes in party philosophy were outlined as a frame of reference for the rest of the thesis. Because changes in philosophy influence changes in attitudes it could be an important basis of comparison between all levels of party membership. However, because there was no question which limited the respondents to a definite type of philosophy, it is impossible to do more than make some general comments where they appear to be appropriate. Instead, the following areas will be examined: the distribution of the four variables (age, education, year joining and position in the party); the general trends in philosophical questions; and any significant differences found within questions dealing with general areas of welfare by statistics; to determine whether there was consistency in opinions held between the rank



and file members, and those in hierarchical positions within the party.

The overall purpose of the questionnaire then, was to provide information in the following areas:

1) some statistical background information about the respondents including age, occupation, education, year joining the party, and past political affiliations, (questions 1, 2, 3 and 4).

2) answers to certain basic philosophical questions, (questions 5, 7, 8, 10, 12 and 18).

3) general trends of thinking, and attitudes towards welfare, (all questions after number 5).

4) questions of a specific nature about welfare legislative areas and related areas, (questions 6, 13 to 29).

5) consistency of responses within the various hierarchical party levels, (MLA's, executive council, club secretaries, and rank and file), (all questions after number 4).

6) consistency of replies of the respondents, with information of a similar nature gathered from leading welfare spokesmen of the party, and from influential party communications media, (all questions after number 4).

7) the existence or non-existence of significant differences of attitudes and opinions between respondents at different levels; age, occupation, education, and year of joining the party, (all questions).

8) the general awareness of the respondents to existing and future problems in the field of welfare and related fields, (all questions after number 6).

Material:

The questionnaire method of eliciting information about the NDP's social welfare policy was used to supplement information gathered from individual party leaders and experts, and that found in books, resolutions, speeches, and newspapers. Its aim was to provide an efficient method of collecting data from as large a population as possible.

The covering letter stated that there were no right or wrong answers to questions, and that the anonymity of the respondents was guaranteed. This was done primarily to promote the return of questionnaires which could be more indicative of the individual respondents true feelings and opinions, rather than a tendency to follow the official party position.

On December 23, 1965, the questionnaire was sent to 189 members of the provincial NDP of British Columbia. These members included: the total number of provincial members of the legislative assembly (14), the total executive council of the party (30), the total number of local club secretaries (55), and a random sample of rank and file members (90). The random sample population was an arbitrary choice based on the efficiency with which we felt we could deal with the material collected. Every 80th rank and file member in the alphabetical sequence was chosen.

The questionnaire was accompanied by a covering instruction letter from the thesis group members, as well as a covering letter from the NDP headquarters which asked for the members' full cooperation in returning the questionnaire.

The questionnaire itself was divided into four distinct areas. These were:

- 1) questions of a statistical nature.

- 2) questions of a basic philosophic and semi-philosophic nature.
- 3) questions relating to specific areas of welfare.
- 4) an open-ended question allowing for further comments.

There were thirty-one questions in all; of which thirty were of the multiple choice, yes - no variety, and one as outlined in number 4 above.

Of the 189 questionnaires that were mailed, 104 (55%) replies were received. Two of these replies stated that they were unable to complete the questionnaire. The total number of returned questionnaires was then, 102 or 54% of the total sent out. Two student members below the first (20-29) age distribution were excluded from the sample.

Eliminating those questionnaires that were lost in the mail (the questionnaires were sent out during the Christmas mail rush), or not filled out for other physical reasons (sickness, etc.), we can say that the percentage of answers received (55%) was rather low. The fact that we did not receive responses from 45% of our mailing list (including 5 MLA's), might be attributed to apathy on the part of the sample population. Other possible explanations could be: a feeling of ignorance of the sample about the whole questionnaire, negative feelings about questionnaires in general, a change in party affiliation, etc. Despite the fact that the rate of return was not as large as might be expected, it is felt that certain trends can still be observed.

## GENERAL TRENDS OF THE SAMPLE

### A: Characteristics of Respondents

In addition to the basic fact that all respondents were members of the NDP of B.C., this sample was examined under the following headings: 1) age; 2) education; 3) occupational status; 4) year of membership; 5) past party affiliation; and 6) position in the party. These areas will now be examined in detail, using tables where relevant to indicate distributions and trends.

#### Age Distribution:

Table 1

#### Distribution By Age

20-29	4
30-39	24
40-49	26
50-59	30
60 and over	<u>16</u>
Total	100

Table 2      Age Distribution of Rank and File and Other Members

	<u>Rank &amp; File</u>	<u>Others</u>
20-29	0	4
30-39	10	14
40-49	15	11
50-59	12	18
60 and over	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>
Total	46	Total 54

The age distribution indicates a concentration in the middle years and older. This trend towards an older than the average population could be because more experience and knowledge is necessary to attain positions in the party hierarchy. This might not have been so if the sample were exclusively rank and file. However, in this sample it is evident that over 50% of the hierarchical

positions in the party are occupied by relatively younger persons (i.e. under 50 years). It is possible to say then, that relatively young persons have little difficulty in securing these "leadership" positions.

### Education Distribution:

Table 3

<u>Distribution by Education</u>		
Grade 7 or less	3	
8	10	
9	8	
10	8	
11	8	
12	23	
13	4	
University year 1	0	Mean - grade 12.4
2	9	
3	5	
4	3	
5	6	
6	3	
7	7	
not answered	<u>3</u>	
Total	100	

The average education of the sample (the mean) is grade 12.4. This indicates a level of education much higher than the B.C. average of approximately grade 8\*. Since education generally effects knowledgeability, this sample may have relatively more understanding of the questions, as well as more sophistication than average in filling in questionnaires.

### Occupational Status and Distribution:

Because of the great variety and specificity of the responses received in regard to occupation, the sample was arbitrarily grouped into the following categories: 1) professionals and

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\*According to 1961 Census.

semi-professionals (as determined for this sample by university training in a specific area, e.g. teaching, professors, lawyers, etc.), 2) managerial, 3) private ownership, 4) white collar, 5) blue collar (skilled and unskilled), 6) non-employed (retired, housewives).

Table 4

Distribution by Occupation

professionals and semi-	
professionals	23
managerial	10
private ownership	13
white collar	14
blue collar	19
non-employed	16
not answered	<u>5</u>
Total	100

The distribution by occupation indicated a large proportion of professional and semi-professional persons. The identification of the party with the "working class" was not borne out by numbers of members representative of labour within the sample. That is, nineteen blue collar members would seem to a relatively low number in the sample, considering the NDP's philosophical orientation towards the "working class". This is especially important when we consider that the NDP is the "political arm" of the labour movement.

A table was constructed to determine what positions in the party were held by which occupations.

Table 5

<u>Distribution by Position and Occupation in the NDP</u>					
	<u>MLA</u>	<u>Exec.Council</u>	<u>Rank and</u> <u>File</u>	<u>Club Secs.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Semi-professional and professional managerial	4	4	9	6	23
private ownership	1	4	4	1	10
white collar	1	3	9	0	13
blue collar	1	1	5	7	14
non-employed	1	2	11	5	19
not answered	1	2	5	8	16
	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>
Totals	9	17	46	28	100

The table shows that the majority of the blue collar members (11/19) in this sample are rank and file members. Again, although the NDP is a "working class" party the blue collar workers apparently are playing a small role in leadership. There is representation of all occupations at all levels of the party hierarchy, however, we can see that 46% of the sample is semi-professional, professional, and managerial, which seems a rather large number when we consider the party's working class orientation.

The questionnaire also showed that thirteen of the respondents were self-employed.

#### Year of Joining the CCF-NDP Distribution:

Table 6

<u>Distribution by Year of Joining CCF-NDP</u>	
1933-38	27
1939-45	14
1946-49	4
1950-59	21
1960-64	32
not answered	<u>2</u>
Total	100

The years were grouped according to the following guidelines:

1933-38      Depression years

1939-45	War years
1946-49	Post war years
1950-59	Pre NDP
1960-64	Post NDP

These groups of years were judged to be significantly different from each other. The distribution showed that proportionately more persons joined the party in the years immediately following the founding of the CCF in 1933, and the founding of the NDP in 1960. Aside from these years of mass membership, the party seems to have acquired members at a steady rate. From this sample, one can see the number of new members has increased significantly during the last few years.

#### Positional Distribution:

Table 7

#### Distribution by Position in the Party

	<u>Questionnaires sent</u>	<u>Replies</u>	<u>Percent</u>
MLA	14	9	64%
Executive Council	28	17	60%
Member	90	46	51%
Club Secretary	<u>57</u>	<u>28</u>	48%
Total	189	100	

The questionnaire was sent to the total populations of MLA's, executive council members and club secretaries. However, a random sample of 90 (or one in every eighty members) were chosen from the rank and file membership. This mixture of total populations and a random sample is rather unique, and so is not (nor meant to be) a representative random sample of the entire NDP.

In considering the consistency of responses to the questionnaire it is felt that this sub-section holds the most significance



for this chapter when compared to the other thesis chapters. One of the major concerns of the questionnaire was to determine comparatively if differences in welfare policy, attitudes, and opinions existed between the rank and file membership, and the party leadership. This would indicate whether the welfare policy outlined by the leadership has the support of the party as a whole, and would give some idea of the stability of this policy over time and changes in leadership.

The replies received from the club secretaries totalled 28 out of 57 or 48%, and of the four levels, had the least response. The great number of possible reasons for this, eliminates the possibility of making a cause-and-effect statement about the significance of a less than 50% response. Although the response from MLA's was the best (64%), it was felt that this should have been much higher considering their direct involvement in welfare matters, and the greater effort made in attempting to have questionnaires returned from them.

#### B: Characteristics of Ideological Questions

This section is concerned with questions 5 to 11 inclusive, which were included in an attempt to ascertain from what philosophical, political, and ideological base, respondents were making decisions with reference to later questions. An attempt was also made to determine at which stage the respondents were in the party's evolution (Marxist, social-democrat, etc.).

In this section what is proposed is, to give an explanation of why questions were included, to outline the pertinent results and finally, to evaluate if possible, certain general trends.

Since members of the NDP favor social change, a question was

asked to see how this change should be implemented. Thirty per cent (30/100) of the sample tested felt that revolutionary changes should occur, while 66% (66/100) and 4% (4/100) respectively, thought major and minor changes were necessary in the existing system. This would certainly indicate a great deal of dissatisfaction with existing society, remembering, of course, that the NDP is an opposition party. Of the respondents nearly 1/3 favour what could be termed "extreme" (revolutionary) changes. One possible explanation could be that they seem to adhere to a Marxian philosophy, and in terms of the NDP evolution are at a Marxian stage of development.

In order to compare welfare and non-welfare priorities it was necessary to include a question whereby the respondents were given a definite choice between these two areas. In its broadest sense all legislation could be said to be welfare, however in this study it will only indicate those issues having to do directly with social services to people. Thus we have divided this question into two areas -- welfare and non-welfare, as indicated in Table 8.

Table 8

Distribution of "Most Urgent" Priorities in  
Welfare and Non-welfare Areas \*

<u>Welfare</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Non-Welfare</u>	<u>Total</u>
education	74	industrial development	50
child welfare	53	labour legislation	47
mental health	47	co-operatives	21
juvenile delinquency	45	northern development	15
social assistance	35	hydro development	13
adult corrections	26	highway construction	5
		park construction	4

\* each total can be considered out of 100 -- with 9 questionnaires with no answers.

The general trend is toward a "welfare" orientation, although those areas which economically (industrial development and labour legislation) are most relevant to a welfare system, are also considered by many as urgent. Legislation in the economic sphere is, of course, of prime importance to a socialist philosophy. It should also be noted that considerable emphasis was placed on the importance of education.

Two questions were asked with reference to welfare services in B.C., in order to examine the respondents' opinions in regard to responsibilities for the provision of welfare services.

As would be expected from a socialist party, the sample population were almost unanimous in stating that the government was not taking enough responsibility (84%) for such services, and that the service should be provided by government (76%). It is of note that only one respondent felt services should be provided primarily by private agencies, and that 23% stated that there should be shared responsibility between governmental and private agencies for such services.

In this section a question was also included (number 9) which has been deleted because of printing errors and ambiguity. This question dealt with governmental support for private agencies.

Question number ten was asked in an effort to learn whether this population saw social problems as being the result of faults in the individual, in society, or both.

As should be expected from a socialist party, only 4% of this sample felt that such problems were due to individual inadequacies. But there were also a large number who felt (53%) that such failings could be attributed to both the individual and society. This seems to indicate movement in the NDP from an

essentially "classless society philosophy", to a greater emphasis on individual responsibility.

The final question of this section was included to determine if significant numbers of the sample tested do, or do not support, a basic socialistic and ideological<sup>premise</sup>, i.e. that every individual has the basic right to support. It was found that only 4% of the sample did not favour basic support if there were no other means of support -- either resources or jobs. Some qualified this area in the last section with answers like "a socialist government would not be faced with such a problem, as means of support would be automatically provided."

#### Summary of Ideological Section

Although it is not possible to assess the whole population's feelings and attitudes from this small sample there was general support for the basic ideological principles of socialism. It was found that all respondents held opinions in this area as extremely few "no opinion" answers were given.

It would appear for the sample tested that the general feeling is that major changes are necessary to allow welfare in its widest, to become a priority, and that government has the responsibility to bring this about.

#### C: Characteristics of Questions dealing with Specific areas of Welfare Legislation

To determine what the population felt were priorities within the welfare field, this section was constructed to ascertain two things; a) opinions about specific welfare areas -- social assistance, unemployment, child welfare, juvenile delinquency, adult corrections, Indian affairs, income subsidization, and housing;

and b) priorities.

The major reason for dealing with the specific categories is to provide a basis of comparison between the upper levels of the party (provincial leader, and welfare expert), and the rest of the membership. Although it will be impossible to significantly compare this in detail as this is only a small sample of the total population, general trends can be noted, especially since most questions deal with definite opinions and attitudes toward welfare issues, and policies.

Each of these sub-sections will now be examined in detail.

#### Social Assistance:

Three questions with reference to social assistance were asked to learn, firstly, attitudes toward eligibility requirements for such benefits; secondly, feelings toward those who presently receive financial assistance, and thirdly, opinions about items these rates should be able to cover. It was found that this sample had mixed feelings about work requirements for benefits; 37% felt that people should not work for social assistance, while 59% thought that they should. There were many qualifying statements to the effect that, e.g. "I think that this is not the real issue, cannot a government prevent social assistance by providing meaningful work," "every person should have access to employment as a right," and "community has the responsibility to provide useful employment." However, despite these statements, such a high percentage seems inconsistent with policy statements of NDP welfare spokesmen.

Of the respondents 83% replied that reduction of rates would not lower the social assistance population. This would seem to

imply for this sample, that it is not the individual but the community who is at fault, and could be shown as qualifying the first question that it is the community's responsibility to provide work, and thereby help the individual maintain a decent standard of living.

In assessing the limits of social assistance, 10% felt that the rates should be required to provide for the minimum necessities of living (food, clothing, and utilities); 59% favoured a higher more marginal income (which included one or two "extras" -- camp fees for children and vacations); and 55% felt that rates should cover everything necessary to provide an average standard of living.

This population tended towards providing more than the basic level of living but, did not feel that it was the community's responsibility to fully, financially, "equalize" social assistance recipients with the general population. This could be linked with the idea that provision of work is more a community responsibility than a provision of direct services in kind. A possible explanation, why more expressed the opinion that services should be above a basic standard, is because the standard of living has risen, and items once considered as luxury, are now seen as necessary and basic. Therefore, there still seems to be trend toward treating people on social assistance as second class citizens, but with a large percentage (25%) in favour of a very liberal attitude. This could in turn be attributed to the new focus on a welfare state ideal.

#### Unemployment:

The four questions aimed at the problem of unemployment were

intended to determine: awareness of unemployment as a problem now; as an increasing problem (due to automation); and possible solutions for it.

The sample population manifests considerable awareness of this area as a problem as 88% indicated that unemployment will increase. This was equally due to a lack of jobs and skills (41% jobs and 45% skills), with only 2% seeing this as an absence of the desire to work. To overcome this problem 70% saw re-training as a solution, whereas 25% stated that a guaranteed income would be necessary. There was considerable belief that unemployment can be solved by a change to a NDP government, but then significantly 18% said that such a provincial government could not solve unemployment. A number of the 18% felt this would be possible if the NDP formed a federal government.

Unemployment, then, was recognized as a major problem caused by a community dysfunction, but that it still could be alleviated by a change in political focus and philosophy, and re-training. However, a significant number (19 - 22%) indicated that there is no solution to unemployment, and other means should be found in order to cope with it.

#### Child Welfare:

The primary focus in this area was aimed at assessing this sample's reaction to: causes of child neglect; i.e. whether this neglect was due to an individual or community failing; and to a possible means of detecting and resolving it.

##### (i) Causes:

Table 9

Distribution of Major Causes of Child Neglect

Parental indifference	53 *
parent's moral laxity	33
emotional disturbance	43
mental illness	31
poverty	30
unemployment	25
physical illness	7

\* all numbers are out of the total of 100.

As indicated in Table 9, the sample population has emphasized parental indifference as a major cause of child neglect, with emotional disturbance the second. A relatively high percentage (33%) of the respondents felt that moral laxity was a cause. This seems inconsistent with the previous focus on the community responsibility, excluding individual failings, in both the areas of unemployment and social assistance. However, the question itself was ambiguous in that parental indifference and moral laxity may be seen as results of the other five variables (poverty, unemployment, illnesses, etc.).

## (ii) Detection and Resolution

The sample was 76% in favour of employing a social worker on school staffs, 12% disagreed with this suggestion, while 12% had "no opinion." This suggests perhaps greater emphasis on prevention in dealing with neglect.

Juvenile Delinquency:

Under this section questions dealt exclusively with proposed solutions and methods of dealing with young offenders. In particular we were attempting to detect punitive, versus non-punitive, attitudes as a means of solving the problem.



Table 10

Distributions of Most Effective Method of Resolving  
Juvenile Delinquency

family counselling	71 *
psychiatric services	50
probation	29
finest for parents	19
reform schools	11
finest for juveniles	6
foster homes	5

\* all numbers out of the total 100.

The trend for rehabilitary services rather than more punitive actions (as indicated by Table 10) is quite obvious. It should be noted, though, that fines for parents had significant support as a more punitive method of handling this problem.

