

THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY; POLICY AND LEADERSHIP SELECTION

THE INTERNAL DECISION MAKING STRUCTURE OF THE
FEDERAL NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY; ITS IMPACT
ON POLICY AND LEADERSHIP SELECTION

By

LESLIE GAY TURNBULL, B.A.

A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree
Master of Arts

McMaster University

May 1978

MASTER OF ARTS (1978)
(Political Science)

McMASTER UNIVERSITY
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: The Internal Decision Making Structure of the Federal New
Democratic Party; Its Impact on Policy and Leadership
Selection

AUTHOR: Leslie Gay Turnbull, B.A. (Concordia University)

SUPERVISOR: Dr. R.R. March

NUMBER OF PAGES: iv, 138

ABSTRACT

This study examines the relationship between the internal decision making and administrative structure of the federal New Democratic Party and the Party's policy outlook. Other work done on the NDP has tended to concentrate on the influence Canadian political culture has exerted on the Party's policy perspective.

The thesis argues that although the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation initially put forward a platform containing liberal and socialist elements, liberalism now has an overwhelming influence on the NDP's programme. The examination of the NDP's internal organization reveals that it has fostered the adoption of a liberal approach by the Party. Within the NDP's organization, the leadership and policy selection processes, the importance of the parliamentary caucus relative to the Party, the nature of organizations affiliated with the NDP, and the relationship between the federal and provincial sections of the Party have combined to encourage a liberal policy perspective.

In conclusion, it is argued that the assumption of a more socialistic policy perspective by the NDP could be facilitated by changes in its organization. The assumption of such an approach is dependent upon the Party strengthening its federal section, enlarging the presence of its left wing in the leadership, and increasing the proportion of seats held by the NDP in the House of Commons.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
INTRODUCTION	1
 Chapter	
I. A REVIEW AND ANALYSIS OF THE IDEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE CCF/NDP	10
II. ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LIBERAL SOCIALIST AND SMALL SIZE POLITICAL PARTIES	40
III. THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE FEDERAL NDP	60
The NDP as a Socialist Party	61
The NDP as a Small Size Party	88
The NDP as a Liberal Party	91
IV. CONCLUSIONS	111
BIBLIOGRAPHY	125
APPENDIX	134

INTRODUCTION

This work examines the internal structure of the New Democratic Party (NDP) in light of the Party's current ideological perspective. It will be argued that the NDP is not a socialist party, as it claims to be, and that this is due in part to the nature of its internal organization. There are several reasons why the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) and the New Democratic Party lost many of the elements which could have made it a socialist party. The political culture of Canada, the existing electoral system, the nature of the groups affiliated with the Party, and the relative economic stability this country has experienced have all combined to exert a moderate influence on the policies of the NDP. The effects of these forces on the Party's policy approach have been documented by many observers (Young, Caplan, Morton, etc.). However, the influence exerted by the internal decision making and administrative structure on the Party's perspective has not been seriously examined.

A political party's policy approach is very dependent upon the level and kind of influence exerted by its various sectors. In a political party, such as the NDP, operating in a country which does not have a strong collectivist tradition, it is particularly important that the avenues which provide socialist pressure be kept open within the Party.

When the various groups comprising the NDP are examined, it becomes apparent that there are few sources of militant socialist pressure within the Party. The NDP's parliamentary group do not maintain

a strict adherence to socialism for they must appeal to a wide range of voters in order to be elected. Parliament is an institution based on compromise and moderation, therefore politicians, particularly socialists in liberal states, do not often retain a strong collectivist perspective.

Bureaucrats in socialist parties generally serve the objectives of the dominant group in an organization. In smaller size parties, this tendency is most pronounced for the resources of such organizations must be concentrated. A small party seeking social reform usually chooses a single avenue through which to exert pressure for such change, often parliament. Therefore, the parliamentarians in small size parties usually become the elite, and the party as a whole tends to focus on the election of parliamentary representatives and support for this group.

Most socialist and social democratic parties are affiliated with trade unions. Under some circumstances, trade unions may exercise a socialist influence on the parties with whom they are associated. But in countries like Canada, where the union movement is largely concerned with gaining material advantages for their members, and exhibits little interest in politics, the trade unions are rarely the supporters of socialism.

In many social democratic parties, the membership is more militantly socialist than are the party's leaders. Studies show that in both European socialist parties and the NDP, the pressure for the adoption of a stronger socialist approach is usually put forward by the rank and file. It will be shown later that at NDP national conventions, representatives from the constituency associations are

generally of a more socialist perspective than are the Party's parliamentarians, bureaucrats, or trade union leaders. It can therefore be concluded that the maintenance of a socialist perspective by the NDP and other social democratic parties is dependent upon the existence of real internal democracy. This means that the party's membership must have control over its policy approach and the parliamentary group should be subordinated to the party.

However, socialist parties often equate the procedures of mass democracy with the existence of rank and file dominance. Actually, as Michels and Duverger have shown, leaders can quite easily use the mechanisms of mass democracy to facilitate their own control. If internal democracy and genuine membership control are to exist, workable procedures to ensure this must be established. These reforms should allow representatives of the party's local units to set its general direction and provide for the establishment of a truly representative body that would be consulted regularly on the details of policy and on issues as they arose. Only if the membership of the NDP were accorded a genuine influence over policy on an ongoing basis could the Party begin to move in a socialist direction.

The first step in this examination of the relationship between the internal structure and the ideological perspective of the NDP is an analysis of the NDP's outlook throughout its history. Initially, several tenets essential to a socialist theory are established. These criteria were set out primarily to avoid the confusion that often arises between the ideas of left wing or progressive liberalism and socialism. Often the proponents of social change are eager to lump these two very different

perspectives together. This usually diminishes the importance of a political doctrine's socialist aspects.

The differences that exist between traditional Marxian socialism and the theories of revisionist democratic socialism are also put forward. The author deals only briefly with what she sees as the principal dilemma of social democracy, whether the objectives of socialism can be achieved through the liberal democratic process. Personally, I am skeptical that socialism can be accomplished by such means, but it is too complex a topic to be dealt with in this thesis. Most social democrats believe that the ultimate goal of socialism, the creation of an egalitarian society that enables every individual to rise to his fullest potential, can be achieved through the electoral process and for the duration of the work, this notion will prevail..

Once the basic attributes of a socialist outlook have been established, we go on to scrutinize the progress of the CCF/NDP's doctrine in view of its perspective in several crucial areas. The development of the NDP's policies in the fields of public ownership in the economy, its concern for democratizing the management of industry, the nature of its criticism and analysis of Canadian society, what ultimate or long range goals the Party envisions for the future of Canada, as well as the level of militancy present in its rhetoric, will be traced.

The research for this section of the paper was carried out through a study of significant CCF/NDP policy statements, including the Calgary Programme (1932), the Regina Manifesto (1933), the 1944 CCF Election Manifesto,

the Winnipeg Declaration (1956), and the New Party Declaration (1961). To obtain an overview of the NDP's recent perspective, its 1968 Election Manifesto was also scrutinized. Much of the information about the Party's current stand on issues was obtained through interviews with NDP parliamentarians, including federal caucus members Edward Broadbent, Stanley Knowles, Lorne Nystrom, and Andy Hogan, as well as Donald C. MacDonald, an NDP member of the Ontario legislature and former leader of the NDP in that province. The development of the CCF/NDP's ideological orientation is then summarized and a conclusion as to whether its policies are those of a socialist party is drawn.

In the second chapter, the basic organizational features of socialist political parties are discussed. Some consideration to the structural nature of liberal parties is given, but stress is placed on the internal workings of socialist political parties in Western Europe. The role of the leadership, rank and file, affiliated trade unions, and party bureaucrats in these parties is outlined in this chapter. We look at the type of influence each of these groups generally exert on socialist parties. The lines of authority, decision making, and administration that occur in such parties are also discussed. Finally, some consideration is given here to the effects that various external pressures, like governmental and electoral systems, have on the development of the organizations of socialist parties.

The next segment of the work examines the operation of the NDP's internal structure. The material for this section was collected primarily through interviews with the acting national secretary of the

NDP, Robin Sears, and with the Party's parliamentarians who were mentioned earlier.

The author had hoped to study the NDP's records and papers that have been donated to the National Archives. However, at the time that the research for this thesis was being done, these documents were closed.

Research into the organization of the NDP was also carried out through an examination of the literature that is available on the Party. Unfortunately much of the material written about the CCF/NDP has been done by partisans. Most of these people, such as Walter Young, Gerald Caplan, Gad Horowitz, Desmond Morton, and Stanley Knowles, are supporters of the current leadership and moderate ideological direction of the Party and their treatment of the NDP's left wing is unfair, incomplete, and often hostile. Thus the value of many books about the CCF/NDP is limited by the lack of balanced critical analysis to be found in them.

Extensive use was made of publications that maintain an active interest in the NDP and who are often sympathetic to its left wing elements, including the Last Post, Canadian Forum, and Canadian Dimension. This was done partly to ensure that a balance between the Party's two factions could be established. These periodicals are also important for they often offer perceptive and serious analysis of the NDP's affairs.

The general patterns of organization considered in chapter III serve as an outline for the discussion of the NDP's internal policy making and administrative apparatus. Different aspects of the NDP's structure are compared to the organizational characteristics usually found in liberal, small sized, and socialist parties, in this section of

the paper. Here, too, we seek to determine both the theoretical and actual place of various institutions in the NDP's decision making and administrative process.

In an attempt to find the centres of power in the NDP, the jurisdiction of the rank and file at the Party's convention is examined. According to the Party's constitution, authority within the NDP flows up from the membership to the leaders. The reality of this situation is scrutinized and the ability of the leadership to sway the convention in their favour is discussed.

The functions and authority of the NDP's governing bodies, the Federal Council, and the National Executive are also analyzed. We look at the capacity of the Party membership to control the make-up of the elite groups and the degree to which these bodies reflect the institutional and ideological diversity that exists in the Party.

As in any political party taking part in the legislative process, the NDP's parliamentary caucus has considerable influence over the policies. The extent of this power is studied here. We try to determine if the power of the parliamentarians in the NDP is as overwhelming as it is in most liberal parties, or if adequate balances to their authority are provided.

The role played by the Party's employees and organizers is examined to see if the NDP's bureaucracy fulfills the same functions that it does in European socialist parties. The nature of trade unionism in Canada and its ideological impact on the NDP is outlined as well in this chapter.

In the following section, we scrutinize some of the characteristics of those people who vote for or are members of the NDP. The attributes that NDP's rank and file and electorate have in common with the supporters of socialist and social democratic parties are discussed.

The concluding chapter of the thesis deals with the structural changes that the author believes could be introduced within the NDP to strengthen the influence of socialist ideas on the Party's policies. No comprehensive argument is presented in the paper concerning why the NDP should become a more socialist party. Some evidence to support this kind of reorientation will be presented in the main section of the thesis, but the limitations of the work prevent an indepth examination of the question. It is my contention, however, that the NDP has little to gain by continuing on its current drift towards liberalism. The modifications in the NDP's policies that have taken place in the past have not led to a great increase in its electoral success. The Canadian political arena presently contains two parties of a liberal perspective; the addition of a third would not seem to benefit either that particular party nor contribute to political life in this country.

The likelihood of the NDP becoming a militantly socialist party is remote. The CCF was never an orthodox socialist party and few institutional or cultural supports for this type of political organization exist in Canada. The question, then, becomes what action should a person who favours a socialist redirection for Canada take to further that end. If a socialist concludes that political parties provide a good basis from which to pressure for social change, he or she must decide whether it is

best to try and push an existing social democratic party towards the adoption of a strong collectivist approach, or if it would be more advantageous to work within an organization which is already a radically social one.

The attempts of the Waffle movement to reorient the Party in a militant socialist and nationalist direction illustrate the difficulties inherent in attempting to move the NDP in a more socialist direction. However, in Canada those groups which are of a militantly socialist perspective are so isolated on the fringes of political life that they have become almost totally ineffective. This isolation, it seems, has also caused such groups to become preoccupied with conflicts amongst themselves and with international affairs.

The basic objective of a socialist is to make life humane and satisfying to all people, especially those who are presently exploited and oppressed by the liberal socio-economic system. Although in Canada the gains made in this area by social democrats have not altered the essential inhumanity of our society, they have done much to make it more tolerable. On the other hand, socialist groups in this country that have been more successful in maintaining their ideological integrity, have done little to make the lives of working people more secure or gratifying. In conclusion, it seems that for the Canadian socialist, the arduous task of attempting to obtain a socialist reorientation of the NDP is both the best and most effective course to take.

CHAPTER I

A REVIEW AND ANALYSIS OF THE IDEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE CCF/NDP

There are many different perspectives existing within the bounds of socialism. No widely accepted definition of the attributes of a true socialist community exists, even amongst those who see themselves as supporters of the doctrine. Socialists are often in fundamental disagreement over whether the humanistic or materialist aspects of the doctrine should be dominant. They differ in the extent of their criticism of liberal values, for some socialists accept certain aspects of liberal society while others find the old order largely unacceptable. Finally, there is considerable dissent amongst socialists as to what means should be employed to bring about a socialist community and concerning the speed at which such change should take place.

Although socialists fail to agree on many important tenets of their doctrine, there are several principles which can be seen as essential to a socialist perspective. The main notion on which all socialist ideas rests is that relative equality should be established so individuals may achieve their fullest human potential.

The statement of principles of socialist organizations should include a condemnation of the capitalist system as essentially oppressive

and exploitative.¹ The rise of socialist thought is tied to the development of industrial capitalism. The growth of unrestricted industrial enterprise and intense competition in the economy fostered the existence of a large exploited working class, as well as a small, wealthy, and powerful property-owning group. This great disparity, which found its basis in the control of property, has led socialists to conclude that the collectivization of the most influential sectors of an economy is a pre-condition of social and economic equality. Therefore, until the important sectors of the economy are publicly owned and controlled, socialists must continue to offer rigorous criticism of the liberal/capitalist system.

The type of social analysis put forward by socialism, then, must stress the influence of economic relationships on social arrangements. It should show that the root of exploitation in liberal society is to be found in an economy in which the ownership of industrial production and financial institutions is concentrated in the hands of a minority. A socialist critique illustrates how most social and governmental institutions are organized to support the propertied class and thus work to the detriment of those without large amounts of private wealth. Since the capitalist economy results in the domination of politics by those who own and control the means of production, conflict is seen by socialists as taking place between the controllers of large amounts of private property and the working class.

¹Massimo Salvadori, Modern Socialism (New York: Walker and Co., 1968), p. 4.

The critique offered by socialists should emphasize the exploitive nature of the wage labour system present in a capitalist economy. Since material wealth in such a society is centralized, most people are compelled to work for others and thus alienate their labour. When people are forced to work for wages, their labour becomes external to them. The wage earner loses control over the way in which his labour is exerted, as well as the future of the product he creates. Later, the commodity is sold at a profit by the owner, something that **the worker does not control**. The alienation experienced by the producer in the work place influences his attitude towards himself and towards other.

The current alienation of man both from himself and from other human beings, as well as the exploitation of the worker, could be partially alleviated through public ownership of most of the economy. If the primary means of production were socially owned, then private profit made at the expense of the worker could be eliminated. Social ownership must be accompanied by a breakdown in the hierarchical system of industrial management. A socialist form of economy should ensure that economic enterprises are democratically managed and that the workers have a high degree of control over the way in which their labour is directed and how the surplus created by their work is used. The end of the economic domination by one class coupled with the elimination of alienated labour would provide each person with the opportunity to develop to his fullest potential. Therefore, socialists argue, it would also allow man's true cooperative nature to flourish. One of the basic tenets of socialism is that natural relations between people are cooperative and fraternal rather than competitive.

Since the early part of this century, socialist thought and practise has been divided into basically two camps. One section of the socialist movement has stressed the materialist and revolutionary aspects of Marxian thought. From 1917 onward, the political parties identified with this view have been considered communists and have adopted, with some modifications, the theories of social change advanced by V.I. Lenin.

The other view of socialism is put forward by those who consider themselves to be social democrats. Some social democrats see their ideological approach as the true inheritor of the Marxian tradition, while others contend that Christian and humanist ideas have been more influential on the development of the movement.² Social democratic and communistic thought is principally distinguished by the attitude each perspective has toward change and personal liberty. Both doctrines base their criticism of liberalism on the economic and social inequalities created by a capitalist economy and both seek to establish an egalitarian society. The way in which this is to be accomplished is the basis of the main conflict between communism and social democracy.

The development of social democratic theory may be seen, in part, as a reaction against the apparent failure of the deterministic elements of Marxism. Social democrats have been strongly influenced by the fact that the power of the capitalist class in developed countries has increased rather than deteriorated. It seems that Marx did not anticipate the productive capacity of capitalism nor did he foresee the

²Leslie Derfler, Socialism Since Marx, A Century of European Left (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), p. 167.

extent to which the property-owning class would accede to the demands of workers for political power, social welfare measures, and wage increases.³

The theory adhered to by many social democratic parties can be observed in the work of Edward Bernstein. Bernstein was critical of what he saw as the preoccupation of socialists with utopian or ultimate goals. Instead of a movement working toward the distant goal of a classless society, he saw socialism as a process whose aim was to continually enrich the lives of working people.⁴

Bernstein argued that workers could achieve more by pursuing their demands through democratic procedures than by engaging in class warfare. By becoming active in the legislative process, workers could satisfy their immediate need for more and better housing, a higher standard of living, greater economic security, and increased accessibility to education.⁵ Goals such as these have been the main objectives of social democratic and labour parties in recent times.

The decision of Bernstein and other social democrats to reject violent class-based revolution and adopt parliamentary procedure as their main vehicle for change greatly influenced the ideological positions they came to assume. If a socialist party uses electoral politics as its chief tool for effecting social change, the reality of having to appeal to a wide spectrum of voters, as well as having to cooperate with other

³Frederick M. Watkins, The Age of Ideology-Political Thought, 1750 to the Present (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964), p. 74.

⁴Sidney Hook, Marx and the Marxists (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1955), p. 67.

⁵Hook, p. 67.

and often less militant organizations, usually encourages the party to modify its objectives.⁶

If a party seeks to bring about a radically different type of society, it must assume a leadership role in its relations with the masses, for it is unlikely that they will be able to see beyond their present situation. By accepting the electoral process, social democratic parties acknowledge that their elected members will largely assume a reactive rather than a leadership role in its encounters with the people. As we shall see, when the policies of the New Democratic Party are discussed, this often leads social democratic organizations to disregard their long range goals for the reconstruction of society in favour of short term specific objectives, such as higher wages for workers and increases in social security benefits.

Social democrats have significantly modified the traditional principles of socialism. Modern social democrats are more pessimistic about the cooperative capacities of human nature than were the socialists of the last century. For most social democrats today, competition in the economy and amongst individuals is advisable, for without it, they believe stagnation would result. A system of material incentives, then, is seen by many Western socialists as both good and necessary to ensure that people will be motivated and to make economic growth possible.⁷

⁶Hock, p. 65.

⁷C.A.R. Crosland, The Future of Socialism (New York: Schocken Paperbacks, 1970), p. 70.

Social democrats view the level of equality that should exist in a socialist society differently than do traditional socialist thinkers. The social democrat seeks to "distribute rewards, status, and privileges in a sufficiently egalitarian way so that social resentment will be minimized, social justice between individuals will be secured, opportunity equalized and class stratification will be minimized so that class mingling will exist."⁸ The more orthodox socialist tends to conclude that a fairly absolute form of economic equality must be instituted to eliminate classes so that social justice and equality of opportunity can exist.

The social democratic and communist approaches to the notion of liberty are very different. Marxists contend that liberty means the freedom of all classes from economic exploitation. Therefore liberty, or the ability to live one's life in one's own way, is only possible under conditions of strict economic equality. The equal freedom of a classless society is a necessary pre-condition of individual liberty. Social democrats argue that a certain minimum standard of living and equality of opportunity must exist if people are to exercise their personal liberty. However, once this basic level of equality has been guaranteed, considerable freedom to accumulate private property persists. Social democrats also place great stress on the protection of individual free expression. Liberal theory has designated individual liberty as the highest social value. Thus an individual's freedom of action should be infringed upon only when it affects the liberty of others in a serious way.

⁸ Crosland, p. 77.

Often it seems that with liberalism so firmly established in the Western developed states that democratic socialism has come to embrace all those wishing to reform the present system. Clement Atlee stated that "I joined the socialist movement because I wanted something better."⁹ As we shall see, this attitude also applies to many members of the New Democratic Party.

Both progressive liberals and socialists recognize that social inequities are present in Western liberal states and strive to end what are seen as the injustices associated with them. However, there are important differences existing between these two political approaches such that the integrity of each cannot be maintained if they are combined into a single organization.

Reform liberal theory argues that the injustices and inequalities present in liberal society can be modified to the extent that they become insignificant, within the existing system of property rights, if the proper social welfare laws and some regulations governing action in the market place are enacted. Socialists contend that capitalism necessarily creates exploitive and unequal social relations. Thus, for the socialist, social inequities and injustices can only be removed if capitalism is superseded by an economic system in which social and economic equality is possible.

Social democracy may also be interpreted as an attempt to reconcile the notions of individual liberty present in liberal thought with the economic concepts of socialism. The effort to incorporate these two ideas into one perspective has resulted in the presence of several

⁹Crosland, p. 80.

internal inconsistencies in social democratic theory and has led to the modification of many of the socialist aspects of the approach.

Social democrats, with their respect for individual liberty, advocate the achievement of an egalitarian society by liberal parliamentary means. Inconsistencies result, for social democrats use the method of change employed by the society which they seek, at least theoretically, to replace. The high regard that social democrats have for individual freedom often extends to the liberty of those who make up the elite in liberal capitalist society. Therefore, social democratic programs often include protection for privately owned business and agricultural enterprises and few restrictions on the right of individuals to pursue private profit.

There has never been a generally accepted definition of socialism in Canada. Socialist ideas have come to this country chiefly from the United States and Great Britain through immigration and literature.¹⁰ The dominant trend in Canadian social democracy has been influenced principally by the ideas of Christian humanism and trade unionism rather than those of Marx.

Socialist organizations did not take root in Canada until the nineteen twenties.¹¹ During this period, the doctrine was in a universal state of confusion. Many ideals within the movement were being questioned, since working class solidarity had not been maintained in Europe during World War I. In the course of the immediate post war period, major

¹⁰Paul Fox, "Early Socialism in Canada," in The Political Process in Canada, ed. J.H. Aitchison (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 80.

¹¹Fox, p. 79.

splits occurred in several European socialist parties between communist and more moderate factions. The general upheaval in the socialist movement internationally at this time did not contribute to the growth of confident or united socialist organizations in Canada.

Canadian socialists have experienced considerable difficulty in establishing a stable nationwide political party. This has been due to the great variety of immigrants Canada has received (many possessing different conceptions of socialism), the geographic isolation of much of this country's population, and the alienation of French and English speaking Canadians from each other. It was not until 1932, with the founding of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, that attempts to create a functional national party were successful.¹²

The CCF began as an organization committed to the establishment of what was termed a co-operative commonwealth in Canada.¹³ The principal thrust of early CCF doctrine was that an alternative type of society had to be founded so that people could be treated fairly and humanely. The objective of a co-operative commonwealth would be to employ all of the community's resources for the general benefit of its members, rather than for the further advantage of an elite class.

The Calgary Programme, presented in 1932, was the first statement of the CCF's principles. The Programme argued that the main aim of the Party was the establishment in Canada of a society, "in which the

¹²Fox, p. 98.

¹³Michael Cross, ed., "The Calgary Programme, 1932," in The Decline and Fall of a Good Idea, CCF/NDP Manifestos 1932-1969 (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1974), p. 18.

principle regulating production distribution and exchange will be the supplying of human needs and not the making of profit."¹⁴ This was to be accomplished through the setting up of "a planned system of social economy for the production, distribution and exchange of all goods and services."¹⁵

A more systematic statement of the aims of the CCF is to be found in the Regina Manifesto, adopted by the Party in 1933. The Manifesto was the work of the CCF's intellectual faction, the League for Social Reconstruction, and was written primarily by Frank Underhill.

The CCF, 1933, still had as its main goal the redirection of the Canadian economy's emphasis toward the fulfillment of human needs and away from the making of private profit. To achieve this end, the Regina Manifesto stated that the Party sought to replace the capitalist economic system with one based on economic equality, in which "the principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled and operated by the people."¹⁶

The assessment of Canadian society put forward in the Regina Manifesto reveals both the socialist orientation of the CCF, as well as some of the problems that arise when a social democratic analysis is used. The basis of the Manifesto's critique rests on the notion that the Canadian economy was founded upon "the domination and exploitation

¹⁴ Cross, "The Calgary Programme," p. 18.

¹⁵ Cross, "The Calgary Programme," p. 18.

¹⁶ Michael Cross, ed., "The Regina Manifesto, 1933," The Decline and Fall of a Good Idea, CCF/NDP Manifestos 1932-1969 (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1974), p. 19.

of one class by another."¹⁷ The Manifesto promised that a CCF government would not permit this to continue.

The Regina Manifesto links the domination of the economic system by one small group to the control by that same group of the political sphere in Canada. The CCF claimed that the two major political parties were the "instruments of capitalist interests" and thus concluded that neither the Liberal nor the Conservative parties could represent the best interests of most Canadians. One of the aims of the CCF in 1933, therefore, was to "put an end to this capitalist domination of our life."¹⁸

The recognition by the CCF of the connection between economic ownership and political influence, and the use of a modified class analysis in the Regina Manifesto are important to note; for they illustrate that the movement criticized Canadian society from socialist perspective. However, if examined in its entirety, the social analysis and objectives presented in the Regina Manifesto are not consistently socialist. The Regina Manifesto, like other social democratic programs, attempts to combine liberal values, such as extensive protection of individual civil rights and change by parliamentary means, with plans for a collectivized economy. The preamble of the Manifesto stresses that a collective form of economy would endanger neither the ethnic nor the religious rights of Canadians and would, in fact, encourage even greater individual liberty.¹⁹ The social transformation proposed by the party

¹⁷Cross, "The Regina Manifesto," p. 19.

¹⁸Cross, "The Regina Manifesto," p. 19.

¹⁹Michael Cross, Introduction to The Decline and Fall of a Good Idea, CCF/NDP Manifestos 1932-1969 (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1974), p. 8.

would be brought about "through the election of a government inspired by the ideal of a Co-operative Commonwealth and supported by the majority of the people."²⁰ The authors of the Manifesto realized the extensive influence that the capitalist class had over the two major parties, yet they made a separation between the governmental process and the party system. It is apparent that the Manifesto's authors believed that the liberal state would operate to allow socialism; if a socialist parliamentary majority were elected, the capitalist order would simply acquiesce.²¹

The doctrine of the CCF as stated in the Regina Manifesto, contains both liberal and socialist elements. The interaction between these two opposing notions in a party's program is likely to produce the dominance of one perspective over the other. This situation can be observed throughout the development of the CCF/NDP, during which one of the ideological elements of the Regina Manifesto came to supersede the other.

The CCF, in 1933, favoured the establishment of a "planned socialized economic order," so that the most equitable distribution of income and the most efficient use of Canada's resources could take place.²² Planning alone, concluded the authors of the Regina Manifesto, was not a sufficient condition for the achievement of the party's goals; a comprehensive system of nationalization would also be necessary. The Manifesto argues in favour of the socialization of all chartered banks, insurance companies, transportation and communication networks, utilities,

²⁰Cross, "The Regina Manifesto," p. 19.

²¹Cross, Introduction, p. 9.

²²Cross, "The Regina Manifesto," p. 20.

natural resources, and "all other industries and services essential to social planning."²³ Though not a comprehensive system of social ownership, the CCF plan would mean that the largest and most important segments of the Canadian economy would be under social control. A critical step toward the establishment of a socialist society was thus being recommended by the CCF.

The concluding statements of the Regina Manifesto indicates that strong socialist militancy existed in the CCF early in its history. The Manifesto refers to the capitalist system as "a cancer which is eating at the heart of our society . . . in which our natural resources and principal means of production are owned, controlled and operated for the private profit of a small proportion of our population."²⁴ The closing statement of the Regina Manifesto proclaims that "no CCF government will rest until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full programme of socialized planning which will lead to the establishment in Canada of a Co-operative Commonwealth."²⁵

There has been considerable discussion concerning the significance of this last passage to the overall doctrine of the CCF. Frank Underhill contended that it was included in the Manifesto as an afterthought, to pacify the Party's left wing, and should not have been seen as an important part of the Party's platform. However, if the Regina Manifesto is examined in its entirety, the closing proclamation appears to be only a militant restatement of the document's primary themes. If

²³Cross, "The Regina Manifesto," p. 20.

²⁴Cross, "The Regina Manifesto," p. 23.

²⁵Cross, "The Regina Manifesto," p. 23.

the CCF's plans for the socialization of the economy were instituted, it would mean the effective end of capitalism in Canada.

An examination of the CCF Election Manifesto of 1944 reveals that by this time the socialist elements of the Party's programme had been modified and its liberal aspects had become dominant. The qualification of the CCF's platform during this period was due, in part, to the Party's close proximity to power at the federal level. It seemed to many in 1944 that the CCF had an excellent chance of becoming the official opposition in the next election. In Ontario, the Party was the main opposition group in the legislature and considered its prospects of forming the next government to be good.²⁶

The objectives of the CCF in 1944 were quite different from the aims of the Regina Manifesto. The primary goal of the Party in 1933 was to replace capitalism, which was regarded as inherently unjust and inhumane, with a collectivized economic system that would make "genuine democratic self-government based on economic equality possible."²⁷ By 1944, the major aim of the CCF had become the achievement of full employment, and the establishment of a more extensive social security system. To attain full employment, the CCF argued, private enterprise would have to be supplemented by public ownership; "private enterprise itself [has not] the slightest prospect of meeting the needs of post-war

²⁶The CCF Papers, National Archives, Ottawa.

²⁷Cross, "The Regina Manifesto," p. 19.

Canada . . . only large scale public investment and expenditure under social ownership and control . . . will meet our needs."²⁸

Although it appears that in the Election Manifesto of 1944, the CCF was pledging to make public ownership widespread in the Canadian economy, the conditions under which a CCF government would nationalize an industry were greatly restricted. In 1933, the Party decided that all major sectors of the production process should be publicly owned. By 1944, the CCF had begun to argue that government control should be limited to those areas of the economy in which monopolies existed or were in danger of coming into being. The 1944 document stressed that where private business "shows no signs of becoming a monopoly, operates under decent working conditions and does not operate to the detriment of Canadians, it will be given every opportunity to function, to earn a fair rate of return and to make its contribution to the nation's wealth."²⁹ The Election Manifesto also pledged that a CCF government would provide "fair compensation" to the owners of those enterprises brought under public ownership. The authors of the Regina Manifesto, though not advocates of complete public ownership of the economy, did not feel obliged to offer such reassurances to the proprietors of private business. This can be seen as part of a plan the CCF adopted by 1944, in which the party attempted to incorporate most economic classes in Canada into its constituency.

²⁸ Michael Cross, ed., "The CCF Election Manifesto of 1944," The Decline and Fall of a Good Idea, CCF/NDP Manifestos 1932-1969 (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1974), p. 25.

²⁹ Cross, "The CCF Election Manifesto of 1944," p. 26.

Many of the internal conflicts and ideological inconsistencies that have existed within the CCF/NDP have resulted from the Party's attempt to bind together all Canadians who are discontented with the existing economic and social system. The outcome of this policy has been an uneasy alliance between such diverse interests and ideological perspectives as liberals and communists, industrial workers and farmers, as well as trade unionists and middle class radicals.³⁰ The initial name of the Party, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, Farm, Labour, Socialist, illustrates the diverse make-up of the Party.

The founding document of the NDP, the New Party Declaration, reasserted the Party's desire to be viewed as an organization which transcends all class barriers. The Declaration states that the NDP "invites all Canadians to join its ranks."³¹ In his book, The New Party, Stanley Knowles reiterates the Party's intention to broaden its appeal:

The New Party is drawing inspiration and strength from the principles of democratic socialism . . . it is also very clear that the New Party will be one in which a core of convinced social democrats will welcome the participation, co-operation and support of all others who believe in social progress.³²

The efforts on the part of the CCF/NDP to avoid being identified with a single economic class have been based on the widely held belief that to be successful in electoral politics, a Canadian political party must appeal to people of all classes, regions, and linguistic

³⁰Cross, Introduction, p. 8.

³¹Michael Cross, ed., "The New Party Declaration, 1961," The Decline and Fall of a Good Idea, CCF/NDP Manifestos 1932-1969 (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1974), p. 33.

³²Stanley Knowles, The New Party (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1961), p. 94.

groups. The accuracy of this assumption will be examined later in this paper.

The policies to be found in the Election Manifesto of 1944 are an indication of what was to become the primary thrust of future CCF/NDP policy. From 1944 onward, the Party has stressed the idea that it is not so much that capitalism is inherently exploitive or unjust, but that it has simply been mismanaged. The essential aim of the CCF/NDP has been to combine the existence of a social welfare state with a well-managed economy, which is for the most part privately owned and which operates according to traditional capitalist laws of competition.

The Winnipeg Declaration illustrates more precisely than any previous Party document the extent to which the CCF had come to accept the basic institutions and arrangements existing in Canadian society. As in previous CCF policy statements, the Winnipeg Declaration contains a clause which proclaims that "capitalism is basically immoral."³³ This notion, however, is not maintained consistently throughout the Declaration.

The Winnipeg Declaration and the Regina Manifesto propose similar changes in the management of the economy. Both documents state that a CCF administration would encourage greater worker participation in the management of publicly owned industries through representation of planning and control boards. Neither programme considers the question of workers sharing in the control of the administration of industry in any detail, which leads to the conclusion that the CCF did not regard this as a priority.

³³Michael Cross, ed., "The Winnipeg Declaration, 1956," The Decline and Fall of a Good Idea, CCF/NDP Manifestos 1932-1969 (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1974), p. 31.

The social analysis used by the authors of the Winnipeg Declaration differs significantly from that employed in the Regina Manifesto. Both documents recognize that economic power in Canada is concentrated in the hands of a few. The Regina Manifesto characterizes this as the dominance of one class over another, whereas the Winnipeg Declaration terms it as the dominance of one group by another.³⁴ The CCF in 1933 argued forcefully and specifically that the control exercised by the elite economic class extended to its domination of the political sphere. The Winnipeg Declaration states that the concentration of corporate wealth, "threatens our political democracy."³⁵ Democracy is endangered because such a concentration prevents citizens from exercising control over economic affairs. The CCF's analysis was no longer extended to include the notion that a class' economic control leads to its possession of disproportionate political influence.

The Winnipeg Declaration states that one of the CCF's main objectives was the achievement of "equality of economic opportunity" in Canada. This statement indicates that between 1933 and 1956, the Party's stand on economic equality had changed significantly. In 1933, the CCF was committed to the establishment of an economic system in which "economic equality will be possible."³⁶ The Regina Manifesto links the existence of economic equality to the elimination of exploitation of one

³⁴ Cross, "The Winnipeg Declaration," p. 30.

³⁵ Cross, "The Winnipeg Declaration," p. 30.

³⁶ Cross, "The Regina Manifesto," p. 19.

class by another.³⁷ The notion of equality of economic opportunity maintained in the Winnipeg Declaration is a distinctly liberal one, whereas the idea that economic equality is a necessary prerequisite to a democratic society, is part of the socialist tradition.

The Winnipeg Declaration, like the Election Manifesto of 1944, takes a restrictive view of the use and value of public ownership in the economy. The primary economic goal of the CCF in 1956 appears to have been the prevention of the consolidation of industries into monopolies. The Declaration states that the CCF would use public ownership to break up "the stranglehold of private monopolies on the life of the nation."³⁸ The nationalization of industry would also be used by a CCF government to facilitate "the social planning necessary for economic security."³⁹ In the Regina Manifesto, the specific character of the CCF's nationalization proposals were put forward. The Winnipeg Declaration makes no reference to the particular sectors of the economy that would have to be socialized.

The Winnipeg Declaration contains a clause which states that the CCF sees itself as a socialist party, "as one of these [the world's] democratic socialist parties the CCF . . ."⁴⁰ Earlier CCF documents did not include a statement that precisely indicated how the Party viewed its ideological orientation. The dominant theme of the Regina Manifesto is

³⁷Cross, "The Regina Manifesto," p. 19.

³⁸Cross, "The Winnipeg Declaration," p. 31.

³⁹Cross, "The Winnipeg Declaration," p. 31.

⁴⁰Cross, "The Winnipeg Declaration," p. 32.

that capitalism naturally creates inequality and exploitation and therefore must be replaced. Though claiming to be part of the socialist movement, the CCF, in 1956, made no commitment to eradicate capitalism.

The continual failure of the CCF to win a significant proportion of the seats in the federal parliament led it to seek a new and stronger relationship with organized labor.⁴¹ With the active support of the recently reorganized Canadian Labour^X Conference,^X the New Party movement was begun in the late nineteen fifties.

The New Party Declaration contains no critique of the basic organization of Canadian society. Unlike most CCF documents, the Declaration does not include statements which argue that Canadian economic and political life is dominated by one group or class. As well, the founding document of the NDP does not proclaim that the Party will be a socialist one.

With the New Party Declaration, the assertion that capitalism is inevitably unjust is completely abandoned by the CCF/NDP. The Party argues that the economic system has been mismanaged in the past. The Declaration is critical of the unstable nature of private investment, which is viewed as the main cause of inflation, high unemployment, and other economic difficulties. To stabilize the economy, an NDP government would assume an influential role in economic planning and investment.⁴² There is no mention in the New Party Declaration of what areas of the economy would need to come under social control in order to facilitate

⁴¹ Cross, Introduction, p. 14.

⁴² Cross, "The Winnipeg Declaration," p. 34.

economic planning, although it does appear that the NDP favours some increase in public ownership.⁴³

The main emphasis of the New Party Declaration is in the area of social security reform. Its proposals in this field include a new pension plan, a medicare scheme, the institution or right to work laws, and a liberalized labour code.⁴⁴ All of these measures are compatible with the maintenance of existing economic and political structures in Canada, which the CCF had initially promised to replace.

The NDP Election Platform of 1968 is somewhat more radical than the New Party Declaration, but not significantly more socialist in its perspective. In this statement, the Party contends that "the excessive privilege and wealth for the few will be replaced by equal opportunities for the many."⁴⁵ Although the promise of equal opportunity is within the bounds of liberalism, the idea that "excessive privilege and wealth for the few" exists in Canada had not been stressed by the Party for some time.

The 1968 Election Platform states that alleviating the problems of poverty stricken Canadians is one of the NDP's highest priorities. The Party would seek to rectify this situation through the institution of a comprehensive social security programme and a guaranteed annual income. Support by the NDP for a guaranteed annual income did not appear

⁴³Cross, "The Winnipeg Declaration," p. 34.

⁴⁴Cross, "The New Party Declaration," pp. 35-39.

⁴⁵Owen Carrigan, ed., "The Campaign of 1968, The New Democratic Platform," Canadian Party Platforms (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1968), p. 342.

in the New Party Declaration or in the Party's 1965 Election Platform. The NDP's advocacy of a minimum income level may be considered radical when compared with its social security policies since 1961. But none of the ideas presented to the electorate by the Party in 1968 offered any serious criticism of, or significant proposals for changes to the system which they had concluded, in 1933, was the root of poverty in Canada.

As we have seen, the CCF/NDP's policy statements indicate that the Party has moved away from its earlier more socialist orientation toward an approach influenced largely by liberalism. It might, therefore, be expected that the Party's parliamentary representatives would also adhere to a liberal point of view.

During discussions the author had with different members of the NDP's federal caucus, it became apparent that although they were influenced by liberal ideals, these members of parliament were of a more socialist orientation than the Party's public pronouncements. None of the NDP members of parliament with whom the author spoke seemed to have any hesitation about referring to himself as a socialist.⁴⁶ When asked whether they would qualify this classification with the term democratic socialist, all thought that this was unnecessary.

The members of the NDP's federal caucus interviewed by the author all stressed the achievement of greater economic equality as the Party's primary goal. These individuals concluded that this objective would be achieved through an extension of the present social security system. None of the parliamentarians who spoke with the author advocated

⁴⁶The author discussed definitions of socialism with Edward Broadbent, Stanley Knowles, Lorne Nystrom, Andy Hogan, and Donald MacDonald.

the replacement of the basic structures operating in Canadian society and all supported social change through parliamentary means.

For Stanley Knowles, one of the principal organizational and ideological architects of the NDP, the goal of the Party and of social democracy in general, is "greater and greater equality in everything," and he reiterated that "the Party must never lose sight of this goal."⁴⁷

Lorne Nystrom's definition of a socialist is more specific than that of Mr. Knowles. Nystrom concluded that a socialist "is one who is prepared to control the parts of the economy that are needed to create an egalitarian society."⁴⁸

Donald MacDonald, the former leader of the CCF/NDP in Ontario and a current member of the Ontario provincial legislature, presented the most moderate interpretation of the NDP's doctrine that the author encountered. Mr. MacDonald contends that socialism should be seen as "the fulfillment of political democracy."⁴⁹ However, MacDonald also argues that the socialism of the NDP must not be "presented in such a manner as to offend, even challenge, the political culture of Ontario,"⁵⁰ or presumably Canada. A socialist party operating within a liberal state must by its very definition, challenge the existing precepts of that society.

⁴⁷ Interview with Stanley Knowles, NDP, M.P. for Winnipeg North Centre, 26 October 1976.

⁴⁸ Interview with Lorne Nystrom, NDP, M.P. for Yorktown-Melville, 25 October 1976.

⁴⁹ Interview with Donald MacDonald, NDP, M.P. for Ontario Provincial Legislature, 9 November 1976.

⁵⁰ Donald C. MacDonald, "First-rate, Authoritative - and Unduly Pessimistic," review of The Dilemma of Canadian Socialism, by Gerald Caplan, in The New Democrat, September/October 1973.

If a socialist party accepts the political culture of a liberal state, it cannot retain a socialist orientation.

Each of the interviewed parliamentarians had a different conception of which sectors of the economy needed to be brought under public ownership. Lorne Nystrom argued that to achieve the goal of social equity, all natural resources and financial institutions would have to be nationalized.⁵¹ Mr. Knowles, however, stated that "nationalization is not as important to our goals as we once thought." He concluded that the acceptance of a mixed economy would lessen the danger of the development of a huge bureaucracy. Knowles believes that natural resources should be nationalized, but that public ownership of banks might not be necessary. The economic objectives proposed by Knowles concur with those of most social democrats; he favours sufficient government control to allow for effective government planning. For Knowles, the economic aims of the NDP and of social democracy do not include the institution of absolute economic equality or the breakdown of an economy based on private ownership and hierarchical management patterns.⁵²

Like most other NDP parliamentarians, Andy Hogan did not stress the establishment of large scale public ownership as one of the leading objectives of a socialist government. He sees the existence of full employment as one of the prime economic goals of socialism. Since capitalism cannot solve the problem of unemployment, the government must become a major employer. The extent of public ownership which he sees

⁵¹Interview with Lorne Nystrom.