The two questions relating to open and closed courts for delinquents, and transfer of offenders to adult court, showed 68% favouring closed court, and 55% against transfers -- 24% favoured open court, 28% transfers to adult court. Although there is a general trend favouring the non-punitive method of dealing with delinquents, there appears to be significant support for more drastic means of action. But, again, the terms are somewhat vague, and individual values must be taken into account (those favouring open court might see this as non-punitive).

Therefore in general, although there is an emphasis on less punitive measures for coping with the problem, there still seems to be a significant number who favour a more rigid treatment of delinquents in court.

Adult Corrections:

In this section a question was asked about community focused treatment (rehabilitary) versus the custody (isolation) of offenders.

A second question attempted to determine whether there was any significant preference for departmental responsibility. These questions also made it possible to determine any variability between the upper (welfare spokesmen) and other levels of party membership.

Of the persons tested there was an overwhelming majority in favour of greater use of probation and parole services (82%), with 6% opposed and 12% with "no opinion". However, only 37% indicated that jails should be constructed in the community; 29% outside; and 29% had "no opinion" (5% made no response). Support for jail construction outside communities could be the result of the general trend toward greater use of probation, therefore leaving only the hard-core offenders in the (isolated) institutional settings. The large number of "no opinion" answers suggests a reluctance to commit oneself to a specific opinion, which could be due to a lack of knowledge in this field.

In the sample 68% chose probation and parole to be administered by the Department of Social Welfare; 18% picked the Attorney General's department; and 3% stated that it doesn't matter. Again this could indicate that in the view of the respondents this problem could be better solved through a social, rather than law-enforcing agency.

The trend of the sample membership seemed to favour social, rather than punitive means of handling offenders, by virtue of the greater emphasis placed on probation (a community service), and choice of a social agency to be in control. With reference to jails, the lack of a clearly defined choice could be attributed to a carry-over from the traditional coping techniques, as well as an incomplete definition of what were considered to be criminal

offenders, (e.g. habitual and first offenders).

#### Indian Affairs:

A single question was given in this area in an effort to determine provincial responsibility for Indian affairs, and to try to assess if this sample was aware of existing problems in this area.

84% of the respondents saw the necessity for the B.C. Department of Welfare to take responsibility for Indian Affairs, while only 8% opposed this (with many qualifying statements that this was under federal jurisdiction). This definitely indicates an awareness of a need for more extensive social services for Indians, (Table 11 shows where Indian Affairs was placed in a list of welfare priorities).

#### Income Subsidization:

A question was asked to obtain opinions about subsidization of marginal incomes. It was found that 83% gave a "Yes" answer to subsidization and only 12% were opposed. Opposition to this proposal could have resulted from a conclusion that this kind of policy was a form of direct aid to private industry. In spite of this possibility, there was still overwhelming support for the supplementation of marginal incomes, indicating party movement from theoretical socialism to the welfare-state philosophy.

#### Public Housing:

A question was asked on public housing to determine if more emphasis should be placed in this area than is presently being given it.

In comparison to other questions this proposal received the

greatest support. 89% favoured increased provincial funds for public housing and only 5% were against it. Of course, this idea fits well into the basic philosophy of a socialist party. The enormous support could also have roots in the secondary gains inherent in public housing projects, i.e. a boost to the economy and to employment.

### Welfare Priorities:

This question (number 30) was asked in an attempt to discover what priorities the respondents saw within the welfare field.

Table 11.

#### Distribution of Welfare Priorities

child welfare	67 *
homes for elderly	49
Indian affairs	34
juvenile delinquency	31
public assistance	18
adult corrections	15

\* total is out of 100.

Greatest emphasis has been on child welfare, which seemingly indicates a preventative view of social welfare. This could be partly attributed to the fact that "the child in difficulty" generates a great deal of sympathy from the public.

The next three areas receiving priority have been subjected to considerable public attention through mass media in recent months. This could be a possible explanation for the reason why concern is placed here, as the general population has had an opportunity to be better acquainted with the facts, figures, and issues involved.

Public assistance and adult corrections are traditionally stigmatized areas of welfare, and this may in part account for their low rating. As well, as indicated previously, the feeling was that

a change to a more socialistic government could solve the main problems in these fields.

#### Summary of Areas of Specific Welfare Legislation:

In an overview of this whole section, it is apparent that this sample manifests an orientation to welfare, with more rehabilitative rather than punitive means of solving social problems.

Again, except in specific areas where lack of knowledge could be attributed to not stating opinions, there were relatively few "no opinion" answers. This might indicate that this population is more informed on these matters. The questionnaire, of course, dealt with areas where generally strong convictions are held by the general population.

Because the NDP is an opposition party, and uses welfare as a basis of comparison between its philosophy and present policy, this could also have bearing on the welfare focus of this group.

#### D: Characteristics of Open-ended Question

In order to allow the representative sample an opportunity to qualify statements, comment further on welfare policies, and point out inconsistencies in the questionnaire, an open-ended question was included at the end of the questionnaire.

Although not all persons chose to comment, there were areas which were mentioned and those occurring most often will be summarized below.

Generally they fell into the following areas: "difficulties in making specific choices about causes of, and solutions to, social problems; prevention should be the focus of welfare services; a change in the economic system in order to resolve many of today's welfare concerns; the importance of education, full employment and

retraining in solving welfare inadequacies; concern that more people be involved in considering possible solutions to the focused problems; the primacy of cooperation over competition as a basic philosophy; the need for split responsibility between the various governmental levels to facilitate in implementing programs; the need for more highly trained social workers; the need for coordination of services in the welfare field; the need for more research; the need for a better informed public; the need for a documented statement of the NDP's welfare platform; a belief that welfare is a direct result of capitalism", etc.

Due to the great variety and diversity of comments it is impossible to evaluate each one separately, but a significant concern for welfare matters is clearly shown throughout the variety of responses to the general question.

### STATISTICAL FINDINGS

#### A: Purpose:

In order to determine if the sample selected was representative of the total population of NDP members, a form of statistical analysis was used to learn if any significant difference existed between the four variables of age, education, year joined party and position in party, and the general areas of welfare covered in the rest of the questionnaire.

This approach was intended to allow a comparison of answers given by rank and file party members, and MLA's, executive council members, club secretaries, i.e. between the lowest and most populous hierarchical level of the party, and all of the other "higher" levels. This would make possible an examination of the consistency of responses received, and thus determine if the welfare spokesmen

of the party hold the same views as the other members. Also, because other variables (age, education, year joined party) could influence responses, these too were subjected to the same kind of analysis.

To facilitate the efficiency of analysis, nine questions dealing with the general aspects of welfare were chosen from the remainder of the questionnaire, for comparison with the above-named variables. These included: welfare and non-welfare priorities (#6); governmental and other means of providing welfare services (#8); eligibility requirements for public assistance (#11); unemployment and the NDP economic programs (#18); treatment of juvenile delinquency (#20); community responsibility for criminal offenders (#22); Indian Affairs (#25); subsidization of incomes (#26); and welfare priorities (#30).

B: Method:

The principal statistical tool used was chi square ( $X^2$ ). This was done to determine whether the differences between the observed and theoretical frequencies were significant. Two by two tables were used for the purpose of this study. If significance is found, then generalizations about the total population of the NDP may be made from our sample population. A chi square of 3.84 (with one degree of freedom) and above, signifies that such a result could occur by chance less than 5% of the time. Similarly a chi square of 6.64 (with one degree of freedom) and above, indicates that the results could occur by chance less than 1% of the time.

C: Materials:

To simplify statistical analysis each of the four variables,

and the questions on the general areas of welfare, was split into two distinct categories.

The following framework will outline how and why the variables and the related questions were divided into two groupings.

(a) Variables

(i) For the purposes of this questionnaire, and this thesis, the variable -- position in the party -- is held to be most important, because the over-all objective is to determine consistency of trends within the party hierarchy. The other variables were examined and compared to ascertain if further reasons existed for possible differences of trends in the party.

The sample was divided into two categories, that is the rank and file membership were compared to the more hierarchical party positions. There were 46 rank and file respondents and 54 respondents from "higher" positions.

(ii) Because differences in age often influence attitudes and opinions it was felt that this was a significant variable for this sample. An arbitrary division of ages was made comparing the relatively older membership with the relatively younger membership. The division was at the 50 year old level, and 54 persons were found to be under 50 years, and 46 persons over 50 years.

(iii) Education, specifically the differences between persons with high education and those with public school education, is often an important factor influencing choices. Therefore, a division was made between university education and public school education (grade 12 or less). 40 persons had some form of university education and 60 had a public school education.

(iv) It was felt that the individual's year of joining the



NDP was important, in relation to responses, because of possible changes in party evolutionary philosophy through the years. A decision was made to divide the membership into those joining after 1950 and those joining before 1950. This roughly divides respondents into those joining during the CCF founding year, the depression, the war and the post war period, from those joining during a time of relative prosperity and the founding of the NDP. Once again this tended to divide the members into older and younger age groups. Fifty-three persons joined after 1949 and forty-seven joined the party before 1950.

(b) Questions concerning general areas of welfare

(i) The question on general areas of provincial governmental legislative powers (#6) and priorities was grouped into welfare areas and non-welfare areas. To determine if a significant difference existed between those persons oriented towards welfare, and non-welfare fields, it was necessary to examine each category separately. Therefore, the average of all those who felt that welfare areas were most urgent was compared to those who felt that it was urgent or not urgent. This was also done for the non-welfare group. The average stating welfare areas were most urgent was 47, and the average of those saying that welfare areas were only urgent and least urgent was 53. In the non-welfare category, the division was 22 stating these had a higher priority, as compared to 78 who felt that non-welfare was only urgent or not urgent.

(ii) To determine the extent of government responsibility versus the responsibility of others in welfare, question number 8 was examined by comparing, those choosing government as having

primary responsibility, to all others. Seventy-seven persons chose government agencies and twenty-three persons chose one of the other answers.

(iii) To see if the sample population felt individuals had a basic right to support (#11) by the state, the answer "Yes" was compared to all other answers. Ninety-four persons answered in the affirmative and six answered something else.

(iv) The feasibility of the solution to unemployment being accomplished through NDP programs (#18) was examined by comparing a "Yes" answer with other answers. Seventy-seven sample members said "Yes" and twenty-three answered something else.

(v) Again, question 20 was split into two distinct categories covering disciplinary versus treatment techniques (the category "foster homes" was deleted). In the category "disciplinary techniques", fines for parents, fines for juveniles and reform schools, were included. An average of those placing high priority (1 and 2) for such techniques was compared to the average of those giving a lower priority (3, 4, 5, 6 and 7) in this area. This was similarly done to the category "treatment techniques" which included probation services, psychiatric services, and counselling to families. The average of those placing priority on treatment techniques was 50 as compared to 50.

(vi) To find significant trends for the treatment of criminal offenders by the community the question (#22) compared probation to isolation of offenders. An answer "Yes" was compared to all others. There were 79 "Yes" answers and 21 all others.

(vii) In an effort to see if there was any significant findings concerning provincial government responsibility for Indian Affairs the answer "yes" was compared to all others. The split

was 84 "yes" answers and 16 all others.

(viii) To determine whether this population was concerned with government responsibility in providing subsidies to marginal incomes (#26) the answer "Yes" was again compared to all others. The choices were 67 and 33 respectively.

(ix) In question number 30 each of the welfare categories was examined separately, i.e. all those placing a high priority for child welfare were compared to all those who did not. Each category was examined similarly in turn. The findings were: child welfare high priority 67 vs low priority 33; homes for the elderly 49 vs 51; juvenile delinquency 31 vs 69; public assistance 18 vs 82; adult corrections 15 vs 85; and Indian Affairs 34 vs 66.

#### D: Results

##### (i) Party position compared to general welfare areas:

In only three areas was any significant difference found when comparing rank and file to other positions in the party.

In question 25 (Indian Affairs government responsibility) a significance of ( $x^2 = 4.77$ ) was found. This means less than 5% probability that these significant differences in attitude of rank and file members and party officials could have resulted from chance variations, due to sampling. The rank and file members placed more emphasis on governmental responsibility in this area.

In question 30 (welfare priorities) two categories -- public assistance and adult corrections -- showed variation. In public assistance ( $x^2 = 4.38$ ) significance was calculated. This means that the rank and file placed more importance on public assistance in welfare when compared to the rest of the population. In adult corrections ( $x^2 = 5.05$ ) significance -- the rank and file gave this

area more significance as well.

It is very important to note, especially in terms of the essential relevance of this section, that there existed few inconsistencies within the party structure. Except for the three areas mentioned, there were no significant differences of opinions held between the general membership and those holding party positions. The general trends to the specific questions were outlined previously in Section B of this chapter under, questions concerning general areas of welfare.

(ii) Other variables compared to general welfare areas:

(a) Age: As there were no significant differences in comparing this variable, to the areas outlined, it can be said that age has no significant influence in determining consistency of answers by the rank and file, in comparison to other members.

(b) Education: The educational level of members has significance in answering questions in four areas.

In question number 8 (government responsibility for welfare) significantly more ( $x^2 = 5.46$ ) non-university persons felt that governmental agencies should assume the most responsibility as compared to other means.

In question 20 (treatment techniques for delinquency) significantly more ( $x^2 = 240.0$ ) non-university persons placed a higher priority on treatment techniques rather than a lower priority, as compared to those having university education.

In question 30 (homes for elderly), a significant number of non-university ( $x^2 = 5.9$ ) placed a higher priority on providing services for the elderly, than those that placed a lower priority on this area when compared to the university population. And lastly, in this same question, in dealing with adult corrections,

the non-university population placed higher priority for adult corrections than the university population (significance  $\chi^2 = 8.15$ ).

Education, then, plays an important role in influencing answers to questions in the above areas, and is therefore more of an influence in differences of opinion than position in the party in question #8, #20 (treatment techniques), and question #30 (homes for the elderly), and of equal importance in determining significance of differences in adult corrections.

(c) Year of joining the NDP:

Once again no significant differences were found in any of the areas studied, which therefore implies that it is not an influence in determining the varieties of opinion. That is, it does not influence the responses of the rank and file as compared to others.

E: Conclusions

For the population tested only two variables played a significant role in influencing responses for the areas examined. These were found in differences in position in the party and differences of education. Therefore, except in the areas outlined previously there is very little significant difference in the responses to the questions, i.e. with the exception of seven areas, the general population of the NDP seems consistent in their opinions about and approaches to welfare as determined by this sample.

CONCLUSION

I It was certainly demonstrated by the results of the questionnaire that a great deal of consistency existed within the party on

questions about and related to, welfare. Although differences of opinion were held on many questions, these differences were not concentrated in any specific groups. That is, variations of views were spread throughout the whole party and there were no sub-groups that dissented because of age, education, year joining party, or position in the party. In this sample therefore, the rank and file hold consistent views with all other party levels.

The sample showed that in questions concerned with welfare needs and priorities, there was a trend towards favouring the preventative aspects of welfare, rather than dealing with problems after they had occurred.

In determining ways of resolving social problems the sample indicated that they were the result of some kind of community dysfunction, rather than individual dysfunction, and that these problems called for a "community solution".

Although the sample population obviously did not have experts in many of the areas the questionnaire dealt with, the relatively few numbers of "no opinion" answers would seem to indicate the existence of some knowledge and certainly concern with the areas outlined.

This concern and consistency is evident when we consider from the statistical analysis that only seven areas manifested differences of significance, and they were in methods of applying welfare, rather than suggesting a non-welfare focus.

The questionnaire therefore clearly illustrated a welfare orientation. This would indicate strong support at all party levels for the policies stated by the welfare spokesmen of the NDP -- especially Mr. Barrett. It is, of course, not possible to determine whether this "welfare-orientation" is primarily the

result of information and attitudes formed from being NDP members, or from other sources.

Since the NDP supports expansion of welfare services which is the essence of the welfare-state, the party's movement from theoretical socialism (classless society, public ownership of the means of production, planned economy, etc.), to a welfare-state philosophy becomes evident.

## CHAPTER IV

### LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY

#### (a) Purpose

The purpose of this phase of the research was to determine the views held by leaders of the NDP on Social Welfare Policy. The assumption was that the social welfare policy would be related to the philosophical approach of the leaders and therefore we attempted to determine what this philosophical approach was for each leader. We sought to determine differences and similarities in philosophy and program among the leaders.

Three interview schedules were designed for structured interviews with three members of the leadership of the NDP (See Appendix K).

The interviews were with the individuals in each of the following positions:

1. Provincial Leader of the NDP.
2. Secretary-Treasurer of the British Columbia Federation of Labour, who is also on the Provincial Executive of the NDP, and
3. Welfare Spokesman for the NDP in the Provincial Legislative Assembly.

The interview schedules were all designed to elicit answers to philosophical questions on the person's view of socialism and social welfare and to more specific questions on policy. The schedule prepared for the interview with the Welfare Spokesman



was the most comprehensive. In addition to the general, philosophical questions, there were open-ended questions designed to determine the Welfare Spokesman's position on the various major areas of social welfare policy. As Welfare Spokesman and potential Minister of Social Welfare should the NDP form a government, his philosophy and the policies he proposed were deemed of primary importance.

While concerned with the same philosophical questions, the schedule for the interview with the Provincial Leader, was less comprehensive in matters of specific programming. The purpose of this schedule was to determine whether or not the philosophy and the general program envisaged by the Provincial Leader were compatible with the philosophy and program of the Welfare Spokesman. Questions on program were essentially to elicit priorities.

Again the schedule designed for the interview with the Secretary-Treasurer of the British Columbia Federation of Labour who was also a member of the Provincial Executive of the NDP was designed to answer philosophical questions. In addition, questions were included to determine whether Labour had a particular policy that it was advocating within the NDP.

(b) Material

Mr. David Barrett, the Welfare Spokesman, was interviewed by the research group on three occasions. The last two interviews form the basis of the analysis of the Welfare Spokesman's philosophy and program. Both these interviews were lengthy, the first lasting 1½ hours and the second 2 hours. Mr. Barrett was open and sincere in the interview and answered all questions. He was given a transcript of the interview at his request so that he

could make such corrections as he deemed necessary. As he did not return the transcript it can only be assumed that he considers his views adequately represented in the interview.

The interview with Mr. E.P. O'Neal, Secretary-Treasurer of the British Columbia Federation of Labour lasted a designed one-half hour. A longer interview would have added depth, however the answers obtained were quite useful.