⁵²Interview with Stanley Knowles.

as being immediately necessary is the nationalization of natural resources under provincial control.⁵³

Horowitz, in his analysis of the development of the CCF/NDP, concludes that the liberalization of the Party's ideological perspective has been part of a general liberalization of socialist parties in the West. He argues that the doctrine of the NDP is no more liberal than that of other Western socialist parties.⁵⁴

To an extent, Horowitz is correct when he states that all Western socialist parties, not merely the NDP, have moved toward a more liberal approach. Socialist parties in Europe have moderated their orientation significantly, particularly since the end of the Second World War. However, some Western socialist parties have maintained the continuous presence of a militant socialist wing and thus still retain some of the long range socialist goals abandoned by the CCF.

The "Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism," presented by the Socialist International in 1951, illustrates the extent to which Western socialist parties had liberalized their doctrine. The main thrust of this statement is that democracy, or the legislative process, is the only means through which a true socialist society can be achieved. The document states that socialism still seeks to replace capitalism and make public interest take precedence over the interests of private

⁵³Interview with Andy Hogan, NDP, M.P. for Cape Breton East-Richmond, 26 October 1976.

⁵⁴Gad. Horowitz, Canadian Labour in Politics (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), p. 9.

profit.⁵⁵ The immediate goals of socialism advanced by the Socialist International in 1951, include the establishment of full employment and a higher standard of living for working people, the encouragement of higher production, the extension of social security, and the encouragement of a fair distribution of income and property.⁵⁶

Like the mainstream of the NDP, the Socialist International's proclamation regards public ownership as a means for the prevention of growth of monopolies and the encouragement of economic efficiency. The "Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism" also states that social ownership must be used as a means to control basic industries and services on which the community depends.⁵⁷ The paper argues that "socialist planning does not presuppose public ownership of all the means of production;" individual ownership of agriculture, middle size and retail industries should be retained.⁵⁸

In contrast to Horowitz's conclusion, the objectives of the Socialist International in 1951 are significantly more socialist than those of the CCF/NDP. The International's declaration that capitalism must be replaced compares with a similar pledge in the Regina Manifesto, which has subsequently been dropped by the CCF/NDP. As well, the NDP does not have as one of its aims the socialization of essential industries and services, as the Socialist International did in 1951. The

⁵⁵Hook, p. 244.

⁵⁶Hook, p. 244.

⁵⁷Hook, p. 245.

⁵⁸Hook, p. 245.

International's conclusion that medium-size industries should be privately controlled presupposes that large industries would be owned socially. The CCF was committed to the socialization of basic industries and services in 1933, but the Party abandoned this goal early on.

Not all Western European socialist parties have dropped the visionary or fundamentally socialist aspects of their programme, as has the CCF/NDP. The Constitution of the British Labour Party contains a clause which states that the Party's goals include securing

. . . for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production distribution and exchange, and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service.⁵⁹

Efforts on the part of the Labour Party's leadership during the nineteen fifties to have this commitment - to socialize the ownership and administration of the means of production - dropped from the Party's programme met with such opposition within the Party that the pledge has remained.

The Parti Socialiste-Section Francaise de l'Internationale Ouvriere (SFIO) has liberalized its doctrine to a certain extent since 1945, as evidenced by the fact that they have been willing to take part in government coalitions with non-socialist parties. However, the SFIO is still pledged "to unite all the workers of this country to abolish class barriers born from heredity or fortune."⁶⁰

⁵⁹Steven Muller, "Federalism and the Party System in Canada," in Canadian Federalism: Myth or Reality, ed. J. Peter Meekison, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Methuen, 1971), p. 103.

⁶⁰Muller, p. 131.

In 1968, the National Council of the SFIO reasserted the Party's claim that "no realistic democracy could exist until the capitalist regime is abolished."⁶¹ The SFIO statement argues that for democracy to be realized it "is not a question of adjusting the system but of substituting a better one for it."⁶² The new order envisioned by the SFIO would entail "substituting for capitalist property a social property . . . and for the management of which the workers must prepare themselves."⁶³ The French socialists have thus retained a commitment to replace capitalism with socialized ownership and democratic management of the economy.

Since the nineteen forties, the CCF/NDP has asserted the policies of a liberal reform party. The Regina Manifesto, though not an orthodox socialist document, contains in part the orientation, criticisms, and some proposals for change of a party with a socialist perspective. The Manifesto offered a modified class analysis of Canadian society, declared that capitalism is inherently unjust, and proposed the replacement of capitalism with a system of economy in which the principal means of production and exchange would be collectivized. From the nineteen forties onward, although often referring to itself as a democratic socialist or socialist party, the CCF/NDP has moved away from its

⁶¹The Constitution of the Parti Socialiste-Section Francaise de l'Internationale (SFIO), 1968.

⁶²The Constitution of the SFIO (1968).

⁶³The Constitution of the SFIO (1968).

socialist origins and has become fundamentally a left liberal party. The goals of the Party have moved from the replacement of the present economic and social system to objectives of full employment and a minimum standard of living for all. The NDP now argues that its aims can be realized through greater government planning in the economy and through an expanded social security system. Such goals and means are quite compatible with the maintenance of a liberal/capitalist society, but are too restrictive for the objectives of a socialist party.

CHAPTER II

ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LIBERAL SOCIALIST AND SMALL SIZE POLITICAL PARTIES

The kind of internal structure maintained by a political party and the nature of the relationship between the different sectors of its organization has a large impact upon the party's ideological perspective. If the internal influences on a party's outlook are to be examined, the objectives and orientation of the leadership should first be studied, for this has a great effect on the overall perspective of the organization. The most powerful faction in a political party's leadership should be determined and its orientation scrutinized. The background and organizational affiliation of the party's elite should also be identified. The nature of access accorded the membership and other groups in the party must be pinpointed and the type of influence exerted by each faction determined. In a social democratic party, as we shall see, the internal decision making structure must also allow the supporters of a strong socialist perspective to dominate, if it is to retain a collectivist policy approach.

The Structure of Liberal Parties

The policy making process existing within liberal parties works to compliment the support these parties have for individual political liberties and a capitalist economy. The resources of liberal

parties are directed principally toward elections and parliamentary activity, rather than towards the enlistment of large numbers of new members or upon political education. The leadership of a liberal party is in the hands of the parliamentary group, with the leader of that body being recognized as the party's real leader.⁶⁴ Since liberal political parties in Western democracies are satisfied with the existing system of politics and economy, they are solely concerned with pragmatic questions; ideological issues are of little importance to such parties. Lastly, most adherents of liberal parties give their support either out of habit or only vague interest.⁶⁵

The Structure of Socialist Parties

Socialist parties in liberal societies have the replacement of the existing socio-economic system as their principal goal. They seek to substitute this social structure, in which both political influence and property are organized on an individual level, with one in which the ownership of the economy and management of all aspects of society would be on a collective basis. Social democratic parties are at present willing to accept the liberal democratic political framework as the principal means for bringing about this transformation.

Theoretically, the changes in the control and ownership of the means of production needed to bring about a redefinition of class relations could be achieved through universal suffrage. However, historically

⁶⁴Maurice Duverger, Political Parties, trans. Barbara and Robert North (London: Methuen and Co., 1969), p. 1.

⁶⁵Duverger, p. 1.

when such a transformation has been attempted, using the legislative process, the owners of property have assembled the state's coercive power and resisted it.⁶⁶

Internal Democracy in Socialist Parties

Socialism requires the formation of political parties based on mass participation that take on a divergent range of activities. One of the main goals of the structure of socialist parties is to recruit a large number of members. Social democratic parties assume a mass organization for both practical and doctrinal reasons. The idea that socialist parties ought to be mass based is to be found in the Marxian notion that if a political organization is the manifestation of a class, "it must then seek to rally the whole of the class, to form it politically, to pick out the elites capable of leadership and administration."⁶⁷ Since social democrats see their party as an expression of working people, it must encourage this group's active participation in the party's work.

Socialist parties in liberal states are dedicated to changing the basic structure of society. Thus they are unable to rely on the donations of a few wealthy contributors to finance the party, as are their liberal counterparts. It is essential, therefore, that a socialist party have a large number of small contributors upon whom it can depend for financial support. A mass organization also provides a party with a reservoir of manpower which can be employed during political campaigns.

⁶⁶Harold J. Laski, A Grammar of Politics (London: Geo. Allen and Unwin, 1960), p. IV.

⁶⁷Duverger, p. 66.

This helps to offset the inferior monetary position in which many socialist parties find themselves, when compared with their middle class counterparts.

The maintenance of democracy within the structure of the party is necessary to a socialist movement. A socialist party, particularly one that is perpetually in opposition, is unable to offer its supporters the traditional rewards of party membership, such as personal status, patronage, or the satisfaction of helping to elect a government. A party which practises internal democracy can, however, offer its adherents the opportunity to influence the make-up of its leadership and the direction of its policies.

If the lower levels of a socialist political party are invested with considerable power, the influence of the parliamentary group can be better mitigated. As we will see later, the parliamentary group is considered to be the most powerful and pragmatic sector in a social democratic party. If the party's militants are furnished with functional channels that permit them an influence over party affairs, some balance to the power of the deputies will be provided. The executive bodies of socialist parties often do not serve to equalize the control of the parliamentary caucus since many executive members have close ties with the parliamentarians.

Militants are those in a political party who are the most active and comprise the nucleus of the party's groups, yet are not holders of high executive office.⁶⁸ People who become militants in socialist

⁶⁸Duverger, p. 110.

parties are most frequently motivated to do so by a strong belief in the ideals of socialism. This is particularly true in parties that are continually in opposition, for party members can expect to receive few material rewards for their affiliation with the party. It may then be expected that these militants will use the channels available to them to pressure for the retention of strong socialist policies by the party.

In states that employ the Westminster parliamentary model, the principal vehicles for militant influence in social democratic parties are the constituency organizations. An examination of the resolutions presented at conferences of the British Labour Party during the nineteen fifties shows that the vast majority of left wing resolutions were submitted by the constituency parties and a few small unions.⁶⁹ The degree of access to party policy making permitted constituency party representatives is, then, an indication of the level of radical socialist input that a party organization receives. In most cases, however, local organizations can only influence a political party's direction during its conventions. Such meetings are generally held only on an annual or biannual basis.

The stress that socialist parties place on ideology often leads to a disregard for the way in which the party's decisions are internally implemented. Policy making bodies in socialist parties are usually large, fairly representative, and appear to have considerable power.⁷⁰ The representation accorded constituency parties and radical socialists

⁶⁹ Ian Aiken, "The Structure of the Labour Party," in The Left, ed. Gerald Kaufman (London: Anthony Bond, 1966), p. 14.

⁷⁰ Duverger, p. 177.

is often quite significant at this level. There is little concern, however, in social democratic parties, for the democratization or regulation of the party administrative apparatus. Power in these bodies therefore becomes concentrated in the hands of a few. The complex organizational structure that tends to develop in mass parties means that those who know and control the structural apparatus have substantial control over both the policy orientation and administration of the party.

The Leadership of Socialist Parties

The leadership of social democratic parties is generally very stable. Both Duverger and Michels contend that in parties where the leadership is elected by representatives of the rank and file, its period in office is longer than in parties where the executive is selected by a small elite.⁷¹

The opposition of rank and file members to new leaders, argues Michels, is based on the force of tradition and a sense of gratitude on the part of the membership towards their leadership.⁷² The stagnation of leadership in social democratic parties may be attributed in part to the fact that the ideas of the masses evolve very slowly. It is not until ideas have been in progress throughout a country for a considerable period of time that they come to have an impact on democratically elected groups, such as party organizations, trade unions, or parliaments.⁷³

⁷¹Duverger, p. 160.

⁷²Robert Michels, Political Parties (New York: Dover Publications, 1959), p. 98.

⁷³Michels, p. 100.

Often leaders of social democratic parties are remembered for seeing the party through difficult times at great personal sacrifice. The rank and file show their gratitude for the work and self-denial of their leaders by maintaining them in official positions. Party leaders often become so closely identified with the history and struggle of the party that the membership sees these people as inseparable from the party itself.

The place of a socialist party in the overall framework of a liberal state strengthens the position and power of its leaders. The ostracism often experienced by socialists creates a situation in which a unity and harmony of purpose is fostered between leaders and rank and file members. Socialists frequently consider themselves to be outsiders who must come into conflict with the dominant elements of liberal society to bring about the socialist transformation they seek. Hence they see the principal conflict in which they must engage as being outside the party. Solidarity within the party then becomes necessary, in the eyes of socialist party members, for the protection of the party's aims and organization against the encroachments of prominent groups that seek to destroy them.

The stability of the leadership of social democratic parties is directly related to the nature of the channels provided for bringing new people into centres of power. We observed earlier that new leaders often have great difficulty in gaining recognition from militants in these parties. Thus the control of the existing leadership in such organizations is solidified. Middle class parties usually permit younger persons to hold positions of leadership with greater frequency because

recruits generally have a more comprehensive educational background than young socialist party members and are thus more easily trained.⁷⁴ As well, the rank and file of middle class political organizations have less power in leadership selection than do the average members of socialist parties. The conservative nature of rank and file party members which impedes the rise of new leaders, may be compounded in parties with a decentralized form of organization, for hostility and jealousy toward new leaders is strongest in a party's lower ranks.⁷⁵

The most effective access for young people to positions of power in social democratic parties is indirectly through party research groups. These units make it possible for young experts to become influential without having to obtain the approval of the membership.⁷⁶ However, the maintenance of these indirect routes for the rejuvenation of a party's elite require that it sustain a large bureaucratic apparatus. Without such an organization, the means of revitalizing the leadership of a social democratic party is severely restricted.

The conservative tendency which exists in the selection of internal leaders is also present in the manner in which socialist parties choose candidates for parliamentary office. Social democrats prefer to be represented by candidates with previous experience in the party's organization. This assures the slow ascent and circulation of new people and works to protect the status of the old guard.⁷⁷

⁷⁴Duverger, p. 166.

⁷⁵Duverger, p. 163.

⁷⁶Duverger, p. 166.

⁷⁷Lester E. Seligman, "Political Parties and the Recruitment of Political Leaders," in Political Leadership in Industrialized Societies, ed. Lewis J. Edinger (New York: John Wiley and Son, 1970), p. 313.

One of the primary sources of a leader's power is to be found in his indispensability.⁷⁸ This is particularly true of leaders in small social democratic parties. Such parties do not possess the resources to support a large bureaucracy and thus to diffuse administrative and policy making authority. Those few who are involved in the party's affairs on a daily basis become essential to the smooth running of the organization. These people are very powerful for they are often the only persons who remain aware of how the party functions at all levels. The history of working class parties illustrates that the average members accept the flagrant deviation of their leaders from the principles of the movement because they believe that they "cannot get along without the leader and cannot dispense with the qualities he has acquired in virtue of the very position to which they have themselves elevated him."⁷⁹

The Influence of Doctrine on Party Organization

Doctrine is a more significant influence in the operation of socialist parties than it is in liberal ones. One of the consequences of the socialist emphasis on ideology is that rivalries which develop within the leadership of the party are more likely to occur over policy issues than over personalities.⁸⁰ But in social democratic parties that have more moderate or liberal aims, internal conflict often develops amongst cliques with different organizational or regional bases. A dominant internal clique usually arises around the party's most influential

⁷⁸Michels, p. 86.

⁷⁹Michels, p. 86.

⁸⁰Duverger, p. 2.

leaders. The growth of these units may be attributed to the structure of social democratic parties. The existence of a stable bureaucracy, a prolonged tenure of leaders and the presence of various groups such as trade unions and socialist societies, also tends to create exclusive groups within a social democratic party.

The Parliamentary Group

Since most social democratic parties in liberal states have adopted parliament as their main vehicle for change, the parliamentary group in these parties has special power and prestige. The character of the parliamentary group has often been of great concern to party workers and internal leaders. A socialist party's parliamentary group is in many cases viewed as its most pragmatic section, for it is seen as the group most likely to compromise the militant and class character of a socialist party.

In the eyes of party militants working class parliamentarians become members of the middle class. Through his surroundings, his connections and his contacts, the deputy leads a middle class life.⁸¹ The working class party member is, therefore, often suspicious of a deputy's class loyalty. Secondly, by agreeing to participate in parliamentary activity, deputies accept the idea of reformism and compromise in politics. This lends support to the notion that within a socialist party the parliamentary group is one of the most conservative factions. Finally, the ideas of a socialist party's active members are likely to be more radical than those of the mass of electors. Since parliamentarians have

⁸¹Duverger, p. 1.

a greater dependency upon voters for their power and position than upon the party militants, they are more likely to follow the moderate electorate.⁸²

The influence of the parliamentary group over the general direction of social democratic parties is considerable. In large socialist parties particularly, serious conflicts sometimes develop between the bureaucracy of the party and its parliamentary wing. In these struggles the parliamentary group is usually able to impose its will on both party militants and on the bureaucracy. In small socialist parties, relations between the deputies and the party administration are most often collaborative. Parliamentary domination of a socialist party coincides with the existence of a weak and decentralized party structure.⁸³ In small socialist parties, a shortage of monetary resources causes the bureaucracy to remain limited in size and makes employment there unstable. The parliamentary caucus, therefore, remains dominant. The authority of the caucus over other sections of a social democratic party is probably inevitable when participation in elections and parliamentary work become the party's most important activities.⁸⁴

An indication of the superior position of the parliamentary group in a social democratic party can be seen in the fact that its leader is usually recognized as the real leader of the party. The influence of the parliamentarians is reinforced by the fact that in the

⁸²Duverger, p. 192.

⁸³Duverger, p. 185.

⁸⁴Duverger, p. 185.

public's mind they represent both the party and its policies.⁸⁵ Most of the attention that a political party receives from the media is focused on its legislative group. This greater public visibility accords them a status not enjoyed by party officials.

The Effects of High Parliamentary Influence

The influence of the parliamentary caucus on the direction of socialist and social democratic parties has been increasing since the nineteen fifties.⁸⁶ During this period many European social democratic parties concluded that they could come to power more easily with a modified or more liberal electoral program. From this period onward many of those social democrats who had originally seen themselves as part of the Marxian tradition diluted their platforms so that they no longer viewed the advent of socialism as inevitable. Social democrats came to accept parliamentary procedure as the sole means of effecting change, as well as the existence of large scale private property, cooperation between different economic classes, the validity of religious belief and the existence of national loyalty.

The adoption by the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) of a revisionist program can be traced to an increase in the representation of deputies on the party's policy making bodies and a consolidation of its administrative apparatus.⁸⁷ Until 1958 the most powerful unit in the

⁸⁵Duverger, p. 195.

⁸⁶Robert McKenzie, British Political Parties (New York: Frederick A. Praeger and Co., 1966), p. 639.

⁸⁷Stanley Henig and John Pinder, European Political Parties (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1969), p. 36.

SPD, the National Executive, was a committee elected by the party congress. This group was made up of twenty-five members, with seven seats reserved for the party bureaucracy, including the post of chairman of the Executive.

After the reorganization of the SPD in 1958 the membership of the National Executive Committee was enlarged to thirty-three and a presidium of the Party was established. The presidium, the most powerful body in the SPD, was conceived of as a smaller, more workable coordinator of the Party's affairs.⁸⁸ This led to a situation in which the leadership of the parliamentary caucus was almost identical to the composition of the presidium. In 1959, only one year after its reorganization, the SPD adopted a revisionist orientation.⁸⁹

During the late nineteen fifties, there were attempts within the British Labour Party to have the pledge to collectivize the ownership and management of the economy dropped from its platform. As in the SPD, this movement was led by the majority centrist faction of the caucus and the parliamentary leader, Gaitskell. It was the constituency parties along with some union delegates that fought successfully to have this objective retained.⁹⁰

The Influence of the Electoral System on Party Development

The way in which public officials are elected has a considerable influence upon the type of candidate chosen by a political party. In

⁸⁸Henig and Pinder, p. 36.

⁸⁹Henig and Pinder, p. 35.

⁹⁰Aiken, p. 14.

states where elections are contested in single member districts and successful candidates are required to obtain a plurality of the votes cast, parties tend to choose moderate candidates. However, a system of proportional representation permits parties to offer nominees which reflect to a greater extent the ideological diversity of the party.⁹¹ If a political party is operating within a single member district electoral system it is inclined to run candidates with a strong ideological orientation only in those areas which are considered to be strongholds of party support. This naturally works against the maintenance of a socialist perspective by encouraging the nomination of moderate candidates for public office. Since the parliamentary group has such an important influence over the orientation of a social democratic party, a caucus which has a basically pragmatic outlook will be likely to lead the whole party in a similar direction.

The problems that a social democratic party experiences in maintaining a socialist outlook while functioning in a single member district electoral system are compounded if it is a small or third party. Winning a plurality of the votes cast in individual electoral districts is extremely difficult for emerging parties.

The inability of a small socialist party to elect significant numbers of deputies also makes it hard for factions with radical ideological perspectives to continue operating within it. Such parties usually nominate centrist candidates, for they more than most parties must attract a wide spectrum of voters. Since small socialist parties rarely command safe seats, it is unlikely that parliamentarians

⁹¹Lawson, p. 114.

representing militant points of view will be elected. It is difficult for a faction within a political party to operate without representatives in the legislature.⁹² Without such agents in parliament these factions can only pressure the party on an occasional basis, since the main centre of everyday decision making is in the caucus.⁹³ The presence of prominent members of parliament in a faction of a party also lends legitimacy to that group and its policy perspective. Thus the single district form of election by encouraging the nomination and election of centrist candidates to public office and by discouraging the success of third party nominees makes the election of militantly socialist parliamentarians from small social democratic parties improbable.

The single district form of election works to strengthen the position of parliamentarians in relation to internal party leaders.⁹⁴ In a system of proportional representation, candidates for electoral office are dependent upon the party for their place on the electoral list. The single district electoral system allows a parliamentarian the opportunity to build his personal prestige and popularity in his constituency and become quite independent of the party.

Political Education

As we have observed, in any political party that takes part in the electoral process, election work and parliamentary activity are bound

⁹²Richard Rose, "Parties, Factions, Tendencies in Britain," in Political Parties, ed. Roy Macridies (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), p. 106.

⁹³Rose, p. 106.

⁹⁴Duverger, p. 183.

to be of considerable importance. However, the objectives of socialist parties require that they engage extensively in political education. Socialist parties are at odds with many of the basic tenets of liberal capitalist society and must therefore support a propaganda program so that their views can gain acceptance.

Political education is also an essential priority of a socialist party, for most stress their mass base and democratic character. If a party genuinely seeks to retain these attributes, it must ensure that its supporters are well informed and active in party affairs. Socialist parties strive to obtain the support of people who often have previously been politically inactive and who frequently have little formal education. The party must then assume a large responsibility for preparing its supporters for political work.⁹⁵

The Bureaucracy

The diverse activities of socialist parties make it necessary for them to establish an administrative structure. The bureaucracy is responsible for recruitment of party members and for their political education. It must also maintain good relations between the party and the various groups affiliated with it. Finally, the party bureaucracy scrutinizes the parliamentarians to make certain that they are well informed on issues and take positions compatible with the party's general perspective and objectives.

Bureaucracy is considered by many socialists to be the enemy of liberty and democracy.⁹⁶ But the alternative to a bureaucratic system of

⁹⁵Michels, p. 184.

⁹⁶Michels, p. 189.

organization, which is largely quite open, is oligarchy, that is closed. Administrative structures, though often characterized by inefficiency, unimaginative thinking, and internal rivalry at least provide access for a variety of people and factions to the centres of influence.

The Level of Internal Integration

The adoption of a more moderate or liberal outlook by a social democratic party is encouraged if it develops a decentralized organizational structure. A low level of national integration or a federal system of government often leads to the development of such a decentralized political party. If a social democratic party seeks to retain a socialist perspective, it should operate with an organization that is centralized enough to maintain a unity and homogeneity of ideology and tactics amongst a party's various sections.⁹⁷ This is particularly crucial for social democratic parties which include a coalition of different groups such as trade unions, philosophical societies, and regional parties.

A socialist party that employs a decentralized, regionally based structure often comes to de-emphasize the collectivist aspects of its program. Parties which have strong regional organizations tend to concentrate on immediate, local issues that are of concern to some sections of the party, but have little relation to its overall aim of transforming society. This leads to a de-emphasis on the establishment of a socialized system of ownership and management in society and fosters a greater concern amongst party members for immediate problems. A preoccupation with local questions also results in internal conflict between groups or areas that have opposing interests in such controversies. Finally, a centralized

⁹⁷Duverger, p. 49.

organizational structure is a necessary component of a socialist party, for it facilitates the coordination of resources and activities making the achievement of the party's goals more likely.

Affiliated Trade Unions

Trade unions allied with social democratic parties usually increase the effectiveness of the party's organization. Most social democratic parties are supported by trade unions, and many are directly affiliated with them. Unions provide socialist parties with a large part of their financial support and often donate their organizational resources at election times.

Trade unions are usually seen as having a conservative influence on socialist parties. The trade union leaders have generally accumulated a significant stake in the socio-economic system existing in liberal states. Thus it is unlikely that they would support plans for its radical transformation. In some states, the attachment of trade union leaders to the status quo is reinforced by the right wing orientation of much of their membership. Organized labour in Western industrial states comprises the elite of the working class, since they have come to share in the material benefits of capitalism. Many trade union members have amassed enough wealth to fear that basic social change might eliminate the new monetary advantage they have achieved.

In social democratic parties where allied trade unions make up one of the founding elements of the party, the relations between the party leadership, the caucus, and the elite of the large unions are usually harmonious. The leaders of the British Trade Union Congress (TUC), for instance, have in most Labour Party disputes sided with the

parliamentary leadership against the party's left wing. In small socialist parties, a close personal relationship often exists between the party's parliamentary leaders, bureaucrats, and union officials.

Some social democrats have suggested that since trade unions usually seek to de-emphasize the more radically socialist elements of a party's program, socialist parties should sever their alliances with the union movement. However, in many countries the result of such a move would be an attempt by these parties to build a socialist movement outside the working class. In states where a class consciousness amongst working people is weak, the trade union movement is usually the only social manifestation of the polarity between owners and producers. Trade unions also often provide the only systematic organization of the working class in such countries.

A social democratic party which sought to operate independently of trade unions would experience serious practical problems too. It would be difficult for such a party to find a source of financial and organizational aid to replace that which is now provided by affiliated trade unions.

Conclusion

It may be concluded that a political party wishing to maintain a socialist outlook must provide the supporters of this orientation with adequate access to its policy making and administrative apparatus. This generally means that the parliamentary group should not exert an overwhelming dominance over the party, workable avenues for renewal of the party leadership should exist, and the party should maintain a democratic mass based organization that allows for effective participation in its

affairs by the membership. The activities of a party seeking to retain its socialist identity should be directed largely toward political education and not predominantly concentrated on parliamentary work. The organization of such a party must be coordinated and the work of the various groups affiliated with it should be consistent with its main aims. If the political framework in which such a political party is operating discourages the existence of socialist parties, then it must ensure to a greater extent that its own organization encourages the continuance of its socialist approach.

In chapter I, we saw that the New Democratic Party has steadily become more liberal reformist in its ideological perspective. It is now necessary to examine the internal structure and the policy making apparatus of the NDP as a means of determining the kind of ideological outlook that it fosters.

CHAPTER III

THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE FEDERAL NDP

The New Democratic Party is usually considered by its leaders to be a socialist organization. But as we saw in chapter I, the socialist aspects of the CCF/NDP's policies have largely been abandoned. The nature of the Party's internal structure has had a critical effect on the policy orientation of the NDP. An examination of the NDP's organization that takes into account how and by whom decisions in the Party are made, in what manner its leaders are selected and the role played by the rank and file in Party affairs will help to illustrate the influence that the Party's internal structure has had on its policy outlook.

Some of the basic organizational features of liberal and socialist parties were examined in chapter II. The effects of these structural characteristics on the policy orientation of political parties was also discussed. We saw too, in chapter I, that originally the policy statements of the CCF/NDP contained both liberal and socialist notions, and that over time, the Party had come to embrace an essentially liberal approach. It is now necessary to look at the organizational structure of the NDP to determine the features it has in common with socialist parties and small size parties, and the ones which it shares with liberal institutions. From this analysis it will then be possible to ascertain whether the NDP's internal structure has encouraged the assumption of a socialist approach by the Party.

THE NDP AS A SOCIALIST PARTY

Theoretical Orientation

Although the NDP as a party does not advocate a strong socialist alternative for Canada, it does share some of the basic ideals of social democratic parties. The NDP, like other such political parties, contends that existing liberal/capitalist society is organized for the benefit of that small group which owns and controls the largest portion of the economy. Therefore, these parties argue, society should be re-organized to ensure that its rewards are more equitably distributed. Most social democratic parties, then, conclude that greater equality in social relations could be achieved through a comprehensive system of social security, more protection for individual human rights and an increase in government planning and ownership in the economy. Many European social democratic parties also pledge to transform society at some future date by instituting common ownership and control of the means of production. We observed in chapter I that the CCF/NDP in 1932 similarly promised to eradicate capitalism, but that this goal was later dropped from its list of objectives.

The Convention

Like most socialist and social democratic parties, the NDP has attempted to build a mass-based organization. The Party encourages its supporters to become members and to participate in the leadership selection and policy making process. But as we shall see, the internal structure of the NDP, like that of most mass parties, contains two competing tendencies, one that stresses democracy and rank and file control, and another which emphasizes strong elite domination.

In keeping with the NDP's concern for retaining the pre-eminence of the rank and file, the Party's supreme governing body is, theoretically, the Convention. The representatives to these biannual meetings are accorded the "final authority in all matters of federal policy, program and constitution."⁹⁸ The membership's representatives are, ideally, also given the responsibility of selecting most of the party leadership. The Convention elects the party officers, and some members of the Federal Council, the NDP's governing body between conventions.⁹⁹

The conventions of the NDP could form the basis of a democratically organized political party. These meetings are large and usually quite representative of the various organizations and factions present in the Party.¹⁰⁰ Each federal constituency association is entitled to a number of convention representatives proportional to the party members in that constituency.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸The New Democratic Party Constitution, Winnipeg, 1975, art. 4, sec. 5.2.

⁹⁹The New Democratic Party Constitution, Winnipeg, 1975, art. 5, sec. 1 and 2.

¹⁰⁰At the 1971 NDP Convention, of the delegates able to attend, 50.7 percent were from the provincial delegations and the Young New Democrats, 43.7 percent were trade union representatives from local and central groups and 5.5 percent of the delegates were Federal Council and Parliamentary caucus members. Of the delegates who actually attended the Convention, 61.4 percent were from the provincial delegations and the Young New Democrats, 31.2 percent of the total number of delegates were sent from the local and central trade union organizations and 7.4 percent of all delegates actually attending were Federal Council and Caucus members (percentages rounded to the nearest tenth of a percent), from John C. Courtney, The Selection of National Party Leaders in Canada (no city: MacMillan & Co., 1973), p. 183.

¹⁰¹Each federal constituency association is entitled to one delegate for 50 members or less, one delegate for each additional 50 members or major fraction thereof up to a total of 200 members, and one delegate for every subsequent 100 members, or major fraction thereof. The New Democratic Party Constitution, Winnipeg, 1975.

Groups, such as trade unions, farmers' organizations and co-operatives, may establish affiliated memberships with the NDP. They too are accorded seats at the Convention in proportion to the number of people associated with the Party in each group.¹⁰² The proportion of delegates which may be sent to NDP conventions by the affiliated organizations is much lower than the number that the constituency associations are entitled to send. The NDP's long tradition of individualism in internal party matters and the concern on the part of some members that the affiliated unions could come to dominate the Party, are largely responsible for the limited representation allocated to the affiliated organizations.

It is important to recognize that not all sections of the NDP send a full set of delegates to Party conventions. The 1971 convention was attended by 87.30 percent of all constituency association delegates who were eligible to do so. All caucus members and 94.64 percent of the Federal Council also took part in that convention's activity as delegates. However, only 57.30 percent of the potential representatives from affiliated local trade unions and 24.41 percent of the possible delegates from

¹⁰²Groups wishing to join the NDP do so by affiliating directly with the federal Party. Affiliated organizations pay a per capita fee of ten cents per member per month to the federal Party (art. 3, sec. 1). Members of groups who associate with the Party are considered to be affiliated members of the NDP unless they notify their organization that they wish to opt out of the scheme (art. 3, sec. 3). Each affiliated group is entitled to send one delegate for the first 1,000 members or less and one delegate for each additional 1,000 members, or major fraction thereof, to Party conventions (art. VI, sec. 4). Central bodies of affiliated organizations are not permitted to affiliate directly with the NDP, but they are allowed to send one delegate from each central local body and two delegates from each such central national and provincial body (art. VI, sec. 5). The New Democratic Party Constitution, Winnipeg, 1975.

central labour organizations took part in the convention.¹⁰³ This leads to the conclusion that neither the leadership nor the rank and file of the affiliated trade unions view their participation in the NDP as crucial.

The NDP's emphasis on the importance of the rank and file becomes evident when the policy making procedure at national conventions is examined. The groups entitled to send resolutions to the NDP convention include those most closely associated with the grass roots of the Party, such as the constituency organizations and trade union locals. The central federations of those groups associated with the NDP, the provincial parties, the Young New Democrats and the Federal Council are also permitted to submit resolutions to the Convention.¹⁰⁴ But those groups, which will be shown later to have the dominant influence over the formulation of the NDP's policies, the parliamentary caucus and the National Executive, do not directly send resolutions to the Convention. This casts doubt on the NDP's constitutional assertion that the Convention is the most important authority in the area of party policy.

There is no limit to the number of potential resolutions that may be received from any section of the NDP prior to a national convention. This can be seen as a way of ensuring that a wide variety of the

¹⁰³At the 1971 NDP Convention, the provincial constituency associations were accorded 1103 delegates of which 974 actually attended. The Federal Council was permitted to send 112 delegates and 106 came, the Young New Democrats were granted 135 delegates and 94 were at the meeting, local union groups were allowed to send 854 representatives of which 490 actually attended, and the central labour bodies were accorded 213 delegates yet only 52 served as delegates. John C. Courtney, p. 183.

¹⁰⁴The NDP Constitution, art. 5, sec. 4.

membership's concerns can be considered by the Convention. However, the time limitations of a national convention necessitate the existence of a complex policy selection process. The way in which the actual convention resolutions are selected from amongst those initially sent to the meeting tends, as will be argued later, to restrict the role of the rank and file in decision making.

The constituency parties submit the greatest proportion of potential resolutions to the Convention. In 1967 a total of 404 such proposals were sent to the Party prior to the convention. The constituency parties attempted to have 293 resolutions considered by the Convention, the provincial parties submitted eighty-five, the trade unions fifteen, the Federal Council sent nine and two were received from other groups within the Party.¹⁰⁵ These potential resolutions were sent to the Policy Review Committee, which is responsible for selecting those proposals which are eventually presented to the Convention.

The Policy Resolutions Committee commands wide ranging powers which permit its members to dominate the policy making that takes place at national conventions. The Committee has the ability to modify proposed resolutions so that they are in accordance with existing party policy, and so that they sufficiently cover the topic being dealt with. If several resolutions on the same subject are submitted to the Committee it then consolidates these into a comprehensive proposal that is sent to the Convention. In other social democratic parties, such as the British Labour Party, representatives from the groups submitting similar proposals

¹⁰⁵Barry Goodwin "Policy Making in the New Democratic Party" (M.A. thesis, Queen's University, 1973), p. 42.

meet to work out a combined resolution. In the NDP, proposed resolutions may be disposed of by the Policy Resolutions Committee if it declares them covered by other resolutions, or if it decides that a particular proposal would be best dealt with by the incoming Federal Council.¹⁰⁶

The Policy Resolution Committee's control over the NDP's conventions is enhanced by its ability to determine the meeting's agenda. This allows the committee members to schedule debate on controversial resolutions during periods when only a short time exists for discussion or when many delegates are expected to be absent.¹⁰⁷

The Policy Resolutions Committee serves as a vehicle for the policies that the Council and the Executive wish to present to the Convention. The ability of the Committee to prepare resolutions of its own or to arrange for their preparation by others allows its members considerable influence over the NDP's program. The resolutions which the leadership of the NDP wish to have presented to the Convention are prepared by the Committee and are sent to the Executive where they serve as a basis for the resolutions that the Executive sends to the Federal Council.¹⁰⁸ These proposals are generally accepted without significant change by the Council, and are presented to the Committee and the Convention as Council resolutions.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶Goodwin, p. 79.

¹⁰⁷Goodwin, p. 83.

¹⁰⁸Goodwin, p. 49.

¹⁰⁹Goodwin, p. 59.

The proportion of resolutions accepted by the Policy Resolutions Committee for consideration by the Convention from each of the NDP's different sections varies widely. At the 1967 Convention, the constituency associations and provincial parties both had approximately one-half of their proposed resolutions considered by the Convention. However, seven of the nine proposals submitted by the Council and 87 percent of those sent by the trade unions were eventually presented to the Convention.¹¹⁰

The highest proportion of potential resolutions that were deemed to be inconsistent with party policy were submitted by the constituency associations at the 1967 Convention. The NDP has usually been pressured to adopt a more socialistic stance by militants in the constituency and provincial parties.¹¹¹ However, all of those resolutions which were processed by the Policy Resolutions Committee and considered by the 1967 Convention were found to be fully in line with the Party's existing orientation.¹¹²

The members of the Policy Resolutions Committee also formally recommend to the convention delegates that they accept or reject the specific resolutions presented to them. The majority of representatives usually follow the guidance of the Committee when voting on resolutions.¹¹³

¹¹⁰Goodwin, p. 107.

¹¹¹Andy Hogan told the author that most support for Rosemary Brown that he knew of came from the provincial constituency associations. Interview with Andy Hogan, 26 October 1976.

¹¹²Goodwin, p. 107.

¹¹³Goodwin, p. 67.

The leadership's pre-eminence in policy making is virtually guaranteed by the extensive powers that the Policy Resolutions Committee commands, and as we shall see, by the ability of the Party's leaders to control the membership of the Committee.

The chairman of Convention committees are selected informally by the National Executive and the federal office.¹¹⁴ The chairmen of the Convention itself are also chosen in this way.¹¹⁵ The chairman of each committee is responsible for choosing the members of his or her committee. The members of convention committees are subject to the approval of the Council. Since the work of these groups must often begin before the Council has had the opportunity to accept their membership, the chairmen and Executive's choice in these matters is rarely questioned. Attempts are made to accord all sections of the NDP representation on the convention committees, but the nucleus of such groups is generally composed of what Clifford Scotton terms "naturals," people close to the Executive.¹¹⁶ The method used to select committee members and convention officials, as Mr. Scotton's comment illustrates, tends to enhance the control of the faction already in power in the Party. The absence of a formal procedure for choosing such people allows the NDP's elite to place its supporters in key posts at conventions and on committees.

¹¹⁴ Interview with Robin Sears, National Secretary of the NDP, 22 October 1976.

¹¹⁵ Interview with Robin Sears. The President of the NDP is a member of one official language group and the Associate President a member of the other (art. VII, sec. 1.b).

¹¹⁶ Goodwin, p. 69. Clifford Scotton is currently the National Secretary of the NDP.

The members of the NDP's parliamentary caucus and Federal Council are automatically given delegate status at National Party Conventions.¹¹⁷ Most prominent members of the NDP's leadership sit on the Council and the Party's parliamentarians are generally considered part of the Party's elite. Therefore, this regulation guarantees that the leaders of the Party will be at the Convention and able to exert their influence on decision making.

The Leadership

It was argued in chapter II that socialist parties tend to allow their leaders long tenures of office. Similarly, the CCF/NDP has accorded its leadership extended periods in influential positions. Studies on the Party during the CCF period reveal that it was controlled by about twelve people throughout its existence.¹¹⁸ The CCF/NDP has had only five leaders in its forty-five year history. Many of those who now sit on the Party's Executive have been active in its elite for three or four decades. Approximately one-quarter of the NDP's current Executive have been in the Party's leadership since the CCF period.¹¹⁹ The stability of the NDP's leadership can also be seen if the list of Party officers is

¹¹⁷The NDP Constitution, 1975, art. VI, sec. 5 and 2.

¹¹⁸Walter Young, The Anatomy of a Party, The National CCF, 1932-1961 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), p. 168. The ruling elite of the CCF included David Lewis, J.S. Woodsworth, M.J. Coldwell, Frank Scott, Grace MacInnis, Angus MacInnis, Carl Hamilton, Stanley Knowles, George Grube, Lorne Ingle, Andrew Brewin, Therese Casgrain.

¹¹⁹See appendix A, for survey of the careers of members of the National Executive.

examined. Of the Party's seventeen officers in 1975, four held posts by virtue of previous positions they had occupied in the NDP.¹²⁰

The leaders of the CCF/NDP have remained in their posts for such great lengths of time primarily because of the high degree of unanimity which has existed between the Party's members and leaders. The rank and file of the NDP, like the membership of other social democratic parties, generally feel deeply grateful towards their leaders for seeing the Party through difficult times at tremendous personal sacrifice. The attitude of many CCF/NDP members toward T.C. Douglas, David Lewis and other long time leaders of the Party is typical of this. The 1975 NDP Convention created special posts on the Executive so that Lewis and Douglas could retain their status as party officers. But it is too early to determine whether the new generation of party leaders will be so revered.

As in some socialist parties, the unity between the leaders and members of the CCF/NDP has been encouraged by the relative political isolation of the Party. This has also fostered a strong defensive attitude within the NDP towards those outside it.¹²¹

¹²⁰ The Executive positions of President Emeritus and Honorary President were created so that the NDP's two former leaders, T.C. Douglas and David Lewis, could remain members of the body. The immediate past president and immediate past associate president are also accorded places on the Executive.

¹²¹ The observation that there is a strong defensive attitude within the NDP is based on the author's impressions in talks with David Lewis and Ann Scotton, who was the Party's archivist, about the Waffle movement and other pressures within the Party to move it in a more leftist direction. Ed. Broadbent also exhibited the same attitude when the author questioned him about whether the NDP's policies were sufficiently socialist for it to be considered a socialist party. Finally, the author has noticed a very guarded reaction on the part of NDP militants at the local level to any criticism of the current Party leadership.

In the NDP, the leadership's slate of candidates for party posts is usually elected by the Convention. The candidate for federal leader who has received the endorsement of the majority of party notables, has always been chosen by the membership to head the NDP. This illustrates both the essential harmony that exists between the members and leaders of the Party and the prevailing influence of the leaders on the leadership selection process.