The interview with Mr. R.M. Strachan, Provincial Leader, was scheduled for a length of one hour. Despite prior arrangements however, on the date of the interview Mr. Strachan was not expecting the thesis group and could give the group only one-half hour. The result was that many questions, particularly in the area of Mr. Strachan's philosophy were not adequately answered. To make up for this deficiency three pieces of written material were consulted. These were:

1. Mr. Strachan's speech to the Third Annual Convention of the NDP of British Columbia on November 16, 1963,<sup>1</sup>
2. Mr. Strachan's speech to the Fourth Annual Convention of the NDP of British Columbia, on May 22, 1965,<sup>2</sup>
3. press release from Mr. Strachan's office with respect to his speech in the Throne Speech Debate, dated February 2, 1966.<sup>3</sup>

These appear to have been valid sources for the purpose to be

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<sup>1</sup>R.M. Strachan, "Report of the Provincial Leader," PROCEEDINGS New Democratic Party of B.C. Third Annual Convention, NDP, Vancouver, B.C.

<sup>2</sup>R.M. Strachan, "Report of the Provincial Leader," PROCEEDINGS New Democratic Party of B.C. Fourth Annual Convention, NDP, Vancouver, B.C.

<sup>3</sup>Press release from Mr. Strachan's office with respect to his speech in the Throne Speech Debate, dated February 2, 1966.

served. In each of these speeches Mr. Strachan dealt with aspects of the philosophy and program of the Party.

All interviews were recorded to ensure accuracy. The quotations which are being used in this chapter are taken from the verbatim transcripts of the interviews with the three NDP leaders.<sup>4</sup>

Due to the differences in the material obtained from each leader, the scheme for analysis is necessarily quite general, to allow fullest possible use of the material. Each interview is analyzed to determine the respondent's views in the following areas: (1) socialism, (2) social welfare and the welfare state, (3) economic and financial programs, (4) comprehensive programs, and (5) specific welfare services. Throughout the analysis, the relationship of philosophy and program of the leader will be related to the ideological evolution as outlined in Chapter One. A section on general conclusions completes this chapter.

#### Analysis of the Interview with the Provincial Leader

Mr. Strachan has been the Provincial Leader of the NDP since 1956. During this time he has also been the Leader of the Opposition in the Provincial Legislative Assembly.

#### Respondent's view of Socialism

This analysis begins with an examination of the general goals Mr. Strachan sees for democratic socialism. The following quotation is from his speech to the 1963 Annual Convention:

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<sup>4</sup>Verbatim Transcripts of interviews by the Thesis Group with Mr. David Barrett, Welfare Spokesman, interviewed twice during January, 1966, with Mr. R.M. Strachan, Provincial Leader interviewed February 16, 1966, and with Mr. E.P. O'Neal Secretary-Treasurer of the B.C. Federation of Labour, interviewed March 31, 1966.

"Our ideas are sparked by the urgency of human needs and the limitless urge to human betterment, by the broad vision of a better society...our society generally seems to lack motivation."<sup>5</sup>

An elaboration of this is found in Mr. Strachan's speech to the 1965 Annual Convention:

"It has always been the objective of democratic socialism to build a rational society, but we cannot call today's society rational because...our people are insecure and fear-ridden.... We must remove these fears, but this can only be done if we build a society with a sense of purpose and with the realization that whatever is necessary, must be done."<sup>6</sup>

These quotations reflect Mr. Strachan's concern with the needs of all men. He clearly states that the goal of democratic socialism is to build a rational society for the fulfillment of human needs. His reference to a rational society, a society with a sense of purpose, a worthwhile motivation, all appear to portray society as an integrated, growing organism dedicated to the needs of all its members. This would appear to be a common feature of all socialist theory.

By implication the quotation indicates that needs are not being met by present society. As pointed out in the first chapter, these shortcomings of society were attributed by early socialists to the inherent faults of the capitalist system. Mr. Strachan retains the view of the early socialist. This is illustrated by a quotation from the interview:

"It is my belief that our present society under the guidance of the so-called free-enterprise governments

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<sup>5</sup>Strachan, Proceedings, Third Annual Convention, p. 5.

<sup>6</sup>Strachan, Proceedings, Fourth Annual Convention, p. 4.

and under the pressures of the so-called free enterprise economy, has produced a work life which to most of the people gives no personal satisfaction...dull, repetitive, soul-destroying jobs..."

This point of view is also found in Mr. Strachan's speech to the 1965 Annual Convention:

"We have said before and we say again that we cannot simply leave things to the market.... Private industry has seldom been called upon to recognize the social costs involved in its development and as democratic socialists we know that all through history the working people have been the first to suffer from change and the last to benefit from it."

"But I want to remind you that it is not big business that pays for these (welfare benefits). The workers themselves have had to pay for them and are still doing so."

"Your MLA's were able to return to an attack on the basic wrongs of our present society."

Mr. Strachan in the above quotation definitely appears to see social ills as being caused by the economic system. His reference to free enterprise and big business on one hand and the workers on the other is reminiscent of the class consciousness and the revolutionary spirit that inspired early socialists who wanted to abolish the capitalist system.

If Mr. Strachan does see the ills of society in similar terms to the early socialists, does he propose the same remedy? Reference to his speech to the 1963 Annual Convention which followed his Party's unexpected defeat at the polls provides insight into this question:

"There may be a few in the NDP who believe there is

a simple reason for our failure....Usually they say we should return to their concept of socialism .... They have their mind firmly rooted in the past when the democratic socialist movement was content to outline its ideas in broad, sweeping, generalities.... But this party gains nothing from groups within it who set themselves apart from the Party as a whole, groups who consider themselves the recipients of all revelation, who self-righteously assume that they are the guard of the Ark of the Covenant.... You can only define the meaning of socialism by enunciating point by point, the steps that we, as a government would take to correct the short-comings of our present society and meet the new challenges of an ever changing world...I appeal to you not to let the disappointment of today drive us back to the inadequate generalities of yesterday."<sup>8</sup>

This quotation suggests that the Party has moved from the former ideological position of doing away with the capitalist system. Mr. Strachan is an advocate of the new position. "The inadequate generalities of yesterday" presumably was the emphasis on nationalization and replacing the capitalist system. His reference to "correcting the shortcomings of our present society" is much milder than the Marxist view of capitalism. Mr. Strachan's point by point steps to correct shortcomings of the present society is philosophically consistent with the gradualist approach of the Fabians, who were probably the most influential advocates of the British welfare state.

The gradualist approach is again reflected by Mr. Strachan's views on such questions as nationalization, private and public sectors of the economy and placing the means of production in the hands of labor. This becomes evident in a statement by Mr. Strachan at the 1963 Convention:

"We have said that there is room in our society for public enterprise, co-operative enterprise, and for private enterprise."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Strachan, Proceedings, Third Annual Convention. p. 5.

<sup>9</sup>Strachan, Proceedings, 1963 Annual Convention, p. 4.

Mr. Strachan spells out what he means by public ownership in the recent Throne Speech Debate:

"We would take immediate steps to place under public ownership for the benefit and protection of the public all remaining private power companies, natural gas production, transmission and distribution systems, oil pipelines, and the B.C. Telephone communication system. These are public utilities."<sup>10</sup>

This illustrates a different emphasis from that of early socialists on the important question of nationalization. Nationalization was the solution to the class struggle, where rewards of labour would be put equitably in the hands of producers. There is no suggestion here of nationalization to prevent "exploitation of the workers." The philosophy here appears to be that because these services affect all or most members of society they should therefore be accountable to and owned by the democratically elected government. The philosophy seems geared to putting checks on some aspects of the present economic system.

This new approach to nationalization is further rationalized in the following quotations;

"I insist that in order to meet the needs of the future much greater government participation in industrial development will be required... private endeavor can't or won't do the job... governments might as well prepare now to embark on full scale industrial development under government sponsorship."<sup>11</sup>

An elaboration of this view is found in Mr. Strachan's speech to the 1963 Convention:

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<sup>10</sup>press release, Op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

"Our economic development proposals are a realistic interpretation of the old phrase, "production for use not for profit."

"...in enunciating our policies, we have a choice of taking over the B.C. Telephone or building a 250 million dollar steel industry in our province through an economic development corporation, then as a government we would have to give priority to the new developments."

"We talk about economic development. Our opponents talk about economic development. The words are the same, but the Idea, the Import, the Interpretation of the words are different. To our opponents economic development is...by the profit motive.... Our ideas are sparked by the urgency of human needs and the limitless urge to human betterment, by the broad vision of a better society."<sup>12</sup>

Mr. Strachan emphasizes that the government has an important role in expanding the economy. Government needs to fill in where private enterprise can't or won't meet the social needs.

The relation of economic measures to the social ends of socialism is suggested by Mr. Strachan's answer to this philosophical question during the interview:

"The Proceedings of the 1965 Convention of your Party has this statement of principles: "The NDP is pledged to bring about in Canada a society in which the material and the cultural needs of humanity will be fulfilled in order that each individual will be able to live a satisfying and meaningful life." Could you elaborate briefly on that?"

Mr. Strachan replied:

"In my opinion there are three steps in the development of a country. First of all you develop your economy to provide the wherewithal to build a society, and then with the society operating you proceed to build a civilization.... It's our opinion that the present

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<sup>12</sup>Strachan, Proceedings, 1963 Annual Convention, p. 3.



operation of our society will build a civilization where the individual does have the opportunity to get satisfaction out of his life. And it is our objective to use the increasing wealth that automation has now made possible to allow this personal satisfaction, to allow the participation by the individual so that we can build a civilization."

This reply emphasizes the connection between economic wealth and the achievement of socialism -- "civilization." This is consistent with Mr. Strachan's philosophy of encouraging the growth of the economy.. In contrast with early socialists in Canada who saw progress of civilization as dependent on a changed economic system with its accompanying changed social relationships, Mr. Strachan appears to believe that this civilization is dependent on some level of economic growth. The advent of automation and its promise of unlimited production, seems to have strengthened Mr. Strachan's viewpoint.

#### Respondent's view of Social Welfare

Mr. Strachan was asked for his definition of social welfare. He replied:

"...I would say the word social welfare would mean the benefit to the community. I don't limit it to just the payment of money from a state organization to an individual, because he happens to be in dire need. This must encompass the whole field of human relationships as far as I'm concerned with special help to those who are having difficulty maintaining themselves as part of an overall society."

This is an important statement with two distinct implications for social welfare policy. The first is that social welfare is concerned with the "benefit to the community." Elsewhere Mr. Strachan refers to the dual goals of social welfare being to save tax dollars and to save human lives. This concern with the

welfare of the total community would suggest that social welfare programs of universal applicability, particularly those related to an increase in quality of the total society, such as day centers and educational facilities would be encouraged.

In view of the above, what can be said of Mr. Strachan's attitude to the welfare state? G.D.H. Cole defined the welfare state as "a society in which an assured minimum standard of living becomes the possession of every citizen."<sup>13</sup> As Bruce has pointed out it is the consolidation and extension of an elaborate variety of social services "most of them created to serve particular needs."<sup>14</sup> Needs are considered a legitimate demand for service by the State. As social welfare services are directed primarily to human consumption needs<sup>15</sup> a variety of programs develop to meet individual needs.

In both aspects of Mr. Strachan's view of social welfare, welfare state proposals are suggested. To determine what importance Mr. Strachan attaches to social welfare he was asked:

"In your philosophy as a party and in the goals of your party what position does social welfare have -- what is its relationship to the total program?"

Mr. Strachan replied:

"Well in the early stages of the implementation of our program because of the failure

<sup>13</sup>Herbert L. Marx, "Some Definitions," The Welfare State, ed. Herbert L. Marx, Wilson, New York, 1950, p. 9.

<sup>14</sup>Maurice Bruce, The Coming of the Welfare State, Batsford, London, 1961. p. 259.

<sup>15</sup>H.L. Wilensky, C.N. Lebeaux. Industrial Society and Social Welfare, Russell Sage, New York, 1958, p. 145.

of our present economy and our present society it would probably occupy a major place in our program. As our policies became effective, as I would expect them to become effective through our reorganization of the economy so that there would be more jobs available for able-bodied people -- I would expect it to become of lesser importance, as we solve the social welfare problem."

Mr. Strachan definitely views his economic programs as solving the "social welfare problem." He made reference to this in answering other questions as well. In this sense his views conform to the expectations of those who would revolutionize the system. However Mr. Strachan believes this is possible within the context of the present economic system. Reorganizing the economy to make more jobs available for the unemployed is a welfare state proposal. This recalls the statement of Marx, quoted in the first chapter: who criticized the reformer this way: "Only from the point of view of being the most suffering does the proletariat exist for them."<sup>16</sup> This emphasizes one of the points of difference between welfare state proposals and earlier socialist thinking.

The quotation also indicates that social welfare would only be of lesser importance as economic programs succeeded.

The earlier quotation of Mr. Strachan's statement regarding "enunciating point by point the steps we...would take to correct the shortcomings," would seem to lead inevitably to welfare state solutions. This is indicated by Mr. Strachan later in that speech when he states:

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<sup>16</sup>Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party, edited and annotated by Frederick Engels, 1888, William Reeves, London, p. 28.

"Our program would bring an Hours of Work Act, and a Minimum Wage Act...and a Workmen's Compensation Act that would provide compensation for all injured workmen. This is how we take the old phrase, "an end to exploitation of man by man" and translate it into reality."<sup>17</sup>

There can be no questioning that the above statement illustrates welfare state reasoning. A specific problem is taken and solutions are proposed for that problem. It would also seem likely that much of what Mr. Strachan refers to as the reorganization of the economy are also welfare state proposals.

Respondent's view of economic and financial programs.

Mr. Strachan was asked:

"What problems do you believe will be solved through your programs?"

He replied:

"The problem of thousands and thousands of physically capable men and women being on social welfare because there are no jobs available...as you reorganize the economy by government participation in the development of industry, your educational policies are geared to see that people are being trained for the jobs that are being created and you are eliminating the need for social welfare payments.... If there is a difficulty finding a place in productive society for all of them because of automation then you have to start changing labour laws to cut down the work week, the work day, or the work year."

Again, this answer leaves little doubt as to what Mr. Strachan considers the main cause of social ills. His emphasis on unemployment is consistent with a welfare state approach. It

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<sup>17</sup>Strachan, Proceedings, Third Annual Convention, p. 3

recalls Chapter One where it was pointed out that social welfare came to have a predominance in CCF policy during the depression to cope with unemployment and poverty.

The bulk of Mr. Strachan's program is related to unemployment and he sees this being accentuated by automation as indicated by this statement:

"Every person in our society has to answer the question: What is going to happen to the man who...is automated out of a job and onto the social welfare rolls?"<sup>18</sup>

Other areas of Mr. Strachan's program aimed at unemployment include: retraining and financial compensation to handle the effects of automation, sharing of scarcer jobs through shorter work weeks, long vacations with pay, schemes of educational leave with pay, better social security.<sup>19</sup>

Taxation policy and higher wages appear to be related to maintaining or increasing the share of labour. Mr. Strachan also advocates decreased prices. This increased efficiency would presumably allow an increase in the return to labour.

#### Respondent's View of Comprehensive Programs

During the interview Mr. Strachan, as part of his reply to the question: "What are the problems that you feel will be solved through your programs?" replied:

"...It must be part of any future society to try to compensate these people for what we've done to them as human beings."

He suggested how this might be done in the following statement:

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<sup>18</sup>Strachan, Proceedings, Third Annual Convention, p. 4.

"The greater increases in revenue that such a modernized taxation system will produce should in part be reinvested in communal facilities connected with the expected increase in leisure, such as adult and continued education facilities, opportunities for sport, travel and other pursuits, and for participation in arts and culture in all their forms."<sup>19</sup>

Mr. Strachan's concern with total community as pointed out in discussing his concept of social welfare is again underlined.

Mr. Strachan's reference to education echoes an area that has concerned socialists in their attempt to create a better society and a more egalitarian one. In the 1960 election campaign with Mr. Strachan as leader, the CCF campaigned on extension of service in the field of education, a program which included preschool training as part of the public school system, free education for the retarded and handicapped, support for all branches of adult education and subsidization of night school.<sup>20</sup>

In his speech to the 1965 Convention, Mr. Strachan again spoke of the needs in the field of education, mental health, acute hospital care and comprehensive medical care.<sup>21</sup>

#### Respondent's View of Specific Welfare Services

Mr. Strachan was asked:

"What general goals would you see social welfare accomplishing? I believe you said this in a general sense in the welfare of the community but could you be more specific?"

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<sup>19</sup>press release from Mr. Strachan's office with respect to his speech in the Throne Speech Debate, February 2, 1966, p. 5.

<sup>20</sup>R.M. Strachan, "C.C.F.", Vancouver Sun, Vancouver, B.C. August 19, 1960, p. 3.

<sup>21</sup>Strachan, Proceedings, Fourth Annual Convention, p. 6.

Mr. Strachan answered:

"I have read reports...where attempts were being made to break this pattern of hard-core social welfare families by massive social welfare treatment, where the social worker was given a small caseload two or three families ...this I think must be one of our initial goals -- is to find this money which will do two things -- one, it will save tax dollars and two, save human lives. This is the goal of any social welfare program as far as we are concerned -- to accomplish this dual function."

It is significant that Mr. Strachan singled out the hard-core family. Concern with rehabilitation is reflected in Mr. Strachan's approach to the hard-core family. It is in line with the growing behavioral science approach to problems which was also noted in CCF policy, particularly in the area of correctional institutions and in the treatment of juvenile delinquency.

Rehabilitation is again reflected in this statement concerned with the field of corrections:

"I made a tour of Oakalla...I couldn't believe it you see that this was going on and it was obvious that there was no correction there of any kind...an extension of probation can help solve the problem.  
...The young people are not coming out of these institutions (Brannan Lake Industrial School and Haney Correctional Institution) with any change of attitude except for the worse."

The fact that Mr. Strachan chose to cite only the hard-core family and corrections as areas of concern further illustrates his concern with the more serious symptoms of societal failure. Services at this point would have to be rehabilitative.

Because of this apparent emphasis on rehabilitation, we wished to explore further Mr. Strachan's attitude to prevention. Accordingly he was asked:

"What is your opinion on prevention in social welfare -- prevention of such situations as people being on social welfare, or delinquency?"