The basic unanimity existing between the leaders and members of the NDP is occasionally disrupted. In the late 1960's and early 1970's, a group within the membership posed a serious threat to this unity when they sought to move the Party's policy in a more socialist and nationalist direction. However, the leadership of the NDP, with strong support from trade union representatives, was able to withstand the pressure exerted by the Waffle movement, thus preventing the re-direction of the NDP's basic orientation and the displacement of the existing leadership.¹²²

Federal Council

The leadership of the NDP is basically composed of two groups, the Federal Council and the Executive. The Federal Council is the governing body of the Party between conventions.¹²³ It is a large group

¹²²The Waffle was a movement within the NDP during the late nineteen sixties and early nineteen seventies that sought to move the Party in a nationalistic and radically socialist direction. Many of its members left the NDP after 1971 National Party Convention when the Saskatchewan and Ontario provincial parties exerted strong pressure to break up the movement. A good description of the history and policy proposals of the Waffle movement may be found in Canadian Dimension Staff, "Whither Waffle," Canadian Dimension, vol. 7, no. 8, pp. 24-26.

¹²³The NDP Constitution, 1975, art. 8, sec. 4.

that is generally representative of the various groups affiliated with the federal NDP.¹²⁴ The Party attempts to apportion seats on the Council to ensure adequate representation for affiliated organizations, as well as linguistic and regional groups.¹²⁵ The Council is sometimes also used as a vehicle for incorporating dissenting opinions into the mainstream of the Party.¹²⁶

The Convention elects some members of the Federal Council and all Party officers, who also sit on the Council. The candidates for such offices are usually organized into slates that are presented to the delegates by various factions in the NDP. Although a variety of groups put forward candidates, "normally the members of the 'official' slate were successful, but one or two others usually manage to break the slate

¹²⁴Of the seats on the Federal Council, one-half are designated for provincial representatives and twelve are accorded to the twelve largest affiliated organizations. All of these seats were, in 1975, occupied by union representatives, including: the United Steelworkers of America, the United Automobile Workers' Union, the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport and General Workers, the Canadian Union of Public Employees, the International Woodworkers of America, the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, the Textile Workers' Union of America, the International Association of Machinists, the United Glass and Ceramic Workers, the United Rubber, Linoleum, and Plastic Workers of America, and the United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America International Union.

¹²⁵Interview with Robin Sears.

¹²⁶Three defeated candidates for the national leadership in 1975 - Lorne Nystrom, Rosemary Brown, and John Harney - were seated on the Council in that year. In her biography of T.C. Douglas, Doris Shackleton contends that Douglas would like to have seen James Laxer and Melville Watkins, considered to be the leaders of the Waffle movement, accorded places on the Council in 1971. Doris French Shackleton, Tommy Douglas (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), p. 293.

and thus join the Party establishment."¹²⁷ The existing leadership can therefore perpetuate its dominance of the Party.

The present structure of the Federal Council restricts its capacity to act as the rank and file's representative between conventions. The National Convention directly elects only twenty members to the Council, while each provincial convention chooses two representatives to serve on the 128-member body.¹²⁸ The twelve largest groups affiliated with the NDP each select a delegate to the Federal Council.¹²⁹ These seats are all currently held by trade union representatives. The remaining places are occupied by people who either sit on the Council by virtue of other posts that they hold in the Party, or who are coopted to serve by the Council itself.¹³⁰

The Federal Council meets twice a year and from 70-80 percent of its entire membership usually attend each meeting.¹³¹ Theoretically, the Council is accorded wide ranging powers in the areas of policy making and administration.¹³² But generally the Council discusses and passes

¹²⁷Desmond Morton, NDP, The Dream of Power (Toronto: Hakkert, 1974, p. 162.

¹²⁸The NDP Constitution, 1975, art. VIII, sec. 1b and e.

¹²⁹The NDP Constitution, 1975, art. VIII, sec. 1f.

¹³⁰The members of the Federal Council who serve by virtue of other posts that they hold in the Party include, all members of the Executive (28), two caucus representatives, and the leader, president, secretary and treasurer of each provincial party. The Council chosen in 1975 also included five additional members coopted by the Council members.

¹³¹The NDP Constitution, 1975, art. VII, sec. 3; also interview with Robin Sears.

¹³²The NDP Constitution, 1975, art. VII, sec. 4.

resolutions on only two or three major issues at each meeting. The administrative activity of the Council, in most cases, is restricted to the confirmation of decisions already made by the Executive. The actual impact of the Federal Council, as a whole, on the direction of the NDP, is therefore quite limited.

The Executive

The Executive of the NDP is composed of twenty-seven people, including the Party's officers, and other members chosen from and by the Council.¹³³ Seats on the Executive are usually occupied by persons who command much personal power or prestige within the NDP.¹³⁴ Representation from different regions or groups, though not ignored, is not a determining factor in the composition of the Executive.¹³⁵ The Executive commands greater influence than the Council for it is a smaller, more homogeneous group, composed of individuals who themselves have considerable authority in the Party.

Although the Executive has considerable influence over the direction of the NDP, its power is limited by the fact that its members are geographically dispersed and do not meet more than six to nine times a year. The federal office has a considerable influence over the administrative affairs of the Party and, as we shall see later in this chapter, the federal parliamentary caucus maintains a dominant influence over the NDP's policies.

¹³³The NDP Constitution, 1975, art. IX, sec. 1.

¹³⁴Interview with Robin Sears.

¹³⁵Interview with Robin Sears.

All regular committees of the NDP are committees of the Executive. This means that the personal and specific duties of these groups are determined by the members of the Executive. The general composition of the various committees of the NDP is governed by established practise and tradition.¹³⁶

The Bureaucracy

The NDP, like most socialist parties, maintains a bureaucratic apparatus that plays an integral part in the operation of the Party. Although some rank and file members of the NDP do not believe that the Party should maintain a bureaucracy, the leadership considers the existence of an effective organizational structure crucial to the NDP.¹³⁷

The primary function of the NDP's bureaucratic apparatus is to support the Party's parliamentary group.¹³⁸ Presently, the main goal of the NDP is to enlarge the Party's electoral support and thus increase its proportion of seats in the House of Commons. The primary function of the bureaucracy, then, is to prepare the Party for elections, run election

¹³⁶The Finance Committee includes the leader and treasurer of the federal Party, the treasurers of the large provincial sections and former treasurers of the Party. The Convention Procedures Committee, responsible for the formulation of regulations under which the Convention operates, is composed of the Executive members and those in the Party who are considered to be experts on this subject. The NDP's ongoing policy advisory group, the Policy Review Committee, contains the Party's Executive members, some activists who have a knowledge of particular issues and caucus members who are the spokesmen for the Party in specific areas. Interview with Robin Sears.

¹³⁷Interview with Robin Sears.

¹³⁸J. McMenemy, J. Redekop, and C. Winn, "Party Structures and Decision-Making," in Political Parties in Canada, ed. Winn and McMenemy (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976), p. 176.

campaigns, train party workers, and generally oversee the affairs of the Party.¹³⁹

In line with the main responsibilities of the NDP's federal office, the attribute which is considered the most valuable for the head of the Party bureaucracy, the federal secretary, is administrative ability. A background in policy making is not an important requirement for the federal secretary. It is also thought that the secretary should have considerable experience in the NDP, so that he or she is aware of how the Party operates and knows the important people in the organization.¹⁴⁰ As well as illustrating that the bureaucracy is principally an administrative organization, the criteria for party secretary shows again that power within the NDP is based to a large extent on personal relationships and prestige.¹⁴¹

The restrictive financial situation in which the NDP finds itself prevents the hiring of a large federal office staff and makes employment there unstable. It is therefore difficult for the federal office to provide the Party with many prospective leaders. Even so, as in other

¹³⁹ Interview with Robin Sears.

¹⁴⁰ Interview with Robin Sears.

¹⁴¹ The federal NDP has recently begun to concentrate more of its resources on building a strong organization. This has partly meant increasing the personnel and budget of the regular federal bureaucracy. The staff of the federal office in 1973 was made up of four administrators and a secretary. The implementation of the Election Expenses Act (1974) resulted in a large increase in the federal Party's revenue. The present administrative staff of the NDP's federal office includes: the federal secretary and his assistant, an organizational director, the first hired since the mid-nineteen-sixties, a federal research director, hired due to a directive from the 1975 Party Convention, and a women's organizer. From an interview with Robin Sears.

social democratic parties, many members of the parliamentary caucus began their careers with the NDP in its bureaucracy.¹⁴²

The Trade Unions

The CCF and the trade unions affiliated in 1961 to form the NDP. Since that time, the nature of this association, as well as the character of the unions in Canada, have resulted in the unions acting as a right wing or liberal influence on the Party.

The NDP and the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) are not directly affiliated. Some of the CLC's members represent civil servants who cannot engage in political activity. The Congress also believes that its ability to deal with the governing party would be hampered by direct association with the NDP.¹⁴³ Much of the trade union movement initially decided to join forces with the CCF/NDP because it was believed that the custom of party discipline present in the Westminster model of government required that labour unions support a specific party. Such a system was not viewed as making Gompers's notion of labour "supporting our friends and punishing our enemies" very effective.¹⁴⁴ The CCF/NDP was selected as the Party that the movement would support since, unlike other Canadian parties, it had no ties with employers and the unions could rely on the

¹⁴²David Lewis, a former leader of the NDP, was national secretary of the CCF until 1936 and on the Executive of the NDP before he was elected to parliament. Terry Grier, Les Benjamin, and John Harney, who have served as members of the parliamentary caucus, were also national secretaries of the NDP.

¹⁴³Gad. Horowitz, Canadian Labour in Politics (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), p. 242.

¹⁴⁴Horowitz, p. 50.

support of the entire NDP caucus, not just a faction of it.¹⁴⁵ Canadian trade unionists also came to support the CCF/NDP, for democratic socialists have always existed in the leadership of unions here.¹⁴⁶

The fear on the part of many trade unionists that a concentration of the movement's political pressure and resources exclusively through the NDP would hamper its objectives is an indication of the basic pragmatic orientation of the Canadian union movement. Although many Canadian union leaders are of British origin, the movement's dominant strategy in Canada can be traced to the United States.¹⁴⁷ This is due to the American domination of our economy and to the high number and great influence of American based international unions in Canada. Of all trade unionists in this country, 62 percent are members of international unions. The largest and most powerful unions affiliated with the NDP, including the United Steel Workers and the United Automobile Workers, are based in the United States.¹⁴⁸

The essential characteristics of the Canadian trade union movement's philosophy have included a belief in the capacity of workers to improve their lot within capitalism, a notion that the purpose of unions is to defend the immediate economic interests of the workers, and the idea that the interest of workers and capitalists are often compatible.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵Horowitz, p. 5..

¹⁴⁶Horowitz, p. 54.

¹⁴⁷Porter, p. 349. British immigrants have been over-represented in the leadership of trade unions in Canada.

¹⁴⁸Robert Laxer, Canada's Unions (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 1976), p. 27.

¹⁴⁹Laxer, p. 46.

Evidence of this kind of orientation amongst trade union leaders can be seen if the CLC's tripartite proposals in 1976 and 1977 are examined. The Congress favoured the establishment of a long range economic planning board composed of equal representation from government, business, and labour.¹⁵⁰ The tripartite idea indicates the trade union movement's belief that its objectives can be worked out on a cooperative basis with groups whose interests are seen in socialist theory as inevitably opposed to the interests of working people.

Conversations with people in the NDP reveal that some trade union leaders would like to see the Party and the union movement assume a more socialist or long range perspective.¹⁵¹ This is substantiated somewhat by the fact that in 1975 Rosemary Brown, generally considered to be the most socialistic leadership candidate in 1975, received support from a significant number of trade unionists in her bid for the leadership of the federal Party.¹⁵² However, it is unlikely that a majority of the current union leaders or the present relationship between the NDP and the unions will provide the basis for a socialist reorientation of the Party's policies.

The NDP's operating elite contains many trade unionists, with one-quarter of the Executive having backgrounds in union organizations. At least five of the members of the NDP's Executive in 1975 held staff

¹⁵⁰For the text and an analysis of the CLC's Manifesto (1976), see, Cy Gonick, "Labour's New Manifesto - CLC Convention Notes," Canadian Dimension, vol. 11, no. 5, pp. 23-32.

¹⁵¹Interviews with Stanley Knowles, Andy Hogan, and Donald MacDonald.

¹⁵²Interview with Andy Hogan.

posts in affiliated unions.¹⁵³ On the National Council trade unionists, as well as holding twelve places specifically designated for representatives from affiliated groups, other trade unionists are usually elected to the Council by the Convention.¹⁵⁴ Close personal ties also exist between the leaders of the Party and the affiliated unions.

The trade unions and the federal NDP are united reasonably well at the upper levels of each organization. A high degree of consensus exists amongst the parliamentary caucus, the Party leadership, and the heads of the affiliated trade unions about the ideological orientation that the NDP should assume. Consultation between the caucus and representatives of the trade union movement now takes place on a regular basis.¹⁵⁵

The low level of interaction existing between the NDP and the unions at the local level is due in part to a suspicion held by some Party members that close relations with the unions would lead to their domination of the Party. But it also seems that the union leadership, imbued perhaps with the notion that their membership should be free to make their own political choices, is reluctant to emphasize its support for the Party. The inability of the unions to stimulate the mass of their membership to vote for the NDP has caused considerable dissatisfaction amongst people in the Party. The likelihood of the NDP substantially

¹⁵³ Clifford Pilkey was elected to the Federal Executive in 1975 and is president of the Ontario Federation of Labour; Bill Knight, 1975 Federal Executive member and staff member of Saskatchewan Federation of Teachers; Harold Thayer, federal treasurer, holds posts in several unions.

¹⁵⁴ The 1975 Convention elected three trade union leaders to the Council.

¹⁵⁵ Interview with Edward Broadbent, NDP, M.P. for Oshawa-Whitby.

increasing its seats in Parliament would be heightened if it could extend the good relation that exists amongst the leaders of the Party and the trade unions at the upper echelons to the local level.

The labour delegates at NDP conventions normally function as a cohesive group supporting the Party leadership and its policies. The unity of the labour representatives at the leadership conventions of 1971 and 1975 contributed significantly to the victories of both Lewis and Broadbent.¹⁵⁶ The trade union delegates to an NDP convention can be instrumental in isolating and defeating the radical factions which arise from time to time in the Party. The solid opposition of the union representatives at the 1971 Party Convention helped to defeat the reorientation in policy proposed by the Waffle movement.¹⁵⁷ The fact that the trade unions submit so few resolutions to party conventions also indicates that they are basically satisfied with present orientation of the NDP.

There is some dissatisfaction amongst members of both the NDP and the trade unions about the nature of their current association. While the trade unions provide about 40 percent of the total budget of the Party, some people in the NDP believe that they should be contributing much more.¹⁵⁸ The NDP's affiliation with the labour movement has not provided the Party with the strong financial base that many had hoped it would. Mr. Sears contends that the association has meant that the NDP

¹⁵⁶M. McMenemy and C. Winn, "Party Personnel - Elites and Activists," in Political Parties in Canada, ed. Winn and McMenemy (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976), p. 163.

¹⁵⁷Michael Cross and Stephen Clarkson, "The Waffle/NDP Convention, Two Views," Canadian Forum (April/May 1971):8.

¹⁵⁸Interview with Lorne Nystrom.

could survive, but it has not provided the Party with the funds necessary for it to grow.¹⁵⁹

Many people in the NDP believed that affiliation with the labour movement would lead a large proportion of union members to vote for and actively participate in the Party. This had not happened on the scale that many NDP members had anticipated.¹⁶⁰

Recently, many trade union leaders have been critical of the provincial sections of the NDP for not giving full support to issues that the movement sees as important. The adoption of the federal government's ceilings on wage increases by NDP governments in Manitoba and Saskatchewan has caused severe tension in the Party.

Although it is unlikely that the trade unions would affiliate with another political party, the NDP has reason to be concerned about its future with the movement. As we saw earlier, the affiliated unions maintain a somewhat ambivalent attitude towards the NDP.¹⁶¹ Indications that the trade unions may be seeking to exert political pressure outside the NDP can be observed in the CLC's support for the establishment of a tripartite committee to determine basic economic policy. The NDP needs the stable financial base and organizational resources that the unions can provide, and amongst union members a great potential exists for increasing the NDP's electoral support.

¹⁵⁹ Interview with Robin Sears.

¹⁶⁰ Interview with Robin Sears.

¹⁶¹ Goodwin, p. 42.

It must be stated that closer relations with the unions might lead the NDP to become more right wing in its perspective. But as will later be argued, to move in a more socialist direction, the NDP must elect a greater number of members to the House of Commons. If more union monetary and organizational resources were used by the Party, the NDP would likely increase the size of its parliamentary caucus. As well, no socialist party can develop outside the working class. In Canada, where class consciousness is weak and few working class institutions exist, a Party which attempts to operate independently of the union movement runs the risk of becoming isolated from working people.

Conflict Within the NDP

The major sources of pragmatic or right wing influence in the NDP, as we have seen, are the parliamentary group, the trade union leadership, and the bureaucracy of the Party. When pressure to move the Party in a more radically socialist direction exists, it generally comes from the rank and file. It appears that socialist influence in the NDP, as in other social democratic parties, is usually channelled through the constituency associations during national conventions and leadership contests. Members of the NDP's more militant faction may also sit on the Federal Council.

Between national conventions, the left wing seems to have very little effect on the NDP, principally because it is not represented in the parliamentary caucus, the day to day decision making body in the Party. Since the leadership's slate of candidates for Party office is usually accepted by the convention, radicals are rarely elected to these posts. The left wing's impact has not been greatly enhanced by its

representation on the Council for its activity is dominated by the Executive.

Another reason why the radical faction of the NDP has not been more influential is that the Party has let elections and parliamentary work become its primary business. The NDP has not concentrated on political education or change by extra parliamentary means. When the public perception of the Party and the characteristics of the electorate are examined, it will become evident that a preoccupation with electoral activity is unlikely to lead to a strengthening of socialism within the NDP.

The parliamentarians who spoke with the author did not, however, characterize the radical elements of the Party as being of a more socialist perspective. Stanley Knowles said that the caucus members were not necessarily less socialistic than other elements of the NDP. He argues that some members, who are basically academic in their attitude towards politics, saw themselves being of a stronger socialist orientation than the Party leadership.¹⁶² Andy Hogan views the Party's militants as a minority within some provincial parties, who can be identified primarily by their rhetoric and idealism.¹⁶³ Donald MacDonald accuses the NDP's left wing of being narrow minded and of seeing all issues in absolute terms.¹⁶⁴ Perhaps because of the little respect the NDP's leftists have received from the members of the leadership, it has exerted minimal influence within the NDP.

¹⁶² Interview with Stanley Knowles.

¹⁶³ Interview with Andy Hogan.

¹⁶⁴ Interview with Donald MacDonald.

However, a significant radical faction, which sees itself as more socialistic than the Party leadership, is present in the NDP. At the NDP's leadership conventions of 1971 and 1975, the candidate who was recognized as representing the most socialist or radical group, forced the holding of many ballots before coming in second to the candidate supported by the Party's elite. The good showing made by James Laxer and Rosemary Brown has been attributed simply to a reaction against the leadership of the Party.¹⁶⁵ To some extent this is true, but it does not explain why they did so well on the first ballot when there was a wide field of possible choices, or why all opposition to the existing leadership eventually gravitated to the most radical candidate.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵Morton, p. 122, argues that the movement of delegates to James Laxer in the 1971 leadership contest was merely revenge against David Lewis. Donald C. MacDonald also concluded that much of Rosemary Brown's support in 1975 was a reaction against the existing leadership.

¹⁶⁶Evidence that a considerable proportion of the NDP's members would like the Party to move in a more radically socialist direction may be found in "Who's View," Canadian Dimension, vol. 7, no. 8, pp. 36-38. In this survey conducted by the Canadian Dimension, representatives to the 1971 Convention were asked: "Do you think that the analysis of capitalism in the Regina Manifesto as a 'cancer that must be rooted out' still holds or have events since the 30's convinced you that capitalism can be humanized?"

	<u>Can be Humanized</u>	<u>Must be Rooted Out</u>
NDP	50%	50%
Waffle	5%	95%

Results of 1971 NDP leadership contest:

<u>First Ballot</u>	<u>Final Ballot</u>
Lewis 661	Lewis 1046
Howard 124	Laxer 612
Broadbent 236	
Laxer 378	
Harney 304	

From the Globe and Mail, 26 April 1971, pp. 1,2.

Like most socialist and social democratic parties, the NDP attempts to keep the conflicts which arise within it from becoming public knowledge. Socialist parties are usually apprehensive about allowing internal conflict to move outside the Party, for fear that it will be exploited by opponents. Socialists see much of their strength as existing as a result of internal unity. The leaders of the CCF/NDP have consistently tried to placate conflict before it has moved into the public sphere, and have been angered and embarrassed by those disputes that have not remained private. When it has appeared that an end to such conflict will be difficult to achieve, the Party leadership has moved to purge those elements that oppose it.¹⁶⁷

Conflict between the trade unions affiliated with the NDP and those provincial governments controlled by the Party have recently become public. However, the NDP, particularly at the federal level, has attempted to minimize the importance of these disputes.¹⁶⁸ Relations between the federal caucus and the provincial parties are kept at a low profile and neither group publicly criticizes or advises the other.¹⁶⁹

Results of 1975 NDP leadership contest:

<u>First Ballot</u>	<u>Final Ballot</u>
Broadbent 536	Broadbent 943
Brown 413	Brown 658
Nystrom 345	
Harney 313	
Campbell 11	

Wayne Cheveldayoff, Globe and Mail, 8 July 1975, p. 8.

¹⁶⁷ This was accomplished at the provincial level by the Ontario and Saskatchewan parties. For a description of the Ontario purge of the NDP, see, "The Waffle or the Unions," Canadian Forum (April 1972):2,3,11.

¹⁶⁸ Interview with Edward Broadbent.

¹⁶⁹ Interview with Lorne Nystrom.

Although insurgent factions occasionally arise within the NDP, the basic unity of the Party is not usually disrupted for extended periods of time by these disputes. We shall see that most conflicts within the NDP, as in other Canadian political parties, take place over regional and linguistic issues rather than over ideological ones.

Conclusion

Although the NDP exhibits many organizational characteristics common to socialist parties, these attributes have often worked against the maintenance by the Party of a socialist ideology. Like many mass parties, the leadership of the NDP commands a great deal of influence amongst the rank and file. Therefore, as we observed, the leaders of the NDP are able to dominate the membership's influence on the policy making and leadership selection processes. The leadership's prevailing power in the NDP has inhibited the growth of an important and influential socialist faction which is rooted in the rank and file of most socialist parties. The generally moderate and pragmatic orientation of the NDP's leaders over the direction of the Party have stifled the emergence of strong socialist pressure within it.

The nature of the NDP's elite group has thwarted the integration of people representing a more socialist perspective into the leadership. In many socialist parties, the militant factions can become influential through their positions in the Party's bureaucracy, parliamentary caucus or in affiliated trade unions. The various organizational elements of the NDP, as we shall see, are highly integrated, both in their political outlook and personnel. Therefore, it is very difficult for

those who wish to see a socialist redirection of the Party to exert pressure that would further this objective.

THE NDP AS A SMALL SIZE PARTY

The NDP's small size and perpetual third party status at the federal level have been very influential on its structure and development. As in many small political parties, a leader's power in the NDP is generally based on personal relationships and prestige. Most members of the Party's leadership, as was illustrated previously, hold official posts by virtue of the respect and personal authority they command within the organization.¹⁷⁰ Whereas in larger social democratic parties, persons in official positions are often chosen on the basis of the institution or faction they represent.

The Parliamentary Caucus

The NDP's federal parliamentary caucus is presently composed of only sixteen members. The small size of this group has led to its assumption of a united and basically moderate stance. In socialist and social democratic parties which have large parliamentary groups, a wider spectrum of opinion is reflected. Thus, the militantly socialist faction in a large social democratic party is more likely to receive parliamentary representation proportional to its strength amongst party supporters than in a smaller party. It was shown in chapter II that if a faction is represented in parliament, it has the capacity to influence the daily decision of the Party and it is accorded greater legitimacy and publicity.

¹⁷⁰ Interview with Robin Sears.

If a political party is to retain elements of a socialist rather than a radical perspective, its socialist faction must be represented in the caucus.

The Unity of the Leadership

Within the NDP, the high degree of consensus which usually exists between the parliamentary caucus, union administrators, provincial party leaders, and the party bureaucrats, has directed the Party uniformly in a moderate, reform liberal direction. The high degree of unanimity present amongst the leadership of the NDP is characteristic of a small party. Most socialist pressure, therefore, must be exerted on an irregular basis outside the leadership of the Party.

The Effects of the NDP's Financial Situation

The NDP, as we have shown, like most small parties, is constantly plagued by insufficient financial and organizational resources. These conditions have led the Party to adopt a policy which stipulates that resources should be allocated to those areas in which they are most likely to result in an immediate increase in the NDP's electoral support.¹⁷¹ The federal NDP has never been able to displace one of the major parties, but the Party has had greater electoral success at the provincial level. The NDP controlled two provincial governments in 1976 and was the official opposition in another province.¹⁷² This has meant

¹⁷¹Interview with Donald MacDonald.

¹⁷²The NDP is the governing party in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, the official opposition party in British Columbia, and is in a prominent position in the Ontario legislature.

a concentration of the Party's resources in provincial contests west of the Ottawa River.¹⁷³

Many of those within the NDP who believe that its resources should be allocated primarily to provincial elections, contend that the Party must establish its credibility at the provincial level before making any serious attempt for power federally.¹⁷⁴ This "building block" approach is not an adequate method of increasing support for the national Party. Evidence suggests that people have different priorities when voting for different levels of government. National unity and the maintenance of a majority government in parliament may dissuade people from supporting third parties in federal elections. As well, voters may show a greater willingness to risk voting for a new party at the provincial level than federally. The inadequacy of the building block approach can be seen in the fact that although the NDP is the governing party in Saskatchewan and until recently formed the government in Manitoba, it only elected two members from each of those provinces in the last federal election.¹⁷⁵ On this issue, Stanley Knowles argues that the NDP as a whole is becoming so concerned with provincial politics that the federal leader must now plead with the Executive for recognition and money to sustain the activities of the national Party.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³Interview with Donald MacDonald.

¹⁷⁴Interview with Donald MacDonald.

¹⁷⁵Interview with Edward Broadbent.

¹⁷⁶Interview with Stanley Knowles.

One of the reasons why the leadership of the NDP has become so concerned with provincial politics may be that it contains such a high proportion of people who are involved with the Party principally at the provincial level. Provincial legislators and Executive members make up 44 percent of the National Executive's membership. Later in this chapter, we will see how the NDP's emphasis on provincial politics has effected its ideological orientation.

The leadership of the NDP, like that of other small parties, is unified by the presence of family ties.¹⁷⁷ As was previously elucidated, personal connections form the basis of many power relationships in the Party. Therefore, the family ties that exist work to reinforce the cohesiveness of the leadership.

THE NDP AS A LIBERAL PARTY

In chapter I, we saw that the policy documents of the CCF/NDP contained elements of a liberal approach to political questions. The internal organization of the Party today also has characteristics commonly found in liberal parties, such as a decentralized structure and a dominant parliamentary group.

The Parliamentary Caucus

The NDP leaders, who spoke with the author, agreed that the federal Party is dominated by its parliamentary caucus. This is, as the

¹⁷⁷Grace MacInnis, who served both in the administration of the CCF and as a member of parliament, was the daughter of one of its leaders, J.S. Woodsworth. Ontario NDP leader, Stephen Lewis and Michael Lewis, a prominent organizer in Ontario, are the children of former party leader, David Lewis. Acting NDP national secretary, Robin Sears, is the grandson of former CCF/NDP parliamentarian, Colin Cameron.

discussion in chapter II revealed, a prominent feature of liberal parties. Within the NDP, there are important signs that the caucus has overwhelming control over the course of the entire Party. The leader of the parliamentary group serves as the head of the entire Party. The daily decision making in the federal Party takes place within the parliamentary group.¹⁷⁸ The broad outlines of Party policy are formally established by the Convention and the National Council, but due to the proximity of the caucus to what the NDP sees as its main vehicle for effecting social change, parliament, it has control over at least the specific aspects of policy making.

While the Constitution of the NDP makes no reference to the functioning of the parliamentary party or to the kind of relations that should exist between it and the extra-parliamentary sections of the Party, the regulations under which the Council and Executive should operate are quite specific. It seems then, that the Party believes the caucus should be left to function relatively unhampered by either the Constitution, the Convention, or the Party bureaucracy.

The policy making process at national conventions ensures that most resolutions passed by the rank and file are compatible with the orientation of the caucus. The high degree of consensus that is present between the parliamentary caucus and the other elements of the NDP's leadership, coupled with the high level of control that leaders in the Party can exert over the Convention, virtually guarantees that resolutions will be in line with the ideas of the parliamentary group.

¹⁷⁸ Interviews with Stanley Knowles, Lorne Nystrom, and Andy Hogan.

There is no formal pattern of consultation that takes place between the parliamentary caucus and Party organization of the NDP. Tradition encourages parliamentarians to keep in mind the directives of the Party rank and file. "We are conscious of Convention and Council decisions."¹⁷⁹ The caucus also has informal consultations with specific members of the Executive on a weekly or daily basis.¹⁸⁰

The members of the NDP's federal caucus stressed that the parliamentary group is bound to have an important influence on direction of the Party and its policies.¹⁸¹ They contend, however, that the caucus does not occupy a position of complete dominance in the NDP. Since at the federal level, the NDP has remained a third party, conclude the parliamentarians, the caucus has not exercised as much influence as their counterparts in those provinces where the NDP is electorally strong.¹⁸²

Although the caucus consults regularly with specific members of the Executive, this body does not seem to be one of the principal channels through which the parliamentarians exert their considerable influence over the Party. The caucus' representation on the Executive has declined recently from about 15 percent to the present total of 7 percent of its members. In the past, at least one parliamentarian was elected as a vice president of the Party,¹⁸³ but no member of parliament

¹⁷⁹ Interview with Stanley Knowles.

¹⁸⁰ Interview with Lorne Nystrom.

¹⁸¹ Interviews with Edward Broadbent, Stanley Knowles, and Lorne Nystrom.

¹⁸² Interview with Stanley Knowles.

¹⁸³ Goodwin, p. 61.

now holds such a post. The insignificant representation of the parliamentary caucus on the Executive is another indication of the subordinate role played by the Party apparatus in policy determination. It appears that in the NDP, as in those parties that have a liberal democratic orientation, the parliamentary group assumes the predominant role in policy making, while most of the Party's activities are restricted to the area of administration.

The Organizational Structure of the NDP

Most socialist parties operate with a centralized internal organization. In states employing a federal system of government as was argued in chapter II, it is especially important that an ideological and tactical unity be maintained within a socialist party. The integrity of a party's socialist orientation can only be preserved if its direction is centrally coordinated. A centralized type of party organization does not negate the existence of internal democracy nor does it diminish the power of the party's membership. It does mean that local or regional elites cannot further their own political goals at the expense of the party's overall objective of collectivizing the ownership and control of the economy. Socialist goals are national in their implications. Therefore, a party which comes to stress local politics also tends to concentrate on putting forward pragmatic solutions to the immediate concerns of the electorate.

The federal NDP, like the other national parties in Canada, has no independent existence, as it is a federation of provincial parties, affiliated trade unions and other groups. An examination of the NDP's internal organization shows that its structure is probably more

decentralized in its actual operation than that of either the Liberal or Conservative parties.

The prominent position of the provincial sections in the NDP has a theoretical as well as an organizational basis. The notion that a decentralized organization is the most democratic is prevalent in the Party. The decentralized structure of the CCF was forced on its organizers in 1932 by groups eager to protect their own identity.¹⁸⁴ The founders of the Party saw it as a federation of autonomous groups. The CCF was a coming together of a variety of associations and individuals, including reform members of parliament, Eastern radical intellectuals, powerful Western farm groups, and small labour parties. Such groups were both self-sufficient and regionally isolated.¹⁸⁵ They also represented very diverse interests and objectives.

The traditions of group and individual autonomy present in the CCF and the pattern of electoral performance of the NDP have combined to support a decentralized type of internal organization. The possibility of dramatically reorienting the NDP away from its current stress on provincial politics is remote at the present time. However, the federal Party must find ways of fostering interest in federal politics and in expanding its organizational capacity, if it expects to increase its electoral support.

¹⁸⁴Gerald Caplan, The Dilemma of Canadian Socialism: The CCF in Ontario (Toronto: McGlelland and Stewart, 1973), p. 9.

¹⁸⁵Interview with Robin Sears.

In keeping with the federal nature of the NDP, individual party memberships are granted by the provincial sections.¹⁸⁶ The provincial parties then associate with the federal organization, while groups affiliate directly with the federal Party.¹⁸⁷

On a day to day basis, the NDP "operates at the provincial level."¹⁸⁸ With the exception of those constituencies in which the Party has a sitting federal member, the only local associations which the NDP maintains between elections are provincial ones. This leads to a situation in which people at the local level focus their attention and activities primarily on issues related to provincial politics. Donald MacDonald contends that "we have a great deal of difficulty getting people to concentrate on federal elections."¹⁸⁹

Federal constituency associations are usually formed on an ad hoc basis from the provincial constituency groups which comprise the federal riding and exist only to nominate candidates and to contest national elections. The temporary nature of federal associations at the local level, argues Desmond Morton, "reinforces the increasing provincial orientation of the NDP."¹⁹⁰ The federal Party is now initiating a plan whereby federal constituency associations would begin coming together two years before a national election was expected.¹⁹¹ However,

¹⁸⁶The NDP Constitution, 1975, art. III, sec. 1.1.

¹⁸⁷The NDP Constitution, 1975, art. III, sec. 2.3.

¹⁸⁸Interview with Donald MacDonald.

¹⁸⁹Interview with Donald MacDonald.

¹⁹⁰Morton, p. 61.

¹⁹¹Interview with Edward Broadbent.

the present system of establishing a committee involving representatives from different provincial riding associations often means that only the Executive members become involved in the federal association. If the federal Party wants to encourage rank and file interest in its affairs, it should broaden the involvement of the membership in its activities. The specific ways that this could be accomplished will be discussed in the following chapter.

The Fiscal Arrangements Within the NDP

The bulk of the federal NDP's revenue comes from membership dues and donations. Since all memberships and a good proportion of the donations are collected by the provincial sections, the Party has worked out a revenue-sharing scheme whereby the federal NDP receives 15 percent of all money collected in the name of the Party.¹⁹² The national Party's only independent source of financial support is the affiliated organizations. The manner in which the federal Party is funded further increases its dependence on the provincial sections.

The Provincial Parties

The provincial sections of the NDP are not alike. An examination of the provincial parties illustrates that their organizational

¹⁹²The total revenue projected by the federal NDP for 1976 was \$446,000. Of this amount, \$250,000 was expected from the provincial sections, \$175,000 from affiliated organizations, and \$21,000 from miscellaneous contributions. Most of the money received by the national NDP, \$250,000 in 1976, was allocated to administration and the salaries of party employees. A total of \$130,000 was spent on organizational aid to provincial elections and the training of party workers. The NDP apportions \$50,000 to leadership expenses, \$60,000 is set aside to cover the travelling costs of the caucus and \$30,000 was required to offset the cost of holding Federal Meetings. From an interview with Robin Sears.

structures vary according to the kind of support they receive from affiliated groups and the electorate, as well as the nature of a province's economic base.

The fact that the NDP's provincial basis of support varies from province to province, can result in difficulties for the Party as a whole. The Saskatchewan Party has always been one of the mass based and mass funded of the provincial parties. It is also of an essentially rural orientation.¹⁹³ The Party in Ontario is more centralized and has close financial and organizational ties with the trade unions based there.¹⁹⁴ The Manitoba NDP is similar in many ways to the Ontario section. It is dependent upon the support of urban working class voters and European ethnic groups, rather than the agricultural community.¹⁹⁵ The British Columbia Party is one of the most labour-oriented sections of the NDP. Much of the electoral support that it receives comes from urban areas and many influential posts in the Party are held by union officials.¹⁹⁶ Paradoxically, the NDP in British Columbia has the strongest ties with the labour movement and it is still considered to be one of the most radically socialist segments of the Party.¹⁹⁷ Therefore, close connections with labour do not inevitably lead a social democratic party in a conservative direction. The NDP has only achieved

¹⁹³Peter W. Clutterbuck, "Third Parties Provincially," in Provincial Government and Politics, Comparative Essays, ed. Donald C. Rowat (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1974), p. 444.

¹⁹⁴Clutterbuck, p. 420.

¹⁹⁵Clutterbuck, p. 450.

¹⁹⁶Clutterbuck, p. 427.

¹⁹⁷Clutterbuck, p. 452.

marginal success in the Maritimes where the Party has been concentrated in the industrialized regions of Cape Breton.¹⁹⁸ The Party has not been organized to contest provincial elections in Quebec. This has inhibited the Party's ability to compete federally in that province, since the national campaigns of the NDP are conducted by its provincial apparatus. The NDP's leadership in Quebec is restricted to English and French-speaking intellectuals in Montreal.¹⁹⁹

The Effects of a Decentralized Structure on
the Development of the NDP

The development of strong provincial sections in the NDP is seen by many as both inevitable and good. The rise of powerful provincial parties has coincided with the growth of provincial influence generally in Canada.²⁰⁰ One of the advantages of a decentralized structure is that the whole Party "does not rise and fall at the same time." When the NDP suffers an electoral defeat in one province, it does not have a devastating effect on other provincial parties or on the federal Party. Similarly, if the Party does poorly in a federal election, the provincial sections may remain strong.²⁰¹

Mr. Sears also sees the existence of a dispersed type of organization as being essential to the maintenance of unanimity in the NDP. A decentralized form of organization, he believes, fosters harmony

¹⁹⁸ Clutterbuck, p. 458.

¹⁹⁹ John Meisel, Working Papers in Canadian Politics (Toronto: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), p. 17.

²⁰⁰ Interview with Robin Sears.

²⁰¹ Interview with Robin Sears.

between the federal Party administrators, provincial officials, and rank and file volunteers, thus, local and regional people feel that their autonomy is maintained.²⁰² However, the leadership of the NDP effectively controls the business and decision making of the national convention and the membership does not seem to object to this kind of domination.

The decentralized structure of the NDP has also had a detrimental effect on the Party. The reliance of the federal NDP on the provincial sections - except Quebec - to organize election campaigns, coupled with the different policy and organizational characteristics of each provincial party, have at times made the coordination of a federal election campaign difficult. In the 1972 federal election, the Ontario section of the Party was primarily interested in exploiting the issue of economic nationalism. The Saskatchewan and British Columbian parties opposed this and seemed to suspect that it was a ploy to keep existing tariffs in place.²⁰³ The parties in the Maritimes favoured a concentration on the issue of regional inequality. This situation led the NDP to use different issues in different areas of the country. Quite by accident, the Party adopted a criticism of the corporate tax system and it was used successfully throughout the country during the campaign.²⁰⁴

The diffused structure of the NDP has inhibited the federal Party's pursuit of greater electoral success and has helped to diminish

²⁰² Interview with Robin Sears.

²⁰³ Walter Stewart, "Ed. Broadbent: Picking Up the Pieces of the NDP," Maclean's, no. 11, vol. 87, p. 8.

²⁰⁴ Stewart, p. 8.

the influence of socialism on the Party's policies. The stress placed on provincial politics has encouraged the whole Party to become pre-occupied with local and regional problems, leading to the assumption by the NDP of a fragmented, pragmatic approach to politics. As we saw, the NDP had difficulty producing a comprehensive national program on which to base its 1972 campaign due to disagreements amongst provincial officials. This shows how a weak federal party has worked against the institution of a coordinated and effective organization and policy at the national level.

If the NDP is to develop a more socialist approach, the federal Party must become stronger so that interest can be focused on national issues. For this reason too, the NDP's representation in the House of Commons must also be enlarged. A larger caucus, as we observed earlier, would also increase the likelihood of militant socialists being elected, thereby increasing the socialist influence on the Party.

An important sign illustrating the decline of socialism and the rise of pragmatism in the NDP is the fact that the major disputes in the Party are centered around those questions which cause the greatest conflict in other Canadian political parties. Although the caucus is presently quite united, the disagreements that do arise are over issues such as bilingualism, regional disparities, and constitutional problems.²⁰⁵ On the Executive and the Council, the lines of disagreement are usually determined by either personal relationship or by regional loyalties.²⁰⁶ For example, in 1973 the unity of the Executive was threatened by

²⁰⁵ Interview with Stanley Knowles.

²⁰⁶ Interviews with Robin Sears and Lorne Nystrom.

conflict over oil and gas prices. At that time, the delegates from Ontario sought to have the Executive pass a policy favouring lower prices, while the members from Saskatchewan wanted one which set the price closer to the international one. The issue of food pricing also caused internal difficulties, when members from Ontario and British Columbia objected to the policy of higher food prices suggested by Western representatives.²⁰⁷ We saw earlier that serious differences presently exist on the Federal Council between the leaders of the NDP provincial governments and the trade unions over the institution by Manitoba and Saskatchewan of the federal government's wage and price controls program.

Environmental Influences on the Structural Development of the NDP

The NDP exhibits very little interest in changing the basic organization of Canadian society. While the Party shows great concern for many of the ill effects of the capitalist system of economy, such as unemployment, poor housing, and environmental pollution, it seems unwilling to challenge the basic economic system which creates these problems.

The evidence presented in the first chapter shows that the NDP has abandoned its vision of a socialist Canada, largely because many members believe that such a goal would not receive widespread acceptance.²⁰⁸ It is argued that the history, political culture and

²⁰⁷ Interview with Lorne Nystrom.

²⁰⁸ Meeting with David Lewis, 26 August 1976.

governmental system existing in Canada would not support a political party with a strong socialist orientation.²⁰⁹

Class has never been an important determinant of voting in Canada. Most members of the Canadian working class display the characteristics of false consciousness, for they remain unaware that the "bureaucracy, the media, the political parties and the remaining superstructure in Canadian society serve the interests of the propertied class."²¹⁰ Canadians lack a class perspective on political issues and tend to emphasize ethnic, linguistic, and regional considerations when voting.²¹¹ This situation is reinforced by the fact that each of the two major parties in Canada is identified with a particular region and ethnic group.

Although class is not an important factor in Canadian voting, the NDP has a solid base of support in the working class. Blue collar workers make up 54-60 percent of all supporters of the federal NDP. Trade union members comprise a much larger proportion of the NDP's total number of voters than they do in either of the two major parties.²¹² The NDP receives below average support from well educated people and those who place themselves in the upper classes.²¹³ However, two-thirds

²⁰⁹Donald MacDonald, Review of The Dilemma of Canadian Socialism.

²¹⁰N.H. Chi, "Class Cleavage," in Political Parties in Canada, ed. Winn and McMenemy (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976), p. 90.

²¹¹Chi, p. 90.

²¹²Meisel, p. 47.