Mr. Strachan replied:

"...I gave quite a bit of my talk to education and it was my opinion that our present school system provides for the academically bright student and is now making provision for the less capable students. But in the center where most of our students are...I felt it was failing to let them fit into today's society."

Mr. Strachan reveals a concern with education and fitting the person for the social world, a concern Mr. Barrett shares.

(see analysis of interview with Welfare Spokesman) However Mr. Strachan did not demonstrate in this answer an awareness of how specific social welfare services could be preventative. Mr. Strachan seems primarily concerned with equality of opportunity for a relatively large segment of the population.

We were also concerned with determining Mr. Strachan's opinion of private versus public provision of welfare services. He was asked:

"...do you feel that the services the (private agencies) are providing should be provided by a government agency?"

Mr. Strachan replied:

"Here I would have to depend on advice from someone like Dave Barrett. If they are doing the job, especially in the early stages of the development of our program -- it couldn't be done any other way than we would -- I think any government has to be pragmatic about these things and if this is the way that is doing the best possible job then use them. I couldn't tell you myself whether it's doing the best possible job."



Mr. Strachan sees the necessity of private agencies at least for a while if an NDP government was formed. He is undecided about the future role of private and public agencies. Exactly what Mr. Strachan means by "doing the best possible job" cannot be assessed from the reply, but it is a pertinent point to consider. It seems unusual that Mr. Strachan did not characterize private agencies as "charity," or welfare needs as a rightful demand on the State. In any case, it seems that private versus public agencies is an area Mr. Strachan is unsure about.

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Mr. Strachan appears to put primary emphasis on solving social problems through economic development. These programs are geared particularly to solving the problems presented by unemployment and social welfare. While Mr. Strachan sees economic measures as reducing the need for social services as did the early socialist, he also supports welfare state measures. He supports comprehensive welfare measures, particularly those of a universal nature such as education and recreational services. He is concerned about specific services and emphasized expansion of services to the "hard-core" family and in the field of probation. His approach to specific services appears to stress rehabilitation.

Analysis of the Interview with the Secretary-Treasurer of the British Columbia Federation of Labour, and Member of the Provincial Executive of the N.D.P.

The British Columbia Federation of Labour is composed of the majority of the unions in the province with some notable exceptions. The Federation performs an important role in expressing the aims of Labour. Like its parent body, The Canadian Labour Congress, the

Federation supports the NDP and has policy discussions with the NDP. While the Federation does not contribute financially to the NDP, many of its member unions are affiliates of the NDP and contribute financially and otherwise. (See Chapter Two).

In light of all of the above, Labour's views on social welfare policy were considered important. Mr. E.P. O'Neal is part of the NDP leadership, sitting on both the Provincial and the National Executives. He also fills the highest staff position of the Federation of Labour, being its Secretary-Treasurer. He is frequently quoted in the news media on labour and welfare issues.

#### Respondent's View of Socialism

Mr. O'Neal was asked:

"Is there a type of socialist state you would favor?"

He replied:

"I would favor socialism as it is carried on in the Scandinavian countries and is carried on in Britain."

To the further question:

"What do you see as the main elements of socialism in those countries?"

he replied:

"The main elements I see of a socialist state is that the means of production and the productive capacity of the country, the natural resources of the country are used to give its citizens the greatest possible standard of living in those countries, to give them the kind of education that we feel everyone is entitled to, to give them the kind of comprehensive medical health care that people are entitled to."

The significance of this reply is that the ends of socialism

are viewed in terms of providing a maximum standard of living and comprehensive welfare measures. There is not a suggestion of resolving class differences or of a unified purposeful society. Rather the approach seems remarkably comparable with the demands a union leader would make in bargaining for an agreement with an employer.

To further explore whether Mr. O'Neal was sympathetic to a fundamental change of the economic system, he was asked:

"From what you said, I interpreted that you would favor a state where private industry and government operate side by side?"

Mr. O'Neal replied:

"Yes. The kind of system that has worked very well in the Scandinavian countries -- where people have a choice."

This particular view favoring a mixed economy reflects the changing philosophy with regard to socialism as was pointed out in Chapters One and Two, specifically with regard to the Winnipeg Declaration.

In view of this particular approach, Mr. O'Neal's opinion on nationalization was sought. He was asked:

"Does the B.C. Federation of Labour favor the nationalization of industry?"

Mr. O'Neal replied:

"We favor the nationalization of those industries which have a monopoly."

For further clarification he was asked:

"Why would you nationalize monopolies, what is the advantage?"

Mr. O'Neal replied:

"I think the argument for nationalizing monopolies is that at present they are under no control whatsoever and the consumer derives very little benefit from monopolies whereas if there was government control or if they were operated by the government there would be a greater tendency I think to give the consumer, and to give the citizen a share of the benefits which monopolies obviously enjoy."

There is in this statement no suggestion of halting exploitation of workers or creating a more civilized work life, the argument the early socialists would put forth in favor of nationalization. The monopolies are not part of the market system and it is suspected apparently by Mr. O'Neal that they are making profits that all of society should get a share of. The role of socialism in the economy is not to provide a new system for the total society but to control the present system to alleviate its deficiencies.

#### Respondent's View of Social Welfare

Mr. O'Neal was asked: "Do you favor a welfare state?"

He replied:

"Again when you talk about Welfare State, sometimes these are cliches which have been developed by people who are opposed to any kind of welfare. I favor a state that discharges its responsibilities to all its citizens including those less fortunate citizens. I think that we have a responsibility to provide first equality of opportunity for all citizens of the State. By that I mean that financial barriers should not be allowed to stand in the way of young people who have ability, to get the kind of education they want. Financial barriers should not deprive people of the kind of medical and mental care that they need. Financial barriers should not stand in the way of people being allowed to participate in the political life of the country... I think that any progressive administration must be concerned with creating equality of opportunity for all the citizens..."

Quite clearly, Mr. O'Neal supports the welfare state. He conceives of it as a state dedicated to insuring equality of opportunity. The main barrier to this in his mind is financial barriers. His reference to discharging responsibility to all citizens including the "less fortunate," indicates support for welfare state measures that are directed to solving particular problems. There is no suggestion of class conflict or changing the total economic system. Here Mr. O'Neal agrees with Mr. Strachan and Mr. Barrett and with the general trend of CCF - NDP policy toward welfare programs as outlined in Chapter One.

#### Respondent's View of Economic and Financial Programs

Mr. O'Neal was asked:

"Do you see equality of financial and social opportunity as tending to eliminate most problems?"

He replied:

"I think that the equalization of education and economic opportunities would eliminate a great deal of the social problems we have..."

Further to this reply he was asked:

"Is there a relationship between economic deprivation and lack of opportunity, and psychological handicaps?"

Mr. O'Neal replied:

"I think unquestionably, as I pointed out, that the root cause of many of these problems lies in economic and financial handicaps which these people experience, because this in turn deprives them of educational opportunities, deprives them of social opportunities which other people have."

As could have been expected from earlier statements by Mr. O'Neal, in his opinion economic disadvantage plays a major role in the cause of social problems. If economic inequality is a major cause of social problems, what does Mr. O'Neal advocate as program to deal with this? It has already been indicated that Mr. O'Neal supports welfare state measures along with the nationalization of some industry. The specific proposals of an economic or financial nature concern us here.

Mr. O'Neal was asked:

"In the area of automation, do you agree with Robert Theobald's view that unemployment will eventually become a serious problem and a guaranteed annual income will have to be instituted rather than retraining and education?"

He replied:

"I agree in part with Theobald. I think that Theobald's views are a little far-fetched at this time. I think it's possible that some of the things he's saying will happen but they won't happen in the period of time he's saying they will happen. I base my reason for this on the fact that we must first recognize that while wages are costs to employers and corporations, that they are income and purchasing power to workers and that there has to be a kind of a transitional period in which you phase out, and inevitably it will happen, workers from industry, and as you phase them out there is going to be as I see it a wide range of fringe benefits...leading to...a guaranteed incomes policy. I don't think these things will happen as quickly as Theobald suggests they will."

This statement suggests strongly that a guaranteed annual income is not needed at this time. If this is not suggested, certainly Mr. O'Neal indicates that it is not the method of choice for achieving equality at this time.

Another important aspect of this quotations is Mr. O'Neal's reaction to Theobald's views as "far-fetched at this time," and his concept of a transitional period. The total impression this gives is that of Mr. O'Neal's acceptance of labour and management meeting together and through the medium of collective bargaining, the social policy will be worked out.

Mr. O'Neal's position on guaranteed annual income is related to another question. He agreed that the government should supplement wages and to this was further asked:

"Would this not be subsidizing industry?"

He replied:

"Well this has already been done on a large scale!...I don't see anything more sinful in subsidizing the employee than in subsidizing the industry."

Mr. O'Neal was asked further:

"Hasn't the viewpoint of the labour movement been that the wages should be high enough to prevent this?"

He replied:

"This is true. But if you are dealing with an industry and again this goes back to what I said about a transitional period...where because of the change in technology and because of the innovations which were introduced in other industries these people were going through a phase in which their wage would be lower because of the fierce competition in this area. Now until such time as you can correct this I see nothing wrong with the government supplementing the wages of these employees."

Again on this question, Mr. O'Neal illustrates the role of the government as making up for the deficiencies of the present

economic system. Unfortunately this question and reply did not elicit Mr. O'Neal's views on supplementing income as a normal course of events in society.

However his views on public assistance were explored. Mr. O'Neal was asked:

"Do you believe that social assistance rates are high enough?

He replied:

6 "No...I think that what they should cover is an accepted decent minimum standard of living. I don't think that somebody on social assistance should be able to drive a Cadillac or that they should have a yacht. But I think that there is certainly a basic minimum standard of living that they must cover...."

He was asked whether this would include such things as the operation of an ordinary car or a television. Mr. O'Neal replied:

"Yes. These things have now become part of our way of life, part of our standard of living. To deprive people of these social amenities is going too far."

From this statement it is apparent that Mr. O'Neal believes that social assistance should enable the person to maintain himself as part of society. There is not an indication of punitiveness, or judgment of personal fault in being in receipt of social assistance from Mr. O'Neal's position. His attitude here is compatible with an expansion of financial assistance programs.

#### Respondent's View of Comprehensive Programs

Mr. O'Neal was asked:

"Are there any legislative changes that the B.C. Federation of Labour is pressing for particularly that you would want to see initiated?"



Mr. O'Neal replied:

"...Let me give you an example: we've pressed for a long time for the Canada Pension Plan. Now... it's not as good a plan as we would like...it...is on the books and can be improved upon...comprehensive medical care is something we have fought harder for than any other group with the exception I would say of the New Democratic Party and the C.C.F. before it. We have campaigned, and are now campaigning for equality in educational opportunities. We think that the present pattern of automobile insurance is a farce.... We're campaigning for the elimination of ex-parte injunctions in industrial disputes. Now I could go on and tell you about the campaigns we've conducted for ambulance service, for proper financing for hospitals .... We're campaigning for an election every four years..."

The programs Mr. O'Neal supports are broad programs of universal coverage -- pensions, free education at all levels, auto insurance, hospital services and ambulance services.

Mr. O'Neal's mention of the elimination of ex-parte injunctions emphasizes an area of concern to the British Columbia Federation of Labour. In a submission to the Provincial Cabinet, dated January 6, 1966, the Federation made 12 recommendations concerned with strengthening the position of labour in collective bargaining and protecting the rights of workers in matters related to collective bargaining. Examples of the recommendations are: right to strike during the life of an agreement when conditions of employment drastically change, and legislation to forbid the use of strike breakers.<sup>22</sup>

In addition the submission contains recommendations for legislative changes in minimum standards for the following aspects

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<sup>22</sup>Memorandum In Support of Proposed Legislation, submitted to the Provincial Cabinet by the British Columbia Federation of Labour, January 6, 1966, pp. 2 - 3.

of working conditions: Hours of work, minimum wages, bonding of employers, penalties against employers for infractions of labour legislation, statutory holidays, and Workmens' Compensation services.<sup>23</sup>

#### Respondent's View of Specific Services

In view of Mr. O'Neal's concern with comprehensive programs that would alleviate major causes of inequality of opportunity, the question of his attitude to people who still need additional services will be examined here. Mr. O'Neal was asked:

"Do you believe our society needs more social workers?"

He replied:

"Yes -- by all means, and better paid social workers."

If comprehensive programs were seen by Mr. O'Neal as answering the major ills of society, one would expect he might think fewer social workers would be required. He obviously does not think fewer social workers are needed. Again this is consistent with a welfare state approach, which is aimed at serving particular needs, and solving particular problems in the functioning of society.

Mr. O'Neal's attitude to those in receipt of welfare services complements his belief that more social workers are needed. He was asked:

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., pp. 4 - 6.

"In the field of adult corrections, do you have any particular feelings regarding the handling of offenders or adult criminals or is this an area that concerns the labour movement?"

Mr. O'Neal replied:

"Yes, it does... I think that the whole approach to people who offend against what we consider the mores and morals of our society is based on vengeance if you would than any kind of an intelligent approach to rehabilitating them and making them useful citizens and trying to correct their ways."

Mr. O'Neal illustrates the same non-punitive attitude here as he did on the previously mentioned question concerning social assistance rates. He sees the present approach as punitive and sees rehabilitation as the proper approach. Further to this he was asked:

"Do you see some different approach to these people?"

Mr. O'Neal replied:

"I think the whole probationary service has got to be expanded...relatively innocent people... not serious offenders...are confined with hardened criminals...they should be segregated with psychiatric and social scientists helping... particularly teenagers...you can't really classify them as criminals...they are just wild kids...perhaps if they were taken in hand...and got a real good stern lecture and were watched for awhile rather than putting them into jail ...this would be a better approach."

In his reply, Mr. O'Neal demonstrates a sympathy with progressive measures of handling offenders -- increased probation and treatment oriented correctional facilities. Many would probably consider his conception of the role of the probation officer and the problems of delinquent youth as naive and an over-simplification.

However he did feel strongly that probation should be expanded. Mr. O'Neal also felt that Mr. Barrett's plan for a week-end prison (see analysis of interview with Welfare Spokesman) "had considerable merit." In the field of corrections, Mr. O'Neal, like Mr. Strachan is in general agreement with Mr. Barrett's proposals.

The views of Mr. O'Neal on child welfare were in marked contrast to those of Mr. Barrett. (see subsequent analysis of interview with Mr. Barrett) Mr. O'Neal was asked:

"Do you have any particular concerns with child welfare?"

He replied:

"...It hasn't been one of the areas in which we have given a great deal of thought and time to..."

This answer reveals a very large area of service to which the British Columbia Federation of Labour does not give too much consideration. The answer to a subsequent question suggests a possible answer: Mr. O'Neal was asked:

"What priority would you attach to the traditional welfare services that we talked briefly about -- such as child welfare, corrections -- where we discussed week-end prisons, and the Indian problems as you saw them -- and the general goals of labour -- of the B.C. Federation of Labour?"

Mr. O'Neal replied:

"I think these priorities change from time to time depending upon the fervor or the conviction of the various groups who try to promote or advocate a particular line...and then this becomes a priority..."

This suggests the British Columbia Federation of Labour may

be influenced to speak out on specific welfare measures when raised by various pressure groups, but the comprehensive measures and labour legislation appear to be the focus of attention.

Mr. O'Neal did have definite views on the question of public versus private provision of these services however. He was asked:

"Do you think that welfare services should be provided by private agencies such as the Children's Aid Society or the John Howard Society or by government agencies?

Mr. O'Neal replied:

"...I think that once we suggest that a situation exists which requires help and assistance then the state must take it upon itself to find the ways and means of giving this service and assistance without relying on charity to do it. Those of us who are better off have an obligation and a responsibility not on a voluntary basis but through taxation or whatever it is to provide for those who are less fortunate."

Again in this area Mr. O'Neal is advocating an extension of the Welfare State when he is saying that needs are a rightful demand on the state, not charity. In this particular area, Mr. O'Neal has a more definite view than does Mr. Strachan and is closer to the original socialist thinking on the subject. A resolution passed at the Fifth Annual Convention of the British Columbia Federation of Labour called for elimination of the Annual Appeal for funds from the working population and increased assumption of responsibility by government.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Annual Memorandum in Support of Proposed Legislation, submitted by the British Columbia Federation of Labour to the Provincial Cabinet, January 5, 1961, p. A-10.

It is apparent in this analysis that Mr. O'Neal supports welfare state measures.

Mr. O'Neal's approach places emphasis on measures that are designed to make a modified capitalist system work better or to deal more effectively with the deficiencies of the present system. In this sense intervention by the government in industry is viewed as a control where the controls of the market do not apply and as a stimulus to economic development.

Comprehensive welfare services and government responsibility for assisting those with individual problems are accepted by Mr. O'Neal.

The Federation of Labour places less emphasis on services to individuals although Mr. O'Neal recognizes a need for expansion of services in this area. He does not however, offer a programatic statement of how this is to be followed up.

#### Analysis of the Interview with the Welfare Spokesman

Mr. Barrett was first elected to the Legislature in 1960. He is a social worker having completed his professional education at the University of St. Louis. Among the positions he has held are Supervisor of Personnel and Social Training at the Haney Correctional Institution, and Assistant Executive Director of the John Howard Society of British Columbia. He is presently Executive-Director of the Jewish Community Center in Vancouver. Mr. Barrett is a spokesman on welfare issues and is frequently quoted by the news media. He has been designated as the Welfare Spokesman of the NDP in the Legislature by Mr. Strachan.

#### Respondent's View of Socialism

Mr. Barrett was asked:

"In the Proceedings of the 1965 Convention of your Party, there is included this statement of principles: "The NDP is pledged to bring about in Canada a society in which the material and cultural needs of humanity will be fulfilled in order that each individual will be able to live a satisfying and meaningful life." Would you elaborate on that statement?"

Mr. Barrett replied:

"The purpose of this statement is that as a party we are interested in creating a social situation within organized society that permits every individual to develop to his maximum potential. At the present stage of operation within our society, economic barriers, social status barriers and other artificial barriers limit people from participating fully in society... what it does mean is the organized society through its democratically elected government will create an atmosphere that will permit people as individuals and/or groups to develop their social beings as well as meeting their physical needs.

In this reply Mr. Barrett reflects a philosophy similar to most socialists. He is concerned about creating a society where every individual will be permitted to develop to his maximum potential. The barriers he sees have always been seen by socialists and these are economic and social barriers.

But there are subtle and important differences. These differences can be traced to the evolution of the social democratic movement in Canada. He does not speak in terms of class struggle or of the capitalist system or the socialist system. Mr. Barrett represents the new mood of the NDP. The word "barriers," as with Mr. O'Neal, is a concept that is more easily applied to the individual, and has the ring of something that can be hurdled, accounted for, or surmounted, in a sense that concepts like class conflict or exploitation of the worker do not.

Also there is the emphasis on the individual. Socialism has

always been dedicated to meeting the needs of all individuals however there has frequently been an emphasis on the unity of men in society, and the purposiveness of society as referred to by Mr. Strachan previously. Mr. Barrett does refer to social beings but the impression conveyed is that the state provides resources for the individual to develop as he pleases.

Further light is cast on this view if reference is made to a statement Mr. Barrett made on democratic socialism.

"I think the easiest way to say it is to take the simplest philosophy of all of organized society that being to conserve for every single individual within that organized state and concentrating the organization of all the state's resources towards meeting the needs of its population...a kind of creative society should be built to provide a basis for other societies to do what they want after they succeed existing ones...socialism is the end result of professional group work. Its democracy in process. It means expanding the very essence of group dynamics beyond just the therapeutic structure...but group dynamics of democratic participation of people coming together freely...this is my concept of democratic socialism -- the dynamics of group work applied to the total society."

This view of socialism accentuates political equality and political participation. It is also suggested that this situation is brought about by some method of stimulation when Mr. Barrett refers to group work. This appears to be a reflection of Mr. Barrett's training as a social worker.

How does Mr. Barrett see this state as being achieved? The following question was asked to determine what importance Mr. Barrett attached to economic measures:

"How does this (social welfare) relate to economic programs, or programs such as highways?"



He replied:

"Well, economic programs, in terms of physical development of the Province of British Columbia would be for the philosophical goal of creating a more economically sound B.C. -- a more economically productive state that all the people living within the Province could benefit from..."

This reply appears to support economic development not as redistribution but as growth of the economy. Programs are seen as creating more for everyone and thereby resolving social injustices.

The following question and answer is more to the point.

Mr. Barret was asked:

"How would you go about creating this atmosphere of maximum participation?"

He replied:

"...this is a teaching process and what it really calls for is a complete re-examination of our educational process...we create responsibility in the individual in the free society to be participating -- to be a dissenter if necessary -- but to be a participant towards a total decision making process..."

We see here then that the instrument of socialism is education, as well as intervention in the economic system.

#### Respondent's View of Social Welfare:

Mr. Barrett was asked:

"Do you personally favor a welfare state?"

Mr. Barrett replied:

"I think that the term welfare state has been

used in a negative sense by those people who hold the line of the status quo...I am opposed to the type of bureaucratic welfare state we have now. We are living in a welfare state now that is essentially negative and geared towards meeting needs on a pacifying basis...My frame of reference for a welfare state would be one which is concerned about the individual and next to the individual, the group as a whole.... The kind of welfare state I would agree to is that state where all avenues of education, of medical care, and economic security are guaranteed at a minimum..."

There are three aspects of this statement deserving attention. The first of these is that the Welfare State can be geared to meeting needs on a pacifying basis or it can be geared to the needs of the individual. This parallels the residual and the institutional conception of social welfare services.<sup>25</sup> In the residual conception welfare services are only temporary measures and should encourage by punitive means, the individual's reliance on his own resources and those of his family. In the institutional conception social welfare services are an inherent part of industrialized, urbanized life and the use of them as normal. It is this latter view that Mr. Barrett supports in his concept of the Welfare State.

The second aspect is the order of concern Mr. Barrett gives for his frame of reference -- the individual first, the group second. It suggests a focus on the individual who may be having difficulty adjusting rather than on the mental health of the society as a whole. This would be consistent with services directed primarily to human consumption needs as indicated earlier.

The third important aspect is that Mr. Barrett defines the Welfare State in terms of minimum standards. Despite this definition,

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<sup>25</sup>Wilensky and Lebeaux, Op. Cit., p. 139.

Mr. Barrett's previous emphasis on individual needs would lead one to think that the Welfare State is concerned with more than minimum standards. During this Chapter, it will become apparent that Mr. Barrett does support programs of a specific nature, closely related to individual needs.

The quotation of course reveals a move from solving society's problems with a basic change of the social system to acceptance of the society and lessening its shortcomings through welfare measures.

Mr. Barrett's view of social welfare is further revealed by the following examples which illustrate a constant emphasis of Mr. Barrett during the interview: Mr. Barrett was asked:

"In the area of the protection of children, are there any shortcomings in this area of legislation or programming that you see and if so what changes would you recommend?"

He replied:

"...Essentially, the basic philosophy that is missing from existing child welfare services and child welfare legislation...is an attitude of prevention."

Mr. Barrett was also asked during the interview:

"What do you see as the main need in the area of adult corrections?"

He replied:

"The policy of our party throughout all social welfare services is based on prevention. We are anxious to create services which aim towards preventing personal breakdown in behavior and responsibility."

These two replies are typical of the many references Mr.

Barrett made with regards to the purpose of social welfare being to prevent social breakdown. In a sense Mr. Barrett's emphasis represents a full circle in socialist thought. Early socialists believed that a fundamental change in the capitalist system would prevent social breakdown. Gradually however, as pointed out in Chapter One, mass welfare programs became part of CCF policy and were seen as preventing social ills. With the rising tide of the social sciences, socialism emphasized the rehabilitative approach more. This was reflected in the CCF's concern with penal institutions particularly, and obviously, by the name of the Department of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation of the Saskatchewan CCF government. Mrs. Hagen, NDP member of the Legislative Assembly, during the interview with Mr. Strachan also reflected this role of social welfare when she said the goals were "rehabilitation."

Mr. Barrett, however, emphasizes prevention. In fact he said: "Rehabilitation is a last service that should be necessary if proper preventative services were established." Mr. Barrett's emphasis on prevention in social welfare services is consistent with his concept of education in socialism.

#### Respondent's View of Economic and Financial Programs

Mr. Barrett in speaking of protection services said:

"...the community is not geared to provide a basic minimum standard of living, so that wives are not forced to go out to work and abandon their children to the streets.... We would insist that a minimum income be made available either through supplements of social assistance, or direct federal intervention into family subsidization...we believe that the community must accept responsibility to subsidize families..."

Mr. Barrett seems to be on the brink of outright support of a

guaranteed annual income here. The reasoning indicated above with the example of a working mother reflects the reasoning behind welfare state measures. Here it is to prevent social problems. In another situation Mr. Barrett supported financial assistance to unmarried mothers in order that they could have the opportunity of keeping their children. Both ideas, creating opportunity and preventing social breakdown, are represented in Mr. Barrett's views of financial assistance.

In the area of social assistance these quotations are indicative of Mr. Barrett's attitudes and policy:

"The Party has never been opposed to supplementing wages if necessary..."

"The Party's policy is to eliminate as much as possible all means tests..."

"...No man should be forced to work for his welfare ...if there is work to be done that man should be employed at the...union rate..."

"Vouchers are degrading."

"...while a man is an unemployed employable...we must mobilize all the resources of the community to get him employed...his family should be given a minimum subsidy."

"...all the resources of the community will be mobilized to assist...one of these resources is money."

These quotations serve to indicate that Mr. Barrett believes social assistance should be given according to need and in a non-judgmental way. They represent a positive, non-punitive approach to social assistance recipients. One would expect with this attitude the administration of assistance would be in fact by the principle that it was the individual's right. However, Mr. Barrett also stated:

"in some instances social assistance can be granted on a loan basis...which we do not expect back...this approach...is a method of eliminating the self-judgement and self-degradation that comes about in our society around receiving social welfare..."

This particular program does not seem to be consistent with needs being a rightful demand on the State. Rather it seems to reflect Mr. Barrett's emphasis on the individual's feelings in a society characterized by negative attitudes to assistance recipients. The program is designed to accommodate these attitudes rather than change them.

Direct financial assistance is involved in two other programs. In speaking of adoption and foster home resources, Mr. Barrett said:

"It would be at the Department's initiative to approach this man and his family and say to him that we would like to place two more children with him...we would subsidize the family to the point that either the man would completely stop working and spend 24 hours a day as a professional father, or else he could continue to work and we would supplement their income...but to rely on the kind of gentle recruitment plans that we have now, is absurd! We must aggressively seek out those homes that we want to buy and purchase that service from families..."

"I believe in the theory that if you found a home that a good adoption can be made, that adoption should take place, but a financial subsidy should continue if necessary..."

This is again indicative of Mr. Barrett's belief that "financial barriers" should not stand in the way of allowing "every individual to develop to his maximum potential." There is a suggestion that the shortage of homes can be overcome if the interested families had sufficient resources.

Mr. Barrett's statement "to buy and purchase that service"

suggests something more than simply enabling families to raise foster or adopted children. He states:

"...every effort should be made to meet that child's needs...regardless of the resources of the family..."

"We say let's raise the returns to families who are productive..."

Mr. Barrett sees financial assistance as a reward to adopting and fostering parents for valuable services. Moreover he believes that:

"...if it's essential for the maintenance of the economic development of the country, then it is far more essential that we subsidize families through some kind of investment in that family and I think this is how we should define social welfare payments. They are social investments"

Mr. Barrett's analagous comparison of social health and economic development leads him to the concept of social investment. This type of reasoning leads Mr. Barrett to urge for flexibility in the administration of social assistance as well as with financial assistance to families fostering or adopting.

#### Respondent's View of Comprehensive Programs

In discussing welfare institutions, Mr. Barrett was asked about kindergartens. He replied:

"Kindergartens are most welcome, and beyond this it is my opinion that day-care facilities should be made available through the Department of Education, not through the Department of Welfare...kindergartens should be a right...."

Public kindergartens are consistent with the emphasis of the welfare state on expanding equality of opportunity through the educational system. With respect to day care centers it is

interesting that Mr. Barrett would make them available through the Department of Education. This may be for administrative reasons. On the other hand it may be due to the fact that in his welfare policy generally, Mr. Barrett concentrates on the individual and involving the individual in the larger society. In this sense he may be seeing social welfare as dealing mainly with the ills of a society but that those measures designed for the general expansion of basic rights are not viewed in this light.

Mr. Barrett also supported a provincial program for slum clearance and low-cost housing. With regards to this he stated:

"We propose that such Federal amendments would be made so that family allowance could be forwarded to a family in a lump sum that could be used as a down payment on a home...low-cost housing for senior citizens should be granted on the basis of low-cost housing for everyone...the choice of where one wants to live and what type of accommodation should be left to the individual."

Here he is concerned with minimum standards in the field of housing. His concern with the needs of the individual is again reflected.

With regards to automation, Mr. Barrett was asked:

"Is your Party policy geared in any way to re-educating people to use leisure time?"

Mr. Barrett replied:

"...by providing as many recreational outlets as possible for the individual to participate in..."

This was essentially the extent of Mr. Barrett's proposals for dealing with automation. He indicated that the Party was "doing a great deal of thinking in this area." It would appear



that there is not agreement within the Party on the approach to this problem.

Respondent's Views of Specific Services:

The type of service Mr. Barrett envisages is an important aspect of his social welfare policy. The following question elicited a useful answer in this respect:

"In regards to Old Age Assistance, Blind Person's Allowance, Disabled Person's Allowance and Supplemental Allowance, what is your view to incorporation of these under one program?"

Mr. Barrett replied:

"They should all be under one program and the best basis is: regardless of the person's need or particular situation the Social Welfare Department should be a generically operated resource which has a minimum standard for all human beings.... Each one of the agencies deal with a different part of the person's body of psyche.... You don't deal with people on this basis."

This quotation is being used here to highlight Mr. Barrett's emphasis on generic service. This is a reflection of his concern with the individual as previously mentioned. One of the characteristics of the welfare state is the variety of programs that develop to deal with specific problems. But Mr. Barrett's view of serving the total person leads him to the conclusion that one agency should be responsible for giving all social welfare services.

Mr. Barrett enlarged on the "local" base for welfare operations when asked: "What do you mean by local, exactly?" Mr. Barrett replied:

"The kind of social welfare services that I see, is a generic social service center in

every single community...when I talk about local service I am talking about this kind of social welfare office where...the whole gamut of services are available...the worker...is available to provide this kind of immediate referral."

This emphasis on the community as a base for giving service is found throughout Mr. Barrett's program proposals.

Consideration of Mr. Barrett's opinion on Indian Affairs gives insight into why he believes in the community base. He stated:

"We feel that the Federal government is not capable of determining social needs of this particular group.... They should recognize that those needs are there but should provide initiative or the ability of initiative to be developed at the local level to meet their needs.... I think that the Department of Indian Affairs would be abolished as it is presently constituted but within the Department of Social Welfare we would have skilled practitioners whose particular role would be one of creating an atmosphere of self-help and self-development within the Indian community..."

While granting that Mr. Barrett is referring to a group with special problems, his emphasis on stimulating community involvement is important. He has also pointed out that community service centers would offer community organization services. This recalls Mr. Barrett's concern with participation of the individual in his conception of democratic socialism. Mr. Barrett with his concern for all individuals, sees the community as a social organization within which the individual can express himself, and through which his needs will be further realized.

This aspect of individual involvement is not the only reason for Mr. Barrett's concern with the community. For example, in speaking of training schools, he said:

"Institutionalizing a problem, does not cure it..."

Speaking of adult correction facilities he stated:

"any correctional facilities we build would be in the existing communities where they are needed."

It is in this area of corrections that Mr. Barrett points out most strongly the value of a community focus. In criticising institutions he emphasized the breakdown in social relations which cause more difficulty for the offender, and also for his family in social adjustment, as well as the fact that the community itself does not have to face the responsibility it has for the problem. This is an important aspect of Mr. Barrett's policy which indicates his view that problems are socially based.

#### Expansion of Services

Mr. Barrett's emphasis on community based programs involves an expansion of the services presently offered. This is how it was expressed in the interview:

Mr. Barrett was asked:

"In regard to juvenile delinquency -- do you believe that the present probation service in the Province is adequate?"

He replied:

"The present probation service is totally inadequate... I envision a total probation service at a minimum of 600 staff people within 3 years after we form a government... We would bring in a Provincial Juvenile Delinquents Act which would supplement the existing Federal legislation and alter it towards the needs of the children rather than treating their behavior as criminal offenses."

"No case should be heard without a complete

social history...ideally it would include... a complete psychological work-up.... It could be done in the metropolitan areas; but in the rural areas it would be far more difficult."

"Juvenile court judges should be trained social workers."

In the field of adult corrections Mr. Barrett was asked:

"...what do you see as the main need in this area?"

He replied:

"...we are anxious to create services which aim towards preventing personal breakdown in behavior and responsibility...we have initiated legislation calling for a far more flexible approach to the treatment of the convicted offender. I've introduced legislation for weekend prisons."

In the field of child welfare, Mr. Barrett was asked:

"...what would you say is the purpose of protection services?"

Mr. Barrett replied:

"...to prevent the need for secondary physical protection and at its very best the foster home program admits a basic failure in the State not providing adequate family counselling services. ... We would immediately move social workers into every existing elementary school structure..."

In the field of mental health Mr. Barrett was asked:

"Would there be any basic change you would make in the orientation of services?"

He replied:

"The orientation of services would be focused

towards prevention. Legislation would be introduced -- outpatient services for the aggressive reaching out in the community by mental health, coordinating mental health programs with the Department of Social Welfare, reaching out, seeking people who need assistance for emotional problems.

These quotations are typical of Mr. Barrett's program proposals. Essentially they involve a great expansion of the helping services, particularly social work services. His proposals for expansion of the probation service and for week-end prisons appear the most ambitious. The orientation of services is towards prevention -- reaching out to people unable or unwilling to ask for services, early treatment, and an emphasis on the family in its social setting.

The thesis group was also concerned with determining what changes Mr. Barrett would make in the administration of welfare services. Accordingly he was asked:

"It is understood that your party advocates revision of the Social Welfare Administration Department. Would you please outline what changes you are recommending?"

To this and subsequent questions asking for clarification, Mr. Barrett answered:

"...we would delegate far more responsibility and authority to regional administrator...we would establish a particular Department of Liaison and Cooperation whose role would be to create liaison and cooperation with existing private agencies. We would ask private agencies to assume the responsibility of doing creative and experimental works.... We would no longer provide any money to any private agency whose primary purpose was carrying on a function that the Department of Social Welfare is either providing in other areas of the Province or should be providing...we would immediately increase salaries of social workers...we would slowly

phase out specialized caseloads...caseloads would be limited...policy of sabbatical leave for the practicing social worker...inservice training would diminish as we relied more heavily on professional schools.... We would have no hesitation in hiring public welfare administrators...all correctional services will be transferred to the Department of Social Welfare and that will include services to juveniles...auxilliary services offered from the Department of Health...are appropriately in the social welfare field..."

One of the major aspects of Mr. Barrett's proposed plan is a change in roles of the private and public agencies. Many private agencies, including such large agencies as both Children's Aid Societies in Vancouver would lose their primary function and this would be taken over by the Social Welfare Department. Mr. Barrett's views are consistent with those of Mr. O'Neal. They reflect the belief that a society should serve all human needs as a matter of right rather than charity.

The role designated for private agencies is that of experimentation and innovation. By implication this suggests that the State would assume responsibility once a need for a service was proven. While Mr. Barrett envisages grants to private agencies that are free of restrictions to enable them to engage in creative programs, this fact and the proposal of a Department of Liason and Cooperation indicates that Mr. Barrett sees the government as having a responsibility in seeking out new needs and services.

Within the public sphere, Mr. Barrett advocates centralization of specific social welfare services under one department. He states the basis for this view in this statement:

"...social problems...such as criminal behavior, drug addiction and alcoholism, reveal a social inadequacy and as such all services should be under the Social Welfare Department."

As with the early socialists, problems are seen as having a common base in social inadequacy. However, Mr. Barrett would cope with this inadequacy by reforming the present welfare system through centralization of these services, which he considers would permit a generic, preventive approach.