²¹³Meisel, p. 17.

of the working class in Canada regularly support the Liberal and Conservative parties.²¹⁴

Ideological Cleavages in Canadian Politics

A significant left/right cleavage has never developed in Canadian politics. In most European states such a division has been the principal factor separating major political parties. In Canada, ideological divisions have occurred only between the major parties and third party protest movements.²¹⁵ Even those movements with an ideological orientation different from the major parties have come to the fore initially as regionally based groups.²¹⁶

The effectiveness of third parties, like the NDP, has been restricted by the way in which our governmental system has evolved. The concentration of government decision making in the cabinet has diminished the role of parliament and the opposition parties in the law-making process.²¹⁷ Canadians also seem to be skeptical about the effectiveness of minority governments, for they are generally followed by majority governments. This has caused many to ignore the alternatives offered by minor parties.

²¹⁴Chi, p. 103.

²¹⁵Erwin C. Hargrove, "Political Leadership in Anglo-American Democracies," in Political Leadership in Industrialized Societies, ed. Lewis J. Edinger (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967), p. 198.

²¹⁶During their formative years, the Social Credit, Progressive and CCF parties were all centered in the Western provinces with the Progressive and CCF parties having some support in Ontario.

²¹⁷John Warnock, "Parliamentary Government, The New Democratic Party, " Canadian Dimension, vol. 6, no. 5, p. 17.

New parties which have opted to compete nationally, such as the CCF/NDP, have been hampered by the fact that no major party has ever been replaced in Canada at the federal level. But the rise of the CCF and the Progressive parties during the 1930's and the development of the Parti Quebecois in the nineteen sixties as a response to nationalist sentiments in Quebec, illustrates that Canadians, when faced with a critical situation, attempt to create new political parties as vehicles for effecting social change.

The type of electoral system used in Canada has had an important influence on the development of the CCF/NDP, for it favours the major parties and those minor ones that are centered in specific regions. The experience of the Social Credit and Progressive parties shows that the electoral system works to the advantage of parties which have regional bases of support.²¹⁸ The major parties also benefit from this bias, for both the Liberals and Progressive Conservatives have regional strongholds that ensure a substantial number of their parliamentary seats. Third parties with geographically diffused support, such as the CCF/NDP, do not usually receive the proportion of parliamentary seats equal to their overall percentage of the national vote.²¹⁹

Since the electoral system has made sectionalism a more rewarding cleavage for political parties to exploit than class, the emergence of parties with a class orientation has been thwarted. This

²¹⁸Allan C. Cairns, "The Electoral System and Party System in Canada, 1921-1965," in The Canadian Political Process, ed. Kruhlak, Schultz, and Pobihushchy (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), p. 143.

²¹⁹Cairns, p. 143.

has impeded the NDP's development, for it does not have a reliable sectional base on which to depend. It has also led the Party to stress immediate regional issues during election campaigns. Issues which have traditionally been associated with democratic socialism, such as the establishment of an equitable distribution of wealth and a comprehensive system of social security, have been replaced by those which have sectional appeal.

The single member constituency system does not necessarily discourage class politics but it does discourage the development of class as an important political influence when class identities are weak.²²⁰ In a country like Canada, that is fragmented along cultural, linguistic, and geographic lines, the single member system works to reinforce these divisions.

The biggest drawback of the federal system for the NDP appears to be that it results in a pre-occupation on the part of party workers with provincial affairs, a de-emphasis on socialist issues and a weak organizational structure in the federal Party. Federalism is a form of organization which is likely to persist in Canada. Thus, the federal NDP must assert itself both organizationally and in the area of policy formulation if it is to be electorally successful and if a basic socialist outlook is to be encouraged.

The NDP's adoption of a moderate election oriented platform and strategy has had limited success. The proportion of the vote received by the Party in national elections since 1961, has fluctuated between 13 percent and 18 percent, while support for the Party in public

²²⁰Cairns, p. 158.

opinion polls has not gone above 22 percent recently.²²¹ Therefore it may be time for the Party to alter its pragmatic stance and adopt a more socialist one.

The existing regular supporters of the NDP possess some of the essential attributes of adherents to a socialist party. The supporters of the NDP may be differentiated from people who vote for other Canadian political parties in that the Party and its policies, more than the Party leader, tend to be the most important factors determining how NDP voters cast their ballots.²²² The only exception to this general trend occurred in the 1972 federal election campaign when David Lewis, the Party leader, was more popular than the NDP itself.

Studies have shown that people who vote for the NDP possess not only different ideas about specific policies but, like the supporters of socialist movements, different assumptions about the nature and role of government. Supporters of the NDP have greater confidence in the capacity of public institutions to have a positive effect on human life, than the advocates of other parties in Canada. It should be emphasized that the notion of a positive activist government is more prevalent in social democratic thought than in liberalism.

The NDP voter, like the supporters of socialist parties in Europe, lends his support to the Party largely because of a concern for economic issues, such as unemployment and regional disparities. Of the Party's supporters in the 1972 election campaign, 71 percent stated that

²²¹Ian Urquhart, "The NDP Out of Season," Maclean's 89 (29 November 1976):62.

²²²Meisel, p. 34.

the most important issues in that election were related to the economy.²²³ However, a greater proportion of NDP voters support the Party because of its stand on economic issues that were regionally relevant than those of national significance. But NDP supporters showed a greater concern for national problems than did those people who voted for either the Progressive Conservative or Social Credit parties.²²⁴ In that same election, it was also found that voters who favoured the NDP exhibited a greater interest in social welfare questions than did the advocates of the two major parties.²²⁵

Conclusion

We observed in chapter I that the CCF/NDP initially put forward a program containing both socialist and liberal ideas. As the Party developed, it gradually abandoned the socialistic and came more and more to adopt an essentially liberal approach. The Party's vision of a socialist Canada was lost. It sought to minimize the negative effects of capitalism rather than to replace it.

The NDP shares some structural characteristics with socialist parties. It is a mass based organization that is affiliated with the trade union movements and stresses internal democracy and membership participation in decision making. Organizational features such as these could work to support a stronger socialist outlook by the Party. But other organizational traits that the NDP has in common with socialist parties, like

²²³Meisel, p. 19.

²²⁴Meisel, p. 19.

²²⁵Meisel, p. 49.

the existence of a powerful leadership and prolonged tenure of office for its leaders, have encouraged the maintenance of an electorally oriented, reform liberal approach by the Party.

The features which the NDP's organization shares with small parties have also discouraged the assumption of a strong socialist approach. As in other small parties, the leadership of the NDP is a united and highly integrated group. Earlier in this chapter, evidence was presented to show that the uniformly pragmatic orientation of the Party's elite had hindered the influence of socialist ideas on the NDP. As well, the federal NDP's sources of revenue, like those of other third parties, are insufficient for its purposes. As was demonstrated, this situation has fostered the power of the provincial parties at the expense of the federal NDP, while encouraging pragmatism.

The NDP exhibits characteristics usually found in liberal parties. The principal objective of the NDP now is the same as such parties, to increase its representation in parliament. This has led to a situation in which the parliamentary caucus virtually controls the policies of the NDP. The activities of the Party apparatus, then, are largely confined to the area of administration. Like most liberal parties, the NDP maintains a basically decentralized type of organization. This, too, as was argued earlier, has contributed to the adoption of a liberal outlook by the NDP.

The dominant characteristics of the NDP's internal structure have encouraged the development of a liberal ideological perspective. It is unlikely that the Party will adopt a strong socialist approach in the near future. However, the federal NDP does have the potential to

become more inclined toward socialism. In the following chapter, it will be argued that by changing its present internal structure, a socialist redefinition of the NDP's objectives would be encouraged. Alternatives to the NDP's current organizational arrangements that could strengthen the influence of socialist ideas on the Party will be discussed in this section.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

It is unlikely that the New Democratic Party will become a militantly socialist organization in the near future. In the previous chapter, we observed that both the political culture of Canada and the history of the CCF/NDP would probably preclude this. It was observed earlier that Canadians tend to see the most important political cleavages dividing them as being regional and cultural rather than economic. The electorate in Canada also appears to be quite conservative in its approach to national politics. No major party has ever been replaced at the federal level and both large parties put forward essentially similar policies on most major issues.²²⁶

The CCF/NDP has never espoused a strong socialist programme. In chapter I, the analysis of the Party's policy statements revealed that although the first documents of the CCF contained many notions traditionally associated with socialism, they also included liberal precepts. As we saw, the CCF/NDP came to stress more and more the liberal aspects of its doctrine and to de-emphasize the socialist ones.

The organizations affiliated with the CCF/NDP have not influenced the Party in a radically socialist direction. The principal

²²⁶ Both the Liberal and Progressive Conservative Parties are in favour of bilingualism in the federal civil service, the existence of temporary government controls over prices, wages, and profits, and the prominence of private enterprise in the economy.

author of the Regina Manifesto, as well as other members of the League for Social Reconstruction, were not socialists.²²⁷ The farm organizations that have been associated with the Party have also not influenced it in a strongly collectivist way. Finally, as was demonstrated in chapter III, the trade unions in Canada are of an essentially moderate perspective and have at times worked to defeat radical socialists in the CCF/NDP.

There are means, however, by which the NDP could become more socialist in its approach: The assumption of a more socialist outlook by the NDP is dependent upon the strengthening of the federal Party, an enlarging of the left wing's presence in the Party's leadership, and an increase in the number of seats controlled by the NDP in the House of Commons.

We observed in chapter II that the decentralized, provincially oriented structure of the NDP has fostered the growth of a fragmented, pragmatic approach to policy, as well as discouraged the building of a strong federal Party. If the NDP is to put forward socialist alternatives, it must have a powerful national organization which can develop such policies and present them to the electorate, for socialist options are necessarily national in their implications.

One of the first steps taken by the national NDP to stimulate interest in its activities and electoral success should be the creation of a publication to be sent regularly to all Party members. This would increase the contact that the rank and file have with the federal Party, thus stimulating interest in its affairs.

²²⁷ Frank Underhill, who was the principal author of the Regina Manifesto, and Eugene Forsey, another author of the Manifesto, both became supporters of the Liberal Party.

During his campaign for the NDP leadership, Mr. Broadbent's proposals for strengthening the federal Party included the development of such a publication.²²⁸ So far, none has come into being, though Broadbent is optimistic that one will soon be established.²²⁹

Lorne Nystrom, an unsuccessful candidate for Party leader in 1975, also campaigned for the existence of a federal newspaper. He believes that it would be an excellent organizational tool and would result in a greater proportion of the Party's supporters at the provincial level voting for it nationally.

Both the national secretary and the acting national secretary are very much against the establishment of a federal publication, for basically economic reasons. They also seemed concerned that such a publication would not be well received by some provincial sections of the NDP.²³⁰ However, Nystrom concluded that a good quality publication might be self-financing.²³¹

The federal organization will need greater financial resources if it is to build a structure that is less dependent on the provincial parties. This may be partially accomplished with the increase in revenues expected from the effects of the Election Expenses Act (1974). A significant portion of the NDP's resources, as we saw in chapter III, are provided by the trade unions. This sum, however, is not large and

²²⁸Stewart, p. 8.

²²⁹Interview with Edward Broadbent.

²³⁰Interview with Robin Sears.

²³¹Interview with Lorne Nystrom.

could be increased. A plan to increase the contribution of unions to the Party's revenues should be part of a general effort to enlarge the trade unions' interest in the Party. The federal Party might also re-negotiate with the larger provincial sections to increase the proportion of money it now receives from membership dues and donations.

One of the principal barriers to the construction of a strong federal Party is the absence of federal constituency associations between elections. The ad hoc nature of local federal NDP organizations and the fact that the permanent constituency structures are established only at the provincial level has led Party supporters to concentrate on provincial politics. This is especially significant in a party such as the NDP, which bases its local campaign strategy on a comprehensive system of voter canvases, requiring many volunteers and a great deal of time. Provincial contests are therefore more likely to receive effective campaign work than are federal ones. The national Party has now begun to organize local federal election committees for the first time in advance of a national election. But it should always maintain active work at the local level to ensure that militants keep up an interest in the federal Party, that potential support for it is cultivated amongst the electorate, and so that the federal NDP will have greater independence from the provincial organizations.

A high degree of unanimity should exist between the various sections of the NDP. The dispute within the Party between the trade unionists and the NDP provincial governments in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, concerning the federal government's wage and price controls programme, illustrates how the lack of an overall policy outlook in the Party

contributes to internal conflict. This issue was particularly crucial for it tended to alienate trade unionists from other sections of the NDP, an antagonism that the Party cannot afford. Many members of the NDP contend that a centralization of policy making is undemocratic. But the Party's uncoordinated strategy towards the wage and price controls issue showed how the absence of a coordinated approach often increases the influence of pragmatism on its general outlook.²³²

To become a more socialist political party, the NDP must develop a comprehensive set of policies that are based on a collectivist approach to a reorganization of Canada's economic and social life. This programme must be the basis of not only the federal NDP's political work, but must also be an important aspect of the policies of the provincial parties and the political education work of the affiliated trade unions.

If the policies of the NDP are to be influenced to a greater extent by socialist ideas, the left wing of the Party's access to decision making and administration must be improved. To facilitate this, the elite of the Party should become more open and the policy making process democratized, since most leftist pressure is exerted through the constituency associations.

It is unlikely that the high esteem in which the CCF/NDP's leaders have been held in the past, will continue to the current generation. If the elite of the Party is not viewed with such reverence, perhaps the rank and file will not be as eager to follow the direction set by the leadership as they have been in the past.

²³²For a description of conflict within the NDP over this issue see, Rae Murphy, "Joe Morris and the Big Blue Collar Machine," Last Post, vol. 5, no. 6, p. 32.

The power of the Executive should be diminished and that of the Federal Council increased, if left wing influence on decision making in the NDP is to be enhanced. The Executive is composed of the Party officers, elected by the convention, mainly as members of an official slate, and others chosen by and from the Council. Therefore, the Executive tends to reflect the moderate perspective of the NDP's controlling faction and remains quite isolated from radical pressure.

The Council, on the other hand, could contain a higher proportion of members who are directly elected by the Party convention. Although members of the NDP's militant faction do not occupy many seats on the Council, it does reflect, to a greater degree than the Executive, the ideological diversity of the Party. Perhaps then the size of the Council should be decreased so as to make it a more workable body, which then could meet more frequently.

The size of the Council should be diminished by cutting back on the number of its provincial representatives. The provincial sections of the NDP are now accorded over 50 percent of the seats on the Federal Council. A decrease in the proportion of provincial delegates would not only make the Council a more effective group but might lessen some of the NDP's provincial bias, thus strengthening the federal Party.

The committees of the federal Party should become committees of the Council, rather than the Executive. In chapter III, the control of the Executive over both the selection of committee personnel and over the work of Party committees was noted. As we observed, the existing committee structure serves to strengthen the influence of the right wing faction of the NDP. The decision making process within the

NDP would be more representative of all sectors of the Party if such committees were made up of Council members and others, not simply those who are close to the Executive.

Policy committees of the Council should be active in researching specific policy areas and presenting advice regularly to the caucus. The Council currently contains many people possessing expertise in various fields related to public policy, whose knowledge and previous experience would widen the influence on the daily decision making of the Party.

Regular and substantive communications between the caucus, the Council and the Executive of the NDP should take place. The caucus' decision making process, as we saw in chapter III, goes on without much input from other sections of the Party. The federal caucus has begun to hold regular meetings with representatives from the trade union movement, which is an important step toward broadening their influence on the caucus.

The leadership selection process in the NDP would be more open and hence the diversity of influence on the Party greater, if the presentation of slates, particularly an official slate, during the election of party officers, were eliminated. The present system encourages the control and perpetuation of the existing elite, since the members of what is recognized to be the official slate are usually elected.

The rules governing national conventions should be altered so that the rank and file can have a more significant impact on the direction of the NDP. Regulations which permit all sections of the Party to

submit an unlimited number of proposals to the convention tend, as we saw in chapter III, to work against the assumption of an important role in policy making by the Party membership. If each constituency association was permitted to send only one resolution to the convention, the process by which resolutions are selected could be democratized. Much of the elite's dominance of policy making at conventions occurs in the Policy Resolution Committee. The NDP could adopt a selection formula like that employed in the British Labour Party, whereby representatives from groups submitting proposals meet to work out the wording of a comprehensive resolution. The Policy Resolutions Committee's practise of recommending acceptance or rejection of a particular resolution presented to the convention should also be ended.

Delegates should have the power to make amendments to resolutions on the floor of the convention, as an alternative to the existing practise of having unacceptable proposals rewritten by the Policy Resolutions Committee. The effectiveness of debate at conventions would also be enhanced if it were carried out in small sessions, rather than when the full convention is sitting.²³³

The leadership of the NDP in the past has been characterized by stability and the existence of an integrated elite. Although the federal Party currently seems to be experiencing a rejuvenation of both its leadership and policy orientation, it is too early to tell whether the new leadership will be any more open than the old.

²³³At the biannual meeting of the NDP held in July 1977, discussions were conducted in small groups rather than by the whole convention.

The NDP is beginning to develop a basic set of policies centered on the need for full and satisfying employment, greater economic planning by government, and the deployment of investment where it is the most socially advantageous.²³⁴ The NDP, however, does not favour the abolition of the market system and the Party leader has admitted that its present objectives could be achieved within the present economic system.²³⁵ Therefore, it seems that new avenues must be found so that socialist influence over the direction of the Party can be heightened.

Throughout the history of the NDP, its leadership has been very concerned with enlarging the base of the Party's electoral support. If the NDP is to follow a set of more socialistic policies, then increasing the number of its representatives in the House of Commons should be an important priority. The information presented in chapter III shows that the caucus makes the regular policy decisions in the NDP. It is unlikely that the bulk of political activity in this country will be transferred from parliamentary to extra-parliamentary confrontation. Therefore, if the left or more militantly socialist faction of the NDP seeks to have a greater impact on the Party's perspective, its representatives must be elected to parliament. In other social democratic parties, the left wing's power and legitimacy is dependent upon its ability to constantly exert pressure in the caucus. The militant wing of the NDP now appears to have no voice in the parliamentary group.

To substantially enlarge its parliamentary group, the NDP must build up a strong sectional base of support. The NDP has, in the

²³⁴Interview with Edward Broadbent.

²³⁵Interview with Edward Broadbent.

past, employed the questionable principle that electoral success in Canada is achieved by appealing to voters in all groups and regions of the country. However, as we observed earlier, both major parties and those minor parties which receive a high proportion of the seats in parliament, have concentrated, rather than diffused electoral support.²³⁶

In seeking to establish a foundation of electoral strength, the NDP's leadership should realize that the ethnic and regional bases in Canada have already been claimed by the major parties. This means that the NDP must establish the preponderant elements of its voter support in another group, the working class. Working class in this context should include poor and lower middle class working people. This is the group that the federal Party leadership now hopes will be attracted to its policies and come to see the NDP as its political spokesman.

The affiliation of the NDP and the trade union movement could form the basis of its future growth. The Party's association with the unions gives it an entry into a substantial proportion of the working class, as well as the grounds for a legitimate claim to representing the interests of that class.

Reasonably good relations are presently maintained between the leadership of the affiliated unions and the federal Party.²³⁷ If

²³⁶ The Liberal Party's electoral strength is concentrated in central Canada and particularly in Quebec. Most Progressive Conservative members of parliament come from the Western and Maritime provinces. The federal Social Credit Party's support exists almost exclusively in constituencies in rural Quebec. This high concentration of its electoral strength has allowed it to maintain a number of seats in parliament in excess of the proportion of the popular vote that it receives.

²³⁷ Interview with Edward Broadbent.

the NDP wishes to significantly increase the proportion of the trade union support that it now receives, connections between the constituency associations and union locals will have to be intensified and improved. In many areas, at the local level, ties between Party and union members are minimal. Better relations between these two groups would encourage union members to identify their priorities more closely with the objectives of the NDP, as well as interest them in working for the Party so that its electoral base could be expanded into other sectors of the working class.

Some difficulties have been anticipated by NDP supporters in attracting more working class adherents to the Party. The working class, particularly those belonging to trade unions, are considered by some Party militants to be of pragmatic orientation. Such people conclude, therefore, that closer relations with the trade unions could result in a weakening of the impact of socialism on the Party. A socialist party, however, cannot operate well if it is isolated from working people. Hopefully, with an increase in the interaction between confirmed NDP supporters and potential adherents from the working class, the perspective of both would be broadened. Connections between working class associations and the NDP have usually been strongest at the elite level of both groups, but poor at the lower echelons. Since trade union leaders maintain a larger stake in the Canadian socio-economic system than do the rank and file unionists, an increase in the exposure of union members to socialist ideas might make them more radical in their approach to social change than is their current leadership.

Enlarging the NDP's support amongst trade unionists would also involve increasing their participation in the Party. It seems that they have developed an ambivalent attitude toward its affairs. The discussion in the previous chapter showed that the proportion of actual union delegates attending Party conventions and the number of resolutions submitted by trade unionists was small. The Party should encourage affiliated unions to send a full slate of delegates to national conventions and to propose more resolutions at Party meetings. The trade unions in Canada could also contribute more monetary and organizational help to the NDP at the local level than they presently do.

The creation of a substantial section of NDP members and supporters would also help polarize politics along class lines in Canada. If the left/right division and class became important determinants in politics, it would likely mean that socialist ideas would be seen as more compatible with the general outlook of Canadians. This would encourage the NDP to adopt a more socialist perspective.