The reason for further decentralization of authority and responsibility is not stated by Mr. Barrett. However in view of his previously mentioned emphasis on prevention and the community focus of services, he perhaps believes this would make the Department more responsive to the needs of the community.

In addition to changes in the structure and role of the Department of Social Welfare, Mr. Barrett is concerned with personnel policy. He advocates such measures as smaller caseloads and retaining trained workers in line positions which are aimed at improving the quality of social work performance. Elsewhere in the interview Mr. Barrett states that to meet the needs for social workers, the creation of three new schools of social work would be encouraged. His personnel policy is no doubt a reflection of his social work education and experience.

### Conclusions

Philosophically, Mr. Strachan, Mr. O'Neal and Mr. Barrett agree that the socialist society is one that is concerned with meeting the needs of all its members. In general they appear to agree with the socialist ideal of equality, freedom and fellowship. They do not support a revolutionary change of the present economic system as a means of achieving a better society, but in reforming the present system.

Despite these similarities there are differences in philosophical approach. Mr. Strachan, still sees man's condition in

terms of free-enterprise, big business, the working class, and the nature of the work life. He emphasizes the government's role in economic development as a means of alleviating injustices.

Mr. Barrett, thinks of socialism more in terms of the individual as a participating, concerned member of society. He sees this situation as being achieved largely, but not solely, through an educational process. He supports reform in the educational system to make more responsible citizens. Education is used broadly here to refer not only to the school system, but also to activities of a Department of Social Welfare, of social workers, and schools of social work, in education. In fact, education is linked to the whole concept of prevention.

Mr. O'Neal views socialism in welfare state terms. He is concerned with equality of opportunity and welfare state measures are emphasized.

In terms of social welfare policy, Mr. Strachan sees economic development as a major tool in alleviating social problems, the chief of which is unemployment and lack of purchasing power. At the same time he advocates comprehensive welfare programs. These programs are aimed at the welfare of the whole society. Individual services are "special" and a rehabilitation approach is emphasized for more serious social problems.

Mr. Barrett also supports comprehensive programs, particularly those financial programs permitting equality of opportunity. But, the bulk of his program is geared towards reforming the present welfare system in the direction of meeting the needs of the individual. It is an approach which sees welfare as institutionalized and aimed at helping the individual adjust to society. This role is expressed through generic, community focused programs



whose primary purpose is to prevent social breakdown, rather than rehabilitation. The program involves a significant increase in the number in the helping professions, particularly social work.

Mr. O'Neal primarily supports comprehensive welfare programs. He is also concerned about legal changes affecting Labour's bargaining position. While Mr. O'Neal is sympathetic to the expansion of individual services, these are not spelled out clearly. He is opposed to private agencies and sees them as being charity.

The conclusion that can be made is that all the interviewed leaders have moved substantially in the direction of a welfare state approach as a solution to the problems confronting individuals in society.

## CHAPTER V

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The focus of this thesis was to determine the present welfare policies of the NDP. In order to do this, we traced the evolution of the philosophy of the CCF - NDP. We have concluded that the party has moved from a theoretical socialist orientation, i.e. public ownership of the means of production and a planned economy in a classless society to a welfare state orientation. This orientation implies a reformation of the existing system with emphasis on socialization of public utilities, a planned economy, and extensive social security measures.

We have concluded from an analysis of literature, resolutions, interviews, and a questionnaire, that the rank and file during the proceedings of their conventions are largely concerned with economic issues (socialization and planning).

The leadership, on the other hand, has supported broad comprehensive social welfare programs as well as emphasizing economic programs.

Although the rank and file do not indicate concern with social welfare issues at their annual conventions, they did give specific social welfare issues as high a priority as leadership levels of membership, in their responses to the questionnaire.

Although the rank and file fail to present resolutions on specific welfare issues, there is a high degree of agreement between various levels of party membership on these issues,

indicating that the rank and file rely on the leadership and "experts" for policy on specific welfare issues.

The spokesman on social welfare for the NDP is David Barrett. His major premises are as follows:

1. Direct concern with the individual. Mr. Barrett emphasizes equalization of opportunity which, he feels, will allow the development of the individual's maximum potential. Although Mr. Barrett is in agreement with other party leaders on the need for comprehensive changes to the social and economic structure, he also proposes the concurrent development of direct services to the individual. These include the expansion of such things as education, mental health services, counselling services of all types etc. This does not imply that other party members are not concerned with the individual. Many of them emphasize broad social and economic changes as being primarily necessary for the development of maximum individual potential. These changes include, economic planning, socialization, labour legislation, medicare etc.

2. Every citizen has the right to minimum standards of living including such things as income, education, and health services.

3. All individuals should be involved in the resolution of social problems. However the party itself depends on Mr. Barrett for leadership in social welfare. This indicates a need for a greater involvement of the party membership itself in the formulation of specific social welfare policies.

4. An emphasis on the preventative aspects of social welfare.

5. The need for decentralization of welfare services. Government should have the primary responsibility for providing these services.

6. Services should be provided on the basis of needs rather than means tests.

In summary, many of Mr. Barrett's specific proposals (e.g. expansion of probation and parole through use of retrained personnel) have not been subjected to research. This research could be sponsored by the NDP or under the auspices of the trade union movement as is done in the U.K. Secondly, many of Mr. Barrett's proposals have not been submitted to party conventions. Therefore, most individual party members have not been involved in the formulation of specific social welfare policy. And thirdly, there is no comprehensive social welfare policy statement (endorsed by the convention) available to the public.

## Appendix A.

MANIFESTO OF THE LEAGUE FOR SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

The League for Social Reconstruction is an association of men and women who are working for the establishment in Canada of a social order in which the basic principle regulation production, distribution and service will be the common good rather than profit.

The present capitalistic system has shown itself unjust and inhuman, economically wasteful, and a standing threat to peace and democratic government. Over the whole world it has led to a struggle for raw materials and markets and to a consequent international competition in armaments which were among the main causes of the last war, and which constantly threaten to bring on new wars.

In the advanced industrial countries it has led to the concentration of wealth into the hands of a small irresponsible minority of bankers and industrialists whose economic power constantly threatens to nullify our political democracy.

The result in Canada is a society in which the interests of farmers and wage and salaried workers - the great majority of our population - are habitually sacrificed to those of this small minority. Despite our abundant natural resources the mass of the people have not been freed from poverty and insecurity. Unregulated competitive production condemns them to alternate periods of feverish prosperity, in which the main benefits go to profiteers, and of catastrophic depression, in which the common man's normal state of insecurity and hardship is accentuated.

We are convinced that these evils are inherent in any system in which private profit is the main stimulus to economic effort.

We therefore look to the establishment in Canada of a new social order which will substitute a planned and socialized economy for the existing chaotic individualism and which, by achieving an approximate economic equality along all men in place of the present glaring inequalities, will eliminate the domination of one class by another.

As essential first steps towards the realization of this new order we advocate.

1. Public ownership and operation of the public utilities connected with transportation, communication and electric power, and of such other industries as are already approaching conditions of monopolistic control.
2. Nationalization of Banks and other financial institutions with a view to the regulation of all credit and investment operations.

3. The further development of agricultural co-operative institutions for the production and merchandising of agricultural products.
4. Social legislation to secure to the worker adequate income and leisure, freedom of association, insurance against illness, accident, old age and unemployment, and an effective voice in the management of his industry.
5. Publicly organized health, hospital, and medical services.
6. A taxation policy emphasizing steeply graduated income and inheritance taxes.
7. The creation of a National Planning Commission.
8. The vesting in Canada of the power to amend and interpret the Canadian constitution so as to give the federal government power to control the national economic development.
9. A foreign policy designed to secure international co-operation in regulating trade, industry and finance, and to promote disarmament and world peace.

## Appendix B

PROVISIONAL PROGRAM OF THE CCF DRAWN UP AT THE CALGARY  
CONFERENCE IN 1932

The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation of Canada 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.

PROVISIONAL PROGRAM OF THE FEDERATION

1. The establishment of a planned system of social economy for the production, distribution and exchange of all goods and services.
2. Socialization of the banking, credit and financial system of the country, together with the social ownership, development, operation and control of utilities and natural resources.
3. Security of tenure for the farmer on his use-lease land and for the worker in his own home. ("Use-land"--land used for productive purposes; by implication no such guarantee is given to the land speculator.)
4. The retention and extension of all existing social legislation and facilities, with adequate provision for insurance against crop failure, illness, accident, old age and unemployment during the transition to the socialist state.
5. Equal economic and social opportunity without distinction of sex, nationality or religion.
6. Encouragement of all co-operative enterprises which are steps to the attainment of the Co-operative Commonwealth.
7. Socialization of all health services.
8. Federal Government should accept responsibility for unemployment and tender suitable work or adequate maintenance.

## APPENDIX C

Fourteen points of the Regina Manifesto, program of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, adopted at First National Convention held at Regina, Saskatchewan, July, 1933.

1. Planning: The establishment of a planned, socialized economic order, in order to make possible the most efficient development of the national resources and the most equitable distribution of the national income.
2. Socialization of Finance: Socialization of all financial machinery -- banking, currency, credit, and insurance, to make possible the effective control of currency, credit and prices, and the supplying of new productive equipment for socially desirable purposes.
3. Social Ownership: Socialization (Dominion, Provincial, or Municipal) of transportation, communications, electric power and all other industries and services essential to social planning, and their operation under the general direction of the Planning Commission by competent managements freed from day to day political interference.
4. Agriculture: Security of tenure for the farmer upon his farm on conditions to be laid down by individual provinces; insurance against unavoidable crop failure; removal of the tariff burden from the operations of agriculture; encouragement of producers' and consumers' co-operatives; the restoration and maintenance of an equitable relationship between prices of agricultural products and those of other commodities and services; and improving the efficiency of export trade in farm products.
5. External Trade: The regulation in accordance with the National plan of external trade through import and export boards.
6. Co-operative Institutions: The encouragement by the public authority of both producers' and consumers' co-operative institutions.
7. Labour Code: A National Labour Code to secure for the worker maximum income and leisure, insurance covering illness, accident, old age, and unemployment, freedom of association and effective participation in the management of his industry or profession.
8. Socialized Health Services: Publicly organized health, hospital and medical services.



9. B.N.A. Act: The amendment of the Canadian Constitution, without infringing upon racial or religious minority rights or upon legitimate provincial claims to autonomy, so as to give the Dominion Government adequate powers to deal effectively with urgent economic problems which are essentially national in scope; the abolition of the Canadian Senate.
10. External Relations: A Foreign Policy designed to obtain international economic co-operation and to promote disarmament and world peace.
11. Taxation and Public Finance: A new taxation policy designed not only to raise public revenues but also to lessen the glaring inequalities of income and to provide funds for social services and the socialization of industry; the cessation of the debt creating system of Public Finance.
12. Freedom: Freedom of speech and assembly for all; repeal of Section 98 of the Criminal Code; amendment of the Immigration Act to prevent the present inhuman policy of deportation; equal treatment before the law of all residents of Canada irrespective of race, nationality or religious or political beliefs.
13. Social Injustice: The establishment of a commission composed of psychiatrists, psychologists, socially-minded jurists and social workers, to deal with all matters pertaining to crime and punishment and the general administration of law, in order to humanize the law and to bring it into harmony with the needs of the people.
14. An Emergency Program: The assumption by the Dominion Government of direct responsibility for dealing with the present critical unemployment situation and for tendering suitable work or adequate maintenance; the adoption of measures to relieve the extremity of the crisis such as a programme of public spending on housing, and other enterprises that will increase the real wealth of Canada, to be financed by the issue of credit based on the national wealth.

APPENDIX DCCF (B.C.) PROVINCIAL PLATFORM, 1933

The CCF is a Federation of organizations whose purpose is the establishment in Canada of a Co-operative Commonwealth, in which the principle regulating Production, Distribution and Exchange will be the supplying of human needs and not the making of profits.

1. PLANNING. The development of a socialized economic plan, in order to regulate the productive activities of the Province; and to secure maximum efficiency in distribution and exchange.
2. FINANCE. Co-operation with the other Provinces to obtain a complete Socialization of all the financial machinery of the country -- Banking, Currency, Credit and Insurance, -- and, if compelled by a situation of Provincial emergency, to develop purely Provincial Credit, based on Provincial Resources.
3. SOCIAL OWNERSHIP. The adoption by the Province of the Federal CCF Plan for Socialization of Natural Resources, Public utilities and other industries and services essential to the economic plan.
4. AGRICULTURE. (a) Security of tenure for the farmer on his use-land. Assistance to farmers in co-ordination of production and establishment of orderly marketing by and through producers' and consumers' co-operatives, and such other assistance to all agriculturists as will enable them to obtain an adequate return for the products of their labor.

(b) APPLICATION TO AGRICULTURAL PLANE:

1. (a) The connotations of this plank exhibit two theses which evolve from full recognition of the fact that all agricultural labours are subject to and depend upon Nature and its laws.
  - (b) That Agriculture may be brought into line with all other basic industries and that hours of labour and periods of leisure may be similarly determined.
  - (c) That the size of the farms, the soil adaptability, and the location with respect to markets may be scientifically determined and guided in accordance with the findings.
- In development of these it is essential
  - (a) That the soil survey of the Province be speedily completed on an adequate basis, and with a more comprehensive purpose.
  - (b) That the efforts of experts employed by the Provincial Government be co-ordinated and immediately adjusted to the specific problem of the Growers.
  - (c) That solution reached by Growers and experts be resolved by suitable legislation if considered necessary for the general welfare to be applied to specific Industries such as Fruit and Small Fruit Industries; Cereal Raising; Ranching; Nursery Farming and Truck Farming.

As Interim measures the following provisions are recommended to secure the tenure of the farmer upon his use land:

1. Taxation of land in use to be replaced by taxation on Nett Income.
  2. Extension of Provincial Credit to the Farmers for working capital and to replace Mortgage obligations and the like.
  3. Adequate insurance developed by the Province against all personal property and crop risks.
  4. Social ownership of irrigation, drainings, and dyking systems.
  5. LABOUR CODE. Introduction and enforcement of a Labour Code to secure for the worker maximum income and leisure, unemployment insurance and effective participation in the management of his industry or profession.
  6. SECURITY FOR HOME OWNERS. Declaration of a moratorium to be administered by a debt adjustment Board on principal and interest on mortgages and agreements of sale in respect to personal property and homes. Amendment of the B.C. Municipal Act and any Provincial Legislation pertaining thereto to provide authority for Municipal Councils and Commissioners to withhold from Tax Sale the homes of people who have lost their means of livelihood.
  7. TAXATION. All forms of taxation, in particular Income, Corporation and Inheritance Taxes to be levied definitely on the basis of ability to pay.
  8. MAINTENANCE. Immediate registration of all persons throughout the Province, and the provision of civilized maintenance for all persons affected by unemployment or loss of income.
- The insecurity of present life insurance, pensions and superannuation schemes necessitates adequate provision for the aged and infirm as a Social obligation.
9. EMPLOYMENT AND PROVINCIAL DEVELOPMENT.
    - (a) Immediate operation of a scheme of Public Works, such as the building of roads, schools, libraries, etc., the development of Housing Scheme; the electrification of the Province; the development of irrigation system and other Social enterprises.
    - (b) Development of transportation systems throughout the Province, based upon an expert survey
    - (c) Extension of Social Services.
    - (d) Scientific development of the Natural Resources of the Province; propagation and conservation of the Forests and Fisheries.
  10. HEALTH. Socialisation of all Health Services.
  11. EDUCATION.
    - (a) Establishment of a thoroughly democratic progressive educational system free to all, adapted to individual needs and designed to prepare our young people for a full and complete participation in a co-operative order.

(b) Creation of vocational Schools, particularly in order to care for the educational needs of our unemployed youth, pending such time as they can be drafted into the industrial schemes.

12. Revision of all Provincial legal enactments in order to bring them into conformity with CCF policies.

APPENDIX E1937 Provincial Program, CCF (B.C. Section)

published by the Provincial Executive, CCF (B.C. Section, Vancouver, B.C.

1. **PLANNING:** The immediate establishment of a Planning Board consisting of economists, statisticians and engineers, which, in collaboration with the various administrative departments, will prepare plans for the new provincial economy for submission to the Cabinet, to which body the Board will be responsible.

Inauguration of Consultative Councils, whose members will be elected from their respective organizations, such Councils, to advise the Planning Board and to accept, where feasible, some measure of responsibility for implementing statutes affecting their industry or profession.

2. **SOCIAL CONTROL:** Establishment of a commissions to control public utilities and natural resources with a view to early public ownership; government monopoly of brewing and distilling, and of the distribution of petroleum products; acquisition of value-producing industries it is deemed advisable to operate; stricter supervision and control of private enterprise; no further alienation of natural resources to private interests; progressive institution of state logging and re-afforestation.

Progressive adoption of State Insurance.

Appointment of a Highway Commission to carry out a comprehensive road program.

3. **FINANCE:** Consolidation of provincial government debt by conversion to nonmaturing, fixed-interest bearing bonds, callable at option of the Government after a limited term of years. Government support to municipalities in their efforts to reduce their debt loads.

Careful redistribution of the tax burden to give greater relief to those in the lower income brackets; higher income and inheritance taxes in the upper brackets. Tax increases on monopolistic business, speculative landholdings and alienated natural resources. Taxation of corporation surpluses.

4. **LABOUR:** Protection of workers in the rights of organization, collective bargaining, striking, and peaceful picketing; outlawing of company unions; opening of all company towns; enactment and strict enforcement of Wage, Hours, and Conditions of Work legislation to provide higher living standards for workers; unemployed workers, pending utilization of their services, to be furnished reasonable maintenance and opportunity for training by a plan calling for fuller co-operation between federal, provincial and municipal authorities, and private organizations; special attention to youth labour problems.

5. **AGRICULTURE:** Appointment of a Government Agricultural Commission with subsidiary committees on marketing and planned production, which committees will have both producer and consumer representation. A measure of control to be exercised over imports and exports. Active support of farmer organizations in co-operative buying, production and distribution; insurance against crop failure; institution of a provincial policy leading to prevention of flood conditions; security on equitable terms against seizure for debt of land in effective use, including buildings, and equipment; examination of the whole agricultural debt structure with a view to a practical solution; plans to be prepared for rehabilitation and re-settlement of those in distressed areas; establishment of an

experimental collective farm; rural electrification where conditions warrant.

Early provision for an outlet to the Pacific Coast for Peace River products.

6. EDUCATION: Education to be related more closely to the vocational and cultural needs of the child and of the community; abolition of fees in the secondary schools; maintenance of a democratically elected School Board system; reduction in the number of school districts; aid to small urban and rural centres by the provision of increased educational and cultural facilities. Institution of a well-organized program of adult education; provision of free text books and essential equipment.

7. SOCIAL SERVICES: Establishment of all-inclusive Health Insurance, contribution to be based on a sliding scale in accordance with income received; all indigents to receive full benefits under this scheme. Extension of public clinic, hospitalization, diagnostic facilities and nursing services; more attention to be given to preventive measures. Increased pensions for the aged and blind and extended allowances under the Mothers' Pensions Act; upward revision of allowances under the Workmen's Compensation Act.

8. HOME PROTECTION AND HOUSING: Revision of laws dealing with foreclosures and evictions with a view to safeguarding citizens' rights to home tenure; assistance to be given to Municipalities in slum clearance undertakings; home building by concerted action between Government, Municipalities, Building Societies and Housing Co-operatives.

9. CO-OPERATIVES: Active support of all genuine co-operative societies.

10. HIGHWAYS AND BRIDGES: Abolition of tolls on Provincially controlled bridges, highways and ferries.

11. CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTIES: Maintenance and extension of civil and religious freedom and vigorous opposition to all encroachments upon such rights and liberties.

APPENDIX F1956Winnipeg Declaration of Principles of the  
Co-operative Commonwealth Federation

The aim of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation is the establishment in Canada by democratic means of a co-operative commonwealth in which the supplying of human needs and enrichment of human life shall be the primary purpose of our society. Private profit and corporate power must be subordinated to social planning designed to achieve equality of opportunity and the highest possible living standards for all Canadians.

This is, and always has been, the aim of the CCF. The Regina Manifesto, proclaimed by the founders of the movement in 1933, has had a profound influence on Canada's social system. Many of the improvements it recommended have been wrung out of unwilling governments by the growing strength of our movement and the growing political maturity of the Canadian people. Canada is a better place than it was a generation ago, not least because of the cry for justice sounded in the Regina Manifesto and the devoted efforts of CCF members and supporters since that time.

CANADA STILL RIDDEN BY INEQUALITIES

In spite of great economic expansion, large sections of our people do not benefit adequately from the increased wealth produced. Greater wealth and economic power continue to be concentrated in the hands of a relatively few private corporations. The gap between those at the bottom and those at the top of the economic scale has widened.

Thousands still live in want and insecurity. Slums and inadequate housing condemn many Canadian families to a cheerless life. Older citizens exist on pensions far too low for health and dignity. Many too young to qualify for pensions are rejected by industry as too old for employment, and face the future without hope. Many in serious ill-health cannot afford the hospital and medical care they need. Educational institutions have been starved for funds and, even in days of prosperity, only a small proportion of young men and women who could benefit from technical and higher education can afford it.

In short, Canada is still characterized by glaring inequalities of wealth and opportunity and by the domination of one group over another. The growing concentration of corporate wealth has resulted in a virtual economic dictatorship by a privileged few. This threatens our political democracy which will attain its full meaning only when our people have a voice in the management of their economic affairs and effective control over the means by which they live.

THE FOLLY OF WASTED RESOURCES

Furthermore, even during a time of high employment, Canada's productive capacity is not fully utilized. Its use is governed by the dictates of private economic power and by considerations of private profit. Similarly, the scramble for profit has wasted and despoiled our rich resources of soil, water, forest and minerals.

This lack of social planning results in a waste of our human as well as our natural resources. Our human resources are wasted through social and economic conditions which stunt human growth,

through unemployment and through our failure to provide adequate education.

### THE CHALLENGE OF NEW HORIZONS

The CCF believes that Canada needs a program for the wise development and conservation of its natural resources. Our industry can and should be so operated as to enable our people to use fully their talents and skills. Such an economy will yield the maximum opportunities for individual development and the maximum of goods and services for the satisfaction of human needs at home and abroad.

Unprecedented scientific and technological advances have brought us to the threshold of a second industrial revolution. Opportunities for enriching the standard of life in Canada and elsewhere are greater than ever. However, unless careful study is given to the many problems which will arise and unless there is intelligent planning to meet them, the evils of the past will be multiplied in the future. The technological changes will produce even greater concentrations of wealth and power and will cause widespread distress through unemployment and the displacement of populations.

The challenge facing Canadians today is whether future development will continue to perpetuate the inequalities of the past or whether it will be based on principles of social justice.

### CAPITALISM BASICALLY IMMORAL

Economic expansion accompanied by widespread suffering and injustice is not desirable social progress. A society motivated by the drive for private gain and special privilege is basically immoral.

The CCF reaffirms its belief that our society must have a moral purpose and must build a new relationship among men--a relationship based on mutual respect and on equality of opportunity. In such a society everyone will have a sense of worth and belonging, and will be enabled to develop his capacities to the full.

### SOCIAL PLANNING FOR A JUST SOCIETY

Such a society cannot be built without the application of social planning. Investment of available funds must be channelled into socially desirable projects; financial and credit resources must be used to help maintain full employment and to control inflation and deflation.

In the co-operative commonwealth there will be an important role for public, private and co-operative enterprise working together in the people's interest.

The CCF has always recognized public ownership as the most effective means of breaking the stranglehold of private monopolies on the life of the nation and of facilitating the social planning necessary for economic security and advance. The CCF will, therefore, extend public ownership wherever it is necessary for the achievement of these objectives.

At the same time, the CCF also recognizes that in many fields there will be need for private enterprise which can make a useful contribution to the development of our economy. The co-operative commonwealth will, therefore, provide appropriate opportunities for private business as well as publicly-owned industry.

The CCF will protect and make more widespread the ownership of family farms by those who till them, of homes by those who live in them, and of all personal possessions necessary for the well-



being of the Canadian people.

In many fields the best means of ensuring justice to producers and consumers is the co-operative form of ownership. In such fields, every assistance will be given to form co-operatives and credit unions and to strengthen those already in existence.

#### BUILDING A LIVING DEMOCRACY

The CCF welcomes the growth of labour unions, farm and other organizations of the people. Through them, and through associations for the promotion of art and culture, the fabric of a living democracy is being created in Canada. These organizations must have the fullest opportunity for further growth and participation in building our nation's future.

In the present world struggle for men's minds and loyalties, democratic nations have a greater responsibility than ever to erase every obstacle to freedom and every vestige of racial, religious or political discrimination. Legislation alone cannot do this, but effective legislation is a necessary safeguard for basic rights and a sound foundation for further social and educational progress.

Therefore, the CCF proposes the enactment of a Bill of Rights guaranteeing freedom of speech and of expression, the right of lawful assembly, association and organization, equal treatment before the law, freedom to worship according to one's own conscience and the enjoyment of all rights without distinction of race, sex, religion or language.

#### BASIS FOR PEACE

The solution of the problems facing Canada depends, in large part, on removing the international dangers which threaten the future of all mankind. Therefore no task is more urgent than that of building peace and of forging international policies which will banish from the earth the oppressive fear of nuclear destruction. Only if there is a determined will to peace and if every part of the world is free from the fear of aggression and domination, can progress be made toward a lasting settlement of outstanding differences.

Throughout the years the CCF has maintained that there has been too much reliance on defence expenditures to meet the threat of communist expansion. One of the urgent needs for building a peaceful world and for extending the influence and power of democracy is generous support of international agencies to provide assistance to under-developed countries on a vast scale.

The hungry, oppressed and underprivileged of the world must know democracy not as a smug slogan but as a dynamic way of life which sees the world as one whole, and which recognizes the right of every nation to independence and of every people to the highest available standard of living.

#### SUPPORT OF UN

The CCF reaffirms full support for the United Nations and its development into an effective organization of international co-operation and government. The world must achieve a large measure of international disarmament without delay and evolve a system of effective international control and inspection to enable the prohibition of nuclear weapons.

The CCF believes in full international co-operation which alone can bring lasting peace. The practices of imperialism whether of

the old style or the new totalitarian brand, must disappear. The CCF strives for a world society based on the rule of law and on freedom, on the right to independence of all peoples, on greater equality among nations and on genuine universal brotherhood.

#### CONFIDENCE IN CANADA

The CCF has confidence in Canada and its people who have come from many lands in search of freedom, security and opportunity. It is proud of our country's origins in the British and French traditions which have produced our present parliamentary and judicial systems.

The CCF believes in Canada's federal system. Properly applied in a spirit of national unity, it can safeguard our national well-being and at the same time protect the traditions and constitutional rights of the provinces. Within the framework of the federal system the CCF will equalize opportunities for the citizens of every province in Canada. True national unity will be achieved only when every person from the Atlantic to the Pacific is able to enjoy an adequate standard of living.

#### SOCIALISM ON THE MARCH

In less than a generation since the CCF was formed, democratic socialism has achieved a place in the world which its founders could hardly have envisaged. Many labour and socialist parties have administered or participated in the governments of their countries. As one of these democratic socialist parties, the CCF recognizes that the great issue of our time is whether mankind shall move toward totalitarian oppression or toward a wider democracy within nations and among nations.

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. This is the Co-operative Commonwealth which the CCF invites the people of Canada to build with imagination and pride.

APPENDIX G

Resolution Passed at the Canadian  
Labour Congress Convention Held at Winnipeg  
April 21-25, 1958

This Convention believes that the imperative need of the Canadian political scene today is the creation of an effective alternative political force based on the needs of workers, farmers and similar groups, financed and controlled by the people and their organizations.

During the past quarter century the CCF has made a tremendous contribution to the welfare of the Canadian people, both in and out of Parliament. The organized Labour movement fully recognizes that contribution and knows that, with its limited facilities, the CCF continues to battle for the ideas of social justice, security and freedom, which are also the goals of this Congress.

The time has come for a fundamental re-alignment of political forces in Canada. There is the need for a broadly based people's political movement, which embraces the CCF, the labour movement, farm organizations, professional people and other liberally-minded persons interested in basic social reform and reconstruction through our parliamentary system of government. Such a broadly based political instrument should provide that Labour and other peoples' organizations may, together with the CCF, participate directly in the establishment of such a movement, its organizational structure and basic philosophy and program, as well as in its financing and choice of candidates for public office.

The experience of Labour and social democratic political parties elsewhere should be studied for whatever their history and structure might contribute, while recognizing that any effective political instrument in Canada must be Canadian in character and structure.

In participating in and initiating the creation of a new political movement, Labour emphasizes that not only is there no wish to dominate such a development, but there is the fullest desire for the broadest possible participation of all individuals and groups genuinely interested in basic democratic social reform and the democratic planning necessary to such reform.

This Convention, therefore, instructs the Executive Council to give urgent and immediate attention to this matter by initiating discussions with the CCF, interested farm organizations and other like-minded individuals and groups, to formulate a constitution and a program for such a political instrument of the Canadian people; and to report on such a plan, draft constitution and program to the next Convention of this Congress for action.

Pending this development, this Convention reaffirms the principle set out in the political resolution of the Founding Convention of this Congress as follows:

"(This Convention) urges all affiliated unions, federations and councils (a) to take the utmost interest in political affairs, (b) to continue such forms of political action or education as they may have carried on in the past, and (c) to undertake such further activities as may in the future appear to be appropriate for achieving the basic objectives of the Congress;

"And that the Political Education Department give all possible assistance to individual affiliates, federation, and labour councils in carrying out programs of political education or action."

APPENDIX H

Resolution Passed at the CCF National Convention Held at Montreal

July 23-25, 1958

This National Convention of the CCF reaffirms its belief that the future welfare of Canada and its people lies in the further development and early victory of a broadly based people's political movement. As democratic socialists, we believe that such a movement must continue to be dedicated to the principles of democratic social planning and to the widest forms of social security and individual liberty. It must remain steadfast in its determination to introduce, where appropriate, public control and public ownership in place of the present monopolistic domination of our economy, and indeed, our whole society, by large private corporation.

Such a movement must dedicate itself to the task of democratically rebuilding our society so that co-operation will replace greed, constructive development will replace exploitation of man by man and unity of farmer and worker, east and west, French-speaking and English-speaking, will replace disunity and deliberately contrived conflict. Its aims must be to build our society on moral foundations of social justice and human dignity.

For these reasons this Convention welcomes the resolution adopted by the Canadian Labour Congress at its Convention in Winnipeg in April of this year, looking to the building of such a political movement together with the CCF and farm organizations, groups and individuals ready to join in common objectives. At its merger convention in 1956, the Canadian Labour Congress adopted a political program which the CCF Convention, held some months later, was able wholeheartedly to endorse, thus establishing once again the identity of the CCF program with the social objectives of labour in the same way as CCF policies have always been identical with those of farmers as well as other groups in our society. Indeed, since its inception, the CCF has always appealed to organized labour and to organized agriculture to join in building a people's political movement, strong and representative of all sections of the Canadian people. The CLC resolution is thus a landmark in our country's history and presents a greater opportunity for progress in this direction than ever before.

This Convention, therefore, authorizes the National Council and National Executive to enter into discussions with the Canadian Labour Congress, the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labour, interested farm organizations and other like-minded groups and individuals looking toward the achievement of the objectives set out and to present the results of such discussions to the next regular or to a special convention of the CCF for action. Further the Convention authorizes the National Council and Executive to initiate and conduct the fullest discussions on this matter within the party, and instructs that any draft Constitution for such proposed broader political party be submitted to the CCF members, through their clubs and associations, for study and recommendation, before being submitted to the Convention and that any other propositions concerning the above, which are to be put before such Convention, shall be circulated to CCF clubs and associations at least two months prior to the Convention.

## APPENDIX I

POLICY STATEMENT (1965)PREAMBLE

The New Democratic Party believes that social, economic and political progress in Canada can only be assured by the application of democratic socialist principles to government and administration of public affairs.

The New Democratic Party holds a firm belief that the dignity and freedom of the individual must be jealously guarded and maintained.

The New Democratic Party is proud to be associated with the democratic socialist parties of the world in their struggle for peace, international co-operation and the abolition of poverty.

THE NEW DIMENSION IN GOVERNMENT

1. Present prosperity is no guarantee of future security when the speed and diversity of technological change confound traditional patterns of thought.
2. The individual is no longer able to meet the demands such rapid change makes upon him without adequate direction, re-training and adjustment.
3. The test of good government in this modern era is the measure of its determination to study, investigate and assist people to find their rightful places in the new age. Without such leadership many will find themselves aliens in our modern society. Such leadership demands knowledge and immediate action.
4. A New Democratic Government will establish a special Provincial Bureau on Automation and Technology that will, through its research staff, and in co-operation with all other government departments, provide the government and private individuals with information, forecasts and advice in the area of technological change.
5. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the challenge of automation is real and, if ignored, can lead only to social dislocation and chaos.
6. It is the urgent duty of society/governments to boldly face the challenge of this modern industrial revolution. Our capabilities in the field of applied science must be used to avoid the social waste, the nightmare of mass unemployment, and the fear of tomorrow. "We must restore a dignity to labour and provide through rational planning, a guaranteed income to all which will ensure a standard of living commensurate with the productive capacity of the province."
7. Applied intelligence has brought us to the threshold of an age of undreamed of affluence and technical perfection. It has also

brought us to the brink of social chaos. Whether we advance or retreat will be determined by the zeal with which we pursue the new knowledge we need to cross that threshold. The New Democratic Party pledges progress through leadership, and leadership through knowledge.

### SOCIALIZATION OF PUBLIC UTILITIES

A New Democratic government would take immediate steps toward placing under public ownership, for the benefit and protection of the public, all remaining private power companies, natural gas production, transmission and distribution systems, oil pipelines, and the British Columbia Telephone communication systems.

Public and co-operative ownership in the distribution and marketing of gasoline and motor lubricants would be established in order to assure that a scale of just prices is provided throughout the province for petroleum products.

### INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

A New Democratic Party government would immediately establish an Economic Development Corporation to assist in the development of primary industry and to encourage the growth and development of secondary industry.

This Crown corporation would, in harmony with the recommendations of the Provincial Economic Planning Council, make loans to, or invest in, existing industries to enable them to expand and to bring new industry to the province. It would sponsor and encourage research in the development of new uses for existing resources and products and in the discovery of new products and resources.

It would be the aim of a New Democratic Party government to modify and control the operations of large corporate organizations and, where necessary, develop new institutions, public, joint public and private, and co-operative organizations to balance the market and to ensure both productivity and quality at the highest possible levels consistent with fair prices. Such developments would be made within the framework provided by the Economic Planning Board, which would, in co-operation with labour, business and consumer groups, set goals and outline the needs and prospects of the provincial economy.

We will establish a banking agency in B.C. in which the people of the province, through their provincial government, will hold a substantial interest. This banking agency will play an important role in development of our province.

The aims of the Economic Development Corporation and the Provincial Economic Planning Board will be to ensure that the economy of the province develops rapidly and fully in a manner consistent with the best interests of the people of the province. Both the Corporation and the Board would be based on representation for the major economic groups and would be responsible to the elected

representatives of the people of British Columbia. With research, planning and democracy, continuing prosperity can be ensured.

### SOCIAL WELFARE AND REHABILITATION

The New Democratic Party recognizes that society must make an adequate provision for persons unable to care for themselves by reason of unemployment, loss of the breadwinner, physical and other disabilities. All must have this as a right without loss of civil liberties or self-respect. At the same time, through education and special training, persons able to do so must have an opportunity to make a contribution within their means to the general welfare.

To this end, we believe that unemployed employable persons who are now on welfare should receive out-of-work allowances when their Unemployment Insurance is exhausted under the Department of Trade and Industry. This Department would be charged with job training, placement, and with initiation, special conservation, forestry and resource development work so that such persons may find self-supporting employment to the greatest extent possible.

There will also be established a Department of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation under its own minister with responsibility for those other than unemployed employables who are unable to provide for themselves. The stress must be on rehabilitation, because we believe that those who, but for personal disabilities would be regularly employed, can, and should be allowed to make a special contribution to society within their means. To this end, there must be programs of education, training and special facilities so that these persons may lead satisfying and rewarding lives. These facilities should include, within a broader framework of public housing, senior citizens' housing with attractive living accommodations, recreational and workshop areas, youth hostels and camps to replace, in part, penal institutions, workshop and industries where handicapped persons may exercise their own skills and abilities in useful projects.