If the NDP desires to assume a socialist approach, it should not allow parliamentary activity to remain its sole concern. Parliament is essentially an elitist institution in which most members are drawn from the upper classes. The exclusive nature of parliament has been reinforced recently as decision making in the governmental system becomes concentrated in the cabinet. Finally, parliamentary activity itself demands moderation and compromise. Therefore, although parliament will, in the present context of Canadian politics, be an important focus of the NDP's attention, it should use other vehicles to achieve social change. The NDP must support the extension of trade unions in all

sectors of the economy and encourage a wider variety of groups to affiliate with the Party. The NDP could then pursue its political objectives in conjunction with and through the activities of its affiliated organizations.

The NDP will have to place greater stress and funnel more of its resources into political education. Socialist ideas are neither well known nor accepted in this country and the mass media is of a uniformly liberal perspective. Much of the required educational work could be effectively carried out by groups affiliated with the NDP.

All NDP members are interested in strengthening the Party's position with the electorate. In this area, the federal NDP has selected approximately fifty seats in which to concentrate its campaign efforts. This is probably a realistic approach in light of the existing financial and organizational capabilities of the federal Party. But raising the proportion of seats that the Party controls in the House of Commons is probably the only one of the suggestions listed above that would receive virtually unanimous acceptance amongst party members.

Mr. Broadbent favours the development of a stronger and better organized federal party and he believes that progress is being made in this area.²³⁸ But the substantial influence maintained by the large provincial sections on the Executive and the Federal Council, as well as the electoral success of several of the provincial parties, may be thwarting his efforts in this regard.

As we saw earlier, the present leader of the NDP would like to see the establishment of closer ties between the Party and the trade

²³⁸ Interview with Edward Broadbent.

unions, at both the leadership and rank and file levels. Since the constituency associations are organized on a provincial basis, it may be difficult for the federal Party to initiate a more effective relationship between local Party and union groups.

It was argued previously that the probability of the NDP assuming a militantly socialist outlook in the immediate future is remote. The proposals put forward in the chapter illustrate that structural changes as well as a reorientation of the NDP's priorities could increase the impact of socialist ideas on the Party's policies. But any socialist redirection of the NDP is dependent upon its members arriving at a decision to redefine the Party's perspective and objectives in a socialist manner and to stop its further drift toward liberalism. It appears, for the moment at least, that a radical reorientation in the Party's ideology would not receive overwhelming acceptance in the NDP. But as we saw in the last chapter, during leadership contests and policy conferences, it becomes obvious that internal support for the assumption of a more militantly socialist stance by the NDP is much greater than the direction of the Party's leadership normally indicates.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Broadbent, Edward. Leader of New Democratic Party and Member of Parliament for Oshawa-Whitby. Interview, 21 December 1976.
- Hogan, Andy. NDP Member of Parliament for Cape Breton East Richmond. Interview, 26 October 1976.
- Knowles, Stanley. NDP Member of Parliament for Winnipeg North Centre. Interview, 26 October 1976.
- MacDonald, Donald C. NDP Member of Parliament in Ontario Provincial Legislature. Interview, 9 November 1976.
- Nystrom, Lorne. NDP Member of Parliament for Yorktown-Melville. Interview, 25 October 1976.
- Sears, Robin. National Secretary of New Democratic Party. Interview, 22 October 1976.

Books

- Abella, I.M. Nationalism, Communism and Canadian Labour, The CIO, The Communist Party, and the Canadian Congress of Labour, 1935-1956. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.
- Alford, Robert. Party and Society, The Anglo-American Democracies. Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1963.
- Avakumovic, Ivan. The Communist Party in Canada, A History. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975.
- Berstein, Edward. Evolutionary Socialism. New York: Schocken Books, 1961.
- Caplan, Gerald. The Dilemma of Canadian Socialism: CCF in Ontario. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973.
- Christian, William and Campbell, Colin. Political Parties and Ideologies in Canada, Liberals, Conservatives, Socialists, and Nationalists. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1974.

- Coldwell, M.J. Left Turn, Canada. London: V. Gollancz, 1945.
- Courtney, John C. The Selection of National Party Leaders in Canada. Toronto: MacMillan and Co., 1973.
- Crosland, C.A.R. The Future of Socialism. New York: Schocken Paperbacks, 1970.
- Cross, Michael, ed. The Decline and Fall of a Good Idea. CCF/NDP Manifestos 1932-1969. Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1974.
- Derfler, Leslie. Socialism Since Marx, A Century of European Left. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973.
- Duverger, Maurice. Party Politics and Pressure Groups. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1972.
- _____. Political Parties. London: Methuen Co., 1969.
- Engelmann, F.C. and Schwartz, Mildred. Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1967.
- Epstein, Leon D. Political Parties in Western Democracies. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1967.
- Fowke, Edith, ed. The Writings of J.S. Woodsworth. Woodsworth Memorial Foundation, 1948.
- Glazebrook, G.P. A History of Canadian Political Thought. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966.
- Godfrey, Dave and Watkins, Mel, eds. Gordon to Watkins to You, A Documentary: The Battle for Control of Our Economy. Toronto: New Press, 1970.
- Heidenheimer, H.J. Comparative Political Finance. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Co., 1970.
- Henig, Stanley and Pinder, John. European Political Parties. London: Geo. Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1969.
- Hook, Sidney. Marx and the Marxists. Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1955.
- Horowitz, G. Canadian Labour in Politics. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.
- Jupp, James. Political Parties. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968.
- Knowles, Stanley. The New Party. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1961.

- Lapierre, Laurier et al. Essays on the Left, Essays in Honour of T.C. Douglas. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971.
- Laski, Harold J. A Grammar of Politics. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1960.
- Lawson, Kay. The Comparative Study of Political Parties. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976.
- Laxer, Robert. Canada's Unions. Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 1976.
- Laxer, Robert, ed. Review of (Canada) Ltd. The Political Economy of Dependency, by Rae Murphy. Last Post, November 1973, pp. 43-45.
- Leiserson, Avery. Parties and Politics. An Institutional and Behavioural Approach. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958.
- Lewis, David and Scott, Frank. Make This Your Canada. Toronto: Central Canada Publishing Company, 1943.
- Lipset, S.M. Agrarian Socialism, The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan, A Study in Political Sociology. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959.
- McKenzie, Robert. British Political Parties. 2nd ed. New York: Praeger, 1966.
- Meisel, John. Working Papers in Canadian Politics. Toronto: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975.
- Michels, Robert. Political Parties. New York: Dover Publications, 1959.
- Morton, Desmond. NDP, The Dream of Power. Toronto: Hakkert, 1974.
- Mosca, Gaetano. The Ruling Class. Translated by Hannah D. Kahn. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965.
- Neuman, Robert G. The Government of the German Federal Republic. New York: Harper Row, 1966.
- Noble, H.P. Membership, Participation and Political Organization. A Study of NDP in 5 Provincial Ridings in the Inter-election Period, 1963-65. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1966.
- Paltiel, K.Z. Political Party Financing in Canada. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Co., 1970.
- Paterson and Campbell. Social Democracy in Post-War Europe. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973.
- Pickles, Dorothy M. Introduction to Politics. London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1972.

- Porter, John. The Vertical Mosaic. An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.
- Rawson, D.W. Labor in Vain. A survey of the Australian Labor Party. North Clayton: Longman's, 1966.
- Roussopoulos, Dimitri, ed. The New Left in Canada. Montreal: Black Rose/New Generation, 1971.
- Schapiro, J. Salwyn. Liberalism, Its Meaning and History. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1958.
- Shackleton, Doris French. Tommy Douglas. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975.
- Stewart, Walter. Divide and Con, Canadian Politics at Work. Toronto: New Press, 1973.
- Watkins, Frederick M. The Age of Ideology - Political Thought, 1750 to the Present. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964.
- Wilson, F.L. The French Democratic Left 1963-1969. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971.
- Young, W. The Anatomy of a Party, The National CCF 1932-61. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969.
- Young, Walter. Democracy and Discontent; Progressivism, Socialism, and Social Credit in the Canadian West. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1969.
- Zakuta, Leo. A Protest Movement Becalmed, A Study of Change in the CCF. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1964.

Academic Articles

- Aiken, Ian. "The Structure of the Labour Party." In The Left, pp. 9-30. Edited by Gerald Kaufman. London: Anthony Bond Ltd., 1966.
- Baker, W. and Price, T. "The New Democratic Party and Canadian Politics." In Party Politics in Canada, pp. 168-179. Edited by H. Thorburn. Scarborough: Prentice Hall, 1967.
- Barnes, Samuel H. "Leadership Style and Political Systems." In Political Leadership in Industrialized Societies, pp. 59-83. Edited by Lewis J. Edinger. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1970.
- Best, Robert S. "The Organization of Provincial Parties." In Provincial Government and Politics, Comparative Essays, pp. 407-436. Edited by Donald C. Rowat. Ottawa: Department of Political Science, Carleton University, 1974.

- Cairns, Allan C. "The Electoral System and Party System in Canada, 1921-1965." In The Canadian Political Process, pp. 139-164. Edited by O. Kruhlak, R. Schultz, and S. Pobihushchy. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970.
- Carrigan, D. Owen, ed. "Campaign of 1963 New Democratic Platform (1963)." Canadian Party Platforms 1867-1968. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1968.
- _____. "Campaign of 1968 Democratic Platform (1968)." Canadian Party Platforms, 1967-1968. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1968.
- Clutterbuck, Peter W. "Third Parties Provincially." In Provincial Government and Politics, Comparative Essays, pp. 437-460. Edited by Donald C. Rowat. Ottawa: Department of Political Science, Carleton University, 1974.
- Dahl, Robert. "Patterns of Opposition." In Political Opposition in Western Democracies, pp. 332-347. Edited by Robert Dahl. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966.
- _____. "Some Explanations." In Political Oppositions in Western Democracies, pp. 348-386. Edited by Robert Dahl. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966.
- _____. "The American Opposition: Affirmation and Denial." In Political Opposition in Western Democracies, pp. 34-69. Edited by Robert Dahl. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966.
- Engelmann, Frederick C. "Membership Participation in the CCF." Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 22 (May 1956):161-173.
- Engelmann, F.C. and Pobihushchy, S. "Party Integration in Canada." In The Canadian Political Process, pp. 180-197. Edited by O. Kruhlak, R. Schultz, and S. Pobihushchy. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970.
- Epstein, Leon D. "Who Makes Policy in the British Labour Party." In The Democratic Political Process, pp. 212-226. Edited by Kurt L. Shell. Waltham, Mass.: Ginn and Co., 1969.
- Fox, Paul. "Early Socialism in Canada." In The Political Process in Canada, pp. 79-98. Edited by J.H. Aitchison. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963.
- Hargrove, Erwin C. "Political Leadership in Anglo-American Democracies." In Political Leadership in Industrialized Societies, pp. 182-219. Edited by Lewis J. Edinger. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967.

- Horowitz, G. "Conservatism, Liberalism, and Socialism in Canada; An Interpretation." In The Canadian Political Process, pp. 47-76. Edited by O. Kruhlak, R. Schultz, and S. Pobihushchy. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970.
- Hunter, W.D.G. "The New Democratic Party, Antecedents, Policies, Prospects." Queen's Quarterly 69 (Autumn 1962):361-376.
- Martin, Robin. "Determinants of Radical Labour and Socialist Politics in English Speaking Canada between 1880 and 1930." Journal of Canadian Studies 2 (May 1967):27-39.
- _____. "The Working Class and the Transition to Capitalist Democracy in Canada." Dalhousie Review (Autumn 1967):326-343.
- McCready, D. and Winn, C. "Geographic Cleavage: Core vs. Periphery." In Political Parties in Canada, pp. 50-70. Edited by Winn and McMenemy. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976.
- McKenzie, Robert. "Policy Decision in Opposition, A Rejoinder." In The Democratic Political Process, pp. 237-243. Edited by Kurt L. Shell. Waltham, Mass.: Ginn and Co., 1969.
- McLeod, John J. "Explanations of Our Party System." In Politics in Canada, pp. 215-222. Edited by Paul Fox. Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1966.
- McMenemy, J. "Fragment and Movement Parties." In Political Parties in Canada, pp. 29-49. Edited by Winn and McMenemy. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976.
- McMenemy, J.; Redekop, J.; and Winn, C. "Party Structures and Decision-Making." In Political Parties in Canada, pp. 167-191. Edited by Winn and McMenemy. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976.
- McMenemy, J. and Winn, C. "Party Personnel - Elites and Activists." In Political Parties in Canada, pp. 152-166. Edited by Winn and McMenemy. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976.
- Muller, Steven. "Federalism and the Party System in Canada." In Canadian Federalism Myth or Reality, pp. 119-132. Edited by J. Peter Meekison. Toronto: Methuen, 1971, 2nd ed.
- Potter, Allan. "Great Britain: Opposition with a Capital 'O'." In Political Opposition in Western Democracies, pp. 3-33. Edited by Robert Dahl. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966.
- Rose, Richard. "Parties Factions Tendencies in Britain." In Political Parties, pp. 102-117. Edited by Roy Macridis. New York: Harper and Row, 1967.

- _____. "The Political Ideas of English Party Activists." In The Democratic Political Process, pp. 189-207. Edited by Kurt L. Shell. Waltham, Mass.: Ginn and Co., 1969.
- Rose, Saul. "Policy Decision in Opposition." In The Democratic Political Process, pp. 227-236. Edited by Kurt L. Shell. Waltham, Mass.: Ginn and Co., 1969.
- Rusch, T.A. "Political Thought of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation." Journal of Politics 12 (August 1950):547-569.
- Schlesinger, Joseph A. "Political Careers and Party Leadership." In Political Leadership in Industrialized Societies, pp. 266-293. Edited by Lewis J. Edinger. New York: John Wiley and Son Co., 1967.
- Seligman, Lester E. "Political Parties and the Recruitment of Political Leaders." In Political Leadership in Industrialized Societies, pp. 294-315. Edited by Lewis J. Edinger. New York: John Wiley and Son, 1970.
- Shell, Kurt L. "The Socialist Party of Austria - A 'Party of Integration'." In The Democratic Political Process, pp. 276-289. Edited by Kurt L. Shell. Waltham, Mass.: Ginn and Co., 1969.
- Watkins, Mel. "Contradictions and Alternatives in Canada's Future." In (Canada Ltd., The Political Economy of Dependency), pp. 250-269. Edited by Robert Laxer. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973.
- _____. "The Trade Union Movement in Canada." In (Canada Ltd.; The Political Economy of Dependency), pp. 178-196. Edited by Robert Laxer. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973.
- Winn, C. and McMenemy, J. "Conclusion." In Political Parties in Canada, pp. 267-279. Edited by C. Winn and J. McMenemy. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976.

Magazines

- Canadian Dimension Staff. "Whither Waffle." Canadian Dimension. Vol. 7, no. 8, pp. 24-26.
- _____. "Who's Views." Canadian Dimension. Vol. 7, no. 8, pp. 36-38.
- Canadian Forum. "The Waffle or the Unions." Canadian Forum (April 1972):2,3,11.
- Chodos, R.; Burgess, D.; and Davidson, M. "David: The Centre of His Party." Last Post 1 (April/May 1971):20-32.
- Cook, Ramsey. "Deserting a Sinking Ship." Canadian Forum (March 1962): 267.

- Gross, Michael and Clarkson, Stephen. "The Waffle/NDP Convention, Two Views." Canadian Forum (April/May 1971):3-9.
- Finn, Ed. "Labor's Love Lost." Maclean's Magazine 87 (May 1974):22-23, 88-92.
- Gonick, C.W. "Labour's New Manifesto - CLC Convention Notes." Canadian Dimension 11 (1976):23-32.
- _____. "NDP Convention." Canadian Dimension 4 (September/October 1967):5, 37.
- _____. "The New Democratic Convention." Canadian Dimension 2 (September/October 1965):22-23.
- Harding, James. "Saskatchewan Waffles; Social Democrats in a Hurry." Canadian Dimension 10 (April 1974):19-26.
- Horowitz, G. "Tories, Socialists and the Demise of Canada." Canadian Dimension 2 (May/June 1965):12-15.
- Hunter, W.D.G. "Paralytic New Democracy." Canadian Dimension 4 (July/August 1967):8-10.
- MacDonald, Donald C. Review of The Dilemma of Canadian Socialism, by Gerald Caplan. New Democrat (September/October 1973).
- Mardiros, Anthony. "Socialism in the 20th Century." Canadian Dimension 1 (May/June 1963):4-6.
- Murphy, Rae. "Joe Morris and the Big Blue Collar Machine." Last Post. Vol. 5, no. 6, pp. 26-33.
- Murphy, Rae and Chodos, Robert. "Labour Keeps the Lid on." Last Post 4 (May 1974):25-30.
- "Spring Cleaning." Last Post 1 (May/April 1971):33-35.
- Stewart, Walter. "Ed Broadbent: Picking up the Pieces of the NDP." Maclean's 87 (November 1974):8.
- Underhill, F.H. "The CCF Convention and After." Canadian Forum. (September 1934):463-465.
- _____. "Power Politics in the Ont. CCF." Canadian Forum 32 (April 1952).
- Warnock, John W. "Parliamentary Government, The New Democratic Party." Canadian Dimension 6 (October/November 1969):16-18.

Goodwin, Barry. "Policy Making in the New Democratic Party." M.A. thesis, Queen's University, July 1973.

APPENDIX

BREAKDOWN OF THE NDP EXECUTIVE 1975 *

	FEDERAL EXECUTIVE	FEDERAL NOMINEE	PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE	PROVINCIAL NOMINEE	AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS
Joyce Nash	President 1975 Vice-President 4 years On 3 major Committees 1975	Never	Acting Secretary, B.C. Ass't Secretary, B.C. 1975 On 4 B.C. Committees Prov. Executive-1966-70 Prov. Vice-President 1970-72; 1974-76	Never	No
David Lewis	National Secretary 1938-50 After 1950, President, Vice Chairman and Chairman Always a Vice-President Honorary President 1975	1943 Montreal 1945 Hamilton 1960-74 in Toronto-York (elected) Federal Leader 1971-75			
Donald MacDonald	Federal Party President Executive Member 1975			Ont. CCF/NDP Leader 1950-?? 197? + elected member 1975	
T.C. Douglas	Leader President Emeritus 1975	Federal Member 1975 Federal Leader		Premier, Sask. 1943-61	
Ed. Broadbent	Leader 1975	Federal Leader Federal M.P.			U.A.W. ties 1975

	FEDERAL EXECUTIVE	FEDERAL NOMINEE	PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE	PROVINCIAL NOMINEE	AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS
H.F. Gautin	Assoc. President 1975		President, Quebec		
Roland Morin	Immediate Past President - 1975 President				
Gord. Brigden	Vice-President '73-75 Vice-President '75-77	Never	Ontario Prov. Secretary, 1975 Ontario Finance Coordinator, 1975	Never	Education Director of Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport and General Workers Member U.S.W.-'75
Hugh Buchanan	Member of Council since '67 Vice-President '73 Vice-President '75	Never	No	Never	Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union, International Rep. in 1952 Ontario Director 1975
Sid Green	Vice-President '75			NDP City Councillor 1962-65 Elected Prov. M.L.A. 1966 Minister since 1972 House Leader, 1975	
Agnes Groome	Vice-President '75			1974 Defeated in Prov. Election	
Alvin Hewitt	Executive Member 2 years Vice-President since 1975		Prov. Vice-President 1970 President 1971	Local Constituency Executive approx. 3 years	

FEDERAL EXECUTIVE	FEDERAL NOMINEE	PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE	PROVINCIAL NOMINEE	AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS
Peggy Prowse	1965 National Council appointed 1967 National Council elected Vice-President, '69-77		Halifax Executive Unsuccessful Prov. Candidate 2 times	Director of Co-ops 1975 Central Committ- ee of the International Co-opt Alli- ance (Co-opts not affiliate d with Party, but histori- cal relation- ship
Gordon Wright	Vice-President, '73- '75	President, '68-73 Treasurer, '73-76	Candidate '67-71-75 Leader Candidate	
Harold Thayer	Federal Treasurer - now Executive Member, '71-75 Federal Council, '67-71 (rep. unions) Federal Election Planning Committee '72 Federal Council of CCF Helped plan Winnipeg Declaration	Secretary-Treasurer BC/CCF Ed. of BC/CCF News '51-61	1958 Unsuccessful	Member C.L.C. Political Edu- cation Committ - ee since '62 O.F.L. Political Education Committee '64 -74 V.P. of L. '64 -present National Dir- ector of Can. Machinists Political League (IAMAW)

	FEDERAL EXECUTIVE	FEDERAL NOMINEE	PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE	PROVINCIAL NOMINEE	AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS
Clifford Scotton	Federal Secretary 1975		Prov. Secretary B.C., 1975		
Robin Sears	Acting Federal Secretary, 1975				
Jeremy Akerman	Federal Council 1966, 1967 1973 Executive Member 1975 Executive Member	1968 - lost	Secretary of Con- stituency Assoc- iation Member of Prov. Council, '66 1968 Leader of NS/ NDP 1975	1966 - lost 1970 - elected 1974 - elected	Member of Internat- ional Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators 1975
Bill Allen	Federal Council Federal Executive 1975		Constituency Executive Prov. Secretary Sask.	Sask.M.L.A. 1975	
Grant Notley	Vice-President CCF 1960-61 Federal Executive 1975		Prov. Secretary Alberta, '61-'68	'68 Leader Alberta NDP (now) '71 - elected M.L.A. '75 - slected M.L.A. '63 - lost '67 - lost	
Cliff Pilkey	Federal Executive 1975 Federal Election Planning Comm.		M.P.P., Oshawa	Ontario Executive Vice-President.Ont. Chairman, Constitu- tion Comm.	Pres. UAW, Oshawa Pres. Oshawa Dist. Labour Council PEC of OFL