The Department of Corrections should become a branch of the Department of Welfare in order to focus attention on creating a flexible programme to prevent delinquency and crime. The Department's purpose would be to treat juvenile and adult offenders on a special treatment-plan basis.

There must be an upgrading in the numbers and qualifications of the Social Workers employed, and attention paid to research in the field of rehabilitation.

Municipalities would be relieved of all social welfare costs and administration.

In conjunction with the provincial Committee on Automation and Technology, the Departments of Labour, Trade and Industry and Education, studies will be made of the future of welfare and employment in an increasingly automated age.



Child Care

60. BE IT RESOLVED that (a) an NDP government would establish a Children's Bureau under the Department of Welfare, which would co-ordinate its activities with the Department of Education in order to develop and sustain a program of Foster Day-Care Homes, Day-Care Centres, Half-day (morning and afternoon) Nurseries, Kindergartens or Play Schools, with before-and-after-school programs for school age children, and baby-sitting services.

(b) The Children's Bureau would be responsible for supervision and licensing of child care agencies or programs for school-age children, and baby-sitting services.

(c) The Children's Bureau and the Department of Education establish teaching programs to educate child-care personnel in child psychology, human growth and development, and child-parent-teacher relationships in order to ensure that children will receive understanding care and education.

(d) The child-care facilities be conveniently located in residential areas and that the fees be within a price which parents can afford.

(e) Sufficient funds be available to the Children's Bureau so that it may administer grants to low income families thus allowing the mother to remain at home if she wishes.

Social Welfare

57. WHEREAS the cost of living has gone up sky-high, and those receiving social assistance have an extra hard time to exist on \$66 per month,

BE IT RESOLVED that the NDP support a policy of:

(a) Raising the allowance given to those on social assistance immediately to an interim level (pending raising it to a more realistic level after further study of the problem) comparable with that given Old Age Pensioners.

(b) Giving the employable unemployed work at union rates, until such time as work can be found for them in industry, and re-training them; and that such trainees be given, while re-training, an allowance comparable to that given an Old Age Pensioner.

NDP THESIS GROUPQUESTIONNAIRE

(SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK)

1. Age: 20 - 29 4  
 30 - 39 24  
 40 - 49 26  
 50 - 59 30  
 60 & over 16
2. Education Completed: Public School (Grade) \_\_\_\_\_  
 University \_\_\_\_\_ Vocational School \_\_\_\_\_
3. Occupational Status: a) Occupation \_\_\_\_\_  
 b) Self employed: Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
4. When did you become a member of the CCF or NDP? \_\_\_\_\_ (year)  
 b) Were you a member of any other party prior to joining the NDP or  
 CCF? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
 c) If yes, please specify \_\_\_\_\_  
 d) What position do you presently hold in the party:  
 MLA \_\_\_\_\_  
 Executive Council \_\_\_\_\_  
 Member \_\_\_\_\_  
 Club Secretary \_\_\_\_\_
5. a) Do you feel that the Canadian Society is dealing adequately with the  
 problems it faces: Yes 100 No \_\_\_\_\_ No opinion \_\_\_\_\_
6. If "no" what is necessary:  
 i) Revolutionary changes to society 31  
 ii) Major changes to existing system 65  
 iii) Minor changes to existing system 4

7. If the NDP formed a government in B.C., what priorities would you give the following areas? Please use the number 1 to indicate those areas are MOST URGENT; the number 2 for URGENT and the number 3 for LEAST URGENT. Number all items:

Child Welfare 1=54 2=28 3=11 0=7 Highways Construction 1=5 others=95  
 Park Construction 1=4 others=96 Labor Legislation 1=47 others=53  
 Juvenile Delinquency 1=45 others=55 Co-operatives 1=21 others=79  
 Hydro Development 1=13 others=87 Industrial Development 1=50 others=50  
 Social Assistance 1=35 others=65 Northern Development 1=15 others=85  
 Adult Corrections 1=26 others=74 Education 1=74 others=26  
 Mental Health Services 1=47 others=53

In providing welfare services in B.C. is the Provincial Government

taking i) too much responsibility 5  
 ii) not enough responsibility 84  
 iii) sufficient responsibility despite some short-comings. 9  
 iv) No Answer 2

8. Social Welfare Services can best be provided primarily through:

i) private agencies 1 ii) government agencies 76  
 iii) both 23 iv) no answer 80

10. Are most social problems the result of:

i) Economic and social inadequacies in society 41  
 ii) Inadequacies of the individual 4  
 iii) Both 53 iv) No Answer 2

11. Do you believe that every individual has a basic right to support by the state if he has not other means of support?

yes 94 no 4 no opinion 2

12. Do you think that a person should be required to work for this social assistance benefit if he is physically able?

yes 59 no 37 no opinion 4

13. Do you believe that if social assistance rates were lowered the number of people remaining on Social Assistance would be reduced?

yes 15 no 83 no opinion 2

14. Check the following items you feel social assistance rates should be sufficient to allow:
- a) food \_\_\_\_\_ b) clothing \_\_\_\_\_ c) housing, fuel, light, \_\_\_\_\_  
(water)
- d) radio \_\_\_\_\_ e) refrigerator \_\_\_\_\_ f) television set \_\_\_\_\_
- g) operating car \_\_\_\_\_ h) liquor \_\_\_\_\_ i) camp fees, music lessons \_\_\_\_\_
- j) club fees for children \_\_\_\_\_ k) club fees for adults \_\_\_\_\_
- l) property taxes \_\_\_\_\_ m) vacations \_\_\_\_\_
15. Do you believe unemployment will grow larger with increasing automation?  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_ 88 \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ 10 \_\_\_\_\_ No opinion \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_
16. The major cause of unemployment is best described by: (check 1 item only)
- a) lack of desire of many unemployed to work \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_
- b) lack of jobs \_\_\_\_\_ 41 \_\_\_\_\_
- c) lack of skills \_\_\_\_\_ 45 \_\_\_\_\_
- d) no opinion \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_
17. If automation creates increasing unemployment should the government:  
(check the one you feel is most important)
- i) retain people for new jobs \_\_\_\_\_ 70 \_\_\_\_\_
- ii) assume many will be permanently unemployed and supply a guaranteed annual income \_\_\_\_\_ 25 \_\_\_\_\_
- iii) no opinion \_\_\_\_\_ 5 \_\_\_\_\_
18. Do you believe that unemployment can be solved by an NDP Government's economic programs:  
yes \_\_\_\_\_ 82 \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ 18 \_\_\_\_\_ no opinion \_\_\_\_\_
19. Schools should have a social worker on staff:  
agree \_\_\_\_\_ 76 \_\_\_\_\_ disagree \_\_\_\_\_ 12 \_\_\_\_\_ no opinion \_\_\_\_\_ 12 \_\_\_\_\_
20. Rate the following factors as methods of dealing with Juvenile Delinquency. Use the numbers 1 to 7. Number 1 signifies the most effective method, number 7 the least effective:
- i) fines for parents 1&2=19 others=8 ii) fines for juveniles 1&2=6  
others=94
- iii) placement of delinquents in training (reform) schools 1&2=11  
others=89

- iv) placement of delinquents in foster homes 1&2=5 others=95
- v) probation services 1&2-29 others=71
- vi) psychiatric services 1&2=50 others=50
- vii) counselling to families 1&2=71 others=29

21. Which of the following items do you consider to be causes of parents neglecting their children. (Check one column only for each item):

	<u>Major Cause</u>	<u>Cause</u>	<u>Minor Cause</u>
a) parental indifference	<u>53</u>	<u>47</u>	
b) parents moral laxity	<u>33</u>	<u>77</u>	
c) poverty	<u>30</u>	<u>70</u>	
d) unemployment	<u>25</u>	<u>75</u>	
e) emotional disturbance	<u>43</u>	<u>57</u>	
f) mental illness	<u>31</u>	<u>69</u>	
g) physical illness	<u>7</u>	<u>93</u>	

22. Should more criminal offenders be handled in the community on probation rather than jails:

Yes 82 no 6 no opinion 12

23. Do you believe that the parole and probation officers should be administered by:

- i) the department of Social Welfare 68
- ii) the department of the Attorney General 18
- iii) doesn't matter 3
- iv) no opinion 11

24. Should jails be constricted:

i) within the community 37

ii) outside communities 29

iii) no opinion 29

(no response = 5)

25. Should the B.C. department of Social Welfare take more responsibility for Indian Affairs? Yes 84 no 8 no opinion 8

26. Should self-supporting families on marginal incomes be given assistance by the government for such things as school books, public transportation and public utilities?  
 Yes 83 no 12 no opinion 5
27. Should trials concerning Juvenile delinquents be held in:  
 i) open court 24 ii) closed court 68 iii) no opinion 8
28. Should a Juvenile delinquent be transferred to adult court under any circumstances? Yes 28 no 55 no opinion 17
29. Do you think the provincial government should provide funds for increased public housing? Yes 89 no 5 no opinion 6
30. Rate in order of importance, using the numbers 1 to 6. 1 being the most important area and 6 the least important:  
 child welfare 1&2=67 others=33  
 Homes for Elderly and Geriatric Centres 1&2=49 others=51  
 Juvenile delinquents 1&2=31 others=69  
 Public assistance 1&2=18 others=82 adult corrections 1&2=15 others=85  
 Indians 1&2=34 others=66
31. This space is provided for: further comments on the social welfare policy of the NDP, any comments regarding the questionnaire and pertinent comments on specific questions:

APPENDIX KA. Interview Schedule for Provincial Leader, R.M. Strachan

1. The proceedings of the 1963 Convention of your party includes in its resolutions this statement of principles:

"The New Democratic Party is pledged to bring about in Canada a society in which the material and cultural needs of humanity will be fulfilled, in order that each individual will be able to live a satisfying and meaningful life."

Would you elaborate on this?

2.
  - a) What is your definition of social welfare?
  - b) How does this compare with the NDP social welfare policy?
  - c) What are the general goals social welfare should accomplish?
  - d) What priority does your party attach to social welfare with respect to other goals?
  - e) Do you favor a Welfare State?
  - f) Is there a distinction between a Socialist State and a Welfare State?
3. What areas of social welfare do you consider most urgent?  
 What changes do you anticipate if the NDP formed a government?  
 (If Mr. Strachan wants to comment in detail on some particular area the questions that were directed to Mr. Barrett on that area should be asked)
4. What changes would your policy entail in the following areas:
  - (a) child welfare
  - (b) services to the aged
  - (c) social assistance and categorical programs
  - (d) juvenile delinquency
  - (e) adult corrections
  - (f) mental health
  - (g) housing, slum clearance

- (h) automation
- (i) minority groups
- (j) other

5. Would the fact that Canada is a Federal state limit in any way the implementation of your provincial social welfare program?
6. How does the fact you are in the Opposition affect your social welfare platform today?
7. How would you finance this program?
8. Do you see any administrative changes as far as social welfare is concerned if the NDP formed a government?
9. Have you a spokesman on social welfare policy?  
What is the relative importance of the spokesman in terms of social welfare policy compared to other Party members?
10. How do you feel personnel changes over the years affect your social welfare policy?



B. Interview Schedule for E.P. O'Neal, Secretary-Treasurer of the British Columbia Federation of Labour, also member of the Provincial Executive of the NDP.

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1. What are the primary issues facing Labour?
2. Do you view the NDP as a political voice for the B.C. Federation of Labour?
3. Do you favor a socialist state?
4. How do you define socialism?
5. Do you favor a Welfare State?
6. How do you define Welfare State?
7. Do you make a distinction between a Welfare State and a Socialist State?
8. What is your position on the nationalization of industry?
9. If answer is "yes -- nationalize" ask: Should these firms be compensated?
10. Do you support any legislative changes? (automation, guaranteed annual income, retraining, labor legislation)
11. Do you believe that financial and economic measures would solve the ills of society?
12. In terms of traditional welfare services such as child welfare, adoption, emotionally disturbed children, adult corrections, public assistance, mental health -- do these areas concern the Labour movement?
13. What priority or importance do they have in Labour's goals?
14. What do you believe to be the purpose of welfare services?
15. Do you agree with Robert Theobald that unemployment due to automation will eventually reach major proportions and that a guaranteed annual income will have to be instituted?
16. Should the government supplement wages under any circumstances?
17. Would this be considered subsidizing industry?
18. Are social assistance rates high enough?
19. Should social assistance recipients have to work for their assistance?
20. In the field of adult offender of the law do you have any opinions in regard to handling offenders?

21. Do you have any concerns with child welfare services?
22. Do you believe society needs more social workers?
23. Should welfare services be provided by private agencies such as the Children's Aid Society and the John Howard Society or by a government agency?
24. Do you hold a position in the NDP?
25. Are there channels of communication between the B.C. Federation of Labour and the NDP?
26. Does the B.C. Federation of Labour contribute financially to the NDP?

C. Interview Schedule for the Welfare Spokesman, David Barrett

I. Philosophy and General Policy

- A. The Proceedings of the 1963 Convention of your Party includes in its resolutions a statement of principles:
- "The New Democratic Party is pledged to bring about in Canada a society in which the material and cultural needs of humanity will be fulfilled, in order that each individual will be able to live a satisfying and meaningful life."
- Would you elaborate on this?
- B. What is your definition of social welfare?
- C. How does this compare with the NDP social welfare policy?
- D. What priority does your party attach to social welfare with respect to other goals?
- E. Do you favor the Welfare State? What is your definition of the Welfare State?
- F. Is there a distinction between a Socialist State and a Welfare State?

II. Program

Ask this question for each of the areas of service that follow:

Are there any shortcomings in (area of service as below) and if so what changes does the NDP propose?

If in his answer the Welfare Spokesman does not deal with the specific points as listed under the area of service, ask specific questions.

A. Protection of Children

1. Purpose of protection services.
2. Opinion of proposed changes in legislation by the Government.
3. Shortage of foster homes, proposals.
4. Standards of foster homes.
5. Advertising and recruiting for foster homes.
6. Evaluation of the Joint Effort for Fostering.
7. New types of services -- group homes, institutions, preventative services.
8. Financial compensation for caring for foster children.

B. Adoption and Services to Unmarried Parents

1. Proposals for overcoming shortage of adoption homes, especially for Indian, teen-age, handicapped and Catholic children.
2. View point on birth control, abortion, family planning.
3. What role should religion have in adoption?
4. Should the Government assume responsibility for legal costs in adoption?

C. Welfare Institutions

1. Kindergartens. Public or private responsibility?
2. Day-care. Public or private responsibility?
3. Nursing homes and geriatric centers. Public or private?
4. Use of boarding home as substitute to institutions.

D. Maintenance of Wives and Children

1. How far should the Government go in prosecuting deserting spouses?

E. Social Assistance

1. Is social assistance a basic right?
2. Work for relief.
3. Supplementing wages.
4. Needs versus means tests.
5. Use of vouchers
6. Will an increase in Social Assistance rates result in a decrease in initiative?
7. Exemptions -- are they satisfactory, or too low?
8. Would you explain how you would use social assistance as a "therapeutic tool?"

F. Categorical Allowances

1. Should they be incorporated under one program?

G. Training Schools

1. Future of Willingdon School and Brannan Lake Industrial School.
2. New institutions -- type, size, clientele, staff.

H. Juvenile Delinquents

1. Expansion of probation services.
2. Should courts be responsible for specifying treatment plans? If not, who should? Would this include a clinical assessment? Whose responsibility is this?
3. Would raising or lowering the school leaving age have any effect?
4. Should court cases be held in camera?

5. Should juveniles ever be transferred to adult court?
6. What should the juvenile age limits be?
7. What qualifications should judges and magistrates of Family Courts have?

I. Adult Corrections

1. Should correctional institutions be inside or outside the community?
2. Should separate institutions be built for different categories of offences?
3. What kind of training should institutional staff have?
4. Types of institutions -- half-way houses, open and semi-open institutions, day and week-end parole, work and forestry camps, borstals and cottages.
5. Future of present institutions.
6. Role of probation and parole.
7. Habitual criminal proceedings.
8. Role of community.
9. How will you get public support?

J. Mental Health

1. Institutions in community or outside.
2. Extension of services -- out-patient services, boarding homes, group homes, clinics.
3. Should psychiatric services be covered by a medical care plan?

K. Housing

1. Slum clearance.
2. Will home owner grants be retained?
3. Low-cost housing.

L. Automation

1. Are shorter work hours, re-education and retraining adequate solutions?
2. Can we re-educate people to use leisure time?
3. Do you agree or disagree with Robert Theobald's theory and his recommendations?

M. Rehabilitation

1. Sheltered workshops
2. Are services over-lapping?
3. Physical restoration centers.
4. Should present rehabilitation services be expanded to include social rehabilitation?
5. How would an NDP government make use of the Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act?

N. Mental Defectives

1. Future of Woodland's School.
2. Use of boarding homes.
3. What responsibility would the government take for the education of retarded individuals?

O. Minority Groups

1. At one of the Annual Meetings, a resolution was made that the Indian Act should be abolished -- what is your opinion? Why? Indians' views?
2. What should the government role be with regards to the Sons of Freedom?
3. What would be the function of a provincial Department of Indian Affairs. (If proposed by respondent)

P. Addictions

1. Should any change in the law be made towards addicts? Medical or legal problem?
2. Would an NDP government sponsor any specialized institutions?

Q. Social Work Education

1. Expansion of number of schools.
2. Licensing social workers.

R. Legal Aid

1. What significance does legal aid have to you as your Party's Welfare Spokesman?

S. Administration

Instead of introductory question ask: "It is understood that your party advocates revision of the Social Welfare Administration Department. Would you please outline the proposed changes?"

## 1. Structure of Department:

- a) centralization of services.
- b) Social service centers -- number and organization.
- c) Should corrections services be under the Department of Social Welfare instead of the Department of the Attorney-General?

## 2. Standards for staff and services:

- a) case-load size
- b) public welfare administrators
- c) in-service training
- d) type of caseload

## 3. Role of private Agencies.

## 4. What sort of challenge did you have in mind for the School of Social Work?

III. General Questions

- A. How would a NDP government finance all these programs?
- B. What priorities do you see within your program?
- E. What difficulties do you anticipate in putting these programs into effect should the NDP form a government?
- F. Does the fact that Canada is a Federal state limit the implementation of a Provincial NDP social welfare program in any way?

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